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Education and Punishment as Governance: A Comparison of the Classic and Master Sections in the *Essentials*

1. Introduction

The Zhenguan era (627–649) under Emperor Taizong 唐太宗 (598–649) is celebrated as a model of exemplary rulership.¹ Yet Taizong himself—preoccupied with military campaigns in his early years—lacked formal training to govern, which led court scholars to compile an anthology, the *Essentials for Bringing about Order from Assembled Texts* (*qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要), to cultivate his ethical character and statecraft.² This anthology is Confucian-oriented, drawing from sixty-eight pre-existing texts and organised into three sections: canonical, historical, and master writings.³

Scholarly research on this anthology has been conducted since the early twentieth century, yet it has largely eluded examination of how this Confucian-oriented compilation accommodates diverse master texts—particularly through cross-sectional comparison between the canonical and master sections.⁴ The question is especially pertinent to the issue of priority of moral education or punishment—a debate that, from the formative stage of Chinese cultural tradition, had long divided the various master schools.⁵

This essay aims to bridge this research gap by conducting a comparison between the canonical and the master section about the interplay of moral education and punishment. It argues that, as Confucian-oriented, the *Essentials* consistently present education as the primary means of governance and punishment as its corrective supplement. The master section does not develop the classical core message itself; rather, it expands the supporting materials and argumentative frameworks that surround and reinforce it.

¹ Kelly Ngo, *Ordering Tang China: Cultural Memory, Emperor Taizong and the Essentials* (Michigan: Lever, 2024), p. 1.

² Ibid. Hereafter “*Essentials*”. The translation of the book title has been adapted from Kelly Ngo 2024.

³ Kelly Ngo, *Ordering Tang China*, p. 2.

⁴ Guo Yanling 郭妍伶 and He Shuping 何淑蘋, ‘Minguo yilai qunshu zhiyao yanjiu lunzhu mulu’ 民國以來《群書治要》研究論著目錄, *Shumu jikan* 書目季刊, 55.1 (2021), pp. 99–119.

⁵ Xiaoqun Xu, *Heaven Has Eyes: Law and Justice in Chinese History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 12.

This essay proceeds in five parts. Section two establishes the education-punishment relationship in the canonical section. Section three discusses how—and to what extent—the master section develops the classical principle. Section four identifies two compilatory methods employed by the editors through which such development is achieved. Section five concludes.

2. The Canonical Section: Education-Punishment Relationship

The canonical section of the *Essentials* comprises twelve classical works, eight of which directly discuss the relationship between moral education and punitive measures.⁶ Although these texts were composed across different historical periods, they articulate a remarkably consistent normative framework that places moral transformation at the centre of governance and assigns punishment to a secondary and ultimately transitional role. To structure this complex principle, this section examines it through two interrelated themes: the primacy of moral education and the corrective but limited function of punishment. Due to word limitations, only representative passages are selected and analysed here, while the complete corpus is attached in Appendix One.

2.1 The Priority of Moral Education: Guided by the Leader's Example

Across all eight classics that address this principle, moral education is consistently presented as the foundation of political order. This primacy is reinforced by the emphasis on the leader's moral example, which appears in nearly every sentence related to this topic across the classical corpus. Two recurrent rhetorical strategies support this emphasis: (1) the analogy of “wind bending grass,” highlighting the ruler's transformative moral influence; and (2) statements that “the people's wrongdoings originate from the ruler,” underscoring the ruler's ethical responsibility.

⁶ The eight classics that has related discussion are: 1 the *Book of Changes*, 2 *Venerable Documents*, 3 *Mao Tradition of Commentary on the Odes* (*maoshi* 毛詩), 4 *Zuo Tradition of Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*chunqiu zuozhuan* 春秋左傳), 5 *Records on Ritual* (*lijì* 禮記), 6 *Classic of Family Reverence* (*xiao jing* 孝經), 7 *Analects*, and the 8 *School Sayings of Confucius*. To illustrate the differences in composition and emphasis between the two sections as well as the different schools, Appendix Two analyses each relevant passage according to four thematic features: emphasis on education primacy, emphasis on punishment subordination, use of analogy, and inclusion of historical examples.

Both strategies first appear in the *Changes* (*zhou yi* 周易), in the hexagram Viewing (*guan* 觀). The commentary on the Fifth Yang position states:

“The leader morally transforms those below just the way the wind makes the grass bend when it blows. Thus, he views the customs of the people to find out how well he is practising his own Way. If the common people commit crimes, the fault for them shall reside with the leader himself.”⁷

Here, the wind-and-grass analogy portrays the ruler’s moral influence as natural and pervasive, while the assertion that the people’s faults trace back to the ruler establishes a strong doctrine of moral accountability. These two strategies are repeatedly echoed in later works such as the *Venerable Documents* (*shang shu* 尚書) and the *Analects* (*lun yu* 論語), demonstrating a sustained classical tradition that links good governance to the ruler’s exemplary moral conduct.

The first strategy reappears in the *Venerable Documents*, when King Cheng 周成王 (r. 1042/35–1006 BCE) sent Jun Chen 君陳 (dates unknown) to govern the eastern borders. King Cheng himself reminds Jun Chen that the leader is the wind and the common people are the grass. The metaphor appears in a context of administrative duty, where the leader’s conduct is the mechanism through which order is achieved.⁸ In the *Analects*, the same metaphor appears in a dialogue where Ji Kangzi 季康子 (d. 468 BCE) asks Confucius 孔子 (c. 551–479 BCE) about eliminating disorder through harsh punishment. Confucius replies that if the ruler desires goodness, the common people will be good, for the virtue of the ruler is like the wind and the virtue of the people is like the grass; when the wind blows over the grass, it will surely bend.⁹ Both texts thus use the wind–grass image to argue that governance is fundamentally about the education led by leaders’ moral example.

The second strategy, stressing the ruler’s responsibility for the people’s errors, appears prominently in the *Venerable Documents* in King Tang’s 商湯王 (d. c. 1646 BCE) declaration after overthrowing the last ruler of the Xia dynasty (c. 2070–1766 BCE), where he states that

⁷ Original texts: 「觀。……九五，觀我生，君子無咎。」上之化下，猶風靡草。故觀民之俗，以察己道。百姓有罪，在余一人。」 Wei Zheng 魏徵 and others, comp., *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要, vol 1 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 2011), p. 6.

Translation referenced from Richard 1994, with modifications. Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 263.

⁸ Original texts: 「周公既歿，命君陳分正東郊成周。……王若曰：『君陳。……爾惟風，下民惟草。汝戒勿為凡人之行也。民從上教而變，猶草應風而偃，不可不慎也。』」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 1: 49–50.

⁹ Original texts: 「季康子問於孔子曰：『如殺無道以就有道，何如。』」就，成也。欲多殺以止姦也。對曰：『子為政，焉用殺。子欲善，而民善矣。君子之德，風也；小人之德，草也。草上之風，必偃。』亦欲康子先自正也。偃，仆也。加草以風，無不仆者，猶民之化於上也。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 2: 221.

if the myriad multitude have crime, it originates from him, and the common people should not be blamed.¹⁰ Confucius cites and endorses this statement in the final chapter of the *Analects*, where the ruler repeats that if the ten thousand regions have any blame, that blame should rest on him.¹¹ Begin in the first classic in the classical section, through these two rhetorical strategies, the canonical texts forge a coherent doctrine: governance begins with education, and education begins with the self-cultivation of the ruler.

2.2 The Corrective but Limited Function of Punishment

Although moral education occupies the primary position, the classical texts do not exclude punishment from governance. Five works acknowledge its corrective role but insist on strict limits: punishment may be used only after moral instruction has been attempted and has failed, once correction occurs, punishment should cease.¹² This principle is exemplified in two key passages.

In the *Venerable Documents*, on the same occasion that King Cheng advises Jun Chen at his outset to office, King Cheng reminded him of the proper circumstances for using punishment:

“If any are disobedient to your government and uninfluenced by your instructions, you will punish them. Remembering that the end of punishment is to make an end of punishing.”¹³

Similarly, the *School Sayings of Confucius* (*kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語), the final classic in the canonical section, presents one of the clearest statements of the function of punishment. In explaining to Jisun 季孫氏 (dates unknown) why he released litigants, Confucius sets out a graduated model of governance: The ruler must first guide through moral instruction; only then can punishment be administered. Even then, punishment’s purpose is to clarify wrongdoing, not as an end in itself.¹⁴

¹⁰ Original texts: 「肆台小子將天命明威，弗敢赦，其爾萬方有罪，在予一人，自責化不至也。予一人有罪，無以爾萬方。無用汝萬方，言非所及也。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 1: 31.

¹¹ Original texts: 「朕躬有罪，無以萬方，萬方有罪，罪在朕躬。無以萬方，萬方不與也。萬方有罪，我身之過。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 2: 231.

¹² The five works are: the 1 *Venerable Documents*, 2 *Zuo Tradition of Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*, 3 *Records on Ritual*, 4 *Classic of Family Reverence*, and the 5 *School Sayings of Confucius*.

¹³ Original texts: 「無弗若于汝政，弗化于汝訓，辟以止辟，乃辟。有不順於汝政，不變於汝教，刑之而懲止犯刑者，乃刑之也。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 1: 50.

