

《道基第一》

1. 傳曰：「天生萬物，以地養之，聖人成之。」功德參合，而道術生焉。
2. 故曰：張日月，列星辰，序四時，調陰陽，布氣治性，次置五行，春生夏長，秋收冬藏，陽出^a雷電，陰成霜雪，養育群生，一茂一亡，潤之以風雨，曝之以日光，溫之以節氣，降之以殞霜，位之以眾星，制之以斗衡，苞之以六合，羅之以紀綱，改之以災變，告之以禎祥，動之以生殺，悟之以文章。
3. 故在天者可見，在地者可量，在物者可紀，在人者可相。
4. 故地封五嶽，畫四瀆，規洿澤，通水泉，樹物養類，苞植萬根，暴形養精，以立群生，不違天時，不奪物性，不藏其情，不匿其詐。

a Reading the attested variant *chu* 出 for *sheng* 生.

The Foundation of the Way

1. A tradition says: "Heaven generates the myriad creatures and employs the earth to nurture them; the sages complete them." When merit and virtue are combined, the procedures of the Way are generated thereby.
2. Thus it is said: [Heaven] suspends the sun and the moon, arranges stars and constellations, regulates the four seasons, adjusts the *yin* and *yang*, diffuses the *qi*, governs the nature [of the myriad creatures], and establishes the sequence of the Five Phases. In the spring, [things] are generated; in the summer, they grow; in the autumn, they are harvested; in the winter, they are stored. *Yang* produces thunder and lightning; *yin* brings snow and frost to completion. [Heaven] rears and bears the multitude of living things, which all prosper and perish in turn; it moistens them with wind and rain; exposes them to sunlight; warms them by seasonal phases; lays them low with harmful frost; places them according to constellations; controls them by means of the Dipper; covers them in the Six Directions¹ like a calyx; reticulates them with guidelines (i.e. cosmic laws); reforms them through calamities and disasters; speaks to them through auspicious omens; enlivens and deadens them; and awakens them through its patterns.
3. Hence what is in Heaven can be seen; what is on Earth can be measured; what is among things can be guided; and what is among human beings can be descried.
4. Thus Earth agglomerates the Five Peaks, delineates the Four Rivers, circumscribes lakes and marshes, causes waterways and springs to flow freely, plants and nurtures all species, makes myriad roots in the luxuriant vegetation, and discloses their shapes and rears their essence, thereby establishing the multitude of life. [Earth] does not disobey Heaven's seasons, deprive creatures of their inner nature, conceal their disposition, or hide their deceptions.

¹ I.e. the four cardinal directions plus up and down.

5. 故知天者仰觀天文，知地者俯察地理，跂行喘息，蜎飛蠕動之類，水生陸行，根著葉長之屬，為寧其心而安其性，蓋天地相承，氣感相應而成者也。
6. 於是先聖乃仰觀天文，俯察地理，圖畫乾坤，以定人道，民始開悟，知有父子之親，君臣之義，夫婦之別，長幼之序。於是百官立，王道乃生。
7. 民人食肉飲血，衣皮毛；至於神農，以為行蟲走獸，難以養民，乃求可食之物，嘗百草之實，察酸苦之味，教人食五穀。
8. 天下人民，野居穴處，未有室屋，則與禽獸同域。於是黃帝乃伐木構材，築作宮室，上棟下宇，以避風雨。
9. 民知室居食穀，而未知功力。於是后稷乃列封疆，畫畔界，以分土地之所宜；闢土殖穀，以用養民；種桑麻，致絲枲，以蔽形體。

