

Book 12, Part 4

CHAPTER 51

Heaven's Way Is Not Dualistic

Section 51.1

In Heaven's constant Way, things that are opposed are not permitted to arise simultaneously. Therefore Heaven's Way is said to be singular. What is singular and not dualistic is Heaven's conduct. Yin and yang are mutually opposed. Therefore

when one emerges, the other withdraws;

when one is at the right, the other is at the left.

In spring, both are in the south;

in autumn, both are in the north.

In summer, they intersect in the front;

in winter, they intersect in the rear.

They move in unison yet do not share [the same] circuit;

they intermingle in meeting, yet each carries its respective pattern.

Is this not what is prescribed for them?¹

It is Heaven's constant way [with regard to yin and yang] that

one emerges while [the other] withdraws;

one is in repose while [the other] takes up its position.²

Their degree [of separation from each other] is one [i.e., identical], yet their intentions are not identical.

When yang emerges, it constantly is suspended in the front, taking responsibility for the tasks of the harvest.

When yin emerges, it constantly is suspended in the rear, guarding vacuous emptiness.

When yang rests, its accomplishments have been completed above and stored below.

When yin rests, it is not permitted to be near to righteousness and so moves far [from where righteousness] is located.

Heaven's

using yang and not using yin,

loving accretion [and] not loving recision,

is like this. Thus,

yang emerges and moves to the front;

yin emerges and moves to the rear,

manifesting [Heaven's] mind, which reveres accretion and scorns recision.

Yang emerges and accumulates during the summer, using accretion in the tasks of the harvest.

Yin emerges and accumulates during the winter, relegating recision to vacuous emptiness.

One must analyze it in this way. Heaven is inconstant with regard to things and yet single-minded with regard to the seasons. Whatever is appropriate to a season, [Heaven] does in a unitary fashion.

Therefore, [when Heaven]

opens one, it closes the other,

raises one up, it discards the other,

stopping at the end of a complete [round of] seasons. Having ended, it begins again with one. What is one is unitary. This is why Heaven regards those things that occupy the yin position as all bad and disruptive of goodness; [therefore] yin is not permitted to preside over names. This is Heaven's Way. Therefore, to be constantly unitary and not destructive is Heaven's Way. Whether an act is great or small, difficult or easy, if you oppose Heaven's Way, you will not succeed. This is why

the eyes cannot see two images [simultaneously],

the ears cannot hear two sounds [simultaneously].

One hand cannot do two tasks [simultaneously]. [If you try to] draw a square with one hand while [trying to] draw a circle with the other hand, you will not be able to complete either of them. When people take up small and easy tasks and in the end are unable to complete them, it is [usually] because they likewise

1. These opening lines are virtually identical to those of chapter 50.

2. Emending *fu* 伏 to read *wei* 位, following Zhong, *CQFLS* 623, note 7.

do them in a way that contradicts Heaven and cannot be carried out. Thus, when the ancients recorded things in writing, if the mind rested on a single focal point, it was said to be "loyal," but when the mind maintained two focal points, it was said to be "duplicious."³ "Duplicious" means that a person is not centered in the unitary. Not being unitary is the [source] from which duplicity arises. This is why the noble man disdains two and honors one. Who does not have goodness? Yet if their goodness is not unitary, it will not be sufficient for them to establish themselves. What government lacks constant norms? Yet if the constant norms are not unitary, they will be insufficient for [a government] to perfect its achievements. An *Ode* declares:

"The High God is close at hand; do not be double-minded."⁴

These are the words of one who understands Heaven's Way. {51/56/9-23}

Book 12, Part 5

CHAPTER 52

Heat or Cold, Which Predominates?

Section 52.1

Heaven's Way

sends forth yang to create warmth and thereby engenders things,
and sends forth yin to create coolness and thereby completes things.

Therefore

without heating, nourishment would not be possible,
and without chilling, maturation would not be possible.

We have emended the title following Su Yu, *CQFLYZ* 347. This chapter consists of two unrelated essays that originally must have circulated independently. The first essay takes up yin-yang cosmology and explains the movements and activities of yin and yang as they pass through the yearly cycle. The second essay attempts to reconcile two contradictory ideas. If anomalies are to be interpreted as Heaven's response to the misdeeds of the ruler and a sign of Heaven's discontent with the ruler's actions, this calls into question the reputation of two of the greatest culture heroes of the Confucian tradition, Tang and Yu, whose legends link them with two major natural calamities, a great drought and a great flood, respectively (for which, see note 3). The author attempts to reconcile that contradiction by introducing the concept of *shi zao zhi bian* 適遭之變, an expression that seems to denote human destiny that is transformed—from auspicious to inauspicious—because of an "unlucky alteration of seasonal *qi*." This category of destiny explains why virtuous people may suffer such inauspicious occurrences as floods and droughts. (The subject of "changeable destiny" also appears in chapter 13.3.) Su Yu (*CQFLYZ* 348-49) notes that this idea is also taken up in the *Bahutong* (chapter 16, "Calamities and Extraordinary Events"), in the following passage: "When Yao was visited by the great flood and Tang by the great drought, it was also a reproach [from Heaven]? When Yao was visited by the great flood and Tang by the great drought, it was an accident caused by fate" (Tjan Tjoe Som, trans., *Po Hu T'ung: The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall* [Leiden: Brill, 1952], 2:490). The *Wenzi* also contains a short passage dealing with this same subject: "Your humble servant has heard that when evil is practiced, anomalies occur as a response, but when goodness is practiced and anomalies occur, it is a consequence of a sudden encounter with fate. They are not caused by [one who] governs" (quoted in Su Yu, *CQFLYZ* 349).

3. The author is here playing on the fact that the character for "loyalty," *zhong* 忠, consists of the character *zhong* 中, which means "center," and the character *xin* 心, which means both "heart" and "mind." The character for "duplicity," *bian* 變, closely resembles the character for "loyalty" but doubles the character *zhong* 中. In other contexts, *bian* has a range of meanings, including "calamity" and "to suffer."

4. *Odes* 136, verse 7.

Book 15, Part 5

CHAPTER 70

Following Orders

Section 70.1

The father is the son's Heaven;
Heaven is the father's Heaven.

It has never been the case that something comes into existence without Heaven. Heaven is the ancestor of the myriad things. The myriad things cannot come into existence without Heaven.

With yin alone, they will not come into existence;
with yang alone, they will not come into existence.

Only after yin and yang combine with Heaven and Earth do the myriad things come into existence. Therefore it is said:

The father's son can be honored;
the mother's son can be humbled.

What is honored appropriates a lofty designation;
what is humbled appropriates a lowly designation.

Therefore those whose virtue accompanies Heaven and Earth [are those whom] August Heaven sets to the right and treats as sons by bestowing on them the title Son of Heaven. Those next in line obtain the five levels of rank (duke, marquis, earl, viscount, and baron) and thereby are honored. They all take their respective states and city [names] as their designations. Those who do not possess the virtue of Heaven and Earth [are designated with reference only to] a province.¹

1. The word *zhou* 州 (province) here appears to refer to a perhaps fanciful scheme attributed to the mythical founder of the Xia dynasty, Yu the Great, who divided China into nine provinces. Here the term has the general sense of a geographic area larger than a "state" (*guo* 國).

a state, a man, or a family name.² In the most extreme cases, they are not associated with either their state or [their] city. They are cut off from any associations with those [of the same] bones and flesh [i.e., blood relatives]. Having departed from human norms, they are simply called gatekeepers and thieves. Those lacking a surname, personal name, style, or family name are lower than the most lowly.

Deeply honor those who possess Utmost Virtue.

Promote them to a lofty position that cannot be made loftier.

Deeply humble those who are utterly base.

Demote them to a lowly position that cannot be made lowlier.

The *Spring and Autumn* sets the various ranks in order and arranges the lofty and the base.³

How intricate! Its details can be obtained and observed. Even if a person is unenlightened and a fool, no one will fail to be enlightened [by the *Spring and Autumn's* designations].⁴ [70/69/19–25]

Section 70.3

The duke's son Jingfu was guilty of a grave crime, and so it was not appropriate to associate him with his state.⁵ Considering that he was closely related [to the ruler], [the *Spring and Autumn*] concealed [his identity] and referred to him in terms of his mother's state as Zhongsun of Qi in order to expunge his close relationship as the duke's son. Therefore those who commit the grave crime

1. Emending *min* 民 to *ming* 名, following Ling Shu (Su Yu, *CQFLYZ* 411). *Gangyang Commentary* at Duke Zhuang 3.10.6:

[In the designation of a barbarian nation,] the name of a department (*jing* 疆) is inferior to the name of the state (*guo* 國); the name of the state is inferior to the family name (*shi* 氏); the family name is inferior to the term *ren* 人 [man]; the term *ren* is inferior to the personal name (*ming* 名); the personal name is inferior to the style (*zi* 字); and the style is inferior to the title of viscount. (Adapted from Göran Malmqvist, "Studies on the *Gangyang* and *Guhang* Commentaries," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 43 [1971]: 130)

2. Emending *qi* 其 to *shen* 甚, following *CQFL* 69, note 10.

3. Emending *qi* 其 to *shen* 甚, following *CQFL* 69, note 11.

4. Emending *beizun* 卑尊 to *zunbei* 尊卑, following *CQFL* 69, note 12.

5. Following Su Yu's arrangement of the text, we have moved section 70.2 (*CQFL* 70/69/25–27) to chapter 68 and thus omitted it here.

