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Han Shu, Chapter 56: Biography of Dong Zhongshu

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(2005)

Han Shu, Chapter 56: "Biography of Dong Zhongshu"¹
Translation by Anthony E. Clark

董仲舒傳

董仲舒，廣川人也。少治春秋，孝景時為博士。下帷講誦，弟子傳以久次相授業，或莫見其面。蓋三年不窺園，其精如此。進退容止，非禮不行，學士皆師尊之。

Dong Zhongshu was from Guang Chuan. He mastered the *Chun Qiu* when he was young, and became an erudite during the reign of emperor Jing.² He expounded his teachings from behind a lowered curtain, and his disciples transmitted what they had learned to one another according to seniority, so that some disciples never saw his face. His manner was such that for three years he did not peer into his own garden [because of the concentration of his study]. His demeanor while advancing and retreating was never contrary to ritual conduct, and learned scholars all accorded him honor as their teacher.

武帝即位，舉賢良文學之士前後百數，而仲舒以賢良對策焉。

When Wu became emperor, the elevated worthy gentleman and cultured scholars from past and present numbered more than one hundred.³ Because Dong Zhongshu was a worthy gentleman, he was invited to offer memorials to the emperor.

¹ For a modern Chinese abridgement, description, and discussion of *Han Shu* 56 see *Han Shu*, ed. Li Guozhang and Zhao Changping (Hong Kong: Zhonghua Shuju, 1998), pp. 204-209.

² The fourth emperor of the Han 漢 is referred to in the original by his posthumous name, Xiao Jing 孝景 (acceded 157 B.C. – d. 141 B.C.).

³ The fifth emperor of the Han is referred to in the original by his posthumous name, Wu 武 (born c. 157 B.C., acceded 141 B.C. – d. 87 B.C.).

This translation is based on edition

continuous success
of 漢 express by 武帝

later states that

命：天降命
福得反

制曰：朕獲承至尊休德，傳之亡窮，而施之罔極，任大而守重，是以夙夜不皇康寧，永惟萬事之統，猶懼有闕，故廣延四方之豪口，郡國諸侯公選賢良修絜博習之士，欲聞大道之要，至論之極。今子大夫褒然為舉首，朕甚嘉之。子大夫其精心致思，朕垂聽而問焉。

The emperor issued an inquiry⁴ that read:

“I have inherited the honor and beautiful virtue [of the previous emperor]; may its transmission never be exhausted and its boundaries without limits. The responsibilities of my position are heavy. Therefore, from dawn to dusk I am without respite or peace, because I am constantly occupied with the Standard of the myriad affairs, always anxious about my deficiencies. Accordingly, I have widely employed valiant men from afar, various Feudal Lords from Commanderies and States, worthies and gentlemen selected by Dukes, and the cultivated and widely learned scholars. It is my desire to hear of the essentials of the Great Way and the central points of their discourses. Now you, Viscounts and Grandees, who have been promoted to positions of leadership, I deeply admire you.⁵ Refine your minds, present your thoughts, and I shall condescend to listen and inquire.

蓋聞五帝三王之道，改制作樂而天下洽和，百王同之。當虞氏之樂莫盛於韶，於周莫盛於勺。聖王已沒，鐘鼓箎絃之聲未衰，而大道微缺，陵夷至康桀紂之行，王道大壞矣。然猶不能反，日夫五百年之間，守文之君，當塗之士，欲則先王之法以戴翼其世者甚以仆滅，至後王而後止，豈其所持操或諄繆而失其統與？固天降命不可復反，必推之於大衰而後息與？烏

⁴ The graph in the original is *zhi* 制, which usually means “edict.” However, here it is an open question issued to the various court erudites rather than a command. therefore I have translated it as “inquiry.” In later inquiries in the chapter, the graph *zhi* is replaced with *ce* 冊, which also may be translated as “inquiry.”

⁵ For the rendering of official titles such as *zi* 子, Viscount, and *Da Fu* 大夫, Grandee, I have referred to the excellent monograph on imperial titles by Charles O. Hucker. See Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Taipei: SMC Publishing [reprint of the Stanford University Press edition]), 1985.

虐！凡所爲屑屑，夙興夜寐，務法上古者，又將無補與？三代受命，其符安在？災異之變，何緣而起？性命之情，或夭或壽，或仁或鄙，習聞其號，未燭厥理。伊欲風流而令行，刑輕而姦改，百姓和樂，政事宣昭，何脩何飭而膏露降，百穀登，德潤四海，澤臻□木，三光全，寒暑平，受天之祐，享鬼神之靈，德澤洋溢，施虐方外，延及□生？

“I have heard of the Way of the Five-Sovereigns and Three-August Ones.⁶ Each of them reformed their governments by creating music, and their kingdoms were ordered and peaceful. The various kings were like this. The music during the time of the Yu family was not as illustrious as the Shao music [of the legendary Shun], and the music of the Zhou House was not as illustrious as the Shuo music [of the ‘Zhou Song’ chapter of the *Classic of Odes*]. After the sage-kings had disappeared, even though the sounds of bells, flutes, and lyres had not yet been eliminated, the Great Way was deficient. The deterioration [of the Way/proper music] reached the eras of the wicked deeds of Jie and Zhou, and the kingly Way was in great straits.⁷ Now, within the period of five-hundred years, many lords who preserve culture, and responsible scholars, have desired to emulate the methods of the former kings in order to refresh and aid the people of their generation. Even so, they could still not turn [the times]. Each day fell into further destruction, until the time of the latter kings when the destruction of the Way was finally ended. How is it that while some hold [the Way], others who are perverse destroy its Standard? Certainly

⁶ The “Five Sovereigns 五帝” are generally agreed to be Huang Di 黃帝, Zhuan Xu 顓頊, Di Ku 帝嚳, Yao 堯, and Shun 舜, who are traditionally believed to have existed between the years c. 2952 B.C. - 2205 B.C. The “Three August Ones,” called San Wang 三王 in the original text of the *Han Shu*, are also known as San Huang 三皇, and are Fu Xi 伏羲, Shen Nong 神農, and Nu Wa 女媧. For a general discussion of the Five Sovereigns and the Three August Ones, see John Knoblock, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works*, v. 2 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp. 6-14.

⁷ Jie Gui 桀癸 (acceded c. 1819 B.C.), the bad last ruler of the Xia 夏 dynasty, and Zhou Xin 紂辛 (acceded c. 1154 B.C.), the bad last ruler of the Shang 商 dynasty, are considered depraved rulers who caused the forfeiture of the Mandate to rule due to their abnegation of ritual propriety. They mark the end of their respective dynasties.

the Mandate sent down by Heaven can not be reversed. Must it be pushed into great decay and finally cease? Alas! Is there no benefit to gain from all who are active, rising early, retiring late, and employing the methods of the ancients? The Three-Dynasties received the Mandate; from where does their authority derive?⁸ What causes the transmutations of various calamities to arise? It is characteristic of the Mandate's nature that some die early, some die late, some are benevolent, and some are lowly. I have not yet been enlightened regarding this by the ideas of those who have titles [according to their erudition]. I desire my influence to flow outwardly, my commands to be carried out, punishments to be light, lasciviousness to be corrected, the various clans to be peaceful and happy, and that the affairs of government be illuminated. How can this be refined and managed so that enriching dew descends, the hundred-grains ripen, virtue moistens the four seas, the sprouting trees are nurtured, the three luminaries [sun, moon, stars] are complete, heat and cold are tempered, the prosperity of Heaven is received, sacrifices are made to the sacred *gui* and *shen* souls, the nurturing quality of virtue is filled to the brim, and [the Way] extends to far places, arriving at the various forms of life?

子大夫明先聖之業，習俗化之變，終始之序，講聞高誼之日久矣，其明以諭朕，科別其條，勿猥勿并，取之於術，慎其所出，乃其不正不直，不忠不極，枉于執事，書之不泄，興于朕躬，毋悼後害，子大夫其盡心，靡有所隱，朕將親覽焉。

⁸ The "Three Dynasties 三代" are the Xia 夏 (c. 2100 B.C. - c. 1600 B.C.), Shang 商 (c. 1600 B.C. - 1045 B.C.), and Zhou 周 (1045 B.C. - 221 B.C.). The period of the Three Dynasties is important to the subject of this biography of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (circa 195 B.C. - 105 B.C.) for two reasons. First, by the time of the Zhou's decline, it was believed to be the era of the most influential political and philosophical thought, and second, these three dynastic Houses represent and embody, for Dong, a cyclical pattern of governance and Mandate theory (Cf. *infra*, pp. 29-31).

“Viscounts and Grandees, clarify the skills of the former sages, the various teachings, and the ends and beginnings of cycles. You have long expounded and heard lofty and righteous [teachings]. Elucidate that I may be instructed. Classify and distinguish the reasons of your deductions; do not withhold or abbreviate anything. Draw from the arts and carefully present [your conclusions]. Moreover, when you write, do not allow that which is not rectified, straight, loyal, centrally pertinent, or that which is useless to utilize in affairs [of governance], to slip through the cracks. Present your thoughts to me without fear of punishment. Viscounts and Grandees, exhaust your minds and do not obscure anything, as I will investigate [your responses] myself.”⁹

仲舒對曰：

陛下發德音，下明詔，求天命與情性，皆非愚臣之所能及也。臣謹案春秋之中，視前世已行之事，以觀天人相與之際，甚可畏也。國家將有失道之敗，而天乃先出災害以譴告之，不知自省，又出怪異以警懼之，尚不知變，而傷敗乃至。以此見天心之仁愛人君而欲止其亂也。自非大亡道之世者，天盡欲扶持而全安之，事在彊勉而已矣。彊勉學問，則聞見博而知益明；彊勉行道，則德日起而大有功；此皆可使還至而立有效者也。詩曰「夙夜匪解」，書云「茂哉茂哉！」皆彊勉之謂也。

Dong Zhongshu responded [to emperor Wu] in a memorial saying:

“The emperor, issuing his virtuous sounds and enlightened edicts, seeks [to understand] Heaven’s Mandate and its nature. In all such matters, an ignorant minister

⁹ There has been some presumption that this memorial is the same one that appears in the biography of Han Wudi, *Han Shu*, chapter six. This is based upon the fact that after Wudi’s memorial in chapter six concludes, it is stated that, “Accordingly, Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒, Gongsun Hong 公孫弘, and so forth, were distinguished 於是董仲舒公孫弘等出焉” (See *Han Shu*, pp. 160-161). While this does appear to coincide with the suggestion that Dong was distinguished after the Han Wudi memorial quoted in chapter fifty six, I am doubtful that they are the same memorial, as even a cursory glance at them reveals that the two memorials are very different. See Pan Ku, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, vol. 2, Trans. Homer H. Dubs (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1944), pp. 35-38. Also see Tzey-yueh Tain, “Tung Chung-shu’s System of Thought: Its Sources and Its Influence on Han Scholars,” Ph.D. dissertation (Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, 1974), p. 41, fn. 23.

such as I cannot arrive at understanding. [Therefore] I proceed with caution according to the true meaning of the *Chun Qiu*.¹⁰ (Having observed how many generations of past affairs have transpired, and relying upon my observations of the boundaries of Heaven and man, much inspires awe. When States and households approach the final loss of the Way, Heaven first warns by sending dangerous calamities in order to make its censure known. If these [calamities] are not recognized, oddities are sent to startle and frighten [the States and households]. If these transmutations are yet unrecognized, fatal defeat arrives [from Heaven]. From this it can be seen that Heaven, in its benevolence, loves the lords of men and desires to stop their chaos. Heaven exhausts itself desiring to sustain and completely pacify a generation that does not greatly diminish the way.) Such a generation carries out its affairs with steadfast tenacity, and that is all! If men study and listen with steadfast tenacity, they will hear and see broadly, and know with increased illumination. If men behave according to the Way with steadfast tenacity, they will daily increase their virtue and improve their merit. This can in all cases precipitate a return [of Heaven's sanction], and establish those things that are efficacious.) The *Classic of Odes* says, 'From dawn to dusk do not slacken,'¹¹ and the *Classic of Documents* states, 'Vigorous! Vigorous!'¹² This is what is meant by steadfast tenacity.

¹⁰ Dong is, of course, referring to his own exegetical tradition of reading the *Chun Qiu* 春秋 as a document constructed by Confucius as a means of praise and blame and reading portents. For a superb discussion of Dong's political use of the *Gong Yang* 公羊 commentary on the *Chun Qiu*, see Sarah Queen, *From Chronicle to Canon: The Hermeneutics of the Spring and Autumn, According to Tung Chung-shu* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 115-227.

¹¹ See the "Zheng (Ren 烝民)" poem in the "Da Ya 大雅." Also, See James Legge, *The She King* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2000), 543.

