


GUANZI

管子

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proper order. But even if they lacked this proper order, what was excessive could not be lessened, nor what was deficient be increased. No one can add to or detract from Heaven.⁸

Thus it is only land that can serve as a basis for proper order in government. Therefore it must be distributed in an orderly fashion. If the land is to be distributed in an orderly fashion, the facts concerning it must be correct. No matter whether its shape be long or short, its area small or large, the figures must be accurate. Regardless of shape or size, there must be accuracy in every respect.

If the land⁹ is not distributed in an orderly fashion, government offices will not be well managed. If offices are not well managed, production will be poorly organized. If production is poorly organized, goods will not be plentiful. Now, how can we know if goods will be plentiful? The answer is that production is well organized. How can we know that production is well organized? The answer is that goods are plentiful. When goods are plentiful and production is well organized, little need be sought from the rest of the world.¹⁰ There is a proper way to distribute land.

RANKS AND POSITIONS (*Jue Wei* 爵位)

The court sets the patterns for righteous conduct. Thus ranks and positions are bestowed in orderly fashion, so the people will not be resentful. When the people are not resentful, disorders do not arise. Only then can a pattern be established for righteous conduct. Without¹¹ proper order in the bestowal of ranks and positions, it would be impossible to establish a pattern for righteous conduct.

Now, it is not possible for all people of a state to have honored positions. If they did, production would fail, and the state would suffer. However, if for fear that production will fail and the state will suffer, one were to eliminate honored positions entirely, the people would not be able to establish a pattern for correct social behavior on their own. For this reason we differentiate between correct and lowly ranks so we may know the order of precedence and the proper relationship between the honored and humble. There is a proper way to bestow ranks and positions.

⁸ Deleting 地 [Zhang Wenhu and Tao Hongjing].

⁹ Emending 正 to 地 [Lgai, Wang Niansun, and Zhao Shouzheng]. Zhang Peilun and Guo Monuo would read *zheng* 正 as *zheng* 政. Thus, "If the government lacks proper order..."

¹⁰ Tao Hongjing would delete 下. Thus, "... "little need be sought from Heaven."

¹¹ The sentence, 理不正則不可以治而不可理, is obviously corrupt. I have followed Guo Monuo in emending it to read: 不正則不可以理也.

18.8
17b11

18.5
19a1

18.6

18.7

21.3
22a5

18.9
19a8

18.10

18.11

19b

18.12

ON PAYING ATTENTION TO MARKETS AND PRODUCTION (*Wu Shi Shi* 務市事)

The marketplace determines the value of goods. Hence, if goods are kept cheap, there will be no exorbitant profits. If there are no exorbitant profits, production will be well organized, and if it is well organized, expenditures will be properly controlled. Now production materializes through planning, succeeds through diligent attention, but fails through negligence. Without planning it will never materialize, without diligent attention it will never succeed. Unless there is negligence, there will be no failure. Therefore it is said that the marketplace may know order or disorder, abundance or scarcity. However, it is incapable of bringing about abundance or scarcity on its own. There is a proper way to manage markets and production.

ON THE GENTLEMEN, PEASANTS, ARTISANS, AND MERCHANTS (*Shi Nong Gong Shang* 士農工商)

Gold is the measure of expenditures. If the prince is discerning in the management of gold, he understands the difference between extravagance and penuriousness. If he understands this, his expenditures will be properly controlled.

Now, penuriousness harms production; extravagance wastes goods. Penuriousness leads to a fall in the value of gold, and when gold is cheap, production declines, it is for this reason that penuriousness is harmful to production. Extravagance leads to a rise in the value of gold, and when gold is high, the value of goods is depressed. It is for this reason that extravagance causes goods to be wasted.

If it is only after goods are exhausted that one realizes there is a shortage, this is not knowing how to exercise proper measure. If it is only after production has ceased that one realizes there is a surplus of goods, this is not knowing when to be economical. When the prince does not know how to exercise proper measure nor when to be economical, he cannot be said to possess the proper way.

