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INTRODUCTION

General Content of Volume Two

This second volume, completing the translation of the remaining forty-two chapters of the *Guanzi* (XII, 35–XXIV, 85), contains several of the most difficult and most interesting selections in the entire work.¹ Among them are the four so-called “Xin shu” 心術 texts, namely, the “Nei ye” 內業 (XVI, 49), “Xin shu shang” 心術上 and “xia” 下 (XIII, 36 and 37), and “Bai xin” 白心 (XIII, 38), which are basic to the study of early Chinese theories concerning self-cultivation and the relationship between body and mind as well as the development of Huang-Lao 黃老 political thought.² Similarly, “Dizi zhi” 弟子職 (XIX, 59) provides us with one of the oldest surviving discussions of education in China, outlining the duties of the student and pointing up the fact that the goal of traditional Chinese education was more a matter of shaping attitudes and instilling discipline than the acquisition of knowledge.

Included in this volume also are several extremely important philosophical essays dealing with Yin-Yang and Five Phases thought, “Si shi” 四時 (XIV, 40) and “Wu xing” 五行 (XIV, 41), as well as what may be the world’s earliest attempt at a systematic study of soils and plant ecology, “Di yuan” 地員 (XIX, 58), and one of the earliest discussions in Chinese literature of irrigation and flood control, “Du di” 度地, (XVIII, 57). Similarly, “Shui di” (XIV, 39), which deals with the natural and supernatural properties of water, refers to the circulation of blood and oxygen in the body some two thousand years before William Harvey’s discoveries and contains a surprisingly modern description of the development of a human fetus.

Equally important are a series of chapters dealing with economic thought, especially “Chi mi” 侈靡 (XII, 35), which presents a very modern sounding, and for traditional China very unusual, theory stressing extravagance in spending as a way to promote a state’s economic well-being. Moreover, the “Qing zhong” 輕重 chapters (XXI, 68–XXIV,

¹ Seven chapters from the last half of the text (XIX, 60–63, XXI, 70, and XXIV, 82 and 86) have been lost. Another three so-called “Jie” 解 chapters (XX, 64–XXI, 65 and 66), consisting of line-by-line explanations of chapters contained in the first volume, have been translated along with the original texts.

² For a discussion of Huang-Lao thought, see the introductory comments to the “Nei ye” (XIV, 49).

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85) that make up the final section of the work describe a number of fiscal policies involving government monopolies over such commodities as salt and iron, the use of government loans to promote agriculture and to secure control of the harvests, thereby insuring a virtual monopoly over the nation's grain supply, and government control of the money supply and its use in the manipulation of goods and prices in the marketplace. These chapters also provide us with one of the world's first presentations of a quantity theory of money.

Except for the "Nei ye" and a few other chapters, the context of this second volume appears to be later than that of the first volume. In fact, many of the most important chapters contained here clearly date from the Qin-Han 秦-漢 period, late third to first century B.C. The "Qing zhong" chapters, for example, were probably written by advocates of a system of government monopolies that was later instituted by the Han emperor, Wu 武, between 120 and 110 B.C. A number of chapters, especially XIII, 36-XV, 43 and XVI, 49, also appear to have been composed by natives of the area dominated by the state of Chu 楚, even though they may have been produced by these writers while they were in residence at the Jixia 稷下 Academy in Linzi 臨淄, the capital of the state of Qi 齊.

As with volume one, I have prefaced the translation of each chapter with introductory comments in which I have discussed at varying length, depending upon the importance of the text, its contents and possible dating and origins. The separate dating of each chapter, or even its constituent parts, is extremely important; otherwise the rich contents of the *Guanzi* are rendered more or less useless for the study of early Chinese thought and institutions. Therefore, in addition to my own conclusions concerning dating, I have presented the major alternatives proposed by Chinese and foreign scholars.

Changes in Format

In this second volume, some changes in format have been instituted, partially as a result of the need to make use of new cost-saving technology and partially in response to criticisms contained in reviews of volume one.³ One such response involves an effort to make the text more readable and less cluttered by removing the slashes used to indicate the

³ See, in particular, William G. Boltz, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106, no. 4 (1986): 843-846; Robin D. S. Yates, *Journal of Asian Studies* 47, no. 1 (1988): 128-129; and Roger T. Ames, *Journal of Oriental Studies* 26, no. 1 (1988): 68-73.

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beginning of new lines or pages in the Chinese text. However, both line and page numbers are still given in the margins.