¹² Yan Shigu 顏師古 attributes this to "Jiu Youmo 咎繇謨" section of the "Yu Shu 虞書."

represent one
"true understanding"
of a text/classical
an orthodox view.

77

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U

道者，所繇適於治之路也，仁義禮樂皆其具也。故聖王已沒，而子孫長久安寧數百歲，此皆禮樂教化之功也。王者未作樂之時，乃用先王之樂宜於世者，而以深入教化於民。教化之情不得，雅頌之樂不成，故王者功成作樂，樂其德也。樂者，所以變民風，化民俗也；其變民也易，其化人也著。故聲發於和而本於情，接於肌膚，臧於骨髓。故王道雖微缺，而箎絃之聲未衰也。夫虞氏之不為政久矣，然而樂頌遺風猶有存者，是以孔子在齊而聞韶也。夫，所任者非其人，而所繇者非其道，是以人君莫不欲安存而惡危亡，然而政亂國危者甚政日以仆滅也。夫周道衰於幽厲，非道亡也，幽厲不繇也。至於宣王，思昔先王之德，興滯補弊，明文武之功業，周道粲然復興，詩人美之而作，上天祐之，為生賢佐，後世稱誦，至今不絕。此夙夜不解行善之所致也。孔子曰「人能弘道，非道弘人」也。故治亂廢興在於己，非天降命不可得反，其所操持諄謬失其統也。

“The Way is the path that, if followed, arrives at governance; duty, ritual, and music are its instruments. It is so that the sage-kings have vanished, and yet their sons and grandsons have peacefully extended through many generations for several hundred years. This is completely due to the merit of the transformative teachings of ritual and music. During an era in which the king does not himself produce music, he uses the music of former kings appropriate to his own generation, and moreover utilizes transformative teaching to penetrate deeply into the people. When the emotive nature of transformative teaching is not obtained, and the music of elegies and hymns are not whole, the king accordingly completes his merit in the creation of music, which is his virtue. Music is that which reforms the dispositions of the common people and transforms their customs; its conversion of the people is easy and its transformation of them is illuminating. Accordingly, its sounds are issued harmoniously and rooted in feeling; it accumulates between the skin and tissues and is stored within the marrow. It is so that even though the kingly Way is diminished, the sounds of flutes and lyres do not vanish. Now, the governance of the Yu family was brief indeed, nevertheless, music and hymns were transmitted and airs were still extant. Therefore Confucius heard the Shao

music while in Qi. Now, the lords of men certainly desire peace and life and detest peril and death; nevertheless, chaotic governance and endangered States are still numerous; official appointments are given to inappropriate people, and the inappropriate Way is followed. Therefore governance daily falls into destruction. Now, the Way of Zhou decayed during the eras of You and Li, yet it was not that the Way was destroyed, but that You and Li did not follow it.¹³ Once the era of king Xuan had arrived, he directed his mind toward the virtue of the former kings.¹⁴ He ~~lifted~~^{removed [lifted]} obstructions, replaced the corrupt, and illuminated the meritorious skills of kings Wen and Wu. The Way of Zhou was elucidated and again restored; poets glorified [king Xuan] and wrote of him, Heaven above protected him, and later generations, continuing to our own time, offer praises and eulogies. We know [of King Xuan] because from dawn until dusk the expressions of his praise are still not neglected. Confucius said, 'Men are able to extend the Way, yet the Way does not extend men.'¹⁵ Accordingly, governance, chaos, abandon, and restoration reside within oneself, and it is not that the Mandate sent down from Heaven is unalterable. He who grasps at falsehood destroys the Standard of governance.

dur' Early Han / Former Han, King was more implement of & would more easily be changed... establish that [the Way] moved away from this.

¹³ King You of the Zhou 幽王 (r. 781-771 B.C.) was the last ruler of the Western Zhou dynasty; he is said to have become infatuated with his consort, Bao Si 褒姒, divorced his wife, and deposed the legitimate heir apparent, thus weakening the state. King Li of the Zhou 厲王 (r. 857-842 B.C.) was also a ruler of the Western Zhou known for his depravities. King Li is said to have refused the advice of his worthy ministers.

¹⁴ King Xuan of Qi 齊宣王 (r. 319-301 B.C.) was the king of Qi during the Warring States era of the Zhou. He is probably acclaimed here because of his putative frequent audiences with the Confucian paragon, Mencius 孟子 (c. 382-300 B.C.).

¹⁵ See Lun Yu, 15.29. Dong Zhongshu's quotation of Confucius implies that man is given agency in his use of the Way, i.e., that the emperor Wu could indeed obtain Heaven's Mandate, under the correct circumstances, without fearing interference from Heaven.

臣聞天之所大奉使之王者，必有非人力所能致而自至者，此受命之符也。天下之人同心歸之，若歸父母，故天瑞應誠而至。書曰「白魚入于王舟，有火復于王屋，流爲鳥」，此蓋受命之符也。周公曰「復哉復哉」，孔子曰「德不孤，必有鄰」，皆積善彙德之效也。及至後世，淫佚衰微，不能統理，生諸侯背畔，殘賊良民以爭壤土，廢德教而任刑罰。刑罰不中，則生邪氣；邪氣積於下，怨惡畜於上。上下不和，則陰陽繆盪而妖孽生矣。此災異所緣而起也。

見受命論
“I have heard that that which Heaven greatly confers on the king, and which cannot be caused by the strength of man but comes of itself, is the contract of the received Mandate. [Once the Mandate is received,] the people of the kingdom return to the king in one accord as if returning to their parents. Thus Heaven’s omens arrive in response to the king’s sincerity. The *Classic of Documents* states: ‘The white fish leapt into the king’s boat, and flames, like a flock of birds, broke out upon his chamber.’¹⁶ This summarizes the contract of the received Mandate. The Duke of Zhou said, ‘Repayment indeed! Repayment indeed!’¹⁷ Additionally, Confucius exclaimed, ‘The virtuous are not alone, but are certain to be in the company of others.’¹⁸ In all cases, they gather goodness and accumulate the efficacy of virtue. Later generations, who are lascivious, idle, weak, and in decay, are unable to regulate and control the various gentlemen. Feudal lords are rebellious and injurious, and thieves contend for rich soil; they discard virtuous teachings and rely upon disfiguring punishments and harsh fines. When such punishments and fines are not appropriate, seditious vapors are born. When seditious vapors accumulate below, complaint and hatred gathers above. When the high

¹⁶ See James Legge, *The Shoo King* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2000), pp. 298-299.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ See *Lun Yu*, 4.25.

and low are in disharmony, Yin and Yang become confused and bizarre occurrences are born. This is the reason that calamities arise.

臣聞命者天之令也，性者生之質也，情者人之欲也。或夭或壽，或仁或鄙，陶冶而成之，不能粹美，有治亂之所生，故不齊也。孔子曰：「君子之德風(也)，小人之德(也)，上之風必偃。」故堯舜行德則民仁壽，桀紂行暴則民鄙夭。夫上之化下，下之從上，猶泥之在鈞，唯甄者之所為；猶金之在鎔，唯冶者之所鑄。「綏之斯(也)，動之斯和」，此之謂也。

“I have heard that *ming* [command] is the Mandate of Heaven, *xing* [nature] is one’s natural substance at birth, and *qing* [feeling] is the desire of men.¹⁹ Some men die young, and others in old-age; some are benevolent and some mean. Clay and metal can be formed by molding and casting, but not purified or made beautiful. There are those things that are born either intrinsically ordered or disordered, and accordingly cannot be reformed. Confucius said that, ‘The gentleman’s virtue is like the wind, and the petty man’s virtue is like grass; the wind above the grass will certainly cause it to yield.’²⁰ Accordingly, the behavior of Yao and Shun caused men to be benevolent and live long lives, and the behavior of Jie and Zhou caused men to be mean and die young. Now, what is below is transformed by, and follows, what is above. Moreover, clay placed upon a wheel can be formed only by a potter, and metal within a mold can be cast only by a blacksmith. The saying, ‘Assuage, and it will come; motivate, and it will accord,’ explains what I have said.

¹⁹ Dong’s philological exercise, here, exhibits his partisanship to the *Gong Yang* 公羊 exegetical approach, which is to define terms useful to the inculcation of the reader.

²⁰ See *Lun Yu* 12.19.

臣謹案春秋之文，求王道之端，得之於正。正次王，王次春。春者，天之所爲也；正者，王之所爲也。其意曰，上承天之所爲，而下以正其所爲，正王道之端云爾。然則王者欲有所爲，宜求其端於天。天道之大者在陰陽。陽爲德，陰爲刑；刑主殺而德主生。是故陽常居大夏，而以生育養長爲事；陰常居大冬，而積於空虛不用之處。以此見天之任德不任刑也。天使陽出布施於上而主歲功，使陰入伏於下而時出佐陽；陽不得陰之助，亦不能獨成歲。終陽以成歲爲名，此天意也。王者承天意以從事，故任德教而不任刑。刑者不可任以治世，猶陰之不可任以成歲也。爲政而任刑，不順於天，故先王莫之肯爲也。今廢先王德教之官，而獨任執法之吏治民，毋乃任刑之意與！孔子曰：「不教而誅謂之虐。」虐政用於下，而欲德教之被四海，故難成也。

“I, with careful reliance upon the words of the *Chun Qiu*, have sought after the origin of the kingly Way, which is obtainable in calendric rectification. Rectification is second to the king, and the king is second to spring.²¹ Spring is that which Heaven creates and rectification is that which the king creates. The *Chun Qiu*'s meaning may be stated thus: That which Heaven inherits from above and employs, and moreover uses to rectify what is below, is the origin of the rectified kingly Way. This being so, the king accordingly desires to possess that which he can employ, and appropriately seeks his beginning in Heaven. The great Way of Heaven resides in the principle patterns of Yin and Yang.²² Yang employs virtue and Yin employs punishment; punishment emphasizes execution and virtue emphasizes birth. Therefore, Yang normally dwells in summer's midst and takes birth, nurturing, raising, and aging as its occupation. Yin normally dwells in winter's midst and accumulates in the empty areas of unusable places. From this it is apparent that Heaven employs virtue rather than punishment. Heaven deploys

²¹ Here, Dong is referring to a line in the *Chun Qiu* that he claims to contain an implicit prioritization, which he uses with political relevance. The line reads: “In the first year, in spring, the king rectified the calendar 元年春王正月.” See Yin Gong 隱公, 1.1.

²² Hereafter, Dong redefines the a priori Daoist and/or Yin and Yang school understandings of Yin and Yang, casting them as Confucian principles. In his paradigm, Dong does not view them as equal, but rather prioritizes Yang over Yin, making Yang a preferred principle of governance.

Yang to manifest itself above and manage the harvest-year; it deploys Yin to enter, crouch below, and aid Yang at appropriate times. Yang, without the assistance of Yin, cannot alone complete the year. Finally, Yang is given its name according to its ability to complete the year. This is Heaven's intention. The king uses his inheritance of Heaven's intention to accomplish his occupation, and thus he employs virtuous teachings rather than punishments. Punishments cannot be employed to govern the generations, and moreover Yin cannot be singularly employed to complete the year. To govern and employ punishments does not accord with Heaven. Therefore, the former kings did not consent to them. Currently, ministers reject the virtuous teachings of the former kings, and only ministers who govern the people with firm use of the law are given employment. Confucius said, 'Punishment without instruction is cruel.'²³ To use cruel governance on those below and also desire virtuous teachings to cover the four seas, is difficult to achieve.

臣謹案春秋謂一元之意，一者萬物之所從始也，元者辭之所謂大也，謂一為元者，視大始而欲正本也。春秋深探其本，而反自貴者始。故為人君者，正心以正朝廷，正朝廷以正百官，正百官以正萬民，正萬民以正四方，四方正，遠近莫敢不壹於正，而亡有邪氣奸其間者。是以陰陽調而風雨時，□生和而萬民殖，五穀孰而□木茂，天地之間被潤澤而大豐美，四海之內聞盛德而皆徠臣，諸福之物，可致之祥，莫不畢至，而王道終矣。

"I, with careful reliance upon the *Chun Qiu*, shall now address the meanings of what are called 'unity' and 'origin.' 'Unity' is the beginning of the myriad objects, and the explanation of 'origin' is that which is called great. That which is said to be 'unity'

²³ See *Lun Yu*, 20.2.

producing 'origin' may be seen as a great beginning and a desire to rectify its roots.²⁴ The *Chun Qiu* deeply inquires into roots, and conversely begins with that which is noble. For this reason, the lords of men rectify their minds in order to rectify the court, the court is rectified in order to rectify the various officials, the various officials are rectified in order to rectify the myriad people, and the myriad people are rectified in order to rectify the four directions.²⁵ Once the four directions are rectified, near and far would not dare but to unify, and there would be no seditious vapors that cause people to rebel in open areas. Once rectification has occurred, Yin and Yang harmonize, wind and rain are timely, various creatures accord, the myriad people prosper, the five grains ripen, grasses and trees flourish, and the space between heaven and earth is covered with glistening waters and luxurious beauty. All within the four seas hear of the king's flourishing virtue, the various ministers come to serve, and all that is felicitous is brought into auspiciousness. Everything reaches fruition and the kingly Way is complete.