5. Thus one who understands Heaven looks up to observe Heaven's pattern (i.e. the celestial bodies); one who understands Earth looks down to investigate the configuration of the ground. All creatures that crawl, walk, breathe, rest, fly, and wriggle, those that live in the sea and walk on the ground, those with roots in the soil and leaves in the air have a peaceful heart and a stable nature. This is completed through the mutual exchange of Heaven and Earth, and stimuli and responses in *qi*.
6. In order to determine the Way of human beings, the first sage (i.e. Fu Xi) looked up to observe Heaven's pattern, looked down to examine the configuration of the ground, and then delineated the hexagrams Qian and Kun.² The people began to become aware, understood the affection between father and son, right conduct between ruler and minister, separation between men and women, and [proper] order of senior and junior. Thereupon the numerous offices were established and the Kingly Way was born.
7. The people ate meat, drank blood, and covered themselves with hides and fur. Then the Divine Farmer, who considered that [eating] insects and wild beasts would impede the people's nourishment, sought other edible products. He tasted many fruits from different plants, investigated the sour and bitter flavors, and taught people to eat the Five Cereals.
8. The people of the world dwelled in the wilderness and settled in caves. As there were not yet houses, they shared territory with wild beasts. For this reason, the Yellow Thearch cut down trees and fashioned them into lumber, built dwellings and houses, with crossbeams above and eaves below, in order to shelter [people] from the wind and rain.
9. Although the people knew how to build houses and dwellings and to eat cereals, they did not yet know achievement through hard work. Thereupon Lord Millet arranged territories and delineated boundaries among domains in order to distribute lands properly; he opened lands and cultivated cereals with which to nurture the people; he planted mulberry trees and hemp, produced silk and ramie [garments] in order to cover [people's] bodies.

2 These are the first and second of the sixty-four trigrams in the *Changes*, understood as images of Heaven and Earth.

10. 當斯之時，四瀆未通，洪水為害；禹乃決江疏河，通之四瀆，致之於海，大小相引，高下相受，百川順流，各歸其所，然後人民得去高險，處平土。
11. 川谷交錯，風化未通，九州絕隔，未有舟車之用，以濟深致遠；於是奚仲乃橈曲為輪，因直為輶，駕馬服牛，浮舟杖楫，以代人力。
12. 鑠金、鏤木、分苞、燒埴^a以備器械，於是民知輕重，好利惡難，避勞就逸；於是皋陶乃立獄制罪，懸^b賞設罰，異是非，明好惡，檢奸邪，消佚亂。
13. 民知畏法，而無禮義；於是中聖乃設辟雍庠序之教，以正上下之儀，明父子之禮、君臣之義，使強不凌弱、眾不暴寡，棄貪鄙之心，興清潔之行。

a Reading *zhi* 埴 for *zhi* 殖, following the commentaries of Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848–1908) and Tang Yan.

b Reading the attested variant *xuan* 懸 for *xian* 縣.

10. At that time, the Four Channels³ did not flow freely and floods were disastrous. Thus Yu cleared obstacles in the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers and connected them to the Four Channels, bringing them out to the ocean. The smaller ones led into the bigger ones; the lowlands received [water] from the highlands; the Hundred Rivers flowed along their course, each coming home to its proper place. Only then could the people leave high and dangerous places (where they would be safe from floods), and settle in the flatlands.
11. Rivers and valleys became intertwined, but the transformation of [people's] customs was not yet pervasive. The Nine Regions were separated, but there was not yet the usage of boats or carts to ford deep water and reach remote areas. For this reason, as a replacement for human exertion, Xi Zhong twisted pieces of wood to create wheels and used straight ones to make axles; he harnessed horses and tamed oxen, and navigated by punting and rowing.
12. [Xi Zhong] smelted metals, carved wood, separated gourds, and heated clay in order to provide weapons and utensils. Thereby the people came to recognize "light" and "heavy" (i.e. the economic concepts of cheap and dear), became fond of profit and disliked hardship; they eschewed labor and attached themselves to idleness. Therefore, Gaoyao instituted prisons and codified crimes, affirmed rewards and established punishments, differentiated between correct and incorrect, clarified [the difference between] good and detestable, restrained treachery and deviance, and expunged self-indulgence and disorder.
13. The people understood and feared the law, yet were without ritual or righteousness. Therefore, the sages from the middle period (i.e. King Wen and the Duke of Zhou) established metropolitan and local schools in order to rectify deportment between superior and inferior, and clarify the ritual between father and son, the right conduct between ruler and minister. In this way, they brought it about that the strong did not maltreat the weak and the many did not abuse the few. They cast out greedy and debased hearts, and caused [morally pure] behavior to flourish.