7. Duke Min 4.1.6: "In Winter, Zhongsun of Qi came." *Gangyang*: "Who was this Zhongsun of Qi? He was the duke's son Jingfu. If so, why is he not referred to as the duke's son Jingfu? In order to associate him with Qi. Why so? In order to estrange him. Why estrange him? [The *Spring and Autumn*] conceals for the sake of the noble, for the sake of those who are closely related [to the ruler], and for the sake of the worthy."

of disregarding Heaven's commands are always cut off from their Heaven-endowed relationships.

With respect to Heaven, humans receive their fate in accordance with the Way.

With respect to [other] humans, they receive their orders in the form of [the ruler's] verbal instructions.

Those who do not follow the Way are cut off by Heaven.

Those who do not follow [the ruler's] verbal instructions are rejected by others.

When the minister receives important commands from the ruler, he is given verbal instructions and then journeys abroad. Only when the altars of the grain and soil or the state are endangered is it permissible for him to abandon his instructions and act on his own discretion to restore [the ruler's] security. When the duke's son Jie, the marquis of Ji, and the duke of Song⁸ made a covenant, it exemplified this principle.⁹

The Son of Heaven receives orders from Heaven;

the Lords of the Land receive orders from the Son of Heaven;

sons receive orders from fathers;

ministers receive orders from the ruler;

and wives receive orders from husbands.

What all those who receive orders show respect for, in every case, is Heaven. Although it also is permissible to say that they receive their orders from Heaven. . . .¹⁰

When the Son of Heaven was incapable of carrying out Heaven's orders, [the *Spring and Autumn*] discarded [his proper rank] and designated him with the lower rank of duke. The descendants of the kings exemplify this principle.

When a duke or marquis was incapable of carrying out an order from the Son of Heaven, [the *Spring and Autumn* referred to him by] his personal name.

8. Supplying the following eight characters based on Su Yu's restoration of the text: 公子結及齊侯來公 (Lai, *CQFLYZJF* 385, note 20).

9. *Gongyang Commentary* at Duke Zhuang 3.19.3:

Why does [the *Spring and Autumn*] record this instance? [The duke's son Jie] acted on his own discretion, and therefore [the *Spring and Autumn*] records it. A great officer does not act on his own discretion. Why, then, does [the *Spring and Autumn*] use the term *wu* 無? According to the ritual of a mission of friendly inquiries, a great officer receives orders but no specific verbal instructions. If, on a journey abroad, he finds himself in a position to act in the interest of his own state, it is permissible for him to do so on his own accord. (Adapted from Malmqvist, "Studies on the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* Commentaries," 135)

10. Following Lu Wenchao, we take the next four characters 不天亦可 to be an intrusion into the text. There must have been additional text here, now missing, to complete the previous dependent clause (Su Yu, *CQFLYZ* 412).

disassociated him [from his rank], and did not allow him to return to his position. Shuo, marquis of Wey, exemplifies this principle.¹¹

When a son did not carry out his father's order, [the *Spring and Autumn* records that] a punitive expedition was mounted to punish him. Peng Gui, the heir apparent of Wey, exemplifies this principle.¹²

When a minister did not carry out his ruler's order, even if he achieved goodness, [the *Spring and Autumn* used] the term "rebellion" to describe the affair. Zhao Ying of Jin entering Jin Yang and "rebellious" exemplifies this principle.¹³

When a concubine did not carry out her lord's order, [the *Spring and Autumn* records] that she was given as a dowry in marriage and was the first to be sent to her mistress's future home.¹⁴

When the wife did not respectfully receive her husband's orders, [the *Spring and Autumn*] disassociates her from her husband. Avoiding the expression "and"

11. Duke Huan 2.16.5: "In the eleventh month, Shuo, marquis of Wey, left [his state] and fled to Qi." *Gongyang*:

Why is Shuo, marquis of Wey, referred to by his personal name? In order to disassociate him. Why disassociate him? He was guilty of an offense against the Son of Heaven. Under what circumstances was he guilty of an offense against the Son of Heaven? Being charged with the protection of Wey, Shuo [the marquis of Wey] was not even capable of employing a small body of men in his own state. [The marquis of Wey] had violated that part of Qi that was situated at the northern side of Mount Dai. [He] claimed illness, stayed [where he was], and did not submit to punishment. (Adapted from Malmqvist, "Studies on the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* Commentaries," 11)

12. Peng Gui, the heir apparent of Wey, was Duke Zhuang of Wey. His personal name was Peng Gui. Peng Gui acted immorally, so Duke Ling rejected him and established his brother Peng Che as the heir apparent. Peng Gui fled to a place called Qi. Consequently, Guo Xia of Wey and Dan Mangu of Wey led troops on a punitive expedition. Duke Ai 12.3.1: "Guo Xia of Qi and Dan Mangu of Wey led troops to surround Qi." *Gongyang*: "Why is it that Guo Xia of Qi and Dan Mangu of Wey led troops to surround Qi? It was a hegemonic attack."

13. Duke Ding 11.13.7: "Zhao Ying of Jin returned home to Jin." *Gongyang*:

This was a rebellion. Why then does the text use the term "return home"? He relied on his territory to rectify the state. Under what circumstances did he rely on his territory to rectify the state? Zhao Ying of Jin appropriated the troops of Jin Yang to expel Xun Yin and Shiji Xie. Why the reference to Xun Yin and Shiji Xie? They were evil men who were close to the ruler. This was a case of expelling evil men who were close to the ruler. Why, then, is it described as a rebellion? [Zhao Ying] did not have his ruler's orders [to do so].

14. In ancient times when a regional lord married a woman from another state to be his consort, the norm was that to accompany the prospective bride, both states sent a woman who was called an "escort" (*ying* 媵). When Duke Xi of Lu married, Qi sent a woman as an escort. Because they arrived first in Lu, before Lu had agreed, Duke Xi was coerced into establishing the woman from Qi as his bride. Duke Xi 3.8.3: "We conducted the Di ceremony in the Grand Temple and performed the Yong and the Zhi sacrifices to install the lady consort." *Gongyang*:

What does [the term] *ying* indicate? The term *ying* indicates that it was not suitable to perform the Yong sacrifice. The term *zhi* indicates that it was not suitable to perform the Zhi sacrifice. To perform the Di ceremony and the Yong and Zhi sacrifices to install the lady consort violated ritual protocol. Why did [the *Spring and Autumn*] not refer to the lady consort as Lady Jiang? In order to censure her. Why did [the *Spring and Autumn*] censure her? [The *Spring and Autumn*] criticized the duke for taking a concubine as a primary wife. Under what circumstances did he take a concubine as a primary wife? In fact, he was coerced, because the woman escort from Qi arrived first.

[to describe a husband and wife together] exemplifies this principle.¹⁵ [Thus] I say, those who do not respectfully follow Heaven are guilty of crimes like these. [70/69/27-70/70/8]

Section 70.4

Confucius said: “[A noble man is awestruck by three things:]

He is awestruck by the Mandate of Heaven;

he is awestruck by the Great Man;

and he is awestruck by the words of a sage.”¹⁶

When sacrificing to the spirits of the grain and soil, the ancestors, the mountains and rivers, or the ghosts and spirits, if you do not do so in accordance with the Way, you [still] will avoid disaster and harm. But regarding [circumstances under which] sacrifices to Heaven are not presented, [it may be that] the divination was not auspicious, [or something] caused the bull’s mouth to suffer injury,¹⁷ or ground squirrels gnawed at the bull’s horns.¹⁸ Sometimes [the record] states that “[ground squirrels] gnawed at the bull”; sometimes “[ground squirrels] gnawed [at the bull], and it died”; sometimes “[ground squirrels] gnawed at [the bull], and it lived”; sometimes “[ground squirrels] did not gnaw at [the bull], and it died of its own accord”; sometimes “there was a second divination, and the bull died”; and sometimes “there was a divination, and [ground squirrels] gnawed at the bull’s horns.”

Transgressions may be deep or shallow, significant or trivial;

disasters may be insignificant or significant, severe or light.