孔子曰：「鳳鳥不至，河不出圖，吾已矣夫！」自悲可致此物，而身卑賤不得致也。今陛下貴為天子，富有四海，居得致之位，操可致之勢，又有能致之資，行高而恩厚，知明而意美，愛民而好士，可謂誼主矣。然而天地未應而美祥莫至者，何也？凡以教化不立而萬民不正也。夫萬民之從利也，如水之走下，不以教化隄防之，不能止也。是故教化立而姦邪皆止者，其隄防完也；教化廢而姦邪並出，刑罰不能勝者，其隄防壞也。古之王者明於此，是故南面而治天下，莫不以教化為大務。立大學以教於國，設庠序以化於邑，漸民以仁，摩民以誼，節民以禮，故其刑罰甚輕而禁不犯者，教化行而習俗美也。

²⁴ What this rather vermicular passage suggests is that a beginning's subsequent results are dependant upon its foundation. That is, a beginning that ensued with an impulse towards rectification produces an "origin" that is consequently "great."

²⁵ For an excellent discussion of the evolution and implication of the term "four directions 四方," from Shang to Han times, consult Wang Aihe, *Cosmology and Political Culture in Early China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

“Confucius said, ‘The phoenix has not arrived and the river has not sent forth its chart; I am finished!’²⁶ Confucius lamented his inability to bring about these things, as he was of such a lowly position.²⁷ Now, the emperor’s nobility has made him the Son of Heaven; his wealth contains all within the four seas, his status is such that it can bring about these things [the phoenix and the river chart], and the transmission of their efficacy is within his grasp. Moreover, he is capable of transmitting his native endowment. His actions are lofty and his kindness excellent; his understanding is illuminated and his intentions beautiful; he loves the people and is fond of scholars. This can be called appropriate leadership.²⁸ This is so, yet Heaven and earth do not respond and good omens do not arrive; how is this possible? This is all because transformative teachings are not established and the myriad people are not rectified. Now, the myriad people follow after profit like water descending. If you do not employ transformative teachings to hold things in check as a water dam, they cannot be stopped. Accordingly, transformative teachings are established and lasciviousness is stopped when the dam is complete. Alternatively, transformative teachings are abandoned and lasciviousness is all-pervasive when the dam is broken. The great kings of antiquity understood this and accordingly faced south and governed the kingdom; none did not take transformative teachings as their duty. The emperor should establish a Great Academy in order to

²⁶ See *Lun Yu*, 9.9.

²⁷ The original line reads slightly different from the way I have rendered it, however I hope that I have nonetheless made its meaning more clear.

²⁸ Alternatively this line can read, “He is a righteous leader.”

²⁹ In case this analogy is missed, Dong Zhongshu is using a comparative parallel – water equals the people’s pursuit after profit and transformative teachings are a dam. Transformative teachings are expected to check selfish ambition as a dam obstructs flowing water.

instruct the state, and set up local schools to influence the districts.³⁰ Infuse the people with a sense of benevolence, polish them with a sense of duty, and manage them with a sense of ritual conduct. Accordingly, punishments will be extremely light and prohibitions will not be violated. Transformative teachings will be employed and common practice will be beautiful.

聖王之繼亂世也，掃除其跡而悉去之，復修教化而崇起之，教化已明，習俗已成，子孫循□聖王之繼亂世也，掃除其之，行五六百歲尙未敗也。至周之末世，大爲亡道，以失天下，秦繼其後，獨不能改，又益甚之，重禁文學，不得挾書，棄捐禮誼而惡聞之，其心欲盡滅先王之道，而顛爲自恣苟簡之治，故立爲天子十四歲而國破亡矣。自古以□，未嘗有以亂濟亂，大敗天下之民如秦者也。其遺毒餘烈，至今未滅，使習俗薄惡，人民鬪頑，抵冒殊扞，孰爛如此之甚者也。孔子曰：「腐朽之木不可彫也，糞土之牆不可圻也。」今漢繼秦之後，如朽木糞牆矣，雖欲善治之，亡可柰何。法出而姦生，令下而詐起，如以湯止沸，抱薪救火，愈甚亡益也。竊譬之琴瑟不調，甚者必解而更張之，乃可鼓也；爲政而不行，甚者必變而更化之，乃可理也。當更張而不更張，雖有良工不能善調也；當更化而不更化，雖有大賢不能善治也。故漢得天下以來，常欲善治而至今不可善治者，失之於當更化而不更化也。古人有言曰：「臨淵羨魚，不如(蛛)[退]而結網。」今臨政而願治七十餘歲矣，不如退而更化；更化則可善治，善治則災害日去，福祿日來。詩云：「宜民宜人，受祿于天。」爲政而宜於民者，固當受祿于天。夫仁誼禮知信五常之道，王者所當脩飭也；五者脩飭，故受天之祐，而享鬼神之靈，德施于方外，延及□生也。

“When a sage king follows a chaotic generation, he sweeps away its traces, completely removing them. Afterward, he cultivates and honors transformative teachings. When transformative teachings have been illuminated and completed in common practice, sons and grandsons will accord with them, and such teachings will not be destroyed for five or six hundred years. During its final years, the House of Zhou

³⁰ Mencius makes a similar recommendation to King Hui of Liang 梁惠王 regarding attention to local schools in the first chapter of the work bearing his name. Yang Bojun, in his excellent commentary on the *Mencius*, states that “schools in certain places were anciently called ‘xiang xu.’” See *Mencius*, Yang Bojun commentary (Taipei: Wunan Tushu Chubanshe Youxiangongsi, 1992), p. 11.

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Also, see
His chapter 16
for how we
thought the Greeks
w/ all their warlike
vices.
(Hs. 13:?)

behaved contrary to the Way and lost the kingdom. Following the Zhou, the Qin House alone could not be reformed. The Qin sought to increase itself by heavily prohibiting literary study so that one could not even carry a book. It rejected ritual conduct and righteousness, and hated to hear of them. It willed to completely destroy the Way of the sage kings, and ignorantly indulged in a rule of lasciviousness, indecorum, and impropriety. For this reason the Son of Heaven was established for only fourteen years before the state was broken apart. From antiquity to the present, there has never been an occasion such as during the Qin, when chaos was employed to stop chaos, and such great ~~chaos~~ ^{disorder} fell onto the people. The remnants of its poison and violence has reached today, and is still not completely eradicated. It employed the common, stingy, hateful, people without intelligence, and used shamelessly draconian policies.³¹ Who has been more rotten than this? Confucius said, 'Rotten wood cannot be carved, and a wall of dung cannot be troweled.'³² Now, what the Qin has left to the Han is like rotten wood or a wall of dung; nothing can be done about this. Laws are issued and lasciviousness is born; commands are sent below and duplicity arises. This is like using hot water to stop boiling water or adding brushwood to stop a flame; it merely adds severity without benefit. This is comparable to a lute that is out of tune. In extreme cases, you must release the strings and re-stretch them; then you will be able to play it. When [proper] governance cannot be carried out, if the case is extreme, you must restructure and transform it; then you will be able to put it in order. If you should stretch the strings of a lute but do not, even a skilled craftsman could not tune it. If you should transform the

³¹ The terseness of this line in the original leaves much room for alternative renderings. I am not entirely confident about my translation of it.

³² See *Lun Yu*, 5.10. Dong Zhongshu has syntactically altered this line from the original in the *Lun Yu*.

government but do not, even a great worthy could not skillfully govern. From the time the Han obtained the kingdom it has desired to skillfully govern, but to this day it has not been able to. This is because it should transform its government but has not done so. The ancients have a saying that states, 'To look into the deep and admire the fish is not as good as stepping back and weaving a net.' Currently, governing and desiring to rule for more than seventy years, is not as good as stepping back and transforming the government.³³ Transform and you will be able to skillfully govern; skillfully govern and calamities will daily disappear, and blessings will daily arrive. The *Classic of Odes* says, 'Treat the various people appropriately, and Heaven will dispel its emoluments.'³⁴ To govern and moreover to treat the people appropriately will bring such emoluments from Heaven.³⁵ Now, the five constants of the Way are benevolence, righteousness, ritual conduct, wisdom, and trustworthiness, and the king should cultivate and instruct them. If these five things are cultivated and instructed, then the protection of Heaven and the sacred help of various spirits will be received; virtue will be dispersed to the outer areas, and extend to the various living creatures."

天子覽其對而異焉，乃復冊之曰：

³³ This passage, of course, could be directed at the Han House, as "seventy years" is approximately how long the Han had been in power when Dong Zhongshu wrote this memorial. If it is to be read thus, then its rendering would be different than I have provided here.

³⁴ See the "Jia Le 假樂" in the "Da Ya 大樂." Also, see Legge, *She King*, p. 481.

³⁵ Dong Zhongshu is, of course, known for his views that Heaven responds to human activities. This notion is contrary to that of Xunzi 荀子, who maintains that Heaven functions according to its own patterns, unmoved by the actions of humanity. Xunzi states as much in his "Discourse on Heaven 天論篇," wherein he states, "When that which you receive [from Heaven] is timely and arrives during an ordered age, you consider them a match; when that which you receive [from Heaven] is calamities and arrives during an ordered age, you consider it unusual. You cannot blame Heaven; this is its Way 受時與治世同而殃禍與治世異不可以怨其道然也." See Xunzi, "Tian Lun Pian 天論篇."

制曰：蓋聞虞舜之時，游於巖郎之上，垂拱無爲，而天下太平。周文王至於日昃不暇食，而宇內亦治。夫帝王之道，豈不同條共貫與？何逸勞之殊也？

The Son of Heaven read Dong's response to his inquiry and found it exceptional. He accordingly wrote another document that read:

“The inquiry states: All have heard that during the times of Yao and Shun, officials of higher rank than those who wandered through the smaller dwellings below the palace allowed their robes to hang loosely and did nothing, and the kingdom was at great peace. However, King Wen of the Zhou from dawn to dusk could not take time to eat, and all under the canopy of Heaven was ordered.³⁶ Now, regarding the Way of the kings on high, is it not linked together by a similar law? How can the methods of diligence and ease be distinguished?

蓋儉者不造玄黃旌旗之飾。及至周室，設兩觀，乘大路，朱干玉戚，八佾陳於庭，而頌聲興。夫帝王之道豈異指哉？或曰良玉不琢，又曰非文無以輔德，二端異焉。

“Whereas the frugal did not produce black and yellow banner adornments, once we arrive at the House of Zhou, it constructed two observation towers, roads for chariots, made jade battle axes, employed eight files of female dancers arrayed in court, and restored the sounds of hymns. Now, how could the Ways of kings on high be so dissimilar? Some say that good jade need not be carved into a tablet, while others assert that virtue cannot be supported by the uncultivated; these two assertions are different!

³⁶King Wen 文王 is the father of the first king of the Zhou. He is given the posthumous epitaph, “king/wang,” for his role in overthrowing the Shang, even though he did not actually occupy the position of king.

殷人執五刑以督姦，傷肌膚以懲惡。成康不式，四十餘年天下不犯，囹圄空虛。秦國用之，死者甚衆，刑者相望，耗矣哀哉！

“The people of Yin upheld the five punishments in order to censure lasciviousness;³⁷ they carved flesh and skin in order to put an end to evil. Kings Cheng and Kang of the Zhou did not employ the five punishments, and for more than forty years no one in the kingdom rebelled, and the prisons remained empty.³⁸ The state of Qin used punishments and the amount of deaths were extreme. Mutilating punishments were a common sight. Oh, what a waste (1)

烏虜！朕夙寤晨興，惟前帝王之憲，永思所以奉至尊，章洪業，皆在力本任賢。今朕親耕藉田以爲農先，勸孝弟，崇有德，使者冠蓋相望，問勤勞，恤孤獨，盡思極神，功烈休德未始云獲也。今陰陽錯繆，氛氣充塞，□生寡遂，黎民未濟，廉恥質亂，賢不肖渾(淆)(澁)，未得其真，故詳延特起之士，(意)庶幾乎！今子大夫待詔百有餘人，或道世務而未濟，稽諸上古之不同，考之于今而難行，毋乃牽於文繫而不得騁(歟)(與)？將所繇異術，所聞殊方與？各悉對，著于篇，毋諱有司，明其指略，切磋商之，以稱朕意。

“Alas! I remain awake at night and arise at daybreak, with only the methods of the kings on high before me. I intensely consider that which I can use to bring respect to the honorable, illuminate their great skills, and employ all of the worthies of agriculture. Currently, I keep near to those who cultivate the fields in order to prioritize the farmers. I exhort the filial and brotherly, honor the virtuous, and order officials to observe one another, to inquire on each other, and exhort each other to be diligent. I am sympathetic towards the orphaned, and exhaust my thought to the limits of my spirit. Yet I have not

³⁷ The five mutilating punishments of ancient times were branding 墨, cutting off the nose 劓, cutting off the feet 刖, castration 宮, and execution 大辟.