Translation referenced from Legge 2013. Legge, James, and Zhou Bingjun 周秉鈞, *Shangshu: ying han suizhao* 尚書：英漢對照 (Changsha: Hu’nan renmin chubanshe, 2013), p.335

¹⁴ Original texts: 「孔子為魯大司寇，有父子訟者，夫子同狴執之，狴，獄牢也。三月不別，其父請止，夫子赦焉。季孫聞之不悅曰：『司寇欺余。曩告余曰：為國家者必先以孝，今戮一不孝以教民孝，不亦可乎？』」

Although the classical section affirms the corrective value of punishment, it also briefly acknowledges its limitations. It is demonstrated by a single passage in the *School Sayings of Confucius* that warns against relying on punishment as the primary instrument of governance. When a disciple of Confucius serving as a magistrate of Bi County asked Confucius how ancient rulers governed, Confucius offered a vivid analogy:

“A sovereign who is awkward in governing throws away morality and the rules of propriety but relies solely on the use of punishment. This is like driving a carriage without using the bridle and the bit, but the whip alone. As a result, the horses will lose control.”¹⁵

Confucius notes that while punishment can secure short-term compliance, it cannot produce genuine moral change. Overuse of punitive measures weakens trust, diminishes the ruler’s moral authority, and risks political instability. Thus, in the classical section, punishment is acknowledged only in a limited, corrective role, and its greatest effectiveness comes from its own abandonment, reinforced by brief warnings about its potential harms to prevent the impression that its use is supported.

Taken together, the canonical texts present a unified and hierarchical vision of political order. Moral education, grounded in the ruler’s personal example, is the primary mechanism of governance. Punishment, though recognised as necessary, functions only as a supplementary and temporary instrument, activated when education fails and discontinued once transformation occurs. At the same time, the classics consistently warn against treating punishment as the leading method of rule, for its excessive or exclusive use damages both the people and the state.¹⁶

而又赦之。何哉？」孔子喟然嘆曰：『嗚呼，上失其道，而殺其下，非理也。……既陳道德以先服之；而猶不可，則尚賢以勸之；又不可，則廢不能以憚之，若是，百姓正矣。其有邪民不從化者，然後待之以刑，則民咸知罪矣。是以威厲而不誡，刑措而不用也。』」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 2: 234.

¹⁵ Original texts: 「閔子騫為費宰，問政於孔子。孔子曰：『……不能御民者，棄其德法，專用刑辟，譬猶御馬，棄其銜勒而專用捶策，其不可製也必矣。』」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 2: 256.

Translation referenced from Liu 2025, with modifications. Liu Xicheng 劉錫城, trans., *Qunshu zhiyao: ying wen* 群書治要：英文, vol. 2 (Beijing: Shijie zhishi chubanshe, 2025), p. 203.

¹⁶ It must be noted, however, that the discussion above treats the master section as an integrated whole. Because the twenty-six relevant texts derive from five different philosophical schools, the patterns identified here do not imply that all schools articulate the principle in an identical manner. Each school contributes its own characteristic emphasis, and the *Essentials*’ editorial method brings these diverse voices into a coherent framework. The specific contributions of each school will be examined in detail in the following section.

3. *The Master Section: Development and Its Extent*

Although the *Essentials* is rooted in Confucian thought, its master section includes forty-eight texts from seven philosophical schools, raising the question of whether—and to what extent—these diverse works develop the education-punishment principle articulated in the canonical section. A close reading shows that in the master section, there are twenty-six texts from five schools that address this principle.¹⁷ The comparison confirms that the master section maintains the essential message from the classical section, while expanding the supporting materials and deepening discussion through three representative lines of development—introducing new conceptual shifts, offering more detailed practical guidance, and providing historically informed reflections.

The discussion that follows retains the two thematic categories used in the classical section and, within each, examines both the continuities the master section preserves and the ways it extends and enriches the classical framework.

3.1 *The Priority of Education: Reinforced Through the Intrinsic Incapability of Punishment*

A substantial portion of the master section, roughly one-third of the texts that engage with this principle, continues the classical emphasis on moral education by reaffirming the significance of the ruler's moral example. Texts such as *Master Huainan* (*huainan zi* 淮南子) reproduce the classical metaphor of the ruler as the wind and the people as the grass.¹⁸ Similarly, three works repetitively invoke the example of King Tang, who believed that when the people commit wrongdoing, responsibility lies with the ruler's insufficient virtue.¹⁹

¹⁷ School classifications follow the “Monograph on Classics and Literature” (*jingji zhi* 經籍志) in the *History of the Sui Dynasty* (*suishu* 隋書). Of the seven schools listed, five address the principle under discussion—Confucianism (*ru jia* 儒家), Syncretism (*za jia* 雜家), Daoism (*dao jia* 道家), Strategist (*bing jia* 兵家), and Legalism (*fa jia* 法家)—while Logician (*ming jia* 名家) and Mohism (*mo jia* 墨家) do not. Please reference Appendix Two for further details.

¹⁸ Original texts: 「上唱而民和，上動而下隨，四海之內，一心同歸，背貪鄙而向義理，於其以化民也。若風之搖草木，無之而不靡。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 8: 1096.

¹⁹ The three works are *Master Shi* (*shizi* 尸子), *Master Fu* (*fuzi* 傅子), and the *Discourses on the Essentials of Governance* (*zhengyao lun* 政要論). Their original texts are excerpted as follows:
Master Shi: 「湯曰：『朕身有罪，無及萬方，萬方有罪，朕身受之，湯不私其身而私萬方。』」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 7: 946.

Master Fu: 「立德之本，莫尚乎正心，心正而後身正，身正而後左右正，左右正而後朝廷正，朝廷正而後國家正，國家正而後天下正。故天下不正，修之國家，國家不正，修之朝廷，朝廷不正，修之左右，左右不正修之身，身不正修之心。所修彌近，而所濟彌遠。禹湯罪己，其興也勃焉，正心之謂也。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 10: 1310–311.

Through these continuities, the master section reaffirms that moral education, grounded in the ethical conduct of those in power, remains the backbone of effective governance.

What is distinctive, however, is that the remaining two-thirds of the relevant passages in the master section do not rely primarily on the ruler's moral example to defend the priority of education. Instead, it emphasised the secondary status of punishment. For instance, they reveal a conceptual shift that the priority of education is no longer established by the reliance of the ruler's moral example, but by demonstrating the inherent inadequacy of punishment. This line of reasoning is developed through two recurring claims: punishment's inability to cultivate virtue and its inferior historical outcomes.

Texts such as the *Discourses on Iron and Salt* (*yantie lun* 鹽鐵論) argue that while the practice of ritual and moral instruction naturally reduces the need for punitive measures, punishment itself can never generate moral qualities such as filial piety and fraternal love.²⁰ Another passage in the same text vividly compares punishment to an invasive medical procedure:

“The law can punish people but not make them honourable; it can kill criminals but not cause people to be benevolent. A skilful doctor is valuable not by cutting into the body, but by dispelling harmful tendencies before they manifest.”²¹

Across these texts, the intrinsic limits of punishment become the most forceful means of affirming its secondary status and, correspondingly, the primacy of moral education.²²

The intrinsic inadequacy of punishment is further corroborated through historically structured models of governance. Several texts arrange different forms of rule into multi-level

Discourses on the Essentials of Governance: 「故善治國者，不尤斯民而罪諸己，不責諸下而求諸身。傳曰：『禹，湯罪己，其興也勃焉。』……由是言之，長民治國之本在身。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 10: 1254.

²⁰ Original texts: 「聞禮義行而刑罰中，未聞刑罰任而孝悌興也。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 9: 1109.

²¹ Original texts: 「法能刑人而不能使人廉，能殺人而不能使人仁，所貴良醫者，貴其審消息而退邪氣也。非貴其下鍼石而鑽肌膚也。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 9: 1106–1107.

Translation referenced from Liu 2025, with modifications. Liu Xicheng, trans., *Qunshu zhiyao: ying wen*, vol. 6, p. 76.

²² There are also two excerpts related to this concept found in the master section, from the *Master Wen* (*wenzi* 文子) and *Master Huainan*, their original texts are listed as follows.

Master Wen: 「法能教不孝，不能使人孝，能刑盜者，不能使人廉耻。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 7: 918.

Master Huainan: 「法能殺不孝者，而不能使人為孔墨之行，法能刑竊盜者，而不能使人為伯夷之廉。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 8: 1095.

sequences, distinguishing eras grounded in virtue from those driven primarily by punitive measures.²³

For example, there were four tiers model in the *Discourses on the Essentials of Governance*:

“The five legendary emperors emphasised virtue and seldom used punishment; the three ancient kings applied the two with equal weight; the five hegemonies used more punishment than virtue; and the Qin dynasty, which entered a quick descent, only applied punishment.”²⁴

In this model, the governance of ancient sage kings occupies the highest rank because it relies fundamentally on moral education, whereas punishment-centred regimes are consistently placed at the bottom, with the Qin singled out as the paradigmatic example of coercion and rapid collapse. By situating punishment within a broader narrative of political decline, these texts underscore its secondary role while foregrounding moral education as primary. These two claims are entirely absent from the canonical section. Their appearance in the master section marks a conceptual expansion that reaffirms education’s primacy through a new line of reasoning, substantially deepening the classical framework rather than merely repeating it.

3.2 Punishment as Corrective: Practical Development and Historical Warning

Like the canonical texts, the master section affirms punishment as a necessary supplement to moral education and accepts its self-erasing goal, yet it offers a more pragmatic understanding of its application. Rather than portraying punishment simply as a last resort after failed moral transformation, several texts differentiate among types of recipients and correspondingly distinct approaches to combining education and punishment. Some texts

²³ There are three texts demonstrated this feature: the *Gardens of Eloquence* (*shuoyuan* 說苑), *Methods of Sima* (*sima fa* 司馬法), and the *Discourses on the Essentials of Governance*. The original texts for the first two books are excerpted here.

Gardens of Eloquence: 「王者尚其德而稀其刑，霸者刑德并湊，強國先其刑而後其德。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 9: 1136.