You must examine this. With regard to [any particular] aberration [that occurs during] the Suburban Sacrifice, deduce the cause of the disaster from

15. Duke Huan 2.18: “Our lord [and] the lady consort of the Jiang clan subsequently entered Qi.” *Gongyang*: “Why does [the *Spring and Autumn*] not state ‘and the lady consort’ with reference to our lord? The lady consort was estranged. What does ‘the lady consort was estranged’ indicate? It is an expression used in the inner [palace]. In fact, the lady consort was estranged from our lord.”
 16. This passage from *Analekts* 16.8 also is quoted in chapter 65.1. As quoted here, the introductory line, “A noble man is awestruck by three things,” is missing; we supply it in square brackets.
 17. Duke Xuan 7.3.1: “Spring. The royal first month. The mouth of the bull intended for the Suburban Sacrifice was injured.” Duke Xuan 7.3.2: “We did a different divination [to choose] a bull, and the bull died. Accordingly, we did not conduct the Suburban Sacrifice.”
 18. Duke Cheng 8.7.1: “Spring. The royal first month. Ground squirrels ate the horns of the bull intended for the Suburban Sacrifice.” Duke Cheng 8.7.2: “We did a different divination [to choose] a bull, and ground squirrels again ate its horns. Accordingly, we released the bull and did not conduct the Suburban Sacrifice.”

the aberration, and in response, do not act [in that manner again].¹⁹ This is a “response,” not an overt action. We see that the alterations of the numerous affairs seem unknowable, and so we attribute them to natural causes. But cannot such things be thoroughly explained? Looking at what is awesome from this perspective, is it not Heaven, the one alone who possesses the power to execute and kill?

[The *Spring and Autumn* records] more than thirty instances of ministers killing their lords and sons killing their fathers. [The *Spring and Autumn*] denigrated those in lowly positions [by omitting their name and referring to them as “men.”]²⁰ Looking at what is awesome from this perspective, it is surely the Mandate of Heaven.²¹

[The *Spring and Autumn*] records more than fifty instances of states perishing. All of them failed to be in awe. How much more so is this true of being awestruck by the Great Man, who alone possesses the power to take life. When a lord is about to suffer extinction, what days are left to him?

Duke Xuan of Lu disobeyed the sage’s words, altering the ancient [practices] and changing the constant norms, so he was immediately visited by calamity.²² How can one fail to heed the words of the sage! These three things that can be feared have different manifestations but identical ends. Thus the sage identified them and said that collectively they could be feared. [70/70/10-18]

19. Reading *you* 猶 as homophonous with *li*. We treat the characters *shi* 之 and *er* 而 as excrement, following Liu Shiwei (see also *CQFL* 70, note 3).
 20. Lu Wenchao suspects these six characters are corrupt (Su Yu, *CQFLYZ* 415).
 21. Treating the three characters *da ren hu* 大人乎 as intrusions, following Ling Shu, as cited in Su Yu, *CQFLYZ* 417.
 22. Duke Xuan 7.15.8: “There was the first tax by *mu*.” *Gongyang*:

What is meant by the term “first”? It means “for the first time.” What is meant by the expression “tax by *mu*”? It means to [measure by] pacing the *mu* and tax [its agricultural production] accordingly. Why was this entry made? In order to criticize. Why criticize? [The *Spring and Autumn*] criticizes the duke for being the first to [measure by] pacing the *mu* and tax [its agricultural production] accordingly. What was there to criticize in this? The ancients based their tribute on [the agricultural production of] one part in ten. Why did the ancients base their tribute on [the agricultural production of] one part in ten? This was the correct average throughout the empire. When tribute was more than one part in ten, it was called “Greater *jie*” and “Lesser *jie*.” When tribute was less than one part in ten, it was called “Greater *mo*” and “Lesser *mo*.” Tribute of one part in ten was the correct average in the realm. When it was implemented, songs of praise were composed.

See also *Mencius* 5A.8a and 5A.8b.

Book 16, Part 6

CHAPTER 77

Conform to Heaven's Way

Section 77.1

Conforming to Heaven's Way to nourish the body is called the Way. Heaven has two conjunctions¹ and thereby completes two midpoints.² It yearly establishes its midpoints, employing them ceaselessly. Thus,

The title of the chapter derives from the opening lines of the first section. The composition of the chapter varies across the extant editions of the *Chunqiu fanlu*. Ling Shu's *Chunqiu fanlu* of 1816, Su Yu's *Chunqiu fanlu yizheng* of 1910, and Lai Yanyuan's *Chunqiu fanlu jinshu jiyi* of 1984 all contain six sections. The *Sibu congkan* and *Chunqiu fanlu zhuixi suoyin* (Lau) editions contain five sections, and the *Sibu beiyao* preserves four sections. We have included all the sections in our translation. The various editions share the following materials:

SECTIONS	1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>CQFL</i> (D. C. Lau)	X	X	X		X	X
<i>CQFL/LSJ</i> (Ling Shu)	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>CQFLJZJY</i> (Lai Yanyuan)	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>CQFLYZ</i> (Su Yu)	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>CQFL SBCK</i> (<i>Sibu congkan</i>)	X	X	X		X	X
<i>CQFL SBBY</i> (<i>Sibu beiyao</i>)	X	X	X			X

The six sections in the *CQFLYZ* are made up of fragments of six originally separate essays. The Chinese text of the fourth section of *CQFLJZJY* 77 and *CQFLYZ* 77 may be found at *CQFL* 78/78/10-23.

1. *Liang he* 兩和 refers to the spring and autumn equinoxes.
2. *Liang zhong* 兩中 refers to the summer and winter solstices. Some of the force of the argument in section 77.1 comes from a play on words: between the astronomical/calendrical term "midpoint" (*zhong*) and the political/moral value "centrality" (also *zhong*), and between the astronomical/calendrical term "conjunction" (*he*) and the political/moral value "harmony" (also *he*).

the midpoint of the northern region [i.e., the winter solstice]³ employs blended yin, and the myriad things begin to move below [the ground].

The midpoint of the southern region [i.e., the summer solstice]⁴ employs blended yang, and the [process of] nourishment begins to perfect [things] above [the ground].

When [the myriad things] stir below [the ground], without the conjunction of the eastern region, they would not be able to come into existence. This refers to the middle month of spring [i.e., the spring equinox].⁵

When [the myriad things] flourish above, without the conjunction of the western region, they would not be able to mature. This refers to the middle month of autumn [i.e., the autumn equinox].⁶

It follows that the good and evil of Heaven and Earth reside at the two places of conjunction [in the eastern and western regions] and where the midpoints come from and return to as they complete their tasks. Thus

the conjunction of the eastern region brings things into existence;

the conjunction of the western region brings things to maturity.

That the conjunction of the eastern region produces birth is due to what arises in the northern region;

that the conjunction of the western region brings things to maturity is due to what is nourished in the southern region.

With regard to their giving rise to things, if they do not arrive at the place of the conjunction, things will not be able to produce and grow.

With regard to their nourishing things, if they do not arrive at the place of the conjunction, things will not be able to mature and ripen.

[The myriad things] are completed by a conjunction; their birth also must arise from a conjunction.

3. *Beifang zhi zhong* 北方之中 refers to the eleventh month, in which the yin and yang meet in the northern quadrant and give rise to the winter solstice. Chapter 50.1 states: "Yin comes westward from the eastern quarter, and yang comes eastward from the western quarter. Arriving at the middle month of winter, they meet each other in the northern quarter, where they combine to become one. This is called the [winter] solstice."

4. *Nanfang zhi zhong* 南方之中 refers to the fifth month, in which yin and yang unite in the southern quadrant and give rise to the summer solstice. Chapter 50.1 explains: "Yin daily decreases and gives way to yang; yang daily increases and strengthens. Thus warmth and heat are produced. At the beginning of the month of the height of summer, [yin and yang] meet each other in the southern quarter where they combine to become one. This is called the [summer] solstice."

5. Chapter 50.1 states: "Arriving at the middle month of spring, yang lies due east, and yin lies due west. This is called the 'spring equinox.' At the spring equinox, yin and yang are evenly divided. Therefore, day and night are of even length; cold and heat are of equal proportion."

6. Chapter 50.1 states: "Arriving at the middle month of autumn, yang lies due west, and yin lies due east. This is called the 'autumn equinox.' At the autumn equinox, yin and yang are evenly divided. Therefore, day and night are of even length; cold and heat are of equal proportion."

They begin at a midpoint; their ending also must be at a midpoint.

The midpoints are that by which Heaven and Earth begin and end things.

The conjunctions are that by which Heaven and Earth engender and complete things.

Now,

there is no virtue greater than harmony.

There is no way more correct than centrality.