³⁸ King Cheng 成王 reigned from 1115-1077 B.C. and King Kang 康王 reigned from 1078-1051 B.C.

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employed the meritorious.³⁹ Currently, Yin and Yang are mixed up, seditious vapors are congested, the various living creatures cannot mature, and the common people cannot be helped. The modest and shameful, composed and chaotic, worthy and degenerate are all mixed together, and they cannot obtain their true selves. Accordingly, I exhaustively invited exceptional scholars from near and far. Now, you Viscounts and Grandees who await my summons are more than a hundred men. Some have attended to the Way for generations and have not been of help. Look into the dissimilarities of high antiquity; contrast them with today, and locate their problematic applications. Moreover, do not be drawn into limiting your writing, or be too hasty. Is it not from the diverse arts that I can hear of the various methods? In all cases, exhaust your intentions and respond in writing; do not conceal anything for fear of restriction. Elucidate your propositions; carve, polish, and scrutinize your responses in order to tell me what your intentions are.”

仲舒對曰：

臣聞堯受命，以天下爲憂，而未以位爲樂也，故誅逐亂臣，務求賢聖，是以得舜聖輔德，**稷**佐職，教化大行，天下和洽，萬民皆安仁樂誼，各得禹、**稷**、**契**、**皋繇**，其宜，動作應禮，從容中道。故孔子曰「如有王者，必世而後仁」，此之謂也。堯在位七十載，乃遜于位以禪虞舜。堯崩，天下不歸堯子丹朱而歸舜。舜知不可辟，乃即天子之位，以禹爲相，因堯之輔佐，繼其統業，是以垂拱無爲而天下治。孔子曰「韶盡美矣，又盡善也」，此之謂也。至於殷紂，逆天暴物，殺戮賢知，殘賊百姓。伯夷、太公皆當世賢者，隱處而不爲臣。守職之人皆奔走逃亡，入于河海。天下秬亂，萬民不安，故天下去殷而從周。文王順天理物，師用賢聖，是以閎夭、大顛、散宜生等亦聚於朝廷，受施兆民，天下歸之，故太公起海濱而即三公也。當此之時，紂尚在上，尊卑昏亂，百姓散亡，故文王悼痛而欲安之，是以日昃而不暇食也。孔子作春秋，先正王而繫萬事，見素

³⁹ I have compromised the original of this line somewhat in the hope that it is more clear.

王之文焉·繇此觀之，帝王之條貫同，然而勞逸異者，所遇之時異也·孔子曰「武盡美矣，未盡善也」，此之謂也·

Dong Zhongshu responded in a memorial saying:

“I have heard that when Yao received the Mandate, his concern was for the kingdom, and he did not take his position to be his delight. Therefore, he punished and exiled chaotic ministers and made seeking worthy sages his duty. This being so, he obtained the ministers Yu, Ji, Xie, and Jiu You. The many sages upheld virtue, the worthies were able to assist in governance, transformative teachings were widely employed, and the kingdom was peaceful and in order. The myriad people all rested in benevolence and delighted in righteousness, and all obtained their appropriate place. Their actions responded to ritual conduct and their decorum centered on the Way. Accordingly, Confucius said, ‘Even if there is one who is kingly, it would surely take a generation before there is benevolence.’⁴⁰ This aptly describes what I have said. Yao occupied the position of king for more than seventy years, and then yielded his position in order to abdicate to Yu Shun. After Yao’s death, the kingdom would not turn to his son, Dan Zhu, but instead turned to his minister, Shun. Shun knew that he could not avoid the people’s request, and thus became the Son of Heaven. Shun used Yu as his advisor, and relied upon the assistance of Yao to extend Yao’s standards and skills.⁴¹ Thereupon, he allowed his robes to hang loosely while he did nothing, and the kingdom was in order. Confucius said, ‘The Shao music is completely beautiful and masterful

⁴⁰ See *Lun Yu*, 13. 12.

⁴¹ According to the *Shu Jing*, Yao 堯 remained alive for twenty eight years after he had abdicated the throne to Shun 舜. This is how Shun was able to benefit from Yao’s assistance after he had become sovereign. See Legge, *The Shoo King*, pp. 32-40.

indeed!⁴² This aptly describes what I have said. King Zhou of Yin, in his time, opposed Heaven and was cruel to others.⁴³ He massacred worthies and those of understanding, and was injurious to the various clans. Bo Yi and Tai Gong were both worthies of their generation who became recluses and did not act as ministers.⁴⁴ Men who valued governance all fled to escape death, and entered into the river and ocean areas. The kingdom was unenlightened and chaotic, and the myriad people were not at peace. For this reason the kingdom rejected the Yin and followed the Zhou. King Wen accorded with Heaven and ordered objects. He took worthies and sages as his teachers, and thus men of such rank as Hong Yao, Da Tian, and San Yisheng assembled within his court.⁴⁵ His love spread throughout the masses, and the kingdom turned to him. Accordingly, Tai Gong emerged from the ocean shore and became one of the Three Dukes.⁴⁶ During that time [when King Wen was attracting worthy officials], Zhou was still the king, honoring the vulgar and disorderly, and dividing the various clans. It was because of this that King Wen mourned in anguish and desired to pacify the people. Accordingly, from dawn to

⁴² See *Lun Yu*, 3.25. Yan Shigu comments, “‘Shao’ is the music of Shun; Confucius honors Shun’s virtue. Accordingly, he listened to his music and exclaimed, ‘The Shao music is completely beautiful and masterful indeed!’” See *Han Shu* (Taipei: Dingwen Shuju, 1997), p. 2509, 15, 2509

⁴³ King Zhou of Yin 殷紂王 (acceded c. 1154 B.C., Cf. *supra* fn. 7) was the last and corrupt ruler of the Yin/Shang 殷/商. In later times Zhou became an example of wicked rulership that loses Heaven’s Mandate.

⁴⁴ Bo Yi 伯夷 was a prince of Guzhu during the Shang who went into seclusion after King Wu of Zhou conquered the Shang; he refused to serve the House of Zhou and allowed himself to starve to death at Shouyang Mountain. I am not aware of the identity of Tai Gong 太公.

⁴⁵ Hong Yao 閔夭 was a friend of King Wen who worked to get King Wen released after King Zhou of the Shang had imprisoned him. Afterward, Hong Yao assisted King Wu destroy the Shang. Da Tian 大顛 was a minister of King Wen; no other information on him is available. San Yisheng 散宜生 was, like Hong Yao, a friend of King Wen who later helped King Wu destroy the Shang.

⁴⁶ The Three Dukes, San Gong 三公, were a triumvirate of state counselors during the Han. These three officials occupied the highest posts in court.

dusk he did not take time to eat. Confucius produced the *Chun Qiu*, first ordering kingliness, and then linking the myriad affairs; the writings of the “uncrowned king” then became manifest.⁴⁷ From this it can be seen that the tasks of the kings on high were the same, but that some were diligent and some were at ease is because the times they encountered were different. Confucius said that the music of ‘Wu was completely beautiful but not completely good.’⁴⁸ This aptly describes what I have said.

臣聞制度文采玄黃之飾，所以明尊卑，異貴賤，而勸有德也。故春秋受命所先制者，改正朔，易服色，所以應天也。然則宮室旌旗之制，有法而然者也。故孔子曰：「奢則不遜，儉則固。」儉非聖人之中制也。臣聞良玉不瑑，資質潤美，不待刻瑑，此亡異於達巷黨人不學而自知也。然則常玉不瑑，不成文章；君子不學，不成其德。

“I have heard that laws, measures, literature, and black and yellow banners are used to clarify the various ranks of juniors and seniors. They distinguish the noble from the vulgar and exhort the virtuous. Accordingly, the *Chun Qiu* received the Mandate: that which is first regulated is the reform of the first month of the calendar and the adjustment of the sartorial colors; this responds to Heaven. Thereupon, the governance of palaces, houses, and banners has regulations and is so. Accordingly, Confucius said, ‘Extravagance results in disobedience; frugality results in obstinance.’⁴⁹ Frugality is not the sages’ central form of governance. I have heard it said that good jade is not made into a tablet; its endowed substance is already smooth and beautiful, and need not await

⁴⁷ The notion of Confucius being an “uncrowned king,” *su wang* 素王, supposes that Confucius was a sage who, while not holding the temporal status of king, ruled an abstract kingdom in which his kingly judgements can be located within his textual works (e.g., the *Chun Qiu*).

⁴⁸ See *Lun Yu* 3.25. Here, Confucius compares the music of Shun 舜 to that of Wu 武, and, of course, concludes that Wu’s is not equal to Shun’s, which is both completely beautiful and good..

⁴⁹ See *Lun Yu*, 7.36.

carving. This is no different than the villager at Daxiang who considered himself already knowing without having studied.⁵⁰ If things are thus, then jade will be constantly left uncarved into a tablet, and literary refinement will be incomplete. The gentleman who does not study will not complete his virtue.

臣聞聖王之治天下也，少則習之學，長則材諸位，爵祿以養其德，刑罰以威其惡，故民曉於禮誼而恥犯其上。武王行大誼，平殘賊，周公作禮樂以文之，至於成康之隆，囹圄空虛四十餘年，此亦教化之漸而仁誼之流，非獨傷肌膚之效也。至秦則不然，師申商之法，行韓非之說，憎帝王之道，以貪狼爲俗，非有文德以教訓於天下也。誅名而不察實，爲善者不必免，而犯惡者未必刑也。是以百官皆飾(空言)虛辭而不顧實，外有事君之禮，內有背上之心，造僞飾詐，趣利無恥；又好用儻酷之吏，死者相望賦斂亡度，竭民財力，百姓散亡，不得從耕織之業，盜並起。是以刑者甚，而姦不息，俗化使然也。故孔子曰「導之以政，齊之以刑，民免而無恥」，此之謂也。

“I have heard of sage kings who govern the kingdom; when they were young, they made study their common practice, and when they were older, they utilized their refined talents for the duties of their positions. They used official salaries to nurture the virtuous and penalties to awe the depraved. Thus, the people understood ritual conduct and righteousness, and were ashamed of opposing the emperor. King Wu of Zhou behaved with great righteousness and pacified the injurious, and the Duke of Zhou produced music in order to cultivate them.⁵¹ During the time of the eminent reigns of

⁵⁰ Daxiang 達巷 is an ancient name for a place within modern Shandong. The “villager” of Daxiang appears in *Lun Yu* 9.2. The commentator of the *Han Shu*, Meng Kang 孟康, states that the villager is Xiang Tuo 項橐. See *Han Shu*, 2510. Xiang Tuo appears in the later text, the *San Zi Jing* 三子經 as one who encounters the sage Confucius at the age of seven and learns from him. See *Xin Shi San Zi Jing*, commentator Huang Peiying 黃沛榮 (Taipei: Sanmin Shuju Yinhang, 1992), p. 192.

⁵¹The Duke of Zhou 周公 (d. 1105 B.C.) was one of King Wen's son's, who acted as regent during the early reign of King Cheng of Zhou. He is putatively known as the progenitor of ritual conduct and music (制禮作樂).

Kings Cheng and Kang, the prisons were empty for more than forty years.⁵² Moreover, transformative teachings permeated and benevolence and righteousness flowed; there was not a single effort made to injure the skin and flesh of men. Once the Qin era arrived, this was no longer so. The Qin [ruler] studied the methods of Shen Buhai and Shang Yang, and employed the advice of Han Feizi.⁵³ The Qin despised the Way of the kings on high and used the common practice of a lustful wolf. None of the Qin's teachings that it transmitted to the kingdom were refined or virtuous.⁵⁴ It punished the accused without investigating the truth, the virtuous were not certain to escape accusation, and the rebellious and evil were not certain to be punished. Accordingly, the various officials all deceived with empty words, and were not mindful of the truth. Outwardly they served the ruler with ritual conduct, but inwardly they were contrary to the ruler's mind. They indulged in guile, ornamenting their deceitfulness, and delighted in profit without shame. Furthermore, the Qin was fond of employing tyrannical minor officials. It exacted taxation without measure, exhausted the labors of the people, scattered the various clans, did not obtain the skills of plowers and weavers, and brigands arose everywhere. Accordingly, the punished were extremely numerous, the dead were seen [everywhere], and lasciviousness was unabated. The vulgar transformations were employed in this

⁵² Kings Cheng 成王 (acceded 1115 B.C.) and Kang 康王 (acceded 1078 B.C.) were the second and third rulers of the Zhou dynasty, respectively. Their reigns are traditionally remembered as idyllic periods of peace.