3 Although the Four Channels are traditionally glossed as the Yellow, Huai 淮, Ji 濟, and Yangzi Rivers, perhaps "Channels in All Four Directions" fits this context better.

14. 禮義不行，綱紀不立，後世衰廢；於是後聖乃定五經，明六藝，承天統物^a，窮事察微，原情立本，以緒人倫，宗諸天地，纂脩篇章，垂諸來世，被諸鳥獸，以匡衰亂，天人合策，原道悉備，智者達其心，百工窮其巧，乃調之以管弦絲竹之音，設鐘鼓歌舞之樂，以節奢侈，正風俗，通文雅。
15. 後世淫邪，增之以鄭、衛之音，民棄本趨末，技巧橫出，用意各殊，則加雕文刻鏤，傳致膠漆丹青、玄黃、琦瑋之色，以窮耳目之好，極工匠之巧。

a Reading *wu* 物 for *di* 地, following the commentary of Wang Liqi.

14. Ritual and morality were not applied, guidelines not established. Later generations decayed and degenerated. Therefore, the later sages fixed the Five Classics, explained the Six Arts,⁴ received [the rules of] Heaven and organized things, investigated events and examined the subtle, understood [human] dispositions and emphasized [moral] essentials. In order to redress decline and disorder, they threaded together human relations, bringing them in line with Heaven and Earth, composed and refined literary works, leaving them as a legacy for future generations, [their influence] covering all creatures. Heaven and people joined in harmony, and the primordial Way was furnished [to all]. The wise extended their hearts and the Hundred Artisans exerted their skills to the utmost. Thus, [the sages] harmonized them with the sounds of wind and string instruments, established music with bells, drums, song and dance, in order to moderate extravagance, rectify customs, and propagate patterned and elegant language.
15. Later generations were licentious and deviant; they increased [their own degeneracy] with the tones of Zheng and Wey. People rejected the “root” occupations (i.e. agriculture and sericulture) and rushed toward the “branch” occupations (i.e. crafts and commerce). Dexterity and artfulness appeared everywhere, and [people] used divergent ideas. Then, they added engravings and adornments on metal; they applied gum and lacquer, and red, green, black, yellow and opalescent colors, because they wanted to maximize the delights of the ears and eyes, and reach the pinnacle of craftsmanlike artfulness.

4 This distinction between the “Five Classics” (*wujing* 五經) and “Six Arts” (*liuyi* 六藝) is curious, inasmuch as they are usually understood as overlapping sets of canonical texts. We are not aware of any solution to this problem (but see the discussion of *wujing* in the Introduction).

16. 夫驢騾駱駝，犀象瑇瑁，琥珀珊瑚，翠羽珠玉，山生水藏，擇地而居，潔清明朗，潤澤而濡，磨而不磷，涅而不淄，天氣所生，神靈所治，幽閒清淨，與神浮沉，莫不効力為用，盡情為器。故曰，聖人成之。所以能統物通變，治情性，顯仁義也。
17. 夫人者，寬博浩大，恢廓密微，附遠寧近，懷來萬邦。故聖人懷仁仗義，分明纖微，忖度天地，危而不傾，佚而不亂者，仁義之所治也。行之於親近而疏遠悅，脩之於閨門之內而名譽馳於外。故仁無隱而不著，無幽而不彰者。虞舜蒸蒸於父母，光耀於天地；伯夷、叔齊餓於首陽，功美垂於萬代；太公自布衣昇三公之位，累世享千乘之爵；智伯仗威任力，兼三晉而亡。