Methods of Sima: 「有虞氏不賞不罰而民可用，至德也。夏賞而不罰，至教也。殷罰而不賞，至威也。周以賞罰，德衰也。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 6: 858.

²⁴ Original texts: 「故任德多，用刑少者，五帝也。刑德相半者，三王也。杖刑多，任德少者，五霸也。純用刑強而亡者，秦也。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 10: 1253.

Translation referenced from Liu 2025, with modifications. Liu Xicheng, trans., *Qunshu zhiyao: ying wen*, vol. 6, p. 397–98.

divide the people under governance into two categories—the noble person (*junzi* 君子) and the petty person (*xiaoren* 小人):²⁵

“The rules of propriety are used to rectify the noble people, and the law is used to govern the petty people.”²⁶

In this sentence, the master section thus concretises the classical claim that punishment follows when transformation fails by specifying the differing capacities and dispositions of the governed. Grounding the choice between education and punishment in the particular character of each recipient, it offers a point-to-point model of governance that reduces the likelihood of misjudgment or excessive penalties. In this way, the master section extends the canonical framework into a practical system in which education and punishment operate simultaneously and differentially according to moral responsiveness, transforming an abstract moral dichotomy into a concrete method for calibrating their proper balance.

Moreover, concerns warning against over-reliance on punishment, the master section greatly expands the canonical texts. While the classical section contains only one brief cautionary passage, the master section dedicates a considerably larger portion of thirteen sentences to its discussion, illustrating the dangers of punitive excess.²⁷ The horse-riding metaphor from the classical *School Sayings of Confucius* reappears in the *Discourses on Iron and Salt* and *Structural Discourses* (*tilun* 體論),²⁸ although there are minor shifts in the analogy, the main

²⁵ There are three texts in the master section mentioned this dimension, including the *Extended Reflection* (*shenjian* 申鑒), *Three Strategies* (*san lue* 三略), and the *Political Writings of Master Yuan* (*yuanzi zhengshu* 袁子正書). The original texts of the first two texts are shown as follows:

Extended Reflection: 「君子以情用，小人以刑用，榮辱者，賞罰之精華也。故禮教榮辱以加君子，治其情也。桎梏鞭扑以加小人，治其刑也。君子不犯辱，況於刑乎。小人不忌刑，況於辱乎。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 9: 1206.

Three Strategies: 「故令施於順民，惡加於凶人。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 8: 1052.

²⁶ Original texts: 「夫禮者所以正君子也，法者所以治小人也。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 10:1339.

Translation referenced from Liu 2025, with modifications. Liu Xicheng, trans., *Qunshu zhiyao: ying wen*, vol. 6, p. 576.

²⁷ Please reference Appendix Two for details.

²⁸ *Discourses on Iron and Salt*: 「今之治民者，若拙御之御馬也。行則頓之，止則擊之，身創於捶，吻傷於銜，而求其無失，何可得也。故疲馬不畏鞭捶，疲民不畏刑法，雖增而累之，其有益乎。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 9: 1109.

Structural Discourses: 「今之從政者，稱聖賢則先乎商韓，言治道則師乎法術，法術之御世，有似鐵轡之御馬，非必能制馬也。適所以桎其手也。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 10: 1268.

Besides simply repeating the concept from the classical section, the same analogy is also used in these two texts to emphasise the secondary position of punishment.

Discourses on Iron and Salt: 「古者篤教以導民，明辟以正刑，刑之於治，猶策之於御也。良工不能無策而御，有策而勿用也。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 9: 1102.

Structural Discourses: 「夫善御民者，其猶御馬乎。正其銜勒，齊其轡策，均馬力，和馬心，故能不勞而極千里，善御民者，壹其德禮，正其百官，齊民力，和民心，是故令不再而民從，刑不用而天下化

idea of warning against the negative consequences is the same.²⁹ Besides the analogy, the master section elaborates numerous minatory examples to emphasise its detrimental consequences. The rulers and officials in the state of Qin, and the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE) later, became a central negative exemplar throughout the master section. It occurs seventeen times across five texts,³⁰ representing the ultimate consequence of governance that relies solely on punishment: the erosion of loyalty, the collapse of moral order, and the rapid downfall of the state. By expanding this cautionary dimension by offering examples, the master texts deepen the classical insight that punishment must remain strictly subordinate to moral education.

Taken together, the master section retains the core insight of the canonical section—the ruler’s virtue exerts transformative influence, moral education constitutes the foundation of order, and punishment serves only as a corrective supplement. Yet it expands this framework in ways that substantially deepen the classical position. Three representative developments can be identified: highlighting the intrinsic limitations of punishment to show the superiority of education, elaborating the practical modes of punishment application, and offering historically grounded warnings against punitive excess. This development shows that the master section preserves the classical core message while enriching it with new argumentative dimensions that reinforce and extend the principle.

治，所貴聖人者，非貴其隨罪而作刑也。貴其隨亂之所生也。是以至人之為治也。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 10: 1276.

One more instance of the same analogy appears in *Master Lü’s Spring and Autumn Annals* (*lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋), where it is used to emphasise moderation in governance.

Original texts: 「東野稷以御見莊公，莊公以為造父不過也。顏闔曰：其馬將敗，少頃，東野稷之馬放而至。莊公召顏闔而問之曰：子何以知其放也。對曰：夫進退中繩，左右旋中規，造父之御，無以過焉。猶求其馬，臣是以知其放也。故亂國之使其民，不論人之性，不反人之情，煩為教而過不識，過，責也。識，知也。重為任而罪不勝，不能勝其所任者而罰。民進則欲其賞，退則畏其罪，知其能力之不足也。則以偽繼矣。知則上又從而罪之，罪其僞也。是以罪召罪也。召，致。故禮煩則不莊，業衆則無功，令苛則不聽，禁多則不行，桀紂之禁，不可勝數，故民不用而身為戮。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 8: 1033–34.

²⁹ The analogy in the *Discourses on Iron and Salt* further elaborated to show how repeated punishment dulls its effectiveness and harms both ruler and people. In the *Structural Discourses*, the analogy shifts to iron reins, suggesting that coercive techniques ultimately constrain the ruler’s own freedom rather than securing control.

³⁰ The five texts that use the rulers and officials of Qin as a warning include: *Master Fu*, *New Analects* (*xinyu* 新語), *Discourses on Iron and Salt*, *Structural Discourses*, and *Political Writings of Master Yuan*. The historical examples include two ministers of the Qin state—Shang Yang 商鞅 (c. 390–338 BCE) (three times) and Han Fei 韓非 (c. 280–233 BCE) (one time)—and later the Qin dynasty (four times), its two rulers, the First Emperor 秦始皇 (r. 221–210 BCE) (four times) and the Second Emperor 秦二世 (210–207 BCE) (two times), and its two major ministers, Zhao Gao 趙高 (d. 207 BCE) (two times) and Li Si 李斯 (d. 208 BCE) (one time).

3. *Two Compilatory Methods: Textual Proliferation and Source Balancing*

Having established the extent to which the master section develops the classical principle, this section shifts the focus from what is developed to how these developments are realised through textual composition. I argue that the compilers adopted two compilatory methods—textual proliferation and source balancing—through which the thematic developments identified above were concretely manifested.

Textual proliferation refers to the increase in the number of texts that articulate, reinforce, or extend the principle already present in the classical section. Within this mode, three distinct textual types can be observed: restatement, variation, and amplification. What links these categories is that all three multiply the textual presence of this idea across diverse philosophical traditions, supporting the classical principle while keeping its fundamental meaning intact.

Restatement means stating the same idea in a similar way as in the classical section, whether using identical wording or different wording. For instance, as discussed, the classical section uses the analogy of riding a horse to convey the negative consequences of punishment, and the master section also uses it repetitively to illustrate the same concept. Different wording can still demonstrate the same angle as the classical section. For example, the excerpt from the *Venerable Documents* that mentions punishment can be applied to those who have not been transformed by education finds many parallels in the master section despite the absence of similar wording.³¹ By carrying the classical formulation into master-section texts, restatement ensures that the core idea is not confined to the canonical section but reappears across different textual contexts.

Variation arises when the master section addresses the same principle but shifts its interpretive angle. Rather than repeating established formulations, these texts offer alternative lines of reasoning. For example, stressing the inherent limits of punishment instead of the positive efficacy of moral example, or reframing its corrective function not sequentially but

³¹ For instance, the excerpts from the *Discourses on the Iron and Salt* and *Discourses of A Recluse* (*qianfu lun* 潛夫論) advocated the same idea but by different wordings.

Discourses on the Iron and Salt: 「古者周其禮而明其教，禮周教明，不從者，然後等之以刑。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 9: 1107.

Discourses of A Recluse: 「聖人甚尊德禮而卑刑罰，故舜先敕契以敬敷五教，而後命皋陶以五刑三居。是故凡立法者，非以司民短而誅過誤，乃以防奸惡而救禍敗，撿淫邪而內正道耳。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 9: 1175.

through the spontaneous distinction between noble and petty persons. Such reorientations retain the classical idea while presenting it through new argumentative frameworks. In doing so, variation multiplies the number of texts in the master section that emphasise the same core principle as the classical section, thereby reinforcing and consolidating that principle across a broader textual base.