⁵³ Shen Buhai 申不害 (d. 337 B.C.) and Shang Yang 商鞅 (d. 338 B.C.) were officials of Hann 韓 and Qin 秦, respectively, who advocated strict observance to an impersonal and harsh bureaucratic administration. Han Feizi 韓非子 (c. 230 B.C.) was an advisor during the reign of the first Qin emperor, who also recommended a policy of firm governance. These three were later considered progenitors of the Legalist school of thought.

⁵⁴ Yan Shigu comments that "The wolf's nature is completely lustful, thus 'lustful wolf' is said to mean lust." See *Han Shu*, p. 2411.

way.⁵⁵ This is why Confucius said, ‘Guide them with regulations and restrain them with punishments, and the people will avoid punishments but have no sense of shame.’⁵⁶ This aptly describes what I have said.

今陛下并有天下，海內莫不率服，廣覽兼聽，極天下之知，盡天下之美，至德昭然，施於方外。夜郎、康居，殊方萬里，說德歸誼，此太平之致也。然而功不加於百姓者，殆王心未加焉。曾子曰：「尊其所聞，則高明矣；行其所知，則光大矣。高明光大，不在於它，在乎加之意而已。」願陛下因用所聞，設誠於內而致行之，則三王何異哉！

“The emperor possesses the entire kingdom; there is nothing within the four seas that has not been brought into his service. He has broadly investigated, widely listened, and advanced the knowledge of those below him. He has brought the beauty of the kingdom to a high point, and has achieved virtue and enlightenment that he extends to the outer areas. Even the areas of Ye Lang and Kang Ju, that are myriad li away from him, delight in virtue and return to righteousness.⁵⁷ Such is the governance of great peace. That this is so and merit is not yet added to the various clans, is because the extent of the king’s mind is not yet applied. Zeng ^{zi} said, ‘If one honors what he has heard, he will be highly illuminated! If one applies what he knows, he will be greatly enlightened indeed! Being highly illuminated and greatly enlightened resides in nothing more than adding to your intention, and that is all!’⁵⁸ I hope that the emperor uses what he has heard,

⁵⁵ This line may also be rendered as, “Common/vulgar influences were the cause of this.”

⁵⁶ See *Lun Yu*, 2.3.

⁵⁷ Ye Lang 夜郎 is the name of a country of barbarians during the Han where Guizhou is now located. Kang Ju 康居 is the name of an eastern country during the Han

⁵⁸ Yan Shigu simply states that this quote is “a statement of Zeng ^{zi} 曾子.” I am unsure of the textual, or otherwise, origin of Zeng ^{zi}’s comment. See *Han Shu*, p. 2512.

establishes sincerity within, and employs this. If he does, how could he be different from the Three August Ones?!

陛下親耕藉田以爲農先，夙寤晨興，憂勞萬民，思惟往古，而務以求賢，此亦堯舜之用心也，然而未云獲者，士素不厲也。夫不素養士而欲求賢，譬猶不(琢) [琢]玉而求文采也。故養士之大者，莫大(唐) [唐]太學；太學者，賢士之所關也，教化之本，對亡應書者，是王道往往而絕也。臣願陛下興太學，置明師，原也。今以一郡一國之以養天下之士，數考問以盡其材，則英俊宜可得矣。今之郡守、縣令，民之師帥，所使承流而宣化也；故師帥不賢，則主德不宣，恩澤不流。今吏既亡教訓於下，或不承用主上之法，暴虐百姓，與姦爲市，貧窮孤弱，冤苦失職，甚不稱陛下之意。是以陰陽錯繆，氛氣充塞，口生寡遂，黎民未濟，皆長吏不明，使至於此也。

“The emperor plows the fields himself [that farmers may see his example], and considers those who farm to be his first priority. He awakens early and rises in the morning, anxious about the labors of the people. He directs his thoughts only towards antiquity and makes striving for the worthy his duty. This also is how Yao and Shun applied their minds. That this is so, and yet the emperor has not obtained [the worthy], is because scholars are not always encouraged.⁵⁹ Now, not encouraging scholars constantly while desiring to seek the worthy is like leaving jade uncarved and still seeking after pattern and color. Accordingly, for greatly nurturing scholars, nothing is greater than a Great Academy, for it is the origin of worthy scholars and of transformative teachings. Now, that the people of even a single Commandery or State do not respond to the emperor’s inquiries is such that the kingly Way is being extended but broken off. I recommend that the emperor establishes a Great Academy that promulgates illuminating teachings so that the scholars of the kingdom can be nurtured. If repeated inquiries are

⁵⁹ The original uses the term “*shi* 士” for scholar/official. While Charles O. Hucker renders the term, “Servicemen,” I translate it as “scholar” because of the expectation during the Han that a *shi* be one highly learned in letters. For Hucker’s explanation of the term *shi* see his text on imperial titles, p. 421.

made in order to completely utilize their talents, then the brave and worthy should be attainable indeed! The Commandery Governors, District Magistrates, and the Regimental Commanders of men are employed to receive your charges and promulgate your influence. Accordingly, if [such as] the Regimental Commanders are unworthy, then the ruler's virtue will not be announced and his kindness will not be discharged. Currently, minor officials do not transmit teachings below; some do not accept the methods of their superiors, are cruel to the various clans, and consort with the lascivious seeking profit in the marketplace.⁶⁰ They impoverish the poor and orphan the weak, oppress the embittered and neglect their official duties, profoundly not measuring up to the emperor's intentions.⁶¹ Therefore Yin and Yang are in error, seditious vapors are backed up, the various living creatures do not mature, the masses do not receive aid, and all of the senior and junior officials are unenlightened. Thus we have come to this.

夫長吏多出於郎中、中郎，吏二千石子弟選郎吏，又以富訾，未必賢也。且古所謂功者，以任官稱職爲差，非所謂積日案久也。故小材雖案日，不離於小官；賢材雖未久，不害爲輔佐。是以有司竭力盡知，務治其業而以赴功。今則不然。累[案]日以取貴，積久以致官，是以廉恥賢亂，賢不肖渾殽，未得其真。臣愚以爲使諸列侯、郡守、二千石各擇其吏民之賢者，歲貢各二人以，且以觀大臣之能；所貢賢者有賞，所貢不肖者有罰。夫如是，諸侯、吏二千石皆盡給宿心於求賢，天下之士可得而官使也。□得天下之賢人，則三王之盛易爲，而堯舜之名可及也。毋以日月爲功，實試賢能爲上，量材而授官，錄德而定位，則廉恥殊路，賢不肖異處矣。陛下加惠，寬臣之罪，令勿牽制於文，使得切磋究之，臣敢不盡愚！

“Many of those who now occupy the post of Senior Subaltern are derived from the ranks of Inner Gentlemen. The Inner Gentlemen and various officials with

⁶⁰ Wu Weiqing, a Zhuangzi scholar of National Taiwan Normal University, suggests that the phrase, “wei shi 爲市,” in the original, implies that profits are made via the acceptance of bribes.

⁶¹ Here, I take 孤, normally nominalized, as a verb, “to orphan.”

emoluments of two thousand piculs who are selected to become palace officials, are selected on the basis of their wealth, and are not certain to be worthies. However, that which was called meritorious in antiquity was based upon official duty; official title was ranked second, and merit was not gathered by means of the accumulation of time in office. Accordingly, those of low talent who had accumulated time in office were not promoted out of their low posts, and those of worthy talents who had not been in office long were not hindered from rendering service [regarding important matters]. Therefore, the civil authorities exhausted their strength and knowledge in an effort to regulate their skills; this was the basis of their arriving at merit.⁶² In our time, this is not the case. Days are added to procure nobility and time is accumulated to attain official appointments. Therefore, the modest and shameful, composed and chaotic, worthy and degenerate are all mixed and confused, and they cannot obtain their true selves. I, an ignorant minister, recommend ordering all of the Adjunct Marquises, Commandery Governors, and those with emoluments of two thousand piculs, to select worthies from among the subordinate minor officials and other people, and each supply two men to be used as Palace Guards so they can observe the abilities of the great ministers. Those who supply worthies should be rewarded, whereas those who supply degenerates should be punished. Now, if this is done, the Feudal Lords and minor officials of two thousand picul emoluments will all exhaust their minds seeking the worthy, and the kingdom's scholars will be obtained and employed in office. (If all of the kingdom's worthy men are obtained, the prosperity of the Three August Ones could be easily brought about and the reputations of Yao and Shun could be achieved.) By not using the accumulation of days

⁶² This line may also be translated as, "Thereupon, the civil authorities exhausted their strength and knowledge, in an effort to *regulate the various craftsmen*, and used [this] in order to attain their merit."

and months to constitute merit, sincerely examining the worthies capable of being elevated, measuring talent and conferring posts, carefully examining the virtuous and establishing their positions, the ways of the modest and shameful will be distinguished, and the positions of the worthy and degenerate will be separated. If the emperor will extend his blessings and forgive my errors, if his command will not implicate this document as he corrects and investigates it, could I dare not to exhaust my ignorance?!”

於是天子復冊之。

制曰：蓋聞「善言天者必有徵於人，善言古者必有驗於今」。故朕垂問乎天人之應，上嘉唐虞，下悼桀紂，寢微寢滅寢明寢昌之道，虛心以改。今子大夫明於陰陽所以造化，習於先聖之道業，然而文采未極，豈惑虛當世之務哉？條貫靡竟，統紀未終，意朕之不明與？聽若眩與？夫三王之教所祖不同，而皆有失，或謂久而不易者道也，意豈異哉？今子大夫既已著大道之極，陳治亂之端矣，其悉之究之，孰之復之。詩不云虛？「嗟爾君子，毋常安息，神之聽之，介爾景福。」朕將親覽焉，子大夫其茂明之。

Thereupon the Son of Heaven wrote another inquiry that read:

“The inquiry states: All have heard that ‘skillful discussion of Heaven certainly is verifiable in man, and skillful discussion of antiquity certainly is verifiable in the present.’ This is why I have condescended to inquire about the responses between Heaven and man. Above, I admire Tang and Yu; below, I grieve about Jie and Zhou. The Way is gradually diminished, gradually destroyed, gradually illuminated, and gradually exalted; my mind is open that this may be changed.⁶³ Now, Viscounts and Grandees, you have been illuminated regarding that which Yin and Yang creates and

⁶³ The original line reads, “My mind is empty in order for this to change.” This does not express itself well in English.

transforms, and you have studied the methods and skills of the former sages. Nevertheless, literary refinement has not yet reached its limit; can it be that the efforts of this generation are deluded? Normative principles have not reached their end and standard institutions have not been completed. Is it that my intentions were unclear? Or have I heard incorrectly? Now, the teachings of the Three August Ones had different origins, and all disappeared, while some maintain that the Way is long-lasting and immutable. How could their meanings be so different? Now, Viscounts and Grandees, you have already written of the limits of the great Way. You have explained the incipience of chaotic governance, its limits, and how governance can be restored.⁶⁴ Does not the *Classic of Odes* state, 'Admirable, you lord! Do not remain in constant repose. The spirits listen to you and honor you with brilliant blessings!'⁶⁵ As I will read your memorials myself, Viscounts and Grandees, vigorously elucidate this."

仲舒復對曰：

臣聞論語曰：「有始有卒者，其唯聖人歟！」今陛下幸加惠，留聽於承學之臣，復下明冊，以切其意，而究盡聖德，非愚臣之所能具也。前所上對，條貫靡竟，統紀不終，辭不別白，指不分明，此臣淺陋之罪也。

Dong Zhongshu responded in a memorial saying:

"I have heard it said in the *Lun Yu* that, 'He who is able to have both a beginning and an end is a sagely man indeed!'⁶⁶ The emperor dispenses felicity and adds to it kindness; I have listened to his teachings, inherited his instruction, and studied them. He

⁶⁴ The translation of this line is tentative.

⁶⁵ See the "Xiao Ming 小明" poem of the "*Xiao Ya* 小雅." Also see Legge, *She Jing*, p. 366.