When the people of the world harness horses and yoke oxen, a limit is placed on the weight of their loads. Since there is an established distance for a single-stage journey, the total distance of the road may be measured.¹² Similarly, by knowing that the territories of the feudal lords

¹² According to the *Zhou li*, 13/7b5-7 (Biot, *T'cheou-li*, 1:228): "Along all the highways of the state proper and outlying areas, every ten *li* there is a shelter 廛 in which one can find food and drink. Every thirty *li* there is a stopover 宿 with a lodge 路室 and provisions. Every fifty *li* there is a market with a hostel 候館 and supplies."

constitute states of a thousand chariots, one may know their armament requirements¹³ and the extent of their tax burden. If it has been set too heavy so that later it has to be reduced, this is a failure to understand their tax burden. If the burden has been set too light so that later it has to be increased, this is a failure to understand their armament requirements. When the prince fails to understand either a feudal state's tax burden or its armament requirements, he cannot be said to possess the proper way.

Unproductive land and treeless mountains should be assigned a ratio of one in a hundred for tax purposes. The same should be the case for dry marshes and land barren of grass and trees as well as places so overgrown with hedges and brambles that people cannot enter. Marshlands that can be entered with sickles and cords¹⁴ should be assigned a ratio of one in ten.¹⁵ The same should be the case for foothills¹⁶ which have trees that can be made into lumber or axles, and high mountains¹⁷ which have trees that can be made into coffins and carts when these areas may be entered with axes and hatchets. Free-flowing streams in which fishing nets can be placed should be assigned a ratio of one in five. The same should be the case for forests which have trees that can be used for coffins or carts and which can be entered with axes and hatchets as well as marshes which can be entered with fishing nets. This is called equalizing the tax on land in accordance with actual yields.

An area of six *li* square is called a village (*bao* 暴).¹⁸ Five villages are called a section (*bu* 部), and five sections are called a sub-district (*ju* 聚). Each sub-district should have a marketplace. If it does not, the people will suffer shortages.¹⁹ Five sub-districts are called such and such a district (*xiang* 鄉). Four districts are called an area (*fang* 方) This is the organization for administrations under direct rule (*guan* 官).

When the organization of administrations under direct rule has been completed, set up the areas administered through rural towns (*yi* 邑). Five households (*jia* 家) form a group of five (*wu* 伍), and ten households a group (*lian* 連). Five groups form a village (*bao* 暴), and five villages a headquarters unit (*zhang* 長) known as such and such a district

¹³ Emending 地 to 器 [Wang Niansun].

¹⁴ Following the Yang edition, which for 獲 writes 獲.

¹⁵ Emending 九, "nine," to 十 both here and below [Ding Shihai].

¹⁶ The meaning of 麓山 is not clear. I have followed Yu Xingwu. Yasui says that it refers to mountain spurs close to towns and villages.

¹⁷ The meaning of 汎山 is also not clear. Again I have followed Yu Xingwu. Yasui says it refers to high mountains distant from towns and villages.

¹⁸ Zhang Peilun, both here and below, would emend *bao* to *bi* 篲, "a fence," and by extension "a fenced-off village."

¹⁹ The Yang edition mistakenly writes 乏 for 乏.

(*xiang* 鄉).²⁰ Four districts are called a region (*du* 都). This is the organization of areas administered through rural towns.

When the organization of these areas has been completed, organize production. Four strips (*ju* 聚) constitute a plot (*li* 離), and five plots a lot (*zhi* 制). Five lots constitute a field (*tian* 田), and two fields an individual tract (*fu* 夫). Three such tracts constitute the land of a household. This is the organization for production.²¹

When the organization for production has been completed, organize the system of taxation for armaments. An area of six *li* square constitutes the territory for one chariot. Each chariot has four horses, and for each horse there should be seven armored soldiers (*jia* 甲) and five guards (*bi* 蔽). Thus, for each four horses²² there should be twenty-eight armored soldiers and twenty guards. Thirty untrained conscripts (*bai tu* 白徒) should also assist with the baggage wagons.²³ This is the organization for armament taxes.

An area of six *li* square is the territory for one chariot; an area of one square *li* contains nine individual tracts.²⁴

One *yi*²⁵ of gold is the fee²⁶ for one night's lodging for a hundred chariots. If gold is unavailable, silk may be used. Thirty-three *zhi*²⁷ of

²⁰ Liu Shipai would insert 五長而鄉 after 五暴而長. Thus, "Five communities form a village and five villages a headquarters. Five headquarters form a district known as such and such district." The *xiang*, "district," given here is probably the same basic unit as the *xian* mentioned in the *Zhou li*. See n. 5.