With centrality, the perfection of Heaven and Earth penetrates the underlying principles [of all living things]. It is what the sage preserves and protects. An ode declares:

"Neither hard nor soft. Gently he spreads his instructions abroad."⁷

Does this not refer to centrality and harmony? Therefore,

the virtue of those who are able to rely on centrality and harmony to govern the world will greatly flourish;

the life span of those who are able to rely on centrality and harmony to nourish their bodies will be greatly prolonged. [77/75/25-77/76/3]

Section 77.2

The standards for men and women emulate yin and yang.

Yang *qi* arises in the northern region and flourishes when reaching the southern region.

When its flourishing reaches its end point, it unites with yin.

Yin *qi* arises during the middle month of summer [i.e., at the summer solstice] and flourishes when reaching the middle month of winter [i.e., at the winter solstice].

When its flourishing has reached its end point, it unites with yang.

If they did not reach their end points, they would not [be able to] unite. Thus in ten months,⁸ each flourishes once, and at the end of the year they join together again. The long-standing regularities of Heaven and Earth are constant in this way. Thus, first imitate them within your person. Nourish the body and thereby make it whole.

7. Odes 304, verse 4.

8. One commentator suggests emending ten months to six months. But 43.1 says that yang dominates for ten months of the year and yin dominates for the other two.

If a man is impotent, do not allow him to form a household;

if [her] yin *qi* is not at its height, do not allow [a woman] to engage in sex.

When the body's essence is bright, it will not readily decline, and [the body will] remain strong and stable. Longevity is dependent on a lack of excessiveness. This is the Way of Heaven and Earth.

Heaven's *qi* first causes maleness to flourish and only then produces semen.

Therefore the semen is strong.

Earth's *qi* first causes femaleness to flourish and only then produces transformation.

Thus its transformations are good.

Therefore, with regard to the union of yin and yang,

in winter they unite in the north, and the myriad things begin to stir below;

in summer they unite in the south, and the myriad things begin to stir above.

The great stirrings above and below both take place after the [winter and summer] solstices.

When cold, it freezes water and cracks earth.

When hot, it burns sand and melts stone.

The quintessential *qi* achieves such things as this. Therefore, with the transformations of Heaven and Earth,

spring *qi* engenders, and all living things emerge;

summer *qi* nourishes, and all living things grow;

autumn *qi* kills, and all living things die;

and winter *qi* reaps, and all living things hide themselves.

This is why only the *qi* of Heaven and Earth is quintessential. Its comings and goings are formless, and yet all living things respond to them. This is the perfection of its true nature. The noble man imitates the Heaven and Earth that he reveres.

The yin and yang of Heaven and Earth correspond to the female and male;

the female and male of human beings correspond to the yin and yang.

Yin and yang can also be called male and female.

Male and female can also be called yin and yang. [77/76/3-13]

Section 77.3

It is the constant course of Heaven and Earth that

when [the sun] arrives at the midpoint of the eastern region [i.e., at the spring equinox], what has been born is greatly nourished.

when [the sun] arrives at the midpoint of the western region [i.e., at the autumn equinox], what has been nourished is greatly completed.

In one year there are four risings. The [accomplishment of their] respective tasks depends on the midpoints.⁹ What is done at the midpoints necessarily proceeds to the conjunctions. Therefore it is said: "The conjunctions are essential." The conjunctions represent the balance points of Heaven and the equilibrium of the yin and yang. Their *qi* is the most excellent; it is what brings the myriad things into existence. Those who sincerely appropriate [the qualities of] the conjunctions will greatly obtain the blessings of Heaven and Earth. The Way of Heaven and Earth is such that

even though it is sometimes disharmonious, it invariably returns to harmony so that what it achieves is efficacious;

even though it is sometimes decentered, it invariably returns to centrality so that what it achieves is free from error.

Thus,

the path of yang begins at the midpoint of the northern region [i.e., the winter solstice] and ends at the midpoint of the southern region [i.e., the summer solstice];

the path of yin begins at the midpoint of the southern region [i.e., the summer solstice] and ends at the midpoint of the northern region [i.e., the winter solstice].

The paths of yin and yang are not identical with regard to when they flourish, but both stop at the midpoint, and the place from which they arise is also necessarily the midpoint. The midpoint is the Great Ultimate of Heaven and Earth, the place where the sun and moon arrive and reverse their direction, and the limits of long and short do not surpass it.

The regulations of Heaven and Earth unite the harmonious and disharmonious, the centered and the decentered in accordance with the seasons employing them and reaching the ultimate of success. Thus what is never untimely is the Way of Heaven and Earth.

Compliance is Heaven's Way;¹⁰

intervals are Heaven's regulations;

9. Spring presides over birth; summer presides over nourishment; autumn presides over maturation; and winter presides over storage. The task of generating occurs at the midpoint of the east (i.e., the spring equinox); the task of nourishing occurs at the midpoint of the south (i.e., the summer solstice); the task of ripening occurs at the midpoint of the west (i.e., the autumn equinox); and the task of storing occurs at the midpoint of the north (i.e., the winter solstice). Note that in section 77.1, the term "midpoint" (*zhong*) refers to the solstices, whereas the word "conjunction" (*he*) refers to the equinoxes. In this passage, though, somewhat confusingly, both solstices and equinoxes are called "midpoints."

10. We have emended *xun tian zhi dao* 循天之道 to *xun tian zhi dao ye* 循者天之道也 to accord with the parallelism of the following five lines.

yang is Heaven's generosity;
yin is Heaven's stringiness;
centrality is Heaven's application;
harmony is Heaven's achievements.

For perfecting the Way of Heaven and Earth, there is nothing more beautiful than harmony.¹¹ This is why every living thing invariably cherishes its *qi* and tries to nourish it. It is as Mencius said: "I am good at nourishing my floodlike *qi*."¹² He meant that when conduct invariably accords with the rites,¹³ the mind is naturally pleased, and one constantly relies on yang to achieve and promote one's intentions. Gongsun [Nizi]'s *Nourishing Qi*¹⁴ states:

When the viscera are too full, the *qi* will not circulate;
when they are too empty, the *qi* will not be sufficient;
when heat prevails, the *qi* will . . . [missing character];
when cold prevails, the *qi* will . . . [missing character];
when the viscera are too fatigued, the *qi* will not enter;
when they are too relaxed, the *qi* will stagnate;
when angry, the *qi* will become heightened;
when happy, the *qi* will become scattered;
when anxious, the *qi* will become reckless;
when frightened, the *qi* will become dissipated.

As a general rule, these ten conditions are injurious to the *qi*, and all come into existence when a person is not centered and harmonious. Therefore the noble man,

when angry, reverts to centrality by satisfying his *qi* with harmony;
when happy, reverts to centrality by collecting his *qi* with uprightness;
when worried, reverts to centrality by calming his *qi* with determination;
when startled, reverts to centrality by solidifying his *qi* with refinement.

One cannot help but revert back to centrality and harmony in this manner. Therefore when the Way of the Noble Man is achieved, *qi* flourishes and moves upward.

As a general rule, *qi* follows the mind. The mind is the master of the *qi*. How, then, can the mind act without the *qi* following it? This is why those in the

world who possess the Way all say that the inner mind is the foundation. Therefore the reason why humane people enjoy longevity is because externally they are free of envy and internally they are pure and unsullied. Their minds are balanced and harmonious, and they do not lose centrality and uprightness. They appropriate the beauty of Heaven and Earth to nourish their bodies. Therefore [their days] are numerous, and [their bodies] are well regulated.

The reason why a crane lives long is because it has no flaccid *qi* [in its body]. Thus it can eat ice. The reason why a monkey lives long is because it is fond of stretching its limbs. Thus *qi* circulates to its four extremities.

Heaven's *qi* constantly descends and spreads to Earth below. Thus those who cultivate the Way likewise draw *qi* into their feet.

Heaven's *qi* constantly circulates and does not stagnate. Thus those who cultivate the Way likewise do not stifle their *qi*.

If you do not regulate the *qi*, then even though full of *qi*, you invariably will feel empty.¹⁵ Therefore the noble man nourishes and harmonizes it, moderates and regulates it.¹⁶

He avoids accumulating excess;
he encourages a plenitude of harmony.
A high tower is excessively yang;
a broad house is excessively yin.

Both depart from the harmony of Heaven and Earth. Therefore the sage does not build such structures. He simply keeps to the mean and nothing more.

The average man is eight feet tall,¹⁷ four feet is the midpoint.
Gong is the central note;
sweetness is the central flavor;
and four feet is the central measure.

Therefore the rites of the Three Kings
esteemed sweetness with respect to flavor
and esteemed harmony with respect to sounds.