⁶⁶ See *Lun Yu*, 19.12.

has sent another cogent inquiry to his ministers in order to refine his meaning and complete sagely virtue by its investigation. This is beyond the ability of an ignorant minister such as I. In the memorial I formerly submitted, normative principles did not reach their end and standard institutions were not made complete. This is because my words were not clearly defined and my suggestions were not elucidated. I am guilty of being shallow and negligible.⁶⁷

冊曰：「善言天者必有徵於人，善言古者必有驗於今。」臣聞天者□物之祖也，故□覆包函而無所殊，建日月風雨以和之，經陰陽寒暑以成之。故聖人法天而立道，亦溥愛而亡私，布德施仁以厚之，設誼立禮以導之。春者天之所以生也，仁者君之所以愛也；夏者天之所以長也，德者君之所以養也；霜者天之所以殺也，刑者君之所以罰也。繇此言之，天人之徵，古今之道也。孔子作春秋，上揆之天道，下質諸人情，參之於古，考之於今。故春秋之所譏，災害之所加也；春秋之所惡，怪異之所施也。書邦家之過，兼災異之變，以此見人之所爲，其美惡之極，乃與天地流通而往來相應，此亦言天之一端也。古者修教訓之官，務以德善化民，民已大化之後，天下常亡一人之獄矣。今世廢而不脩，亡以化民，民以故棄行誼而死財利，是以犯法而罪多，一歲之獄以萬千數。以此見古之不可不用也，故春秋變古則譏之。天命之謂命，命非聖人不行；質樸之謂性，性非教化不成；人欲之謂情，情非度制不節。是故王者上謹於承天意，以順命也；下務明教化民，以成性也；正法度之宜，別上下之序，以防欲也；脩此三者，而大本舉矣。人受命於天，固超然異於□生，入有父子兄弟之親，出有君臣上下之誼，會聚相遇，則有耆老長幼之施；粲然有文以相接，驩然有恩以相愛，此人之所以貴也。生五穀以食之，桑麻以衣之，六畜以養之，服牛乘馬，圈豹檻虎，是其得天之靈，貴於物也。故孔子曰：「天地之性人爲貴。」明於天性，知自貴於物；知自貴於物，然後知仁誼；知仁誼，然後重禮節；重禮節，然後安處善；安處善，然後樂循理；樂循理，然後謂之君子。故孔子曰「不知命，亡以爲君子」，此之謂也。

“The emperor’s inquiry said that, ‘Skillful discussion of Heaven certainly is verifiable in man, and skillful discussion of antiquity certainly is verifiable in the

⁶⁷ A careful scrutiny of my translation of this paragraph will reveal that I have allowed some syntactical changes in the hope that Dong’s self-deprecations and meanings are more readable in English. It is difficult to find an adequate English equivalent of the specialized language employed in Han memorials.

present.' I have heard that Heaven is the origin of the various objects, and accordingly it covers and contains all without exception. It has established the sun, moon, wind, and rain in order to harmonize them, and arranged Yin, Yang, cold, and heat in order to complete them. Thus, sagely men regulated Heaven and established the Way, widely extending their affection and eliminating selfishness. They spread virtue and issued benevolence in order to benefit the people, and set out propriety and established ritual conduct in order to guide them. Spring is that which Heaven uses to give birth, and benevolence is that which the lord uses to express affection. Summer is that which Heaven uses to cause growth, and virtue is that which the lord uses to nurture. Frost is that which Heaven uses to cause death, and mutilating punishment is that which the lord uses to penalize. Thus, this can be said to be the coordination of Heaven and man, and the Way of antiquity and the present. Confucius produced the *Chun Qiu*; above, it calculates the Way of Heaven, and below, it plainly records human feeling. It considers those things in antiquity and verifies them in the present. The *Chun Qiu* disparages that which increases calamities and injury, and censures that which issues the strange and unusual. It records the faults of states and families, and the transmutations of calamities and oddities [portents]. On the basis of this, one can observe the limits of man's good and evil actions. Moreover, one can see the interchange between Heaven and earth and the responses of their going and coming. This, additionally, describes the singular nature of Heaven. The officials of antiquity who cultivated teaching, took the virtuous transformation of the people as their duty. Once the people had been greatly transformed, the kingdom was normally without even a single man in prison. This generation, however, has abandoned [such teachings] and is uncultivated. There is nothing to

transform the people, and they accordingly have rejected propriety, and kill themselves seeking wealth and profit. This is why they offend against laws, their crimes are numerous, and there are myriad men imprisoned each year. By this it can be seen that the methods of antiquity must be employed. This is why the *Chun Qiu* censures that which varies from antiquity. Heaven's command is called the Mandate, and the Mandate cannot be employed without sagely men. Endowed substance is called nature, and nature cannot be complete without transformative teachings. Human desire is called feeling, and feelings cannot be managed without measures and laws. Therefore, the king looks up and thoughtfully receives Heaven's intentions in order to follow its Mandate. Looking down, the king makes elucidating the transformative teachings of the people his duty in order to complete their nature. He rectifies suitable laws and measures, and distinguishes the ranks of senior and junior in order to restrain desire. Cultivate these three [Heaven's Mandate, endowed nature, and human feeling], and the great foundation of the state will rise indeed! Man receives his Mandate from Heaven, and fixed hierarchies distinguish him from the various living creatures. Within the home, he has the relationships of father and son, older brother and younger brother. Outside the home, he has the duties of lord and minister, senior and junior. Once men have gathered together, the relationships of old and young, and elder and senior, are set up.⁶⁸ Man's excellence provides the refinement used for affability. His joy provides the kindness used for affection. This is what makes him noble. He cultivates the five grains for food, grows mulberry and hemp for clothing, and keeps the six tame animals for nourishment.⁶⁹ He domesticates the ox,

⁶⁸ This line in the original appears to be unparalleled; I have adjusted it to be so.

⁶⁹ The six tame, or domestic, animals 六畜 are the horse, ox, goat, pig, dog, and fowl.

harnesses the horse, encloses leopards, and cages tigers. This is how man obtains the efficacy of Heaven and is more noble than other things. Accordingly, Confucius said, 'Of those things born of Heaven, man is the most noble.'⁷⁰ Man is illuminated by Heaven's nature, and his knowledge comes from his nobility over objects. Knowledge that comes from nobility over objects results in understanding benevolence and propriety. Understanding benevolence and propriety results in valuing ritual conduct and management. Valuing ritual conduct and management results in resting in a place of goodness. Resting in a place of goodness results in delighting in following reason. One who delights in following reason is called a gentleman. Confucius said, 'One who does not understand the Mandate, has no means by which to be a gentleman.'⁷¹ This aptly describes what I have said.

冊曰：「上嘉唐虞，下悼桀紂，寢微寢滅寢明寢昌之道，虛心以改。」臣聞成多，積小致鉅，故聖人莫不以晦致明，以微致顯。是以堯發於諸侯，舜興於深山，非一日而顯也，蓋有漸以致之矣。言出於己，不可塞也；行發於身，不可掩也。言行，治之大者，君子之所以動天地也。故盡小者大，慎微者著。詩云：「惟此文王，小心翼翼。」故堯兢兢日行其道，而舜業業日致其孝，善積而名顯，德章而身尊，此其寢明寢昌之道也。積善在身，猶長日加益，而人不知也；積惡在身，猶火之銷膏，而人不見也。非明虛情性察虛流俗者，孰能知之？此唐虞之所以得令名，而桀紂之可為悼懼者也。夫善惡之相從，如景鄉之應形聲也。故桀紂暴謾，讒賊並進，賢知隱伏，惡日顯，國日亂，晏然自以如日在天，終陵夷而大壞。夫暴逆不仁者，非一日而亡也，亦以漸至，故桀、紂雖亡道，然猶享國十餘年，此其寢微寢滅之道也。

"The emperor's inquiry said that, 'Above, I admire Tang and Yu; below, I grieve about Jie and Zhou. The Way is gradually diminished, gradually destroyed, gradually

⁷⁰ See *Xiao Jing*, "Essay on Sagely Governance 聖治章第九."

⁷¹ See *Lun Yu*, 20.3.

(cite specific text.)

illuminated, and gradually exalted; my mind is open that this may be changed.’ I have heard that the accumulation of the few becomes many, and the accretion of the small becomes large. Thus, sagely men were certain to use the subtle to bring about elucidation, and the vague to bring about the obvious. Therefore, Yao came from among the feudal lords and Shun arose from deep within the mountains. Evidence of them did not become manifest in a single day, but was gradually achieved. Words cannot be blocked once spoken, and actions cannot be obstructed once moved. Words and actions, as well as great governance, are what the gentleman uses to move Heaven and earth. Accordingly, the accumulation of the small becomes large, and the carefully subtle becomes obvious. The *Classic of Odes* states that, ‘Only King Wen was intent and reverent.’⁷² Accordingly, Yao employed his Way each day with reverence, and Shun brought about his filiality each day skillfully. When one’s goodness accumulates, his reputation becomes evident, and when his virtue is displayed, he becomes respected. This is the gradual illumination and gradual exultation of the Way. When a man accumulates goodness as if adding to his profits over many days, no one knows it. When a man accumulates evil as if melting grease with a flame, no one sees it. Without clarifying passionate feeling or investigating popular custom, who can understand them? This is how Tang and Yu obtained their honorable reputations, and how Jie and Zhou were able to cause grief and fear. Now, the interactions of good and evil are like the responses of shadows and echoes to forms and sounds. Thus, since Jie and Zhou were cruel and disrespectful, the slanderous and injurious were promoted, and the worthy and knowledgeable went into reclusion. Each day evil became more apparent and the state

⁷² See the “Da Ming 大明” in the “*Da Ya* 大雅.” Also, see Legge, *She Jing*, p. 433.

more chaotic. They appeared to have peaceful intentions to resemble the sun in the sky, but in the end they decayed into great ruin. Now, their cruelty, rebelliousness, and inhumanness did not disappear in a single day, but gradually [waned]. Therefore, while Jie and Zhou did not possess the Way, they were still able to possess the state for more than ten years. This is the gradual diminishment and gradual destruction of the Way.

冊曰：「三王之教所祖不同，而皆有失，或謂久而不易者道也，意豈異哉？」臣聞夫樂而不亂復而不厭者謂之道；道者萬世亡弊，弊者道之失也。先王之道必有偏而不起之處，故政有耗而不行，舉其偏者以補其弊而已矣。三王之道所祖不同，非其相反，將以掄溢扶衰，所遭之變然也。故孔子曰：「亡爲而治者，其舜禱！」改正朔，易服色，以順天命而已；其餘盡循堯道，何更爲哉！故王者有改制之名，亡變道之實。然夏上忠，殷上敬，周上文者，所繼之掄，當用此也。孔子曰：「殷因於夏禮，所損益可知也；周因於殷禮，所損益可知也；其或繼周者，雖百世可知也。」此言百王之用，以此三者矣。夏因於虞，而獨不言所損益者，其道如一而所上同也。道之大原出於天，天不變，道亦不變，是以禹繼舜，舜繼堯，三聖相受而守一道，亡救弊之政也，故不言其所損益也。繇是觀之，繼治世者其道同，繼亂世者其道變。今漢繼大亂之後，若宜少損周之文致，用夏之忠者。

“The emperor’s inquiry said, ‘The teachings of the Three August Ones had different origins and all disappeared, while some maintain that the Way is long-lasting and immutable. How could their meanings be so different?’ I have heard that what is delightful without being chaotic and can be repeated without arousing aversion is called the Way. The Way is that which is not deficient for myriad generations, while the loss of the Way is that which is deficient. The Way of the former kings had partialities, as well as other areas that did not emerge [into view]. Thus, their governments had areas that were abstruse and unable to be employed. Their ^{apparent} ~~obvious~~ partialities were employed to mend their deficiencies, and that is all! The Way[s] of the Three August Ones was[were] not dissimilar because of their interactions; their difference would have been that they

either saved the [State in a] time of excess, or assisted the [State in a] time of decay, according to the various differing conditions of the eras they encountered. Accordingly, Confucius said, 'He who could do nothing and yet govern was Shun indeed!'⁷³ Shun reformed the first month of the calendar and changed the sartorial colors in order to follow Heaven's Mandate, and that is all! He employed his remaining time and energy to follow the Way of Yao; how could he have acted differently? Accordingly, kings have the reputation of reforming governance, while not actually changing the Way. Thus, the Xia elevated loyalty, the Yin elevated respect, and the Zhou elevated culture as that which they used in their own times to repair deficiencies and facilitate continuation. Accordingly, Confucius said that, 'The Yin relied upon the rituals of the Xia, and so that which it has added or subtracted can be known; the Zhou relied upon the rituals of the Xia, and so that which it has added or subtracted can be known. Thus, whatever State follows the Zhou may be known even after a hundred generations.'⁷⁴ This statement was employed by the various kings by means of these three [loyalty, respect, and culture].

That the Xia relied upon [the sage] Yu, and only its additions and subtractions cannot be known, is because its Way was unified and that which preceded it was the same. The great origin of the Way comes from Heaven; Heaven and the Way are immutable.