²¹ The Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 commentary to the *Zhou li*, 11/3b5-7, quotes a passage which he attributes to the *Sima Fu*, but which does not appear in present editions of the work: "Six Chinese feet (*chi* 尺; 9.094 English inches) equalled one double pace (*bu* 步; 54.564 English inches). One hundred double paces (i.e., 1 × 100) equalled one Chinese acre (*mu* 畝; 0.04746 English acres), and one hundred Chinese acres equalled one individual tract (*li* 里; 4.746 English acres). Three such tracts equalled a household holding (*wu* 畝; 0.14178 English acres), and three household holdings equalled one well field (*jing* 井; 42.714 English acres)." The English equivalents for these Zhou measurements are taken from Swann, *Food and Money*, 363.

²² Emending 乘, to 馬 [Igai and Ding Shihai].

²³ 車兩; this may refer to the chariots rather than separate baggage wagons.

²⁴ Zheng Xuan's commentary to the *Zhou li*, 11/3a6, also states that a well field was one square *li* in size. According to the *Qian-Han shu*, 23/2b 1-3a 1 (Huisevê, *Remnants of Han Law*, 1:323): "A field (*tong* 同) was 100 *li* square, all in all covering an area of 10,000 well fields (*jing*). Deducting the area of 3,600 well fields for mountains, rivers, marshlands, walls, moats, communities and dwellings, gardens, large and small roads, it can be determined that there will be produced a tax on 6,400 well fields amounting to 400 war horses and 100 chariots." Thus 36 well fields were required to support a chariot and four horses along with their attendant personnel.

²⁵ 鎰; variously stated to equal 20 or 24 Chinese ounces (*liang* 兩). According to Swann, *Food and Money*, 364, a Qin *yi* equalled 20 Chinese ounces or 9.8 ounces troy or 10.75 ounces avoirdupois or 305 grams.

²⁶ Reading 鎰 as 鎰 [Igai and Ding Shihai].

²⁷ 制; a *zhi* equalled 18 Chinese feet.

high grade thin silk²⁸ is the equivalent of one *yi* of gold. If silk is unavailable, plain cloth may be used. One hundred bolts (*liang*)²⁹ of loose woven³⁰ cloth made from hemp³¹ is the equivalent of one *yi* of gold. Since one *yi* of gold will feed a hundred chariots overnight,³² each six double-paces of land surrounding a market area should be assessed a tax of one peck (*dou*)³³ of grain. This is called the mean annual harvest tax. When there should be a marketplace, if there is none, the people will³⁴ suffer shortages.³⁵

Six *li* square is called an altar area (*she* 社).³⁶ When it contains a town (*yi* 邑), it is called a center (*yang* 邦).³⁷

Establish³⁸ custom and market levies. For each hundred *yi* in gold, the tax should be one *qie*³⁹ of gold. For goods with the value of a basket (*long* 籠) of grain it should be ten *qie* of grain. The elder⁴⁰ of each group of thirty traders in the market should see to it that one *yi* of gold is paid during the first and twelfth month of the year. This is called establishing proper order in the apportionment of levies.

Spring is said to be the time for publishing the tax rates, summer⁴¹ for estimating the conditions for each month, and fall for making comprehensive calculations and figuring the gains and losses of the people.

²⁸ 率繡; following Jin Tinggui. The Yin Zhizhang commentary says that it is a poor quality silk, below third grade.

²⁹ 兩; 40 Chinese feet in length.

³⁰ Reading *bao* 暴 as *bao* 漚 [Wen Yidao].

³¹ Emending 經 to 經 [Zhang Peitun].

³² The relationship between this phrase, 一鎰之金食百乘之一宿, and the rest of the sentence is not clear. Zhang Peitun believes it was originally part of the commentary, mistakenly inserted into the text. I think it is more likely that something has been omitted between the end of the phrase and the beginning of the latter part of the sentence.

³³ A *dou* 斗 (= 斗) equaled 1.81 U.S. dry quarts.

³⁴ Deleting 不 [Jgai, Yasui, and Tao Hongjing].

³⁵ There is some question as to how this line, 命之曰中歲有市無市則民不乏之矣, should be punctuated. I have followed Yasui and others. Xu Weiyu and Guo Moruo would end it with 中. Thus, "This is called the mean tax. If at the time of harvest there should be a market but there is none, the people will suffer shortages."