Amplification operates primarily through textual augmentation. This mode introduces additional cognitive resources—especially analogies and historical cases—that broaden the reader’s interpretive repertoire. The master section significantly increases the use of analogical reasoning: while the classical section contains only five analogies, the master section provides twenty-three.³² Analogies enable readers to transfer familiar experiential knowledge to political concepts.³³ For Emperor Taizong, such amplified analogical resources were particularly valuable for grasping the complementary roles of moral education and punitive governance.³⁴ Historical examples operate in a similar fashion. Almost all cases found in the classical section reappear in the master section, but the latter expands them both temporally and numerically.³⁵ Temporally, the classical section ranges from King Yu of Xia 夏禹王 (r. c. 2070–2060 BCE) to Zi Chan 子產 (d. 522 BCE), whereas the master section extends from the mythic Three Emperors and Five Augusts 五帝三王 (c. 3162–2070 BCE) to Emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝 (141–87 BCE), covering nearly an additional millennium of historical space. Quantitatively, the classical section contains nine distinct cases, while the

³² Please reference Appendix Two for details.

³³ When doing something new, people always lack the relevant rules, concepts, or images. So, analogy is helpful to use previous knowledge to deal with problems in a new situation. Paul R. Thagard, ‘Analogy’, *Brain-Mind: From Neurons to Consciousness and Creativity* (New York: Oxford University, 2019), pp. 114–31 (p. 114).

³⁴ The analogies in the *Essentials* can help the principal readers to understand the principle under discussion more comprehensively. There are four main psychological processes of analogical thinking, obtaining, mapping, adapting, and learning. First, obtaining: the compilers provide analogies such as wind blowing grass, which the reader encounters while reading. Second, mapping: the reader connects the source analog (wind blowing grass) to the target problem (the ruler’s moral influence over the people). Third, adapting: In this stage, the reader maps the wind’s power over grass onto the leader’s moral example over the people, and the grass’s automatic and compliant response to the wind onto the interaction between ruler and people. Fourth, learning: the reader learn from this analogy that, just as wind bends grass, the leader’s moral example possesses the power to transform the people, and the people will follow automatically without coercion.

Some analogies also transfer emotion from the source to the target. For instance, *Master Fu* compares the Qin dynasty’s abandonment of rites and rightness while reliance on punishment to a person carrying treasures yet sleeping alone in the field. This analogy conveys a sense of danger and unawareness, evoking fear to illustrate the consequences of prioritising punishment over moral education.

Original texts: 「禮義者，先王之藩衛也。秦廢禮義，是去其藩衛也。夫齋不訾之寶，獨宿於野，其為危敗，甚於累卵，方之於秦，猶有泰山之安。」 *Qunshu zhiyao*, 10: 1303.

Paul R. Thagard, ‘Analogy’, pp. 114–31 (p. 117–18, 121, 127).

³⁵ All examples that demonstrate the principle under discussion in the classical and master sections are summarised in Appendix Three. For a complete list, please see the appendix.

master section includes nineteen positive and twenty-one negative examples, amounting to a fourfold increase. This amplification reinforces the classical message through breadth and depth.

Taken together, these three forms of textual proliferation—restatement, variation, and amplification—collectively enlarge the textual field surrounding the education–punishment principle. They reaffirm the core formulation established in the classical section while equipping the reader with a more diversified and multilayered body of material through which to apprehend it.

However, textual proliferation alone does not account for the inherent diversity of the master-section texts, which derive from different philosophical traditions and historical periods. The compilers therefore faced an additional challenge: how to balance these heterogeneous sources, enabling the master section to reaffirm and extend the classical principle. The following analysis examines this second compilatory method—source balancing.

The master section includes arguments from five major schools, which fall into two groups based on their treatment of the secondary status of punishment, its corrective function, and the risks of prioritising it. Group One: Confucianism, Syncretism, and Daoism. It emphasises the subordinate role of punishment and warns against placing it above moral education. Group Two: Strategists and Legalists. It highlights the corrective value of punishment and tends to assign it greater practical weight. As the *Essentials* is a Confucian-oriented anthology, it is explicit what the belief of group one is. Group Two, however, presents a more punishment-reliant image that the compilers had to manage carefully.

Although Strategist and Legalist texts both stress the usefulness of punishment, they do so for different reasons. For the Strategists, the military corpus emerged and circulated largely in periods of social disorder,³⁶ when moral authority had collapsed and the immediate goal was to restore basic order. Under such conditions, moral education through exemplary leadership was ineffective, and punishment became a necessary instrument of governance. Some works in Group One compiled during troubled times similarly show a heightened emphasis on punishment's practical necessity.³⁷ The Legalism position is more systematic. In contrast to

³⁶ Sawyer, Ralph D., and Mei-chün Sawyer, trans., *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1993), p. 11.

³⁷ For instance, *Master Xun (sun qingzi 孫卿子)*, one of the earliest Confucian works, was composed two centuries after Confucius' death and tempers the view of punishment in response to the social and political

Confucianism, Legalism assumes that humans are fundamentally self-interested and thus not easily transformed through morality. Behaviour changes only when linked to concrete incentives or penalties. Moreover, Legalists regard moral influence as too limited to regulate an entire society and maintain that governance must adapt to changing conditions. When moral education no longer suits the times, law and punishment must supplement or replace it.³⁸

Because the texts from Group Two and texts compiled during disorder times in Group One place greater weight on the utility of punishment, the compilers faced the question of how to incorporate their insights without weakening the classical section's insistence that education comes first. Their editorial solution appears to be a deliberate balancing act. For Group Two, they retained only passages emphasising the corrective function of punishment and excluded those that elevate punishment above education. At the same time, they gave greater prominence to Group One texts, many of which reaffirm punishment's subordinate status. Moreover, they even include excerpts that warn of the dangers of relying on it excessively to balance the effectiveness of punishment mentioned by texts in Group Two. This balancing act ensured that the message in the master section is identical with the classical section, and enables it to contain both practical reflections and strong normative guidance.

The compilers' method also reflects a broader Tang-dynasty view that different philosophical schools all offered useful tools for statecraft. As noted in the "*Monograph on Classics and Literature*" (*jingji zhi* 經籍志) in the *History of the Sui Dynasty* (*suishu* 隋書)—authored by one of the leading compilers of the *Essentials*—each tradition grew from a practical occupational expertise, and their later disputes arose from divergences that emerged during turbulent times. Seen together, these schools provide complementary insights that can all contribute to effective governance.³⁹ The resulting structure resembles a carefully assembled

unrest of its time. In the two excerpts related to this principle, it collectively affirms the corrective function of punishment. Similarly, *Political Writings of Master Yuan*, composed during the Western Jin dynasty (266–316), emphasises the effectiveness of punishment in four out of its five relevant excerpts. Another example is *Master Fu*, a Syncretism work composed at the end of the Three Kingdoms period (220–280), in which three out of five excerpts mention the effectiveness of punishment.

Head, W. John, and Yanping Wang, *Law Codes in Dynastic China: A Synopsis of Chinese Legal History in the Thirty Centuries from Zhou to Qing* (Durham: California Academic Press, 2005), p. 44–45.

Wang Lin 王琳, *Wei jin zishu yanjiu* 魏晉子書研究 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 2019), p.397, 409.

³⁸ Head, W. John, and Yanping Wang, *Law Codes in Dynastic China*, p. 46–50.

³⁹ Original texts: 「《易》曰：『天下同歸而殊途，一致而百慮。』儒、道、小說，聖人之教也，而有所偏。兵及醫方，聖人之政也，所施各異。世之治也，列在眾職，下至衰亂，官失其守。或以其業遊說諸侯，各崇所習，分鑣並驚。若使總而不遺，折之中道，亦可以興化致治者矣。」

mosaic: its pieces differ in origin and emphasis. Yet by the arrangement of compilers, they reinforce the classical principle rather than weaken it.

These two compilatory methods—different though they are—the compiler uses each to extract the elements that reinforce and complement the classical framework based on their nature. Together, they help the principal readers gain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of this core principle of statecraft.

4. Conclusion

Through a comparison of the education-punishment interplay in the classical and master sections, this study confirms that the master-section texts preserve the classical core message without significant alteration. While it reinforces and complements it through argumentative strategies—conceptual shifts, practical refinements, and historical reflections—achieved via textual proliferation and source balancing. This finding resonates with the preface of the *Essentials*, in which the leading compiler Wei Zheng (580–643) described the method of composition as selecting from divers texts and excising the irregular and irrelevant—a process he likened to abandoning the flowers of spring for the fruit of autumn—in order to achieve a complete understanding without extraneous details.⁴⁰

It must be acknowledged, however, that this study focused only on the principle of prioritising education while using punishment as a corrective supplement. Whether these findings can be extended to other principles or serve as a general model requires further research. Nonetheless, by revealing how the master section develops the classical principle and the two compilatory methods, this study may offer some insights for future investigations into the editorial logic of the *Essentials*.

Wei Zheng 魏徵, 'Sui shu' 隋書, in *Wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書, vol. 264 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan, 1986), p. 648.

According to Xun (2020), the accommodation of education and punishment in Confucianism and Legalism began in the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). This accommodation was based on the belief that both schools agreed the ruler should care for the people as parents care for their children—which includes not only nourishment but also discipline and punishment. The difference lies in the methods of implementation. From the Han dynasty onward, each succeeding dynasty adopted Confucianism as the dominant ideology, while laws and punishments—informed by Legalism—served as governing instruments to enforce order.

Xu, Xiaoqun, *Heaven Has Eyes*, p. 23.

⁴⁰ Original texts: 「故爰命臣等，採摭群書，翦截淫放，光昭訓典……並棄彼春華，採茲秋實：一書之內，牙角無遺；一事之中，羽毛咸盡。」 Kelly Ngo, *Ordering Tang China*, p. 192–94.