They located themselves [in this way] and therefore constantly saturated themselves with the Way of Heaven and Earth. Their Ways were the same in kind, but

11. Following Su Yu, we have inserted the character *mo* 末 before *mei* 美 (Lai, *CQFLJZJY* 421, note 44).

12. Mencius HA, 2.

13. Emending *zhong* 終 (to end) to *zhong* 中 (to hit the mark), following Su Yu (Lai, *CQFLJZJY* 421, note 46).

14. This work, attributed (probably spuriously) to the second-generation Confucian disciple Gongsun Nizi, is no longer extant.

15. Following Lu Wenchao, emending *bu* 不 to *bi* 必 (Lai, *CQFLJZJY* 421, note 59).

16. Following Su Yu, emending *fa* 法 to *zhi* 治 (Lai, *CQFLJZJY* 421, note 60).

17. That is, eight *chi* 尺. A Han "foot" was about nine inches long, so this equates to about six feet tall in modern measure (which seems tall for an "average person" of the Han). The *Lishi*, chapter 2, "The Yellow Emperor" writes of a "seven-foot (*qi chi* 七尺 [i.e., five-foot, three-inch]) skeleton" which seems more reasonable (A. C. Graham, trans., *The Book of Lieh-tzu: A Classic of Tao* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1990], 53).

completes its tasks; that is what makes it enhance Heaven's transformations;
confers its merit [on Heaven]; that is what makes it achieve righteousness.

The norms of the people's ministers are derived from and modeled on Earth.
Therefore, from morning to evening, they come and go.

They take up various tasks and respond to various inquiries; that is what makes
them serve the honorable [ruler].

They provide food and drink and attend to him in sickness and illness; that is
what makes them nourish [the ruler].

They dedicate themselves and sacrifice their lives and serve without usurping
[the ruler's prerogatives]; that is what makes them loyal.

They expose their ignorance and manifest their true nature and do not gloss over
their mistakes; that is what makes them trustworthy.

They suffer setbacks and die for righteousness [78/79/12-26]

Section 78.6

Successively there are four seasons. Regarding what human beings govern, how
can they maintain a pattern of appropriate action for a long period of time while
they [also] must wait for the [alterations of the] four seasons? This is called
"obstruction." It is not the Mean.

Human beings have happiness, anger, sorrow, and joy,
just as Heaven has spring, summer, fall, and winter.

When happiness, anger, sorrow, and joy arrive at their time, they desire to issue
forth,

just as when spring, summer, fall, and winter arrive at their time, they desire to
issue forth.

In every case, it is due to the inherent character of Heaven's *qi*. That [the regu-
larities appropriate to humans] ought to move uniformly, free from obstruc-
tion or repression, is identical [in principle]. Heaven completes the year with
one revolution of these four [seasons], but when the master of the people com-
pletes the days [of a year] and does not know whether [or not] he has exceeded
these four numbers, then their patterns certainly cannot support one another.
Moreover, Heaven's desiring to benefit human beings is not limited to desir-
ing to bring benefit to the grain [crops]. If removing what is rotting [in the
fields] does not wait for the right time, what about rotten human beings?
[78/79/28-78/80/2]

Book 17, Part 1A

CHAPTER 78A

The Conduct of Heaven and Earth

Section 78A.1

The conduct of Heaven and Earth is beautiful. For this reason, Heaven
elevates its position yet sends down its manifestations;
conceals its form yet reveals its light;¹
orders the arrayed stars and draws near the Utmost Essence;
relies on yin and yang and sends down frost and dew.
It elevates its position; that is what makes it honorable.
It sends down its manifestations; that is what makes it humane.
It conceals its form; that is what makes it spiritlike.
It reveals its light; that is what makes it brilliant.²
It orders the arrayed stars; that is what gives it continuity.
It draws near the Utmost Essence; that is what makes it endure.
It relies on yin and yang; that is what makes it complete [each] year.
It makes fall frost and dew; that is what makes it engender or slay.

The norms of the people's ruler are derived from and modeled on Heaven.
Therefore,

he values rank and [treats the] states as vassals; that is what makes him humane.
He dwells in seclusion, not revealing his form; that is what makes him spiritlike.

This is Su Yi's reconstruction of chapter 78, included in Lau's text as book 17, part 1A (CQFL
78/80/6-78/81/4).

1. These two parallel lines are identical to the opening lines of chapter 18.
2. These four parallel lines also are found in chapter 18.

He appoints the worthy and employs the capable, observing and listening to the four quarters of his realm; that is what makes him brilliant.

He confers office according to capability, distinguishing the worthy and the stupid; that is what gives him continuity.

He induces worthy men to draw near, employing them as his legs and arms; that is what makes him endure.

He investigates the true nature of his ministers' achievements, ranking and ordering them from worst to best; that is what makes him achieve [the full span of] his reign.

He promotes those who possess merit and demotes those who lack merit; that is what enables him to reward and punish.

For this reason,

Heaven cleaves to the Way and [thus] is the master of all things.

The ruler maintains [Heaven's] constant norms and [thus] is the master of a unified state.

It is imperative that Heaven be resolute.

It is imperative that the ruler be firm.

If Heaven were not resolute, the arrayed stars would be disordered in their movements.

If the ruler were not firm, evil ministers would be disorderly in their offices.

When stars become disordered, they create havoc for Heaven.

When ministers become disordered, they create havoc for the ruler.

Therefore,

Heaven's task is to stabilize its *qi*;

the ruler's task is to stabilize his government.

[He must be] resolute and firm; only then will the Way of yang regulate his Mandate.



Earth

humbles its position and sends up its *qi*;

shows its forms and manifests its true nature;

receives the dead and offers up the living;

completes its tasks and confers its merit [on Heaven].

It

humbles its position; that is what makes it serve Heaven;

sends up its *qi*; that is what makes it nourish yang.

shows its forms; that is what makes it loyal;

manifests its true nature; that is what makes it trustworthy;

receives the dead; that is what makes it store away the end [of life];

offers up the living; that is what makes it enhance Heaven's brilliance;

completes its tasks; that is what makes it enhance Heaven's transformations;

confers its merit [on Heaven]; that is what makes it achieve righteousness.

The norms of the people's ministers are derived from and modeled on Earth.

Therefore, from morning to evening, they come and go.

They take up various tasks and respond to various inquiries; that is what makes them serve the honorable [ruler];

They provide food and drink, and attend to him in sickness and illness; that is what makes them nourish [the ruler].

They dedicate themselves and sacrifice their lives, and serve without usurping [the ruler's prerogatives]; that is what makes them loyal.

They expose their ignorance and manifest their true nature, and do not gloss over their mistakes; that is what makes them trustworthy.

They suffer setbacks and, when facing death, do not covet life; that is what makes them [able to] relieve others in distress.

They promote his radiance and splendor, and extol and praise [the ruler's] goodness; that is what makes them enhance [his] brilliance.

They follow his orders and make known [the ruler's] grace, and assist him in becoming a noble man; that is what makes them enhance his transforming influence.

They complete achievements and finish tasks, and ascribe all beneficence to [the ruler] on high; that is what makes them achieve righteousness.

For this reason,

Earth makes clear its principles and acts as the mother of the myriad things.

The minister makes clear his duties and acts as the councillor of a unified state.

It is imperative that the mother not be untrustworthy.

It is imperative that the councillor not be disloyal.

If the mother were untrustworthy, grasses and trees would suffer injury at their roots.

If the councillor were disloyal, treacherous ministers would endanger the ruler.

When the roots suffer injury, trees and grasses lose their branches and leaves.

When the ruler is endangered, the ruler loses his state.

Therefore,

Earth's task is to dutifully show its form;

the minister's task is to manifest his true nature. [78/80/6-23]

Section 78A.2

The ruler of a unified state is like the mind of a single body.

He is hidden deep within the palace, just as the mind is hidden within the chest.

He is the most honored without an equal, just as the mind's spirit has no counterpart.

The ruler

Drafts men for official posts and elevates officers, promoting the pure and brilliant while demoting the impure and the stupid, just as the body honors the eyes and slights the feet;

employs the multitudinous ministers without favoritism, just as the four limbs perform their tasks;

within relies on the four supports,³ just as the mind relies on the liver, lungs, spleen, and kidneys;

without relies on officialdom,⁴ just as the mind relies on the body and apertures; draws near sages and promotes worthies, just as spirit illumination jells in the mind;

moves upward and downward, finding mutual recognition and compliance, just as the limbs and body mutually act and direct each other;

extends his grace and spreads his favor, just as the primal energy flows to the hair of the skin and the vessels of the muscles.

All the people [literally, the "hundred surnames"] obtain their place, just as the blood and *qi*, when harmonized and tranquil, cause the body to be free from pain.

Non-action brings Great Peace, just as spirit *qi* naturally penetrates to the source.