³⁶ The meaning of *she* here is not entirely clear. I have interpreted it to mean a rural area possessing a small altar to Land. According to the *Zuo Zhuan*, Chao 25 (Legge, *Ch'un T's'au*, X, 25(6)): "The Lord of Qi said, 'From the borders of Ju westward, I will hand over 1,000 *she* and await Your Lordship's commands.'" The *Shiwen Jiezi* says that a *she* consisted of 25 households.

³⁷ This short paragraph seems out of place here and probably represents a misplaced slip from some other text.

³⁸ Emending 亦 to 立 [Guo Moruo].

³⁹ 鎰; a small box-shaped measure, the capacity of which is unknown.

⁴⁰ Emending 句 to 者 = 者 [Zhang Peitun].

⁴¹ Deleting 立 [Sun Yirang].

Every three years repair the earthen banks between fields. Every five years repair the boundaries between household lands. Every ten years redefine the boundaries. This is to set standards for maintaining proper order in the distribution of land.

If the water table is observed to be below the one-*ren*⁴² mark there will be no serious flood. If it is observed to be above the five-foot (*chi* 尺) mark, there will be no serious drought. However, if it is observed to be below the one-*ren* mark,⁴³ lighten taxes by one-tenth because of possible drought. If it drops to the two-*ren* mark, lighten them by two-tenths, to the three-*ren* mark, by three-tenths, to the four-*ren* mark, by four-tenths, and to the five-*ren* mark, lighten them by half. This is comparable to mountain land.

If the water table is observed to be above the five-foot mark, lighten taxes by one-tenth because of possible flooding. If it rises to the four-foot mark, lighten them by two-tenths,⁴⁴ to the three-foot mark, by three-tenths, to the two-foot mark, by four-tenths. When it is observed at the one-foot mark, this is comparable to marsh land.

Beyond the gates of the capital (*guo* 國), everywhere within the four borders, able-bodied adult males should be responsible for two plowings during their three days of public service; boys under five feet should be responsible for one. In the first month, order the peasants to begin work on the public fields.⁴⁵ Their plowing should start when the snow melts. Their spring work begins with plowing and ends with weeding.

Gentlemen who may be broadly⁴⁶ informed, widely learned, and discerning in judgment, but who are unwilling to act as ministers to their prince, should take part in public work, but not share in allotments from the public fields. Traders who understand prices and who daily go to the market, but do not engage in official trade, should take part in public work, but not share in allotments from the public fields. Artisans who

⁴² Emending 十, "ten," to 一 to accord with the content of the following passage [Yu Yue]. A *ren* 仞 is variously given as 8 Chinese feet or 5 Chinese feet, 6 inches. The former is the most commonly accepted value.

⁴³ This passage, 十一仞見水... 五則去半, is obviously corrupt. I have followed the emendations of Jgai and Wen Yidao, writing: 一仞見水輕征, 十分去一, 二則去二, 三則去三, 四則去四, 五則去五.

⁴⁴ The figures given in this passage are again obviously corrupt. I have followed Yasui and Yu Yue in emending 三, "three," to 二; 二, "two," to 三; 一, "one," to 四; and 三, "three," to 一.

⁴⁵ *Gong tian* 公田; according to the *Mengzi*, IIIA, 3/19: "A well field (*jing*) covers an area one *li* square consisting of 100 *mu*. Of these the central plot is a public field, while the other eight, consisting of 100 *mu* each, are the private fields of eight households who together care for the public field. Only when work on the public field is completed, dare they tend to their private work."

⁴⁶ Emending 聞 to 聞 = 聞 [Sun Yirang].

are well versed in producing articles of suitable form and function, and who go daily to the market but do not engage in official work, should take part in public work, but not share in allotments from the public fields. Those who cannot be used in performing public service⁴⁷ should be seen as in default on what they owe and required to pay grain amounting to that derived from an individual tract (*fu*).

Now then, the people should not be instructed to do either what can only be understood by the intelligent but not by the stupid or what can only be done by the skilled but not by the unskilled. Unless it is something that the people may carry out as the result of a single order, it cannot be considered very good. Unless it is something that everyone⁴⁸ can do, it cannot be considered to have great merit.

Now then, unless a trader is honest, he should not be permitted to make a living as a trader. Neither should this be permitted in the case of artisans and peasants. Unless a gentleman is trustworthy, he should not be permitted to hold a position at court.