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Book Chapter

Thagard, Paul R., ‘Analogy’, *Brain-Mind: From Neurons to Consciousness and Creativity* (New York: Oxford University, 2019), pp. 114–131

Appendix One: Related excerpts in the canonical and the master section

Canonical section (12 books)

1、《周易》

1.1 觀。……九五，觀我生，君子無咎。上之化下，猶風靡草，故觀民之俗，以察己道，百姓有罪，在余一人，君子風著，己乃無咎，上為化主，將欲自觀，乃觀民也。

2、《尚書》

2.1 汝作士，明于五刑，以弼五教，期于予治，欲其能以刑輔教，當於治體也。刑期于無刑，民協于中，時乃功，懋哉。雖或行刑，以殺止殺，終無犯者，刑期於無所刑，民皆合于大中，是汝之功勉之也。

2.2 爾惟風，下民惟草，汝戒勿為凡人之行也。民從上教而變，猶草應風而偃，不可不慎也。

2.3 無弗若于汝政，弗化于汝訓，辟以止辟，乃辟。有不順於汝政，不變於汝教，刑之而懲止犯罪者，乃刑之也。

2.4 五刑之疑有赦，五罰之疑有赦，刑疑赦，從罰，罰疑赦，從免。刑罰世輕世重，惟齊非齊。言刑罰隨世輕重也。刑新國用輕典，刑亂國用重典，刑平國用中典，凡刑所以齊非齊。

2.5 肆台小子將天命明威，弗敢赦，其爾萬方有罪，在予一人，自責化不至也。予一人有罪，無以爾萬方，無用汝萬方，言非所及也。

3、《毛詩》

3.1 蕩，召穆公傷周室大壞也。厲王無道，天下蕩蕩，無綱紀文章，故作是詩也。蕩蕩上帝，下民之辟，上帝以托君王也。辟，君也。蕩蕩，言法度廢壞之貌也。厲王乃以此居人上，為天下之君，言其無可則像之甚也。疾威上帝，其命多辟，疾，病人矣。威，罪人矣。疾病人者，重賦斂也。威罪人者，峻刑法也。其政教又多邪僻不由舊章也。天生烝民，其命匪諶，靡不有初，鮮克有終，天之生此衆民，其教道之，非當以誠信使之忠厚乎。今則不然，民始皆庶幾於善道，後更化於惡俗也。

4、《左傳》

4.1 二十一年，邾庶其以漆，閭丘來奔，庶其，邾大夫也。季武子以公姑姊妻之，皆有賜於其從者，於是魯多盜。季孫謂臧武仲曰：子盍詰盜，詰治也。武仲曰：不可詰也。紇又不能。季孫曰：子為司寇，將盜是務去，若之何不能。武仲曰：子召外盜而大禮焉。

何以止吾盜，吾，謂國中也。子為正卿而來外盜，使紇去，將何以能，庶其竊邑於邾以來，子以，姬氏妻之，而與之邑，使食漆，閭丘也。其從者皆有賜焉。若大盜，禮焉以君之姑姊，與其大邑，其次皂牧輿馬，給其賤役，從皂至牧。其小者衣裳劍帶，是賞盜也。賞而去之，其或難焉。紇也聞之，在上位者，酒濯其心，壹以待人，軌度其信，可明徵也。徵驗也。而後可以治人，夫上之所為，民之歸也。上所不為，而民或為之，是以加刑罰焉。而莫敢不懲，若上之所為，而民亦為之，乃其所也。又可禁乎。

4.2 六年，鄭人鑄刑書鑄刑書於鼎，以為國之常法。叔向使詒子產書曰：昔先王議事以制，不為刑辟，懼民之有爭心也。臨事制刑，不豫設法，法豫設，則民知爭端，猶不可禁禦，是故閑之以義，閑防也。糾之以政，行之以禮，守之以信，奉之以仁，奉，養也。制為祿位，以勸其從，勸從教也。嚴斷刑罰以威其淫，淫，放也。懼其未也。故誨之以忠，聳之以行，聳懼也。教之以務，時所急也。使之以和，悅以使民，臨之以，莅之以強，施之於事為莅，斷之以剛，義斷恩也。猶求聖哲之上，明察之官，官，卿大夫也。忠信之長，慈惠之師，民於是乎可任使也。而不生禍亂，民知有辟，則不忌於上，權移於法，故民不畏上也。并有爭心，以徵於書，而徵幸，以成之，因危文以生爭，緣微幸以成其巧僞也。弗可為矣。為治也。夏有亂政而作，禹刑，商有亂政而作，湯刑，夏商之亂，著禹湯之法，言不能議事以制，周有亂政而作，九刑，周之衰，亦為刑書，謂之九刑也。三辟之興，皆叔世也，言刑書不起於始盛之世，今吾子相鄭國，制參辟，鑄刑書，制參辟，謂用三代之末法，將以靖民，不亦難乎。詩，曰：儀式刑文王之德，日靖四方，言文王以德為儀式，故能日有安靖四方之功，刑，法也。又曰：儀刑文王，萬邦作孚，言文王作儀法，為天下所信也。如是，何辟之有，言詩唯以德與信，不以刑，民知爭端矣。將弃禮而徵於書，以刑書為徵，錐刀之末，將盡爭之，錐刀末，喻小，事，亂獄滋豐，賄賂并行，終子之世，鄭其敗乎。肸聞之，國將亡，必多制，數改法也。其此之謂乎。復書曰：若吾子之言，復報也。僑不才，不能及子孫，吾以救世也。

5、《禮記》

5.1 〈樂記〉是故先王慎所以感之者，故禮以導其志，樂以和其聲，政以一其行，刑以防其奸，禮樂刑政，其極一也。所以同民心而出治道。

5.2 禮節民心，樂和民聲，政以行之，刑以防之，禮樂刑政四達而不悖，則王道備矣。

5.3 〈經解〉故禮之教化也微，其正邪於未形，使人日徙善遠罪而不自知也。是以先王隆之也。易曰：君子慎始，差若毫厘，謬以千里，此之謂也。隆，謂尊盛之也。始，謂其微時也。

5.4〈緇衣〉子曰：夫民，教之以德，齊之以禮，則民有格心，教之以政，齊之以刑，則民有遯心，格，來也。遯，逃也。故君民者，子以愛之，則民親之，信以結之，則民不背，恭以蒞之，則民有遜心，蒞，臨也。遜猶順也。子曰：下之事上也。不從其所令而從其所行，言民化行，不拘於言也。上好是物，下必有甚矣。甚者，甚於君也。故上之所好惡，不可不慎也。是民之表也。言民之從君，如影之逐表。子曰：禹立三年，百姓以仁遂焉。豈必盡仁，言百姓效禹為仁，非本性能仁也。子曰：上好仁，則下之為仁爭先人。

6、《周禮》無

7、《周書》無

8、《國語》無

9、《韓詩外傳》無

10、《孝經》

10.1 夫聖人之德，又何以加於孝乎。孝悌之至，通於神明，豈聖人所能加。聖人因嚴以教敬，因親以教愛，因人尊嚴其父，教之為敬，因親近於其父，教之為愛，順人情也。聖人之教，不肅而成，聖人因人情而教民，民皆樂之，故不肅而成也。其政不嚴而治，其身正，不令而行，故不嚴而治。其所因者本也。……君子則不然，言思可道，君子不為逆亂之道，言中詩書，故可傳道也。行思可樂，動中規矩，故可樂也。德義可尊，可尊法也。作事可法，可法則也。容止可觀，威儀中禮故可觀。進退可度，難進而盡忠，易退而補過。以臨其民，是使其民畏而愛之，畏其刑罰，愛其德義。則而象之，故能成其德教，而行其政令，《詩》云：「淑人君子，其儀不忒，」淑，善也。忒，差也。善人君子，威儀不差，可法則也。

10.2 先王見教之可以化民也。見因天地教化民之易也。是故先之以博愛，而民莫遺其親，先修人事，流化於民也。陳之以德義，而民興行，上好義，則民莫敢不服也。先之以敬讓，而民不爭，若文王敬讓於朝，虞，芮推畔於野，上行之則下效法之。道之以禮樂，而民和睦，上好禮則民莫敢不敬。示之以好惡，而民知禁。善者賞之，惡者罰之，民知禁，不敢為非也。

11、《論語》

11.1 子曰：導之以政，政調法教。齊之以刑，民免而無耻，苟免。導之以德，德謂道德。齊之以禮，有耻且格。格，正也。

11.2 子曰：善人為邦百年，亦可以勝殘去殺矣。勝殘，勝殘暴之人使不為惡也。去殺，不用刑殺也。誠哉是言也。古有此言，孔子信之。

11.3 朕躬有罪，無以萬方，萬方有罪，罪在朕躬，無以萬方，萬方不與也。萬方有罪，我身之過。

11.4 孟氏使陽膚為士師，陽膚，曾子弟子也。士師，典獄官也。問於曾子。曾子曰：上失其道，民散久矣。如得其情，則哀矜而勿喜。民之離散為輕漂犯法，乃上之所為，非民之過也。當哀矜之，勿自喜能得其情也。

11.5 季康子問於孔子曰：如殺無道以就有道，何如，就，成也。欲多殺以止姦也。對曰：子為政，焉用殺，子欲善，而民善矣。君子之德，風也。小人之德，草也。草上之風，必偃。亦欲康子先自正也。偃，仆也。加草以風，無不仆者，猶民之化於上也。