With non-action, the ruler summons the yellow dragon and the phoenix,⁵ just as spirit illumination summons the Jade Maiden and the *zhiying* fungus.⁶

The ruler is brilliant while the minister conceals his achievements, just as with the mind's spirit, the body finds perfection.

The minister is worthy while the ruler conceals his grace, just as the mind obtains the stillness of the body and so is calmed.

When the ruler is chaotic, his inferiors suffer harm, just as when the ears and eyes are beclouded, the hands and feet suffer injury.

When the minister is disloyal, the ruler is destroyed, just as when the body moves recklessly, the mind is lost.

For this reason, the propriety between the ruler and minister resembles the mind's relation to the body.

The mind must be firm, [just as] the ruler must be sagely.

The body must comply, [just as] the minister must be loyal.

The mind is perfected by the efforts of the body, [just as] the ruler is secured by the achievements of the ministers. [78/80/25–78/81/4]

3. *Sifu* 四輔 was a collective reference to the ruler's four highest assistants, as defined in Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985), 446.

4. *Baiguan* 百官 (literally, "one hundred officials") refers to all officials, military and civilian, serving in the governmental hierarchy, as defined in Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, 388.

5. The yellow dragon and the phoenix were considered auspicious signs from Heaven.

6. These are symbols of immortality. In early China, people who sought to lengthen their lives believed that the emanations from the star named Jade Maiden and the fungus known as *zhiying* 芝英 promoted immortality.

Their principle is one.

Not being happy when one ought to be happy resembles [the weather's] not being hot when it ought to be hot.

Not being angry when one ought to be angry resembles [the weather's] not being cold when it ought to be cold.

Not being beneficent when one ought to be kind resembles [the season's] not being summer when it ought to be summer.

Not being severe when one ought to be severe resembles [the season's] not being winter when it ought to be winter.

Happiness, anger, severity, and beneficence must issue forth at the appropriate occasion, just as chilling and heating, winter and summer, must issue forth at the proper time.² When the display of happiness and anger and the application of severity and beneficence in every case hits the mark, such responses partake of the way in which chilling and heating, winter, and summer do not stray from their proper time. Thus it is said: "The sage is a counterpart to Heaven."
[79/81/14-21]

Book 17, Part 3

CHAPTER 80

In Imitation of Heaven's Activities

Section 80.1

Yin and yang *qi* are present above¹ in Heaven and also in human beings.

In human beings, they constitute love, hate, happiness, and anger.

In Heaven, they constitute warming, cooling, chilling, and heating.

Emerging and retiring,

ascending and descending,

leftward and rightward,

forward and backward,

they circulate uniformly and ceaselessly. There has never been anything that has hindered, restrained, obstructed, or repressed them. In human beings likewise, it is fitting that they circulate without restraint, like the four seasons that follow one another in good order. Now the cessation and movement of happiness, anger, sorrow, and joy constitute the nature and destiny that Heaven confers on human beings. When their time arrives, they desire to issue forth. Their responses also are Heaven's responses. It is no different from the way in which warmth, coolness, cold, and heat want to issue forth when their season arrives. If you restrain your beneficence in anticipation of spring and summer, or restrain your punishments in expectation of autumn and winter, you might gain a reputation for complying with the four seasons; but in reality, you will defy the constant norms of Heaven and Earth. As with human beings, so also with Heaven: Why, then,

2. This sentence is followed by forty-two characters (79/81/18-19) that do not belong to this essay. Since the passage is wholly incongruous with the subject matter before and after, we have excluded it from the preceding translation. The passage reads:

Therefore, one must be cautious with respect to the germination of good and evil. How can you verify what is so? In embracing goodness, [the *Spring and Autumn*] does not disregard the slightest instance of goodness; in rejecting evil, it does not neglect the greatest instance of evil. It avoids but does not conceal; it condemns but does not despise. [Two characters missing.] [It relies on] correct principles in praise and blame.

1. Lu Wenchao suggests that the character *shang* 上 is an interpolation. Su Yu (CQFLYZ 463) notes, however, that the character is found in Huang Zhen's citation of this passage in his *Daily Notes*.

detain and restrain Heaven's *qi*, causing it to become obstructed and repressed so that it is unable to circulate properly? Thus, according to the cycles of Heaven, millet rots by the *yi* month,² whereas wheat sprouts in autumn, thereby informing the people to eliminate what is rotting and to replenish what is deficient. In this way, [Heaven] completes its achievements and replenishes what is deficient to provide for humankind. In Heaven's engendering of things, there are grand norms,³ but in its circulation, there also are misfortunes and accomplishments. Under exceptional circumstances [involving] killing and corporal punishment, when urgent situations arise, do not wait for the normal season [to take action]. Such is Heaven's will. The sage receives Heaven's will and governs accordingly. For this reason,

- in spring he cultivates humaneness and seeks goodness;
- in autumn he cultivates righteousness and seeks evil;
- in winter he cultivates punishments and extends his purity;
- and in summer he cultivates beneficence and extends his magnanimity.

This is how he complies with Heaven and Earth and embodies yin and yang. Nevertheless,

- when he has just begun to seek goodness, if he sees evil he does not dismiss it;
- when he has just begun to seek malefaction, if he sees goodness he immediately implements it;
- when he has just begun to extend his purity, if he sees a great goodness, he immediately advances it;
- when he has just begun to extend his magnanimity, if he sees a grave malefaction he immediately eradicates it.

He thereby imitates the way that Heaven and Earth, just at the time of giving life, also bring death and that, just at the time of bringing death, also give life. Thus,

- his will and intentions follow Heaven and Earth,
- and his tarrying and hurrying follow yin and yang.

Human affairs that are appropriate to be carried out will encounter no delay. Moreover, showing reciprocity to others and complying with Heaven, so that the Way of Heaven and the Way of humankind are mutually realized, is called "grasping the mean." Heaven does not,

- on account of spring, give life to human beings
- or, on account of autumn, bring death to human beings.

To those who ought to live, [Heaven] says live;
to those who ought to die, [Heaven] says die.

It is not that the righteousness of killing things must await the four seasons.
[80/81/15-80/82/5]

Section 80.2

[Even when] spirit illumination arises in a chaotic age, it is widespread. Both [well-governed and chaotic ages] rely on the transformations of Heaven and Earth to bring success or failure to things, and both depend on the assistance of yin and yang to take responsibility for what they do. Thus doing what is evil causes one's strength to diminish and one's achievements to suffer injury; one's reputation will thus decline.

The space between Heaven and Earth contains yin and yang *qi* that constantly immerses human beings, [just] as water constantly immerses fish. The way in which they differ is that [water] can be seen, whereas [*qi*] cannot be seen, as it is colorless and clear. Nevertheless, human beings' dwelling in the space between Heaven and Earth is like fish not⁴ leaving the water; they are the same. Its seamlessness is like that of *qi*, but [*qi*] is more fluid than water. Water is to *qi* what mud is to water. Hence, the space between Heaven and Earth appears empty but is full. Human beings are constantly immersed in this colorless clarity. [When they] avail themselves of this chaos-quelling *qi*, it flows forth, penetrates, and intermingles with them. Thus when the *qi* of human beings blends harmoniously, the transformations of Heaven and Earth are beautiful; when it intermingles hatefully, its fragrance is destroyed. This is something that is easy to understand. If you infer from the categories of things and rely on what is easy to understand to see what is difficult to understand, the true situation may be apprehended: Orderly or disorderly *qi* and noxious or salutary customs intermingle with the transformations of Heaven and Earth. Born of the transformations of Heaven and Earth and returning to intermingle with the transformations of Heaven and Earth, they join together with the cycles of Heaven and Earth. When the *Spring and Autumn* makes known the way of worldly affairs, it also writes of what can and cannot be [understood]

2. That is, the first month of the civil calendar, early spring.

3. Su Yu (*CQFLJZ* 464) notes that the next six characters, *er suo shen xing zhe you* 而所行者也, contain errors and lacunae, so our translation here is tentative.

4. Supplying the negative *bu* 不 here for logical sense.

exhaustively with regard to Heaven, for such are the responsibilities of the true king. An *Ode* declares:

"Heaven is hard to trust;
it is not easy to be a king,"⁵

This expresses it. The ruler must know Heaven. "Knowing Heaven" is what the poem calls "difficult." Heaven's intentions are difficult to see, and its Way is difficult to get straight. Thus, the ruler clarifies the emerging and retiring of yin and yang and the places where it is full or empty and thereby observes the Will of Heaven; he distinguishes the root and branches, compliance and deviance, contraction and expansion, [and] broadening and narrowing of the Five Phases and thereby observes the Way of Heaven. The Will of Heaven is humane; its Way is righteous.

One who acts as the people's ruler
gives or takes, lets live or executes, in each case in accordance with its [respective] righteous principle; [thus he is] like the four seasons.