Therefore Yu continued from Shun, and Shun from Yao. These three sages received [their methods of governance from the preceding sage] and maintained the unified Way, and there was no need to mend deficiencies of governance. Accordingly, they cannot be said to have added to or subtracted from [a previous dynasty]. From this it can be seen

⁷³ See ?, XXXXXXXXXX.

⁷⁴ See *Lun Yu*, 2.23.

using Zi's statement, establishes a cycle that admits the possibility of a non cyclical era - - -

that following an ordered age the Way is the same, and following a chaotic age the Way is varied. Now, the Han follows an era of great chaos; it would thus be proper to use the loyalty of the Xia to lessen the extreme of the culture of the Zhou.

陛下有明德嘉道，愍世俗之靡薄，悼王道之不昭，故舉賢良方正之士，論(誼)(議)考問，將欲興仁誼之休德，明帝王之法制，建太平之道也。臣愚不肖，述所聞，誦所學，道師之言，口能勿失耳。若乃論政事之得失，察天下之息耗，此大臣輔佐之職，三公九卿之任，非臣仲舒所能及也。然而臣竊有怪者。夫古之天下亦今之天下，今之天下亦古之天下，共是天下，古(亦)(以)大治，上下和睦，習俗美盛，不令而行，不禁而止，吏亡姦邪，民亡盜賊，囹圄空虛，德潤草木，澤被四海，鳳皇來集，麒麟來游，以古準今，壹何不相逮之遠也之口！安所繆鑿而陵夷若是？意者有所失於古之道與？有所詭於天之理與？試(於)古，返之於天，黨可得見乎。

“The emperor clarifies virtue and commends the Way. He pities the scattering and attenuation of the generation’s customs, and grieves that the kingly Way is not clarified. Thus, he elevates the Worthy and Excellent, and the Straightforward and Upright to deliberate and inquire; his desire is that the beautiful virtue of benevolence and propriety be restored, the methods of governance of the kings on high be illuminated, and that the Way of great peace be established. I am unlike those Worthy and Excellent men; I merely transmit what I have heard and intone what I have studied. I am able only to maintain that which is said in the teachings of the Way. Therefore, discussing the successes and failures of governmental affairs and investigating the profits and losses of the kingdom is the objective of the counsel of Grand Ministers, and the duty of the Three Dukes and the Nine Chamberlains. Such [deliberations] are beyond the capability of a minister such as I. I am myself to be blamed for this [inability]. Now, the kingdom of antiquity is the kingdom of today, and the kingdom of today is the kingdom of antiquity; both are the kingdom. The [kingdom of] antiquity, moreover, employed great

governance, and there was peace above and below,⁷⁵ customs were elegant, actions occurred without the necessity of commands, the people were restrained without prohibitions, minor officials were not corrupt, the people did not indulge in banditry, prisons were empty, virtue moistened the flora, radiance covered the four seas, phoenixes accumulated, and unicorns roamed about. By using antiquity to adjust the present, how could the past and present not but be brought together and unified?⁷⁶ How could there be such misdirection and decay as there is [today]? Is it that there are those who have neglected the Way of antiquity or discarded the principle of Heaven? Follow the traces of antiquity and return to Heaven; is this not counsel that can be perceived?

夫天亦有所分予，予之齒者去其角，傅其翼者兩其足，是所受大者不得取小也。古之所予祿者，不食於力，不動於末，是亦受大者不得取小，與天同意者也。夫已受大，又取小，天不能足，而況人乎！此民之所以囂囂苦不足也。身寵而載高位，家潤而食其奴婢，多其牛羊，廣厚祿，因乘富貴之資力，以與民爭利於下，豈能如之哉！是故其田宅，博其產業，畜其積委，務此而亡已，以迫稷民日削月朘，浸以大窮。富者奢侈羨溢，貧者窮急愁苦；窮急愁苦而上不救，則民不樂生；民不樂生，尚不避死，安能避罪！此刑罰之所以蕃而姦邪不可勝者也。故受祿之家，食祿而已，不與民爭業，然後利可均布，而民可家足。此上天之理，而亦太古之道，天子之所宜法以爲制，大夫之所當循以爲行也。故公儀子相魯，之其家見織帛，怒而出其妻，食於舍而茹葵，慍而拔其葵，曰：「吾已食祿，又奪園夫紅女利瘡！」古之賢人君子在列位者皆如是，是故下高其行而從其教，民化其廉而不貪鄙。及至周室之衰，其卿大夫緩於誼而急於利，亡推讓之風而有爭田之訟。故詩人疾而刺之，曰：「節彼南山，惟石巖巖，赫赫師尹，民具爾瞻。」爾好誼，則民鄉仁而俗善；爾好利，則民好邪而俗敗。由是觀之，天子大夫者，下民之所視效，遠方之所四面而內望也。近者視而放之，遠者望而效之，豈可以居賢人之位而爲庶人行哉！夫皇皇求財利常恐乏匱者，庶人之意也；皇皇求仁義常恐不能化民者，大夫之意也。易曰：「負且乘，致寇至。」乘車者君子之位也，負擔者小人之事也，此

⁷⁵ Wu Weiqing suggests that here, “shang xia 上下” denotes the emperor and his various ministers.

⁷⁶ A glance at this line in the original will reveal that a readable English rendering of it has required some compromise of its Chinese structure.

言居君子之位而爲庶人之行者，其患禍必至也。若居君子之位，當君子之行，則舍公儀休之相魯，亡可爲者矣。

“Now, there are things that are conferred and divided by Heaven. It removes horns from that on which it bestows teeth, and provides two feet [rather than four] to that which already has two wings. Therefore, that which has obtained the great cannot additionally acquire the petty. In antiquity, those who had been given emoluments did not eat what they themselves labored to produce, and did not work in the occupation of mercantilism.⁷⁷ This is receiving the great and not also obtaining the petty, and accords with Heaven. Now, having already received the great and moreover seeking to acquire the petty, Heaven cannot do; how [much less] can man? Such men [with emoluments] cry bitterly that they do not have enough; they dote upon themselves, and raise themselves to a higher status. Their households are warm, and they eat beyond their emoluments. Accordingly, they avail upon the endowed power of their abundance and nobility in order to contend with those below them for profit. How could men be this way? Being so, they multiply their number of servants, increase their holdings of oxen, expand their fields and estates, and broaden their possessions and stores of grain. They devote themselves to this and are insatiable. Because of this, they oppress the [common] people. The people are daily worn down and become increasingly impoverished.⁷⁸ The wealthy indulge in extravagance and their surplus overflows; the poor are anxious about their poverty and lament their bitterness. If the poor are anxious about their poverty and lament their bitterness while those above do not succor them, then the people’s lives will

⁷⁷ Here, I am following Yan Shigu’s comment that “‘*Mo*末’ implies the occupation of mercantilism 末謂工商之業也.’ See *Han Shu*, 2522.

⁷⁸ The original of this line is considerably more literary than my translation. It reads, “The people daily wane as the moon, and increase into great poverty.” However, I have simplified it for the sake of clarity.

have no delight. If the people's lives have no delight and they are also unable to avoid death, how can they avoid guilt? This being so, mutilating punishments and fines are increased, and yet lasciviousness and heterodoxy cannot be overcome. Accordingly, if households that receive emoluments eat their allotted staples and nothing more, and do not contend with the occupations of the people, then profits will be evenly distributed and the households of the people will have sufficiency. This is the principle of Heaven on high and the Way of great antiquity: the Son of Heaven employs methods that are proper in order to govern, and Grandees follow what is suitable as the basis of their conduct. Accordingly, when Gong Yizi, a minister of Lu, entered his home and saw his wife weaving silk, he was angry and expelled her.⁷⁹ On one occasion, he was eating in his home and was served sunflower seeds [that were grown on his own property]; he became angry and uprooted the sunflower plants, pronouncing, 'I already have sufficient food as part of my emolument; this is to take profit away from those women who labor as gardeners!' The worthy men and gentlemen of antiquity who occupied the various ranks were like this. Therefore, those below them honored their behavior and followed their teachings. The people were transformed to uprightness, and were not covetous or vulgar. During the decay of the House of Zhou, its Chamberlains and Grandees were slow to propriety and quick to profit. They did not promote the custom of yielding, and there were litigations contending for fields. Accordingly, poets became angry and criticized them, saying, 'Lofty those southern mountains, only of stone cliffs; great, great was Shi

⁷⁹ Gong Yizi 公儀子, also Gong Yixiu 公儀休, was a minister in the state of Lu 魯 during the Zhou. He is known in Chinese history for considering his own emolument sufficient, and not contending with those below him for profit. See *Shi Ji*, chapter 119.

Yin, for the people all respect him.’⁸⁰ If one is fond of propriety, then the people will incline toward benevolence and customs will be good. If one is fond of profit, then the people will incline toward evil and customs will be bad. From this it can be seen that the Son of Heaven and the Grandees are who the people watch and follow, and that the distant people of the four directions look inward [to them]. Those who are near observe and rely upon them, while the distant watch and follow them. Who can occupy the position of a worthy man and yet behave like a commoner? Now, hurriedly seeking after wealth and profit while constantly fearing insufficiency is the inclination of common men. Hurriedly seeking after benevolence and profit while constantly fearing an inability to transform the people is the inclination of the Grandees. The *Classic of Changes* states that, ‘To be lowly and yet ride in a chariot is to arrive at banditry.’⁸¹ Riding a chariot is for the status of lord, while lowly burdens are the affairs of petty men. This is to say, that he who occupies the position of lord while behaving like a commoner will worry because calamities are sure to arrive. To occupy the position of lord while properly behaving as a gentleman, and moreover to disregard [the example of] Gong Yixiu --- this cannot be done.

春秋大一統者，天地之常經，古今之通誼也。今師異道，人異論，百家殊方，指意不同，是以上亡以持一統；法制數變，下不知所守。臣愚以為諸不在六藝之科孔子之術者，皆絕其道，勿使並進。邪辟之說滅息，然後統紀可一而法度可明，民知所從矣。

⁸⁰ See the “Jie Nan Shan 南山” in the “Xiao Ya 小雅.” Shi Yin 師尹 was a Grand Preceptor during the Zhou. He is also referred as Yin Shi 尹氏.

⁸¹ See *Classic of Changes*, “Jie Gua 解卦,” sixth comment putatively attributed to the Duke of Zhou.

“The *Chun Qiu*’s great unified Standard is the constant strand of Heaven, and the constant principle of antiquity and the present. The teachers of today have variant ways, men have variant discourses, and the various schools have different methods; their intentions point in different directions. Accordingly, those above have no unified Standard upon which to grasp. Methods of governance have many transmutations, and those below do not know to what to cling. I, an ignorant minister, recommend that any methods not of the Six Arts of the Confucian school should be discontinued, and none of them allowed to be promoted.⁸² Heterodox and bias discourse should be destroyed. Afterward, standards can be unified, laws and measures can be clarified, and the people will know what to follow.”

對既畢，天子以仲舒爲江都相，事易王。易王，帝兄，素驕，好勇。仲舒以禮誼匡正，王敬重焉。久之，王問仲舒曰：「粵王句踐與大夫泄庸、種、蠡謀伐吳，遂滅之。孔子稱殷有三仁，寡人亦以爲粵有三仁。桓公決疑於管仲，寡人決疑於君。」仲舒對曰：「臣愚不足以奉大對，聞昔者魯君問柳下惠：『吾欲伐齊，何如？』柳下惠曰：『不可。』歸而有憂色，曰：『吾聞伐國不問仁人，此言何爲至於我哉！』徒見問耳，且猶羞之，況設詐以伐吳虜？繇此言之，粵本無一仁。夫仁人者，正其誼不謀其利，明其道不計其功，是以仲尼之門，五尺之童羞稱五伯，爲其先詐力而後仁誼也。苟爲詐而已，故不足稱於大君子之門也。五伯比於他諸侯爲賢，其比三王，猶武夫之與美玉也。」王曰：「善。」

After Dong Zhongshu had finished his memorials, the Son of Heaven appointed him minister at Jiangdu in the service of King Yi. King Yi was an older brother of the emperor and was common, arrogant, and fond of bravados. Dong Zhongshu used ritual conduct and propriety as the basis of his corrections, and the king greatly respected him.

⁸² The Six Arts are the Rites, *li* 禮, music, *yue* 樂, archery, *she* 射, charioteering, *yi* 御, academics, *shu* 書, and mathematics, *shu* 數.