16. Donkeys, mules, camels, rhinoceroses, elephants, sea turtles, amber, coral, kingfisher's plumes, pearls, and jade: these are generated on mountains or are stored in the ocean. Each dwells in its chosen region, pure and bright, immersed in moist wetlands. They are so hard that they cannot be made thin, so white that they cannot be made black.⁵ Generated by Heavenly breath and put in order by divine numina, they are obscure, tranquil, pure and unspoiled. They float and sink according to supernatural forces. They are all useful as instruments and can be fully utilized as utensils. This is reason why it is said: "The sages complete them." The [sages] are able to govern creatures and to understand changes by regulating natural dispositions and manifesting humanity and righteousness.
17. Human beings have broad understanding; they can be large and capacious or minute and subtle. They annex distant places and pacify those that are close, drawing the myriad states as though to their breast. Therefore, the sage embraces humanity and relies on righteousness, clearly distinguishes minute matters, and gauges Heaven and Earth. He does not incline when in danger and is not disorderly when unconstrained: this is due to the orderly [influence] of humanity and righteousness. If they are practiced with close relatives, [even those who are] dispersed in remote areas will be pleased; if you cultivate them within your gates, your reputation abroad will [spread] as though galloping. Therefore, humanity is never concealed so that it be imperceptible, never sequestered so that it be unrevealed. Shun was filial toward his parents, and the light of his glory [spread] between Heaven and Earth. Bo Yi and Shu Qi starved on Mount Shouyang, but their achievements and virtue have been suspended [as a model] for generations. Lord Tai rose from his plain clothes to the status of one of the Three Dukes, and for generations his progeny enjoyed the rank corresponding to a thousand war chariots. [By contrast,] the Earl of Zhi relied on dread and force, and died [trying] to overmaster the three Jin.⁶

5 Compare *Analects* 17.7: "Is it not said of hard things that they cannot be ground thin; is it not said of white things that they cannot be dyed black?" 不曰堅乎，磨而不磷；不曰白乎，涅而不緇。

6 I.e. the territories of Zhao 趙, Hán 韓, and Wei 魏.

18. 是以君子握道而治，據德而行，席仁而坐，杖義而彊，虛無寂寞，通動無量。故制事因短而動益長，以圓制規，以矩立方。聖人王世，賢者建功，湯舉伊尹，周任呂望，行合天地，德配陰陽，承天誅惡，克暴除殃，將氣養物，明□設光，耳聽八極，目覩四方，忠進讒退，直立邪亡，道行姦止，不得兩張，□□本理，杜漸消萌。
19. 夫謀事不竝仁義者後必敗，殖不固本而立高基者後必崩。故聖人防亂以經藝，工正曲以準繩。德盛者威廣，力盛者驕眾。齊桓公尚德以霸，秦二世尚刑而亡。

18. Therefore, the noble man governs by grasping the Way, acts in accordance with virtue, seats himself with humanity as his mat, strengthens himself by leaning on righteousness as his staff. He is void and still [like the Way]; he is infinitely conversant with everything that moves. Thus, in managing affairs, he moves by relying on the short, thus extending the long, as though using a compass to determine a circle and a straight edge to establish a square. When a sage rules over the world, the worthy contribute their merit. [King] Tang [of Shang] recruited Yi Yin and [King Wen of] Zhou delegated authority to Lü Wang. Their conduct conformed to Heaven and Earth; their virtue matched *yin* and *yang*. [Kings Tang and Wen] received [their mandates from] Heaven and punished the wicked; they overpowered tyrants and eliminated disasters, using *qi* to nourish creatures. They understood [*lacuna*] and established brightness. With their ears, they listened in all eight directions; with their eyes, they observed all four quarters. The loyal were promoted, the slanderous dismissed. The upright were raised, the deviant annihilated. The Way was practiced and debauchery ceased, for the two cannot prosper [at the same time]. [*Lacuna*] and the original principle, shut out [bad] habits and extinguished germs [of wrongdoing].
19. One who plans affairs without combining humanity and righteousness must eventually fail [just as] a tall edifice planted on an unsolid base must eventually collapse. Hence, sages prevent disorder using classical scholarship [just as] the craftsman corrects what is crooked using the plumb line. One who prospers by means of virtue will be broadly awe-inspiring; one who prospers by force will be arrogant toward the multitude. Lord Huan of Qi (r. 685–643 BCE) esteemed virtue and became a hegemon; the Second Emperor of Qin esteemed punishments and perished.