He classifies the officials and establishes the functionaries, ensuring accordance with their abilities; [thus he is] like the Five Phases.

He loves humaneness and loathes vileness, relying on virtue and avoiding punishments; [thus he is] like yin and yang.

Of such a ruler it is said, "He is a counterpart to Heaven."⁶ It is the Way of Heaven to nourish living things, and it is the way of the ruler to nourish human beings.

The greatness of the ruler lies in his forming a triad with Heaven and Earth;
the distinction between what he likes and loathes lies in the principles of yin and yang;

the expression of his approval and disapproval lies in the comparison of chilling and heating;

the tasks of the officials lie in the righteous principles of the Five Phases.

With such things, the ruler nourishes all that lies within the space between Heaven and Earth and stirs all that lies within the Four Seas. [80/82/5-19]

Book 17, Part 3A

CHAPTER 80A

In Imitation of Heaven's Activities

Section 80A.1

Yin and yang *qi* are present above¹ in Heaven and also in human beings.

In human beings, they constitute love, hate, happiness, and anger.

In Heaven, they constitute warming, cooling, chilling, and heating.

Emerging and retiring,

ascending and descending,

leftward and rightward,

forward and backward,

they circulate uniformly and ceaselessly. There has never been anything that has hindered, restrained, obstructed, or repressed them. In human beings likewise, it is fitting that they circulate without restraint, like the four seasons that follow one another in good order. Now the cessation and movement of happiness, anger, sorrow, and joy constitute the nature and destiny that Heaven confers on human beings. When their time arrives, they desire to issue forth. Their responses also are Heaven's responses. It is no different from the way in which warmth, coolness, cold, and heat want to issue forth when their season arrives. If you restrain your beneficence in anticipation of spring and summer, or restrain your punishments in expectation of autumn and winter, you might gain a reputation for complying with the four seasons, but in reality you will defy the constant norms

5. *Odes* 236, verse 1.

6. The important notion of the ruler as the "counterpart of Heaven" (*pei tian* 配天) also is developed in chapters 55 and 79.

This is a translation of Su Yu's reconstruction of chapter 80, included in Lau's text as book 17, part 3A (CQFL 80/82/13-80/83/11).

1. Lu Wenchao suggests that the character *shang* 上 is an interpolation. Su Yu (CQFLYZ 463) notes, however, that the character is found in Huang Zhen's citation of this passage in his *Daily Notes*.

of Heaven and Earth. As with human beings, so also with Heaven: Why, then, detain and restrain Heaven's *qi*, causing it to become obstructed and repressed so that it is unable to circulate properly? Thus, according to the cycles of Heaven, millet rots by the *yi* month,² whereas wheat sprouts in autumn, thereby informing the people to eliminate what is rotting and to replenish what is deficient. In this way, [Heaven] completes its achievements and replenishes what is deficient to provide for humankind. In Heaven's engendering of things, there are grand norms,³ but in its circulation there also are misfortunes and accomplishments. Under exceptional circumstances [involving] killing and corporal punishment, when urgent situations arise, do not wait for the normal season [to take action]. Such is Heaven's will. The sage receives Heaven's will and governs accordingly. For this reason,

in spring he cultivates humaneness and seeks out goodness;
 in autumn he cultivates righteousness and seeks out evil;
 in winter he cultivates punishments and extends his purity;
 and in summer he cultivates beneficence and extends his magnanimity.

This is how he complies with Heaven and Earth and embodies yin and yang. Nevertheless,

when he has just begun to seek goodness, if he sees evil he does not dismiss it;
 when he has just begun to seek malefaction, if he sees goodness he immediately implements it;
 when he has just begun to extend his purity, if he sees a great goodness he immediately advances it;
 when he has just begun to extend his magnanimity, if he sees a grave malefaction he immediately eradicates it.

He thereby imitates the way that Heaven and Earth, just at the time of giving life, also bring death and that, just at the time of bringing death, also give life. Thus,

his will and intentions follow Heaven and Earth,
 and his tarrying and hurrying follow yin and yang.

Human affairs that are appropriate to be carried out will encounter no delay. Moreover, showing reciprocity to others and complying with Heaven, so that the Way of Heaven and the Way of humankind are mutually realized, is called "grasping the mean." Heaven does not,

on account of spring, give life to human beings;
 or, on account of autumn, bring death to human beings.
 To those who ought to live, [Heaven] says live;
 to those who ought to die, [Heaven] says die.

It is not that the righteousness of killing things must await the four seasons. So how can those things that are governed by human beings maintain the principles of appropriate action for a long period of time while they must [also] wait for the [alterations of the] four seasons? This is called "obstruction." It is not the mean. [80A/82/23–80A/83/8]

Section 80A.2

Human beings have happiness, anger, sorrow, and joy,
 just as Heaven has spring, summer, fall, and winter.
 When happiness, anger, sorrow, and joy arrive at their time, they desire to issue forth,
 just as when spring, summer, fall, and winter arrive at their time, they desire to issue forth.

In every case, it is due to the spontaneous action of Heaven's *qi*.⁴ That they ought to move uniformly, free from obstruction or repression, is [due to] their being as one. Heaven completes the year with one revolution of these four [seasons], but when the people's master completes his days and does not know when he is overstepping these four regularities, then their patterns cannot maintain [their proper order]. Moreover, Heaven's desiring to benefit human beings is not limited to desiring to bring benefit to the [harvest of] grain. If removing what is rotting [in the fields] does not wait for a particular time, what about [the removal of] rotten human beings? [80A/83/8–11]

2. That is, the first month of the civil calendar, early spring.

3. Su Yu (CQFLYZ 464) notes that the next six characters, *er sui zhou xing zhe you* 爾所周行者又, contain errors and lacunae, so our translation here is tentative.

4. Supplying 也 before 然 然, following Su Yu, CQFLYZ 465.

Book 6, Part 6

CHAPTER 19

Establishing the Originating Spirit

Section 19.1¹

One who is lord over others is the point of origin of the state. Uttering words and initiating undertakings, he is the axial mechanism of the myriad things. The operation of the axial mechanism is the trigger of honor and disgrace. If it errs in the smallest degree, a team of horses cannot put it right again. For this reason, one who would rule others is

attentive of the fundamental,
careful of the beginning,
respectful of the trivial,
careful of the subtle.

His will resembles [the stillness of] dead ashes;

his form resembles [the emptiness of] abandoned clothing.

He

calms his quintessence
and nourishes his spirit.²

He is quiet and non-active.

filling his form, he does not cast a shadow;

silencing his voice, he does not emit a sound.

With an empty mind, he descends [to consult with] his officials, observing the future by scrutinizing the past.

He deliberates with the numerous worthies
and inquires into [the opinions of] the multitudes.³

[Thus he]

apprehends their hearts
and comprehensively understands their feelings;

He

investigates their likes and dislikes
to verify whether they are loyal or treasonous.

He examines their past conduct and verifies it against their present conduct. He assesses to what extent their collective accomplishments derive from former worthies. He dispels their grievances and observes the causes of their disputes. He distinguishes their factions and clans and observes the men they esteem. He relies on his position to govern others and uses harsh measures to make his reputation. As days pile up and time accumulates, what effort will not reach fruition?

He

can rely on the internal to verify the external,

can rely on the insignificant to verify the significant,

and so without fail will ascertain the true reality of things. This is to practice "opening and closing." [19/25/24-29]

1. Traditional commentators generally divide this chapter into two sections. However, material from no fewer than six different essays appears to comprise this chapter, combined here because of their common theme. Accordingly, when translating this chapter we have divided it into six sections.

2. Quintessence (*jing* 精) and spirit (*shen* 神) are important technical terms found in a number of essays devoted to nourishing the vital energy. The terms date from the fourth to the second century B.C.E.; examples are found in the *Lüshi chunqiu*, *Guanzi*, and *Huainanzi*. The quintessence, or quintessential *qi*, is the purest and most concentrated form of vital energy (*qi*). The spirit, which is the animating force of a living being, is composed of *qi* in a highly ethereal and dynamic state. For extended discussions of both terms, see John S. Major, Sarah A. Queen, Andrew Seth Meyer, and Harold D. Roth, trans. and eds., *The "Huainanzi": A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 877, 883-87.

3. Su Yu (*COFLYZ* 167) cites the following relevant passage from the "Jun chen shang" (Ruler and Ministers, Part 1) chapter of the *Guanzi*:

Listened to individually, the people are fools; listened to collectively, the people are sagelike. Even if he possesses the virtue of a Tang or Wu, the ruler will always cleave to the opinions of people in the marketplace. This is why an enlightened ruler follows the hearts of the people, finds security in their sentiments, and proceeds from a consensus.

Compare W. Allyn Rickett, trans., *Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from Early China* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 11410.