In another attempt to make the text less cluttered, I have cut down on the use of square brackets to indicate the addition of words or phrases that do not specifically appear in the Chinese text but are necessary for clarity in English. The problem arises from the fact that classical Chinese, in its terseness, often omits the subject or other important words that one would expect to find explicitly stated in an English sentence and relies instead on general context and the reader's broad familiarity with the subject to make the meaning clear. For this volume, I have decided to eliminate the use of brackets when such additions are well substantiated by the context. However, there remain times when contextual or other evidence is so weak that the translator is forced to resolve ambiguities by making judgments on his own. In such instances, I believe that brackets retain their usefulness and these I have kept.

Special Terms

Another change concerns the translation of certain terms, the most important of which are *li* 理 and *yi* 義. In the first volume, I tended to follow the standard dictionary translations for these two terms, "principle" and "righteousness." However, William Boltz (Review, 844) criticized both these translations, maintaining that the rendering of *li* as "principle" is meaningful only from the time of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), when the word was invested with just such a metaphysical sense in the Neo-Confucian ferment of the Song 宋 period. He then goes on to suggest that *li* means "internal structure," or "internal system/fabric/order," and is clearly akin to its homonym *li* 裏 (裡), "inside(s)," and probably also to *zhi* 治, meaning "order." I generally agree with this argument and have therefore, in this volume, tended to use a range of translations for *li* reflecting the concept of inherent order or structure.

Professor Boltz also points out that *yi* is not a vague, ill-defined, all-purpose ethical term with a general meaning of righteousness. "Specifically," he says, "*yi* is that sense of duty, loyalty, and obligation that one feels to his own peer group, whether that group is perceived in the narrowest sense as an immediate family, or in the wider sense of social class." Again, Professor Boltz's point is well taken. However, *yi* also has a broader meaning of doing the appropriate or right thing in any given situation. When Duke Huan tells Guan Zhong (XVI, 51/8a1–2; 2:105.13): "I wish my actions to be of widespread humaneness (*ren* 仁) and great *yi* so that they will be of benefit to the entire realm," *yi* refers

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to his doing whatever is “right” or “just” in fulfilling his obligations as a ruler. Thus, I think that in this situation “righteousness” is a suitable translation. In general, “sense of duty” appears to be the best translation when one is speaking of the relationships between equals or of an inferior to a superior, but “righteousness” may be appropriate when speaking about the superior, particularly if that superior happens to be a cosmic force such as Earth. See, for example, the passage in the “*Nei ye*” chapter (XVI, 49/3a8; 2:101.6):

Rectify the mind’s gestalt and hold on to the Power, Then the beneficence (*ren* 仁) of Heaven and the righteousness (*yi*) of Earth in bounteous fashion will naturally arrive.

The problem presented by terms such as these is especially complex when dealing with the *Guanzi* since its various chapters were written by different writers spanning two or three centuries of time and often representing quite different points of view. Thus, they tend to take on different shades of meaning, and for their specific rendering in any given situation one must pay close attention to the overall context.

Rhymes

Perhaps the most important change in this second volume has to do with my treatment of rhymes. Some thirty of the surviving seventy-six chapters of the *Guanzi* contain rhymed passages, and while some are only a few lines in length, others, as in the case of “*Si cheng*” 四稱 (XI, 33), “*Nei ye*” (XVI, 49), and “*Dizi zhi*” (XIX, 59), cover almost the entire text. My original plan was to have a separate study of these rhymes included in a third volume of special studies on the *Guanzi*. However, after publication of the first volume, I began to have second thoughts. Robin Yates in his review expressed the opinion that more should have been done with the rhymes in direct connection with the translation.⁴ At the same time, I myself began to feel that rhyme usage, especially the appearance of irregular rhymes, might be of some assistance in attempting to assess the origins of various chapters.

What do I mean by irregular rhymes? Based primarily on a study of rhyme patterns in the *Shi jing*, Chinese and Western scholars have reconstructed some twenty or so standard rhyme categories or groups that represent the norm for rhyming in early Chinese texts. There are also four tones, with words in the fourth tone rhyming with other words in

⁴ Review, 129.

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the fourth tone or third tone, but not with words in the first or second tone. Furthermore, as a general rule, unstressed words such as 之 are not used to form rhymes.

However, in later pre-Han and early Han (fourth to first centuries B.C.) texts, because of either differences in regional pronunciation or other factors, words from different rhyme groups or of incompatible tone appear in places where it is obvious that the text is supposed to rhyme. These are irregular rhymes. The problem is complicated since it is sometimes hard to tell whether these deviations from the norm represent dialectal or other differences due to natural changes in the language or are the result of either scribal errors or pure carelessness on the part of the author. Be that as it may, both Chinese and foreign scholars have long recognized that texts associated with the state of Chu, which dominated a large area on both sides of the lower Yangtze River, show a pattern of irregular rhyme usage consistent enough to be considered representative of a regional dialect. This so-called Chu dialect will be discussed in more detail in my introductory comments to the “Nei ye” (XVI, 49).