12、《孔子家語》

12.1 孔子為魯大司寇，有父子訟者，夫子同狴執之，狴，獄牢也。三月不別，其父請止，夫子赦焉。季孫聞之不悅曰：司寇欺余。曩告余曰：為國家者必先以孝，今戮一不孝以教民孝，不亦可乎？而又赦之。何哉？孔子喟然嘆曰：嗚呼，上失其道，而殺其下，非理也。不教以孝而聽其獄，是殺不辜也。三軍大敗，不可斬也。獄犴不治，不可刑也。何者？上教之不行，罪不在民故也。夫慢令謹誅，賊也。徵斂無時，暴也。不誠責成，虐也。政無此三者，然後刑可即也。既陳道德以先服之，而猶不可，則尚賢以勸之，又不可，則廢不能以憚之，若是，百姓正矣。其有邪民不從化者，然後待之以刑，則民咸知罪矣。是以威厲而不誠誠作試，刑措而不用也。今世不然，亂其教，煩其刑，使民迷惑而陷罪焉。又從而製之，故刑彌繁而盜不勝也。世俗之陵遲久矣。雖有刑法，民能勿逾乎。

12.2 哀公問於孔子曰：大禮何如，子之言禮何其尊也。孔子曰：丘聞之，民之所以生者禮為大，非禮則無以節事天地之神焉。非禮則無以辨君臣上下長幼之位焉。非禮則無以別男女父子兄弟婚姻親族疏數之交焉。是故君子此為之尊敬，然後以其所能教示百姓，卑其宮室，節其服御，車不雕璣，器不雕鏤，食不二味，心不淫志，以與萬民

同利，古之明王之行禮也如此。公曰：今之君子胡莫之行也。孔子對曰：今之君子，好利無厭，淫行不倦，荒怠慢游，固民是盡，以遂其心，以怨其政以伐有道，求得當欲，不以其所，言苟求得當其情欲而已。虐殺刑誅，不以其理，夫昔之用民也由前，用上所言。今之用民也由後，用下所言。是即今之君子莫能為禮也。

12.3 閔子騫為費宰，問政於孔子。孔子曰：以德以法，夫德法者，御民之具，猶御馬之有銜勒也。君者，人也。吏者，轡也。刑者，策也。人君之政，執其轡策而已矣。子騫曰：敢問古之為政。孔子曰：古者，天子以內史為左右手，以德法為銜勒，以百官為轡，以刑罰為策，以萬民為馬，故御天下數百年而不失，善御馬者，正銜勒，齊轡策，均馬力，和馬心，故口無聲而馬應轡，策不舉而極千里，極，至也。善御民者，一其德法，正其百官，均齊民力，和安民心，故令不再而民順從，刑不用而天下化治，是以天地德之，天地以為有德。而兆民懷之，懷，歸。不能御民者，弃其德法，專用刑辟，譬猶御馬，弃其銜勒而專用捶策，其不可製也必矣。夫無銜勒而用捶策，馬必傷，車必敗，無德法而用刑辟，民必流，國必亡，凡治國而無德法，則民無所法修，民無所法修，則迷惑失道。

12.4 仲弓問於孔子曰：雍聞至刑無所用政，至政無所用刑，至刑無所用政，桀紂之世是也。至政無所用刑，成康之世是也。信乎。孔子曰：聖人之治化也。必刑政相參焉。太上以德教民，而以禮齊之，其次以政導民，以刑禁之，化之弗變，導之弗從，傷義敗俗，於是乎用刑矣。

Masters

Confucianism (17 books)

1、《晏子》

1.1 景公問晏子曰：古之盛君，其行何如。對曰：薄於身而厚於民，約於身而廣於世，其處上也。足以明政行教，而不以威下，其取財也。權有無，均貧富，不以養嗜欲，誅不避貴，賞不遺賤，不淫於樂，不遁於哀，盡智道民而不伐焉。勞力事民而不責焉。政尚相利，故下不以相害為行，教尚相愛，故民不以相惡為名，刑罰中於法，廢罪順於民，是以賢者處上而不華，不肖者處下而不怨，四海之內，一意同欲，生有厚利，死有遺教，此盛君之行也。

2、《曾子》無

3、《孟子》無

4、《孫卿子》

4.1 不教而誅，則刑繁而邪不勝，教而不誅，則奸民不懲，誅而不賞，則勤勵之民不勸，誅賞而不類，則下疑俗險，而百姓不壹，故先王明禮義以壹之，致忠信以愛之，尚賢使能以次之，爵服賞慶以申重之，時其事，輕其任，以調齊之，兼覆之，養長之，如保赤子，若是，故奸邪不作，盜賊不起，而化善者勸勉矣。是何則，其道易，其塞固，其政令壹，其防表明也。故曰：上壹則下壹矣。上二則下二矣。

4.2 聖王在上，分義行乎下，則士大夫無沉淫之行，百吏官人無怠慢之事，衆庶百姓無奸怪之俗，無盜賊之罪，莫敢犯上之禁，天下曉然皆知夫盜竊之不可以為富也。皆知夫賊害之不可以為壽也。皆知夫犯上之禁不可以為安也。由其道，則人得其所好焉。不由其道，則必遇其所惡焉。是故刑罰甚省，而威行如流也。故刑當罪則威，不當罪則侮，爵當賢則貴，不當賢則賤。

5、《新語》

5.1 夫居高者，自處不可以不安，履危者，任杖不可以不固，自處不安則墜，任杖不固則仆，是以聖人居高處上，則以仁義為巢，乘危履傾，則以聖賢為杖，故高而不墜，危而不仆，昔者堯以仁義為巢，舜以稷契為杖，故高而益安，動而益固，處宴安之臺，承克讓之塗，德配天地，光被八極，功垂於無窮，名傳於不朽，蓋自處得其巢，任杖得其人也。秦以刑罰為巢，故有覆巢破卵之患，以李斯，趙高為杖，故有頓仆跌傷之禍，何者，所任者非也。故杖聖者帝，杖賢者王，杖仁者霸，杖智者強，杖讒者滅，杖賊者亡，詩云，讒人罔極，交亂四國，衆邪合心，以傾一君，國危民失，不亦宜乎。

5.2 道莫大於無為，行莫大於謹敬，何以言之，昔舜治天下也。彈五弦之琴，歌南風之詩，寂若無治國之意，漠若無憂天下之心，然而天下大治，故無為者，乃有為者也。秦始皇設刑法，為車裂之誅，築長城以備胡越，蒙恬討亂於外，李斯治法於內，事愈煩，下愈亂，法愈衆，奸愈縱，秦非不欲治也。然失之者，舉措大衆，刑罰大極故也。

5.3 天地之性，萬物之類，懷德者衆歸之，恃刑者民畏之，歸之則充其側，畏之則去其城。城作域，故設刑者不厭輕，為德者不厭重，行罰不患薄，布賞不患厚，所以親近而致遠也。夫刑重者，則心煩，事衆者，則身勞，心煩者，則刑罰縱橫而無所立，身勞者，則百端迴邪而無所就，是以君子之為治也。混然無事，寂然無聲，官府若無人，亭落若無吏，郵無夜行之卒，鄉無夜召之徵，犬不夜吠，鷄不夜鳴，耆老甘味於堂，丁男耕芸於野，在朝忠於君，在家孝於親，於是雖不言而信誠，不怒而威行，豈待堅甲利兵，深牢刻令，朝夕切切而後行哉。

5.4 昔者，晉厲，齊莊，楚靈，宋襄，乘大國之權，杖衆民之威，軍師橫出，凌轢諸侯，外驕敵國，內刻百姓，鄰國之讎結於外，羣臣之怨積於內，而欲建金石之統，繼不絕之世，豈不難哉。故宋襄死於泓之戰，三君殺於臣之手，皆輕師尚威，以致於斯，故春秋重而書之，嗟嘆而傷之，三君強其威而失其國，急其刑而自賊，斯乃去事之戒，來事之師也。

6、《賈子》

6.1 周成王曰：寡人聞之，聖在上位，使民富且壽云，若夫富則可為也。壽則不在天乎。鬻子對曰：聖人在上位，則天下無軍兵之事，民不私相殺，則民免於一死，而得一生矣。君積於道，而吏積於德，而民積於用力，故婦人為其所衣，丈夫為其所食，則民無凍餓，則民免於二死，而得二生矣。君積於仁而吏積於愛，而民積於財財作順，刑罰廢矣。而民無夭竭夭竭作大過之誅，則民免於三死，而得三生矣。使民有時，而用之有節，則民無厲疾，則民免於四死，而得四生矣。興賢良以禁邪惡，賢人必用，不肖人不作，則民得其命矣。故夫富且壽者，聖王之功也。王曰：受命矣。

7、《鹽鐵論》

7.1 古者篤教以導民，明辟以正刑，刑之於治，猶策之於御也。良工不能無策而御，有策而勿用也。聖人假法以成教，教成而刑不施，故威厲而不殺，刑設而不犯。今廢其紀綱而不能張，壞其禮義而不能防，民陷於罪，從而獵之以刑，是猶開其闌牢，發以毒矢也。不盡不止矣。曾子曰：上失其道，民散久矣。如得其情，則哀矜而勿喜，夫不傷民之不治而伐己之能得奸，猶弋者睹鳥獸挂罟羅而喜也。今天下之被誅者，不必有管，蔡之邪，鄧皙之僞也。孔子曰：人而不仁，疾之以甚，亂也。故民亂反之政，

政亂反之身，身正而天下定，是以君子嘉善而矜不能，恩及刑人，德潤窮夫，施惠悅爾，行刑不樂也。

7.2 道徑，衆民不知所由也。法令，衆人不知所避也。故王者之制法也。昭乎如日月，故民不迷，曠乎若大路，故民不惑，幽隱遠方，折乎知之，愚婦童婦，咸知所避，是故法令不犯，而獄犴不用也。昔秦法繁於秋荼，而網密於凝脂，然而上下相遁，奸偽萌生，有司治之，若救爛捫焦不能禁，非網疏而罪漏，禮義廢而刑罰任也。方今律令百有餘篇，文章繁，罪名重，羣國用之，疑惑或淺或深，自吏明習者不知所處，而況愚民乎。律令塵蠹於棧閣，吏不能遍睹，而況愚民乎。此斷獄所以滋衆而民犯禁滋多也。親服之屬甚衆，上附下附，而服不過五，五刑之屬三千，上殺下殺，而罪不過五，故治民之道，務篤於教也。