After some time, the king questioned Dong, saying, “The king of Yue, Ju Jian, along with his Grandees, Xie Yong, Zhong Wen, and Fan Xie, plotted to defeat the state of Wu, and accordingly destroyed it.⁸³ Confucius declared that the Yin had three benevolent men; I also consider Yue to have had three benevolent men.⁸⁴ Duke Huan of Qi decided upon Guan Zhong; [and, in such a way], I have decided upon you!”⁸⁵ Dong Zhongshu replied, “I, an ignorant minister, am insufficiently skilled to offer such great memorials. I have heard that anciently the Prince of Lu inquired upon Liuxia Hui, saying, ‘I desire to attack the state of Qi; what do you think of this?’⁸⁶ Liuxia Hui replied, saying, ‘This is not possible!’ He then retired from court with a worried expression and said, ‘I have heard that when one is about to attack another state, he does not inquire upon a benevolent man; how could such speech be directed at me?’ It was only a question, and that is all! Yet he was embarrassed by it! How much more [embarrassing] is a question about devising deception in order to attack the state of Wu? From this it can be seen that the state of Yue, fundamentally did not have even a single benevolent man. Now, a benevolent man rectifies himself with righteousness and does not plot for profit; he illuminates his Way and does not plan for merit. Accordingly, of the disciples of Confucius, even a child of

⁸³ The king of Yue 粵, also Yue 越, attacked the State of Wu 吳 after his father died and he had himself attained his position as king. He is said to have relied upon the assistance of his ministers, Xie Yong 泄庸, Zhong Wen 種文, and Fan Li 范蠡 to successfully defeat the state of Wu. These events transpired during the Spring and Autumn era of the Zhou. See *Shi Ji*, chapter 41.

⁸⁴ These three are, of course, the three ministers previously mentioned by king Yi. Cf. *Supra*, fn. 83.

⁸⁵ Duke Huan of Qi, Huan Gong 桓公 (d. 643 B.C.), was the first of the Five Hegemons who held power over the Zhou during the seventh century B.C. Guan Zhong 管仲 (d. 644 B.C.) was the Prime Minister to Duke Huan of Qi, and his advice is believed to be the source of the Duke’s political successes.

⁸⁶ Liu Xiahui 柳下惠 is the posthumous name of Zhan Qin 展禽. He was a Grandee in the state of Lu during the Spring and Autumn era of the Zhou. He was later known to have been a virtuous scholar with a special ability to avoid the temptations of beautiful women. See *Mencius*, “Wan Zhang 萬章” chapter.

[only] five *chi* tall would castigate the Hegemons for placing deception and strength before benevolence and righteousness. Hegemons are indecorously deceitful, and are accordingly unworthy to be counted among the great Confucian gentlemen. While the Hegemons are more worthy than the Feudal Lords, when compared to the Three August Ones, they are like a piece of stone beside beautiful jade.” The king replied with approval and exclaimed, “Excellent!”

仲舒治國，以春秋災異之變推陰陽所以錯行，故求雨，閉諸陽，縱諸陰，其止雨反是；行之一國，未嘗不得所欲。中嚴為中大夫，先是遼東高廟、長陵高園殿災，仲舒居家推說其意，□未艾，主父偃候仲舒，私見，嫉之，竊其書而奏焉。上召視諸儒，仲舒弟子呂步舒不知其師書，以為大愚，於是下仲舒吏，當死，詔赦之，仲舒遂不敢復言災異。

Don Zhongshu regulated the state on the basis of the transmutations of calamities that appear in the *Chun Qiu*, and investigated the alternations of the Yin and Yang. Accordingly, when he called for rain, he closed the Yang and accorded with Yin.⁸⁷ When he sought to stop the rain, he reversed the procedure. When he traveled through the State [of Jiangdu], he never failed to achieve what he desired. In the middle of his duties [at Jiangdu] he was discharged of his post there and assigned to be Grandmaster of the Palace. Formerly, when the palaces burned down at the temple, mausoleum, and gardens of Han Gaozu in the Liao Commandery, Dong Zhongshu stayed at his residence and discussed their significance.⁸⁸ Before the grasses had grown back,⁸⁹ Zhufu Yan waited

⁸⁷ Yan Shigu states that, “This is to say that he had the southern gate closed and prohibited the use of fire; thus the northern gate was opened and water was sprinkled. . . .” See *Han Shu*, p. 2525.

⁸⁸ The calamity mentioned here may imply that the temple, mausoleum, and gardens were destroyed by fire.

⁸⁹ This short portion of the text appears to be out of place, and my translation of it is no less awkward than the original.

for Dong to leave his room and privately looked at his work on portents.⁹⁰ He was envious of the text, pilfered it, and presented it to the emperor. The emperor then summoned all of the Confucian scholars for them to investigate Dong's text. One of Dong Zhongshu's disciples, Lu Bushu, did not know that it was written by his own teacher, and took it to be greatly ignorant.⁹¹ Accordingly, Dong Zhongshu was demoted and placed in prison. While his crime warranted death, the emperor pardoned him. After this incident, Dong Zhongshu never again dared to speak of calamities and oddities.

仲舒爲人廉直·是時方外攘四夷，公孫弘治春秋不如仲舒，而弘希世用事，位至公卿·仲舒以弘爲從諛，弘嫉之·膠西王亦上兄也，尤縱恣，數害吏二千石·弘乃言於上曰：，病免·凡相兩□「獨董仲舒可使相膠西王·」膠西王聞仲舒大儒，善待之，仲舒恐久獲國，輒事驕王，正身以率下，數上疏諫爭，教令國中，所居而治·及去位歸居，終不問家產業，以修學著書爲事·

Dong Zhongshu was incorruptible and upright. During his time, the barbarian tribes were being driven from the country. Gongsun Hong had mastered the *Chun Qiu*, but his knowledge was not equal to that of Dong Zhongshu.⁹² By observing the times and serving the emperor, Gongsun Hong reached the status of Honorable Minister. Dong Zhongshu considered Gongsun to be a flatterer, and Gongsun hated Dong Zhongshu. The king of Jiaoxi, the older brother of the emperor, was indulgent and lascivious, and

⁹⁰ Zhu Fuyan 主父偃 was a Han scholar from a poor family who studied the "Horizontal and Vertical" school of strategems. During his late years he is said to have studied the *Classic of Changes*, the *Chun Qiu*, and the sayings of the various schools. See *Shi Ji* 112 and *Han Shu* 64.

⁹¹ Lu Bushu 呂步舒 was, like his teacher, from Guang Chuan. He held the post of Aid to the Counselor-in-Chief. Seen *Han Shu* 88.

⁹² Gongsun Hong 公孫弘, held the highest post in China from 124 to 118 B.C.. According to Ban Gu, he and Dong Zhongshu were distinguished by their responses to Wudi's inquiries (*Han Shu*, 161). See *Shi Ji* 112 and *Han Shu* 58.

had brought harm to many minor officials of two thousand picul emoluments.⁹³ Gongsun Hong [plotting against Dong], suggested to the emperor that, “Only Dong Zhongshu is capable of serving the king of Jiaoxi.” The king of Jiaoxi had heard that Dong Zhongshu was a great Confucian, and treated him well. Dong, fearing that he would eventually incur some guilt, feigned illness and departed. In all, Dong was an advisor for two States. Once when in the service of an arrogant king, he rectified himself in order to guide those below him. He offered many memorials and remonstrances to the emperor, he taught and commanded within the state, and wherever he resided was ordered. After he was expelled from his post, he returned home. In the end, he did not manage [inquire upon] his estate so that he could devote himself to cultivation, study, and writing texts.

仲舒在家，朝廷如有大議，使使者及廷尉張湯就其家而問之，其對皆有明法。自武帝初立，魏其、武安侯爲相而隆儒矣。及仲舒對冊，推明孔氏，抑黜百家。立學校之官，州郡舉茂材孝廉，皆自仲舒發之。年老，以壽終於家。家徙茂陵，子及孫皆以學至大官。

While Dong Zhongshu was at home, if there was a discussion in the court, the Chamberlain for Law Enforcement, Zhang Tang, was sent as an emissary to Dong's home in order to ask him questions.⁹⁴ Dong's responses all had illuminated methods. From the beginning of Wudi's reign, there were such eminent Confucian advisors as Wei Qi and Wu Anhou.⁹⁵ When Dong Zhongshu responded to the emperor's inquiries, he

⁹³ Jiaoxi 膠西 was a western State during the Han. The ruler there was Liu Duan 劉端, who was known as a despotic ruler who had many officials put to death.

⁹⁴ For information on Zhang Tang 張湯, see *Han Shu*, chapter 59.

⁹⁵ Regarding Wei Qi and Wu Anhou, I have no further information other than what is contained here. While both are place-names during the Han, this sentence requires that they be read as names of Confucian gentlemen.

honored the family of Confucius and restrained and dispelled [teachings of] the various schools. The establishment of the post of School Official, and the promotions of the fine, talented, filial, and incorruptible men in the Prefectures and Commanderies all resulted from the efforts of Dong Zhongshu. He came died at home in old age. His family moved to the area of the Imperial Mausoleums, and his sons and grandsons all attained high posts based upon their erudition.

仲舒所著，皆明經術之意，及上疏條教，凡百二十三篇。而說春秋事得失，闡舉、玉杯、蕃露、清明、竹林之屬，復數十篇，十餘萬言，皆傳於後世。掇其切當世施朝廷者著于篇。

Dong Zhongshu's literary works all explained the meanings of the canonical texts. Moreover, he presented memorials to the emperor in order to regulate teachings. In all, he wrote one-hundred-and-twenty-three chapters. Additionally, he expounded on the commendation and censure of affairs recorded within the *Chun Qiu*, and authored such texts as the *Wen Ju*, *Yu Bei*, *Fan Lu*, *Qing Ming*, and the *Zhu Lin* in several tens of chapters and more than one hundred thousand words. All his works were passed to later generations. He gathered what was appropriate from his generation to present to the court, and recorded it into chapters.

贊曰：劉向稱「董仲舒有王佐之材，雖伊呂亡以加，筦晏之屬，伯者之佐，殆不及也。」至向子歆以爲「伊呂乃聖人之耦，王者不得則不興。故顏淵死，孔子曰『噫！天喪余。』唯此一人爲能當之，自宰我、子贛、子游、子夏不與焉。仲舒遭漢承秦滅學之後，六經離析，下帷發憤，潛心大業，令後學者有所統壹，爲儒首，然考其師友淵源所漸，猶未及乎游夏，而曰筦晏弗及，伊呂不加，過矣。」至向曾孫龔，篤論君子也，以歆之言爲然。

The historian comments:

Liu Xiang stated that, “Dong Zhongshu had talent sufficient for serving a king. However, his skills could not improve upon Yi Yin and Lu Wang’s, Dong, and moreover, could not match the skills of such as Guan Zhong and Yan Ying, who assisted Hegemons.”⁹⁶ Liu Xiang’s son, Liu Xin, considered that, “Even though Yi Yin and Lu Wang were a sagely pair, the kings did not obtain them and thus could not restore the state.”⁹⁷ Accordingly, when Yan Yuan died, Confucius said, ‘Alas! Heaven has deprived me!’⁹⁸ Only Yan Yuan could be such as this [of such greatness]; of Zi Wo, Zi Kan, Zi You, and Zi Xia, none could be such [as Yan Yuan]. Dong Zhongshu lived during the Han, which followed the Qin’s destruction of erudition, and the Six Classics were divided. He worked industriously from behind a lowered curtain, disseminating his ideas as his great occupation, thus causing later erudites to possess a unified Standard. Dong was the leader of the Confucians.⁹⁹ By considering the gradual source of his teachers and associations, [it is evident that] he did not equal Zi You or Zi Xia. [However], those who state that Dong was unequal to Guan Zhong or Yan Ying, and could add nothing to Yi Yin or Lu Wang, are mistaken indeed!” Liu Xiang’s grandson, Liu Gong, profoundly discussed gentleman, and considered Liu Xin to be correct on this account.

⁹⁶ Liu Xiang 劉向 (79-8 B.C.) was a member of the royal family who was partisan to traditional Confucian orthodoxy. Yi Yin 伊尹 was a worthy minister during the Shang who was highly respected by his king, Tang 湯. Information on Lu Wang 呂望 is unavailable. Presumably, his circumstance was similar to that of Yi Yin’s. For Guan Zhong, Cf. *supra*, fn. 85. Yan Ying 晏嬰 was an official of the state of Qi during the Spring and Autumn era of the Zhou.

⁹⁷ Liu Xin 劉歆 (d. A.D. 23) was Liu Xiang’s son, also a scholar, who later became an advisor to Wang Mang 王莽 (45 B.C.-A.D. 23), the “usurper” who established his own dynasty from A.D. 9 to A.D. 25.

⁹⁸ See *Lun Yu*, 11.9.

⁹⁹ This line by Liu Xin may otherwise be translated as, “Dong was the progenitor of the Confucians,” which would of course imply suppositions about Dong’s status among Han intellectuals that I am so far unwilling to entertain.