To designate rhymes, I have utilized the rhyme groups of Dong Tonghe 董同龢 (1911–1963) as presented in Chou Fa-kao’s (Zhou Fagao) *Hanzi gujin yinhui* [A Pronouncing Dictionary of Chinese Characters in Archaic and Ancient Chinese, Mandarin and Cantonese] and Chou’s system for transcribing the phonetic values of archaic Chinese. For help in identifying rhymed passages, I have relied heavily on Jiang Yougao’s classic work, *Xian-Qin yun du* [A Study of Pre-Qin Rhymes], and an article by Lung Yu Shun (Long Yuchun), “Xian-Qin sanwen zhong de yunwen (shang)” [Rhythmic Writings in Pre-Chin Prose (Part I)], published in *The Chung Chi Journal* of May 1963. In this latter work (pp. 144–150), Lung presents a table of irregular rhymes appearing in a wide range of pre-Qin texts, including the *Guanzi*.

Unfortunately, Jiang’s work, which was somewhat pioneering in nature, is limited in its coverage and contains some errors. While Lung’s work does a great deal to remedy these defects, it too is incomplete. The problem of identifying rhymed passages becomes especially difficult when the text is corrupt, as it often is in the *Guanzi*. Therefore I have sometimes added my bit to their work, largely on the basis of emendations suggested by various commentators.

When I first began working with the rhymes in the *Guanzi*, I had high hopes for what they might tell us about the origins of the text, but as work progressed it became increasingly clear that this would not be the case. However, I still believe that in some instances, such as the four

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“Xin shu” chapters, a study of the rhymes can contribute to our understanding of the background of a text as well as its nature. For this reason I have noted end-rhymes and their archaic phonetic reconstructions at the end of each line and also provided an appendix at the end of this volume listing the end-rhymes appearing in the chapters covered in volume one.

Recent Developments in *Guanzi* Studies

Since the publication of volume one in 1985, there have been several major developments in the area of *Guanzi* studies. In October 1986 a national conference on the *Guanzi* and Qi culture was held in Zibo 淄博, Shandong Province, the site of the old Qi capital. In addition to publishing a volume of conference papers entitled *Guanzi yanjiu* [*Guanzi* Studies], the conference also established a journal, *Guanzi xuekan*, which has been published quarterly since 1987 and has come to be the most important vehicle for *Guanzi* scholars all over the world.⁵ Of particular value are bibliographies, published in the first three issues of 1988, listing Chinese, Western, and Japanese works on the *Guanzi*. A second conference was held in October 1989, which again resulted in a volume of papers, this time entitled *Guanzi yu Qi wenhua* [The *Guanzi* and Qi Culture]. A third volume, *Qi wenhua zonglun* [General Essays on Qi Culture], was produced in 1993 following a similar conference held in August 1992.

The year 1987 also saw publication of a major work on the *Guanzi* by the Japanese scholar Kanaya Osamu, *Kanshi no kenkyū: Chūgokū kodai shisōshi no ichimen* [Studies on the *Guanzi*: One Aspect of the History of Ancient Chinese Thought]. In dating the various chapters, Kanaya tends to follow such Chinese scholars as Luo Genze, Guo Moruo, and Hu Jiacong, tracing the work's early core back to the Jixia scholars in Qi, with later additions being made down through the Qin and early Han. His major contribution lies in his attempt to demonstrate that the *Guanzi* is not merely a pastiche of unrelated material but rather a work that by and large, except for the “Qing Zhong” chapters, shows the development of a consistent ideology based on a naturalistic view of the cosmic order and that of humanity. He also does much to clarify the *Guanzi*'s value as a major repository of early Huang-Lao thought. Space does not permit a detailed discussion of what Kanaya has to say, but his

⁵ For a review of this journal, see my article in *Early China*, 14 (1989): 201–211.

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work is of prime importance in the study of the *Guanzi*'s philosophical content.⁶

In 1989 Zhao Shouzheng published a revised edition of his two-volume translation of the *Guanzi* into modern Chinese under the title *Guanzi tongjie* [Comprehensive Explanation of the *Guanzi*]. In this work, Zhao revises and completes the partial translations contained in his two-volume *Guanzi zhuyi* [*Guanzi* with Notes and Translation], published in 1982 and 1987. Although I have sometimes disagreed with Professor Zhao on the interpretation of specific passages, his *Guanzi tongjie* is a masterful work, indispensable for anyone working on the *Guanzi*.