20. 故虐行則怨積，德布則功興，百姓以德附，骨肉以仁親，夫婦以義合，朋友以義信，君臣以義序，百官以義承，曾、閔以仁成大孝，伯姬以義建至貞，守國者以仁堅固，佐君者以義不傾，君以仁治，臣以義平，鄉黨以仁恂恂，朝廷以義便便，美女以貞顯其行，烈士以義彰其名，陽氣以仁生，陰節以義降，《鹿鳴》以仁求其群，《關雎》以義鳴其雄，《春秋》以仁義貶絕，《詩》以仁義存亡，《乾》、《坤》以仁和合，《八卦》以義相承，《書》以仁敘九族，君臣以義制忠，《禮》以仁盡節，樂以禮升降。

20. Thus, if one acts cruelly, resentment will accumulate; if one disseminates virtue, merit will flourish. The Hundred Surnames are attached to [the ruler] by means of virtue; blood relatives are intimate through humanity; husband and wife are joined with righteousness; friends trust one another because of righteousness; the order of ruler [before] minister is [established] through righteousness; the Hundred Officials are appointed with righteousness; Zeng [Cān]⁷ and Min [Ziqian] (two disciples of Confucius) achieved the great filial love through humanity; Lady Bo established the utmost chastity through righteousness.⁸ One who defends a state with humanity is solid and secure. One who assists the ruler with righteousness does not incline to either side. If the ruler governs with humanity and if the minister pacifies with righteousness, villages and towns will become respectful because of [this] humanity, the court will become complaisant because of [this] righteousness. Beautiful women will manifest their [good] conduct through chastity. Valiant warriors will display their fame through righteousness. *Yang qi* originates in humanity; the *yin* mode descends from righteousness. In “Luming” (Mao 161), [the speaker] seeks his group in accordance with humanity. In “Guanju” (Mao 1), [the female] calls to the male in accordance with righteousness. The *Springs and Autumns* criticizes and censures in accordance with humanity and righteousness. In the Odes, [states] are preserved or doomed in accordance with humanity and righteousness. The trigrams Qian and Kun are in harmony and conjoined in accordance with humanity. The eight trigrams succeed each other in accordance with righteousness. The Documents narrate the Nine Clans in accordance with humanity. Ruler and minister establish loyalty by means of righteousness. *Rituals* reach the utmost moderation by means of humanity. *Music* modulates by means of rituals.

7 For the pronunciation of Master Zeng's given name, Cān 參, see the commentary in *Shiki kaichū kōshō* 67:32.

8 For the story of Lady Bo of Song, who chose to die in a fire rather than leave the palace unchaperoned, see, e.g., Goldin, “Women and Moral Dilemmas in Early Chinese Narrative,” 28 ff.

21. 仁者、道之紀，義者、聖之學。學之者明，失之者昏，背之者亡。陳力就列，以義建功，師旅行陣，德仁為固，仗義而彊，調氣養性，仁者壽長，美才次德，義者行方。君子以義相褒，小人以利相欺；愚者以力相亂，賢者以義相治。《穀梁傳》曰：「仁者以治親，義者以利尊。萬世不亂，仁義之所治也。」

21. Humanity is the guideline of the Way. Righteousness is what sages study. One who studies them is enlightened; one who fails [to understand them] is benighted; one who turns his back on them perishes. When [a man-of-service] deploys his abilities and attains rank,⁹ he will achieve merit through righteousness. An army setting out for a campaign will be consolidated through virtue and humanity, and strengthened by relying on righteousness. By attuning one's *qi* and nurturing one's nature, one who is humane will have a long life as a leader. By beautifying one's talent and placing virtues in their proper sequence, one who is righteous will carry out the proper methods. Noble men praise one another in accordance with righteousness; petty men cheat one another for the sake of profit. The foolish bring about disorder through force; the worthy bring about order through righteousness. It is said in the *Guliang Commentary*: "Humanity is used to govern those who are close. Righteousness is used to benefit those who are honorable. Ten thousand generations without disorder are governed by humanity and righteousness."¹⁰

9 Compare *Analects* 16.1, where this phrase is attributed to Zhou Ren 周仁, an obscure courtier who appears in a handful of early texts.

10 As noted in the introduction, this line is not found in the extant *Guliang*.