Now then, even if an office is vacant, no one⁴⁹ should dare to make a request for it. Even though the prince may possess costly chariots and armor, no one else should dare to have them. When the prince initiates an undertaking, his ministers should never dare to lie about their lack of ability. Let the prince know his ministers, and let the ministers likewise know the prince knows them. In this way no minister will dare fail to exert his utmost effort, and all of them will maintain their integrity when coming forward.

There is a saying: "Equalize the land, apportion the work, and let the people know the proper time for doing things. Then will they be aware of how quickly morning turns to evening, how short are the days and months, and how suddenly they may be beset by cold and hunger. Hence they will retire late and rise early, and neither father nor son, elder brother nor younger brother will forget their public work but perform it tirelessly. Even the hardest work, the people will not fear. It follows that evil lies in not equalizing the land."⁵⁰

The benefits of Earth are inexhaustible; the strength of the people is unlimited. However, unless instructed as to the proper time for doing things, the people will not know about it, and unless you guide them in their work, the people will not do it. Whereas if you share the proceeds with them, the people will understand gain and loss,⁵⁰ and if you are

judicious in giving them their proper share, the people will work with all their might. Indeed, even without being pushed, fathers and sons, elder and younger brothers will not forget their public work.

THE SAGE (*Shengren* 聖人)

What makes a sage is his skill in giving the people their proper share.

A sage who is unable to give them their share is merely an ordinary member of the hundred surnames. Furthermore, if he does not even have enough to support himself, how can he be called a sage? Thus when he has an undertaking, he uses [the resources of the people], but when he has none, he returns these to them.

It is only the sage who is skilled in entrusting the people with duties. People's nature is such that when it is allowed to develop, it becomes kindly,⁵¹ but when it is repressed, it becomes perverse.⁵² When the sovereign sets an example, his subjects will follow.

ON NEGLECTING OPPORTUNITIES (*Shi Shi* 失時)

Opportunity is crucial in handling affairs. It cannot be stored up or set aside. Therefore it is said:

If today you do not act, (為 *yíwá*)

Tomorrow you will lose⁵³ your wealth. (費 *xwá*)

Yesterday has already gone and will not come again.

ON LAND REQUIREMENTS (*Di Li* 地畝)

It requires an area eighty *li* square of superior quality land to support one capital city (*guo*) of ten thousand households and four urban centers (*du*) of a thousand households each. For medium-grade land, it requires an area one hundred *li* square, and for inferior land, it requires an area one hundred twenty *li* square. An area eighty *li* square of superior quality land and an area of one hundred twenty *li* square of inferior land are both equivalent to an area one hundred *li* square of medium-grade land.

⁴⁷ Reading 工 as 功 [Ding Shihan].

⁴⁸ Following Xu Weiyu's interpretation of 夫人.

⁴⁹ The Yang edition mistakenly writes 其 for 莫.

⁵⁰ Emending 正 to 亡 [Xu Weiyu]. Guo Moruo would read 得 as 德 and 正 as 政. Thus, "the people will know a virtuous government."

on¹⁴ gaining or losing the support of Heaven, for in the affairs of men we are equal. Now Lu, in fear, has killed Gongzi Jiu and Shao Hu, and imprisoned Guan Zhong, in order to give him to Qi. Bao Shu knows there will be no evil consequences. He will certainly urge Guan Zhong to work for his prince desiring thereby to glorify his prince's achievements so the masses will be certain to give him their support. Bao Shu's success¹⁵ in bringing about Jin's death is to be admired, but greater by far will be that displayed in keeping Guan Zhong alive. Bao Shu's wisdom will not let him miss the opportunity to assist his prince through such a demonstration of virtue."

When they arrived at Tangfu,¹⁶ Bao Shu purged Guan Zhong of evil spirits by bathing him three times, and Duke Huan himself met him in the suburbs. Guan Zhong, tucking up the chin straps of his cap and scooping up¹⁷ the skirt of his robe,¹⁸ ordered a man holding an axe to stand behind him. The duke, after declining the axe three times, sent the man away and said, "Let down your chin straps¹⁹ and drop your robe. I will see you."

Guan Zhong twice made obeisance, knocking his head on the ground and said, "I have received your favor. Should you kill me and confine me to the Yellow Springs,²⁰ even in death I shall always be thankful."