Also in 1989, both Zhao Shouzheng and Wu Baosan, another major contributor to the study of the *Guanzi* in China, produced books dealing with the economic thought of the work. Since both scholars are primarily economic historians, their works are of special value and particularly relevant to this second volume of my translation.

Finally, in 1990 the *Guanzi xuekan* in three issues (1–3) published posthumously Ma Feibai's "*Guanzi* 'Nei ye' pian jizhu" [Collected Annotations of the "Nei Ye" Chapter of the *Guanzi*]. This masterful work is the most comprehensive textual study of the "Nei ye" to date.

Translation Procedures and Methods of Notation

In this second volume, I have followed the same general procedures and methods as in volume one. The translation is based on two well-known prints of standard editions: the *Sibu beiyao* print of the Ming 明 dynasty Zhao Yongxian 趙用賢 edition and the *Sibu congkan* photographic reprint of a Song-Yuan 宋-元 edition containing a preface by Yang Chen 楊忱. The Yang edition is the oldest readily available edition and thus under normal circumstances should serve as the baseline for our translation. Unfortunately, however, it is a very poor edition, containing numerous lacunae and faulty characters. Therefore I have used both it and the Zhao edition, which has served as the standard since Qing 清 times.⁷ In addition to the Yang and Zhao editions, which represent one textual lineage, I make frequent reference in my notes to

⁶ See also an article in English by Kanaya, "Taoist Thought in the *Kuan-tzu*," in Koichi Shinohara and Gregory Schopen, *From Benares to Beijing: Essays on Buddhism and Chinese Religion*, 35–40.

⁷ The *Sibu beiyao* print of the Zhao edition is based on the Zhejiang Shuju 浙江書局 revised edition of 1876. For more details concerning both the Yang and Zhao editions, see the introduction to my 1985 *Guanzi*, 33–35.

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Ancient, Liu, and Zhu editions, which represent another lineage. The Ancient edition, which lacks a commentary, probably dates from the Yuan or early Ming, while the Liu edition appears in Liu Ji's 劉績 *Guanzi buzhu* 管子補注.⁸ The Zhu edition is a later print of the Liu edition contained in Zhu Dongguang's 朱東光, *Zhongdu sizi* 中都四子 published in 1579.⁹

The order in which the various chapters are presented follows the standard Chinese order except that XXI, 67, which is basically a line-by-line explanation of XV, 46, has been incorporated into that chapter, and chapters XII, 35, XIII, 37, and XVI, 49, have been shifted out of their regular order to other places in the text. XII, 35, which contains important discussions on how to develop the economy, has been moved to a position just before XXI, 68, the first of the "Qing zhong" chapters that deal chiefly with economic and fiscal policies. XIII, 37, and XVI, 49, the former being largely an explication of the latter, have been placed before XIII, 36, to facilitate the discussion of these important "Xin shu" chapters.

In the left margins I have continued to provide page numbers for the *Sibu beiyao* text as well as line numbers for the *Guoxue jiben congshu* print of the Ming dynasty Zhao Yongxian edition used by Wallace Johnson in his *Guanzi yinde* [A Concordance to the Kuan-tzu]. Thus, Johnson's work can serve as a Chinese index to the translation. For Chinese texts divided into both *juan* 卷 and *pian* 篇, roman numerals are used to designate the former and arabic numerals the latter; for texts that are simply divided into either *juan* or *pian*, arabic numerals alone are used. Page and line numbers are given following a hash mark. For traditional Chinese works published in Western format with continuous pagination, I have provided the original *juan* and/or *pian* numbers followed by the Western pagination.

When citing other Chinese texts that have a standard translation, I have usually provided a reference to it. However, this is for reference purposes only, since my translation will often be quite different. Com-

⁸ The name Liu Ji appears several times in Chinese history, and in the introduction to my 1985 *Guanzi*, 35–40, I discussed in considerable detail Guo Moruo's argument that the Liu Ji who produced the *Guanzi buzhu* lived during the Liao 遼 dynasty, about 1012. At the same time I also cited (p. 39n.) the argument of Luo Jizu that Guo was mistaken and this Liu Ji was a Ming scholar who became a *jinshi* 進士 in 1490. Now, thanks to the work of Harold Roth, it is clear that Luo Jizu was correct. See Roth's *The Textual History of the Huainan Tzu*, 165.

⁹ For further discussion of all three of these editions, see the introduction to my 1985 *Guanzi*, 35–40.

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mentators whose works have served as a basis for interpreting the text are listed in the notes with their names in brackets. Full bibliographical data for them is then provided in the first section of the bibliography. The names of authors cited in the introductory comments and notes, as well as the names of traditional Chinese works, are listed in the index. The index also lists major subject headings and special terms when they appear in a significant context.

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