7.3 法能刑人而不能使人廉，能殺人而不能使人仁，所貴良醫者，貴其審消息而退邪氣也。非貴其下鍼石而鑽肌膚也。所貴良吏者，貴其絕惡於未萌，使之不為非，非貴其拘之囹圄而刑殺之也。今之所謂良吏者，文察則以禍其民，強力則以厲其下，不本法之所由生，而專己之殘心，文誅假法以陷不辜，累無罪，以子及父，以弟及兄，一人有罪，州里驚駭，十家奔亡，若癰疽之相漫，色淫之相連，一節動而百枝搖，詩云，舍彼有罪，既伏其辜，若此無罪，淪胥以鋪，傷無罪而累也。非患銚鋤之不利，患其舍草而芸苗也。非患無準平，患其舍枉而繩直也。故親近為過不必誅，是鋤不用也。疏遠有功不必賞，是苗不養也。故世不患無法，而患無必行之法也。

7.4 古者周其禮而明其教，禮周教明，不從者，然後等之以刑，刑罰中，民不怨矣。故舜施四罪而天下咸服，誅不仁也。輕重各伏其誅，刑必加而無赦，赦維疑者，若此，則世安得不軌之人而罪之乎。今廢其德教而責之禮義，是虐民也。春秋傳曰：子有罪，執其父，臣有罪，執其君，聽失之大者也。今以子誅父，以弟誅兄，親戚相坐，什伍相連，若引根本而及華葉，傷小指而累四體也。如此，則以有罪反誅無罪，反誅無罪，則天下之無罪者寡矣。故吏不以多斷為良，醫不以多刺為工，子產殺一人刑二人，道不拾遺，而民無誣心，故為民父母，似養疾子，長恩厚而已，自首匿，相坐之法立，骨肉之恩廢，而刑罪多矣。聞父母之於子，雖有罪猶匿之，其不欲服罪爾，子為父隱，父為子隱，未聞父子之相坐也。聞兄弟能緩追以免賊，未聞兄弟之相坐也。聞惡惡止其人，疾始而誅首惡，未聞什伍而相坐也。

7.5 紂為炮烙之刑，而秦有收孥之法，趙高以峻文決罪於內，百官以峭法斷割於外，死者相枕席，刑者相望，百姓側目重足，不寒而慄，方此之時，豈特冒火蹈刃哉。然父

子相背，兄弟相嫚，至於骨肉相殘，上下相殺，非刑輕而罰不必，令太嚴而仁恩不施也。故政寬則下親其上，政嚴則臣謀其主，晉厲以幽，二世以弑，惡在峻法之不犯，嚴家之無格虜也。聖人知之，是以務和而不務威，故高皇帝約秦苛法，以慰怨毒之人，而長和睦之心，唯恐刑之重而德之薄也。是以恩施無窮，澤流後世，商鞅，吳起以秦，楚之法為輕而累之，上危其主，下沒其身，或非特慈母乎。

7.6 民之仰法，猶魚之仰水，水清則靜，濁則擾，擾則不安其居，靜則樂其業，樂其業則富，富則仁生，贍則爭止，是以成，康之世，賞無所施，法無所加，非可刑而不刑，民莫犯禁也。非可賞而不賞，民莫不仁也。若斯，則吏何事而可理乎。今之治民者，若拙御之御馬也。行則頓之，止則擊之，身創於捶，吻傷於銜，而求其無失，何可得也。故疲馬不畏鞭捶，疲民不畏刑法，雖增而累之，其有益乎。

7.7 古者明其仁義之誓，使民不逾，不教而殺，是虐民也。與其刑不可逾，不若義之不可逾也。聞禮義行而刑罰中，未聞刑罰任而孝悌興也。高牆狹基，不可立也。嚴刑峻法，不可久也。二世信趙高之計，深督責而任誅斷，刑者半道，死者日積，殺人多者為忠，斂民悉者為能，百姓不勝其求，黔首不勝其刑，海內同憂而俱不聊生，故過任之事，父不得於子，無已之求，君不得於臣，知死不再，窮鼠齧狸，匹夫奔萬乘，舍人折弓，陳勝，吳廣是也。聞不一耨而社稷為虛，惡在其能長制羣下而久守其國也。

8、《新序》無

9、《說苑》

9.1 河間獻王曰：堯存心於天下，加志於窮民，痛萬姓之罹罪，憂衆生之不遂也。有一民飢。則曰：此我飢之也。有一民寒。則曰：此我寒之也。一民有罪。則曰：此我陷之也。仁昭而義立，德博而化廣，故不賞而民勸，不罰而民治，先恕而後教，是堯道也。

9.2 政有三品，王者之政化之，霸者之政威之，強國之政脅之，夫此三者各有所施，而化之為貴矣。夫化之不變而後威之，威之不變而後脅之，脅之不變而後刑之，夫至於刑者，則非王者之所貴也。是以聖王先德教而後刑罰，立榮耻而明防禁，崇禮義之節以示之，賤貨利之弊以變之，則下莫不慕義節之榮，而惡貪亂之耻，其所由致之者，化使然也。

9.3 治國有二機，刑德是也。王者尚其德而稀其刑，霸者刑德并奏，強國先其刑而後其德，夫刑德者，化之所由興也。德者養善而進之闕者也。刑者懲惡而禁後者也。故德化之崇者至於賞，刑罰之甚者至於誅，夫誅賞者，所以別賢不肖而列有功與無功也。誅賞繆則善惡亂矣。夫有功而不賞，則善不勸矣。有過而不誅，則惡不懼矣。善不勸而能以行化乎天下者，未嘗聞也。

9.4 魏文侯問李克曰：刑罰之源安生。對曰：生於奸邪淫佚之行也。凡奸邪之心，飢寒而起，淫佚者，文飾之耗，雕文刻鏤，害農事者也。文繡纂組，傷女功者也。農事害則飢之本，女功傷則寒之源也。飢寒并至而能不為奸邪者，未之有也。男女飾美以相矜，而能無淫佚者，未嘗有也。故上不禁技功，則國貧民侈，國貧民侈，則貧窮者為奸邪，而富足者為淫佚，則驅民而為邪也。民已為邪，因以法隨而誅之，則是為民設陷也。刑罰之起有源，人主不塞其本而督其末，傷國之道也。文侯曰：善。

10、《桓子新論》無

11、《潛夫論》

11.1 人君之治，莫大於道，莫盛於德，莫美於教，莫神於化，道者所以持之也。德者所以苞之也。教者所以知之也。化者所以致之也。民有性有情，有化有俗，情性者，心也。本也。化俗者，行也。末也。上君撫世，先其本而後其末，順其心而理其行，心情苟正，則奸慝無所生，邪意無所載矣。是故上聖不務治民事而務治民心。故曰：聽訟吾由人也。必也使無訟乎。導之以德，齊之以禮，民親愛則無相害傷之意，動思義則無奸邪之心，夫若此者，非法律之所使也。非威刑之所強也。此乃教化之所致也。

11.2 聖人甚尊德禮而卑刑罰，故舜先敕契以敬敷五教，而後命皋陶以五刑三居，是故凡立法者，非以司民短而誅過誤，乃以防奸惡而救禍敗，撿淫邪而內正道耳，民蒙善化，則人有士君子之心，被惡政，則人有懷奸亂之慮，故善者之養天民也。由良工之為麴豉也。起居以其時，寒溫得其適，則一蔭之麴豉盡美而多量，其遇拙工，則一蔭之麴豉皆臭敗而弃捐，今六合亦由一蔭也。黔首之屬，猶豆麥也。變化云為，在將者耳，遭良吏則皆懷忠信而履仁厚，遇惡吏則皆懷奸邪而行淺薄，忠厚積則致太平，奸薄積則致危亡，是以聖帝明王，皆敦德化而薄威刑，德者所以修己也。威者所以治人也。民之生世也。猶鑠金之在爐，方圓薄厚，隨熔製耳，是故世之善惡，俗之薄厚，

皆在於君主，誠能使六合之內，舉世之人，咸懷方厚之情，而無淺薄之惡，各奉公正之心，而無奸險之慮，則義、農之俗，復見於茲，麟龍鸞鳳，復畜於郊矣。

12、《申鑒》

12.1 君子以情用，小人以刑用，榮辱者，賞罰之精華也。故禮教榮辱以加君子，治其情也。桎梏鞭撻以加小人，治其刑也。君子不犯辱，況於刑乎。小人不忌刑，況於辱乎。若夫中人之倫，則刑禮兼焉。教化之廢，推中人而墜於小人之域，教化之行，引中人而納於君子之途，是謂彰化。

13、《中論》無

14、《典論》無

15、《體論》

15.1 故善為政者，務在於擇人而已，及其求人也。總其大略，不具其小善，則不失賢矣。故曰：記人之功，忘人之過，宜為君者也。人有厚德，無問其小節，人有大譽，無訾其小故，自古及今，未有能全其行者也。和氏之璧，不能無瑕，隋侯之珠，不能無類，然天下寶之者，不以小故妨大美也。不以小故妨大美，故能成大功，夫成大功在己而已，何具之於人也。今之從政者，稱聖賢則先乎商韓，言治道則師乎法術，法術之御世，有似鐵轡之御馬，非必能制馬也。適所以梏其手也。