Section 19.1

One who is lord over others is the root of the state. When administering a state, there is nothing more crucial to its transformation than reverence for its root. If the root is revered, the ruler will transform like a spirit. If the root is not revered, the ruler will have no means to unite others. Having no means to unite others, even if he institutes strict punishments and heavy penalties, the people will not submit. This is called "throwing away the state." Is there any greater disaster than this?

To what, then, does "root" refer? I answer: Heaven, Earth and humankind are the root of all living things.

Heaven engenders them;

Earth nourishes them;

humankind perfects them.

Heaven engenders them with filial piety and fraternal love;

Earth nourishes them with food and clothing;

humankind perfects them with ritual and music.

The three assist one another just as the hands and feet join together to perfect the body: it is not possible to dispense with one of them.

Without filial piety and fraternal love, they will lose the means to be engendered;

without food and clothing, they will lose the means to be nourished;

without rites and music, they will lose the means to be perfected.

When all these three are lost, the people will resemble wild deer,

each person following his own desires,

each household establishing its own customs.

Fathers will not be able to command their sons,

rulers will not be able to order their ministers.

Even though the ruler enjoys possession of his walled city and outlying environs, it will be known as an "empty citadel." Under such circumstances, the ruler is left to find repose with only a clod of earth for his pillow.

No one has endangered the ruler, yet he has endangered himself;

no one has destroyed the ruler, yet he has destroyed himself.

This is what is called "a punishment that follows from the nature [of what came before]." When a punishment that follows from the nature [of what came before] arrives, even if he hides himself in a stone vault or barricades himself in a narrow pass, he still cannot escape it.

The enlightened ruler and worthy lord necessarily finds credence in this. For this reason, he respectfully and carefully attends to the three roots. He performs the Suburban Sacrifice with the utmost reverence, dutifully serves his ancestors and deceased father, promotes and makes manifest those who exhibit filial piety and fraternal love, displays and delineates [what is meant by] filial conduct. These are the means by which he serves the root of Heaven.

He takes up the plow handle and tills the soil, plucks the mulberry leaves and nourishes the silkworms, reclaims the wilds and sows the grain, opens the frontiers, and provides sufficient food and clothing. These are the means by which he serves the root of Earth.

He establishes the imperial university and village schools; cultivates filial piety, fraternal love, respect, and deference; enlightens [the people] with the transformative powers of education; moves [the people] with rites and music. These are the means by which he serves the root of humankind.

When the ruler serves these three roots, the people will be like sons and brothers not daring to act on their own authority; the ruler will be like a parent not needing to rely on grace to demonstrate his love for the people or on sternness to command the people. Should he take up residence in the wilds without a roof over his head, it will surpass living in a palace. Under such circumstances, the ruler will now find repose on a peaceful pillow.

No one has aided him, but he has made himself strong;

no one has comforted him, but he has made himself peaceful.

This is known as "a reward that follows from the nature [of what came before]." When a reward that follows from the nature [of what came before] arrives, even if he relinquishes the throne, abandons the state, and leaves the country, the people will strap their children on their backs and follow him as their ruler, so that he, too, will be unable to leave them. Therefore, when the ruler relies on virtue to administer the state, it is sweeter than cake or honey and firmer than glue or lacquer. This is why sages and worthies exert themselves to revere the root and do not dare depart from it. [19/25/29-19/26/13]

Section 19.3

One who is lord of others is the authentication of the state. He cannot take the lead. He is moved by others and only then responds. Therefore, although he occupies a position of leadership, he does not enact the strategic advantage of leadership.⁴ Although he does not occupy a position of conciliation, he considers conciliation a virtue. Because he constantly uses his subordinates to the fullest, he consequently is able to secure his position of supremacy. [19/26/13-14]

Section 19.4

The way to instantiate the state lies in being honorable and spiritlike.

Being honorable is the means by which [the ruler] effects his policies;

being spiritlike is the means by which [the ruler] extends his transforming influence.

Therefore

if he is not honorable, he will not awe;

if he is not spiritlike, he will not transform.

Now

desiring to be honorable lies in employing worthies;

desiring to be spiritlike lies in unifying minds.

When worthies are established as the legs and arms of the ruler, he will be honorable and awe inspiring, and his state will be secure. When unified minds support one another, the ruler's transforming influence will be spiritlike. No one will observe how he acts, but his merit and virtue will be perfected. This is what I mean by "honorable" and "spiritlike." [19/26/16-19]

Section 19.5

Heaven accumulates an abundance of quintessence to make itself robust;

the sage accumulates an abundance of worthies to make himself strong.

Heaven arrays the sun, moon, and stars to make itself radiant;

the sage arrays ranks and emoluments to make himself manifest.

4. By remaining still and allowing his ministers to initiate affairs, the ruler is better positioned to verify whether their acts bring benefit or harm to the state.

The means by which Heaven becomes robust is not the strength of one quintessence;

the means by which the sage becomes strong is not the virtue of one worthy.

Therefore,

the Way of Heaven strives to make its quintessence flourish;

the sage strives to make his worthies numerous.

Striving to make its quintessence flourish, [Heaven] unifies its yang;

striving to make his worthies numerous, [the sage] unifies their minds.

Only after unifying its yang can [Heaven] extend its spirit;

only after unifying their minds can [the sage] extend his achievements.

For this reason, the technique to establish one's governance consists of prizing the attainment of worthy men and unifying their minds. [19/26/20-23]

Section 19.6

One who would be lord over others must prize being spiritlike. The spirits

cannot be apprehended through sight;

cannot be apprehended through hearing.

For this reason,

though you listen, you will not hear their voices;

though you look, you will not see their forms.

Their voices cannot be heard, so no one apprehends their echoes;

their forms cannot be seen, so no one apprehends their shadows.

No one apprehends their shadows, so there are no means to see whether they are crooked or straight.

No one apprehends their echoes, so there is no means to see whether they are clear or turbid.

Neither crooked nor straight, their achievements cannot be apprehended and thwarted.

Neither clear nor turbid, their reputations cannot be apprehended and measured.

"Not seeing their forms" does not mean that no one sees their forms advancing and stopping. It means that no one sees how they advance or stop.

"Not hearing their echoes" does not mean that no one hears their summons and commands. It means that no one hears how they summon and command.

What is not seen or heard is said to be dark and hidden.

Because he can be dark, he is bright.

Because he can be hidden, he is manifest.
Being able to be [both] dark and hidden, he is called "spiritlike."

The lord of others

prizes residing in darkness yet making his position illustrious;

dwelling in yin yet facing yang;

loathes others observing his true nature yet desires to know the minds of others.

For this reason, the one who would be lord over others

clings to thoughts that have no source;

effects affairs that have no starting point;

takes without seeking;

inquires without asking.

When I take without seeking, it is beneficial to me. When others yield without giving, their efforts are for naught. When I inquire without asking, I am spiritlike. When others respond without being aware, they reveal their true nature. Therefore, I question others to the end of my days, but they do not know to whom they respond. I take from others to the end of my days, but they do not know to whom they have given up [their goods]. I become increasingly enlightened, whereas others do not know what they have lost. Therefore, the one who is minister to another resides in yang while being yin; one who is lord over others resides in yin while being yang.⁵ The Way of yin esteems the form and expresses the true nature [of things]. The Way of yang has no starting point and prizes being spiritlike.⁶ [19/26/23-27]

Book 6, Part 7

CHAPTER 20

Preserving Position and Authority

Section 20.1

When the people do not have something they love, the lord will lack the means to make use of authority.

When the people do not have something they hate, the lord will lack the means to make use of dread.

Without the means to make use of authority
and without the means to make use of dread,

the lord will lack the means to prohibit and to regulate. [If the lord] lacks the means to prohibit and to regulate, both [lords and common people] will have comparable weight and equal positional advantage. Thus [the lord] will lack the means to be honored. Therefore when a sage governs a state, he follows the nature and disposition of Heaven and Earth, from which derive the benefits pertaining to the orifices and apertures [of the human body]. He thereby

establishes regulations concerning the lofty and the base,

makes distinctions between the noble and the mean.

He establishes official ranks and emoluments, [so that they]

benefit from the five flavors,

prosper from the five colors,

and are aroused by the five notes,

thus gratifying their eyes and ears.

He personally leads

the pure and the impure to shine forth in distinguishing their substances,

the glorious and disgraceful to excel in exposing each other,

and thereby moves their hearts.

5. In other words, the minister is yang because he occupies an exposed position, but he is also yin because his status is inferior to that of the ruler. The ruler is yin because he occupies a hidden position, but he is yang because his status is superior to that of his ministers.

6. The Way of yin corresponds to the minister, and the Way of yang, to the ruler.

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LUXURIANT GEMS

OF THE

Spring and Autumn

≡ Attributed to Dong Zhongshu ≡

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

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