The duke subsequently returned with him and treated him with ceremony in the court. He toasted him three times and asked him about carrying on the government, saying:²¹

In the past our former prince, Duke Xiang,
Made lofty his pavilions and broad his ponds.
Wallowing in pleasure and drinking wine,
He hunted with net, and stringed arrow

¹⁴ Emending 足 to 定 [Yu Yue].

¹⁵ Deleting the character 力 following 得 [Zhang Peitun].

¹⁶ 堂阜; see VI.1, 18, n. 62.

¹⁷ The Yang edition for 插 writes 提. The meaning here is the same Wang Niansun and Sun Xinyuan].

¹⁸ The Yin commentary explains that these actions indicate he was about to be executed. According to the *Zuo zhuan*, Ai, 15 (Legge, *Ch'un T's'u*, VII, 15/7): "A man of quality does not let his cap fall on the ground when he dies." Thus Guan Zhong was prepared to die as a common criminal.

¹⁹ The Yang edition for 纓 writes 襟.

²⁰ That is, the netherworld.

²¹ Again I wish to express my appreciation to Mr. Gary Arbuckle for pointing out that the following complaint against Duke Xiang 襄 (697-686 B.C.) is in the form of an unrhymed chant. As he also noted, a similar statement in part appears in the *Zhuangzi*, VIII, 25/19a8-9 (Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, 289) concerning Duke Ling 靈 of Wei 衛 (534-493 B.C.).

Paying no attention to ruling the state.
He despised the gentry and ridiculed the sages,
Only women were honored.

Nine wives, each with six ladies-in-waiting,
Ranked concubines by the thousands,

To be fed with millet and meat,

To be clothed in ornate embroidery,

While martial knights endured cold and hunger.

War horses had to wait for worn-out pleasure carriages.

Martial knights the left-overs of the ranked concubines.

Actors, singing girls, and dwarf jesters occupied the fore,

While worthy gentlemen²² and great officers remained behind.

Thus our country did not daily prosper and monthly grow.

I fear the ancestral temples have not been swept,

Nor the altars to Land and Grain provided with blood sacrifices.

Dare I ask, what is to be done?

Guanzi replied, "In ancient times our former kings, Zhao²³ and Mu²⁴ of Zhou, throughout their lives modeled themselves on the past accomplishments of Wen and Wu²⁵ and thereby achieved fame. They united the various states and, having examined those among their people adhering to the moral way, set them up as examples to bring about the regulation of the people. They set standards for goodness so people could respond to them. They collated [wood blocks and bamboo slips], stringing them together to make books so that things could be traced back to the beginning and followed through to the end. They encouraged the people with rewards, corrected them with punishments, and ranked²⁶ them according to the color of the hair on their heads.²⁷ They bestowed favors in order to keep them content, and considered every aspect of their lives from beginning to end."

"How should I go about this?" asked the duke.

Guanzi replied, "In ancient times when the sage kings governed their people, they divided the country proper (*guo* 國) into three parts and the outer territories (*bi* 鄙) into five parts. They fixed the dwelling places of the people and arranged their work in order to bring about their proper

²² Inserting 士 after 賢 in accordance with the Ancient, Liu, and Zhu editions [Xu Weiyu].

²³ 昭王; reigned 1052-1002 B.C.

²⁴ 穆王; reigned 1001-947 B.C.

²⁵ 文 and 武 the founders of the Zhou dynasty.

²⁶ Emending 髮 to 髮 and 隆 to 髮 = 序 in accordance with the *Guo yu*, 6/2b6 [Yu Yue and Song Xiangfeng].

²⁷ That is, according to age.

regulation. They were careful in using the six handles of power.²⁸ In such a way the nature of the people could be manipulated and the hundred surnames controlled."

100.4

Duke Huan said, "What are these six handles?"

"To kill, to nurture, to honor, to degrade, to impoverish, to enrich—these are the six handles," replied Guanzi.

"What about dividing the country proper into three parts?" asked Duke Huan.

Guanzi replied, "Organize the country proper into twenty-one districts (*xiang* 鄉); six districts for merchants and artisans and fifteen for the gentry and peasants. Of these districts, you should command eleven²⁹ Gaozi³⁰ five, and Guozizi³¹ five. Since the administration of the country proper is divided into three parts, they should form the three armies. Appoint ministers in charge of the three bureaus [administering the fifteen districts for the gentry and peasants under the command of yourself, Gaozi, and Guozizi], three district supervisors (*xiang* 鄉) in charge of the markets, three clan elders (*zu* 族) in charge of the artisans, three wardens (*yu* 虞) in charge of the marshes, and three foresters (*heng* 衡) in charge of the mountains.

100.6

"Organize the country proper so five households will constitute a neighborhood (*gu* 閭), with each neighborhood having a leader (*zhang* 長); ten neighborhoods will constitute a village (*li* 里), with each village having an officer (*si* 司); four villages will constitute a community (*lian* 連), with each community having a chief (*zhang* 長); ten communities will constitute a district, with each district having a governor (*liang ren* 良人).³² For every five districts³³ there will be a commanding general (*shuai* 帥)."

100.7

"What about dividing the outer territories into five parts?" asked Duke Huan.

²⁸ The *Guo yu*, 6/2b11, for *liu bing* 六柄 writes 六柄. According to the *Jing fa* (1.6.52): 執六乘 (柄) 以令天下, "Wield the six handles of power to command the realm." The Qin legal document unearthed at Shuhudi 睡虎地 in Hubei, "Wei li zhi dao" 為吏之道 [How to be an Official], 291, refers to "the handles of state power" 邦柄.

²⁹ For 十一, "eleven," the *Guo yu*, 6/4a13, writes 五, "five." Sun Shucheng believes this passage should accord with the *Guo yu* because the following passage, 6b6 (100.7), states: 五 (三) 鄉一帥, "For each five (originally 'three') districts there should be a commander." See n. 33 below.

³⁰ 高子; the head of one of the two noble families that hereditarily held the highest official positions in Qi. See VII, 18, n. 150.

³¹ 國子; the head of the other family mentioned in n. 30, above.

³² For a somewhat similar organizational structure, see I, 4/14a4-6 (1:13.6-7).

³³ Emending 三 to 五 in accordance with the Ancient, Lin, and Zhu editions and the *Guo yu*, 6/5a12 [Yasui, Dai Wang, and Ding Shihan]. Accordingly, the commanders would be Duke Huan, Gaozi, and Guozizi.

100.8 Guanzi replied, "Organize the outer territories so five households will constitute a neighborhood with each neighborhood having a leader; six neighborhoods will constitute a camp (*yi* 邑) with each camp having an officer in charge; ten camps will constitute a military colony (*shuai* 率) with each colony having a commandant (*zhang* 長); ten military colonies will constitute a district with each district having a governor (*liang ren* 良人); three districts will constitute a dependency (*shu* 屬) with each dependency having a commanding general. For each five dependencies there will be a great officer. A military government will administer the dependencies, a civil government the districts. Each will maintain its separate administration and so there will be no confusion or laxity."

100.9

Duke Huan said, "What should I do about fixing the dwelling places of the people and arranging their work?"

100.10

Guanzi replied, "The gentry, peasants, artisans, and merchants, these four types of people, are the bedrock of the state. They should not be allowed to dwell together in confusion. If they do so, their speech will become distorted and their work disorganized. For this reason the sage kings, in situating the gentry, were certain to send them to places of leisure. In situating the farmers they were certain to send them to the fields. In situating the artisans they were certain to send them to the bureaus responsible for them. In situating the merchants they were certain to send them to the market-places.

100.11
7a

100.12

100.13

100.14

101.1

"Since the gentry were made to³⁴ assemble and dwell together³⁵ in leisure, father with father spoke of righteousness and son with son spoke of filial piety. Those who served the ruler spoke of respectfulness. The adults spoke of compassion and the young spoke of respect for elders. From dawn until late at night adults did this, thereby teaching their sons and younger brothers. From childhood, the young become accustomed to it and their hearts were at peace. They did not see something new and turn to it. For this reason fathers and elder brothers in teaching were effective without being severe, while sons and younger brothers were able to learn without overexerting themselves. Thus it was that the sons of the gentry always became gentlemen.

"Since farmers were made to assemble and dwell together, they came to pay careful attention to the four seasons, assess their needs,³⁶ provide

³⁴ Emending 今 to 令, here and below, in accordance with the Ancient, Lin, and Zhu editions as well as the *Guo yu*, 6/3a3 [Ding Shihan and Guo Morou].

³⁵ Reading 州 as 周, here and below [Xu Weiyu].

³⁶ The phrase 權節具備 is clearly corrupt. I have followed Lin Ji and Xu Weiyu in emending it to: 權節其用.