15.2 孔子曰：為政以德。又曰：導之以德，齊之以禮，有耻且格，然則德之為政大矣。而禮次之也。夫德禮也者，其導民之具歟，太上養化，使民日遷善而不知其所以然，此治之上也。其次使民交讓處勞而不怨，此治之次也。其下正法，使民利賞而歡善，畏刑而不敢為非，此治之下也。夫善御民者，其猶御馬乎。正其銜勒，齊其轡策，均馬力，和馬心，故能不勞而極千里，善御民者，壹其德禮，正其百官，齊民力，和民心，是故令不再而民從，刑不用而天下化治，所貴聖人者，非貴其隨罪而作刑也。貴其隨亂之所生也。是以至人之為治也。民有小罪，必求其善，以赦其過，民有大罪，必原其故，以仁輔化，是故上下親而不離，道化流而不滯。

15.3 聖人之於法也。已公矣。然猶身懼其未也。故曰：與其害善，寧其利淫，知刑當之難必也。從而救之以化，此上古之所務也。後之治獄者則不然，末訊罪人，則驅而

致之，意謂之能，下不探獄之所由生為之分，而上求人主之微旨以為制，謂之忠，其當官也能，其事上也忠，則名利隨而與之，驅世而陷，此以望道化之隆，亦不幾矣。

15.4 春秋之時，王道浸壞，教化不行，子產相鄭而鑄刑書，偷薄之政，自此始矣。逮至戰國，韓任申子，秦用商鞅，連相坐之法，造參夷之誅，至於始皇兼吞六國，遂滅禮義之官，專任刑罰，而奸邪并生，天下叛之，高祖約法三章，而天下大悅，及孝文即位，躬修玄默，議論務在寬厚，天下化之，有刑厝之風，至於孝武，徵發煩數，百姓虛耗，窮民犯法，酷吏擊斷，奸宄不勝，於是張湯趙禹之屬，條定法令，轉相比况，禁固疑罔積密，文書盈於机格，典者不能遍睹，奸吏因緣為市，議者咸怨傷之。

16、《典語》無

17、《袁子正書》

17.1 治國之大體有四，一曰仁義，二曰禮制，三曰法令，四曰刑罰，四本者具，則帝王之功立矣。所謂仁者，愛人者也。愛人，父母之行也。為民父母，故能興天下之利也。所謂義者，能辨物理者也。物得理，故能除天下之害也。興利除害者，則賢人之業也。夫仁義禮制者，治之本也。法令刑罰者，治之末也。無本者不立，無末者不成，夫禮教之治，先之以仁義，示之以敬讓，使民遷善，日用而不知也。儒者見其如此，因謂治國不須刑法，不知刑法承其下，而後仁義興於上也。法令者賞善禁淫，居治之要會，商韓見其如此，因曰治國不待仁義，不知仁義為之體，故法令行於下也。是故導之以德，齊之以禮，則民有耻，導之以政，齊之以刑，則民苟免，是治之貴賤者也。先仁而後法，先教而後刑，是治之先後者也。

17.2 夫遠物難明而近理易知，故禮讓緩而刑罰急，是治之緩急也。夫仁者使人有德，不能使人知禁，禮者使人知禁，不能使人必仁，故本之者仁，明之者禮也。必行之者刑罰也。先王為禮以達人之性，理刑以承禮之所不足，故以仁義為不足以治者，不知人性者也。是故失教，失教者無本也。以刑法為不可用者，是不知情偽者也。是故失威，失威者不禁也。故有刑法而無仁義，久則民忽，民忽則怒也。有仁義而無刑法，則民慢，民慢則奸起也。故曰：本之以仁，成之以法，使兩通而無偏重，則治之至也。夫仁義雖弱而持久，刑殺雖強而速亡，自然之治也。

17.3 恃門戶之閉以禁盜者，不如明其刑也。明其刑不如厚其德也。故有教禁，有刑禁，有物禁，聖人者兼而用之，故民知耻而無過行也。不能止民惡心，而欲以刀鋸禁其外，雖日刑人於市，不能制也。明者知制之在於本，故退而修德，為男女之禮，妃匹之合，則不淫矣。為廉耻之教，知足之分，則不盜矣。以賢制爵，令舊令作有，改之民德厚矣。故聖人貴恒，恒者德之固也。聖人久於其道而天下化成，未有不恒而可以成德，無德而可以持久者也。

17.4 夫禮者所以正君子也。法者所以治小人也。治在於君子，功在於小人，故為國而不以禮，則君子不讓，制民而不以法，則小人不懼，君子不讓，則治不立，小人不懼，則功不成，是以聖人之法，使貴賤不同禮，賢愚不同法，毀法者誅，有罪者罰，爵位以其才行，不計本末，刑賞以其功過，不計輕重，言必出於公實，行必落於法理，是以百姓樂義，不敢為非也。太上，使民知道，其次，使民知心，其下，使民不得為非，使民知道者，德也。使民知心者，義也。使民不得為非者，威禁也。威禁者，賞必行，刑必斷之謂也。此三道者，治天下之具也。欲王而王，欲霸而霸，欲強而強，在人主所志也。

17.5 死者，人之所甚惡也。殺人者，仁人之所不忍也。人之於利欲，有犯死罪而為之，先王制肉刑，斷人之體，徹膳去樂，謠嗟而行之者，不得已也。刑不斷則不威，避親貴則法日弊，如是則奸不禁而犯罪者多，惠施一人之身，而傷天下生也。聖人計之於利害，故行之不疑，是故刑殺者，乃愛人之心也。涕泣而行之，故天下明其仁也。雖貴重不得免，故天下知其斷也。仁見故民不怨，立斷下不犯，聖王之所以禁奸也。先王制為八議赦宥之差，斷之以三槐九棘之聽，服念五六日至於旬時，全正義也。而後斷之，仁心如此之厚，故至刑可為也。

Syncretism (9 books)

1、《尸子》無

2、《尉繚子》

2.1 古率民者，未有不能得其心，而能得力者也。未有不能得其力，而能致其死者也。故國必有禮信親愛之義，而後民以飢易飽，國必有孝慈廉耻之俗，而後民以死易生，故古率民者，必先禮信而後爵祿，先廉耻而後刑罰，先親愛而後托其身焉。

3、《呂氏春秋》

3.1 古之君民者，仁義以治之，愛利以安之，忠信以導之，務除其災，致其福，故民之於上也。若璽之於塗，此五帝三王之所以無敵也。東野稷以御見莊公，莊公以為造父不過也。顏闔曰：其馬將敗，少頃，東野稷之馬放而至。莊公召顏闔而問之曰：子何以知其放也。對曰：夫進退中繩，左右旋中規，造父之御，無以過焉。猶求其馬，臣是以知其放也。故亂國之使其民，不論人之性，不反人之情，煩為教而過不識，過，責也。識，知也。重為任而罪不勝，不能勝其所任者而罰。民進則欲其賞，退則畏其罪，知其能力之不足也。則以偽繼矣。知則上又從而罪之，罪其偽也。是以罪召罪也。召，致。故禮煩則不莊，業衆則無功，令苛則不聽，禁多則不行，桀紂之禁，不可勝數，故民不用而身為戮。

4、《淮南子》

4.1 宓子治單父，三年，宓子，子賤也。而巫馬期巫馬期，孔子弟子也。往觀化焉。微視之。見夜漁者得魚則釋之，問焉。漁者對曰：宓子不欲人之取小魚也。所得者小魚，是以釋之。巫馬期歸以報孔子曰：宓子之德至矣。使人暗行，若有嚴刑在其側者，宓子何以至於此。孔子曰：丘嘗問之以治。言曰：誠於此者形於彼，宓子必行此術也。

4.2 季子治單父，夜漁者得小即釋之，非刑之所能禁也。孔子為魯司寇，田漁皆讓長，長者得多。而斑白不負載，斑白，鬚有白髮。非法之所能致也。

4.3 民無廉耻，不可治也。非修禮義，廉耻不立，民不知禮義，法弗能正也。非崇善廢醜，不向禮義，無法不可以為治也。不知禮義不可以行法，法能殺不孝者，而不能使人為孔墨之行，法能刑竊盜者，而不能使人為伯夷之廉，孔子養徒三千人，皆入孝出悌，言為文章，行為儀表，教之所成也。墨子服役百八十人，皆可使赴火蹈刃，死不還踵，化之所致也。

4.4 古者法設而不犯，刑措而不用，非可刑而不刑也。百工維時，庶績咸熙，禮義修而任賢得也。故舉天下之高，以為三公，一國之高，以為九卿，一縣之高，以為二十七大夫，一鄉之高，以為八十一元士，各以小大之材，處其位得其宜，由本流末，以重制輕，上唱而民和，上動而下隨，四海之內，一心同歸，背貪鄙而向義理，於其以化民也。若風之搖草木，無之而不靡。

4.5 天下豈有常法哉。當於世事，得於人理，順於天地，則可以正治矣。夫神農，伏羲不施賞罰，而民不為非，然立政者，不能廢法而治民，舜執幹戚而服有苗，然征伐

者，不能釋甲兵而制強暴，由此觀之，法度者，所以論民俗而節緩急也。器械者，因時變而制宜適也。聖人作法，而萬民制焉。賢者立禮，而不肖者拘焉。制法之民，不可與遠舉，拘禮之人，不可以應變，耳不知清濁之分者，不可令調音，心不知治亂之源者，不可令制法度，必有獨聞之聽，獨見之明，然後能擅道而行也。

4.6 夫矢之所以射遠貫堅者，弩力也。其所以中的剖微者，人心也。賞善罰暴者，政令也。其所以行者，精誠也。故弩雖強，不能獨中，令雖明，不能獨行，必有精氣所與之，故總道以被民，而民不從，誠心弗施也。

5、《昌言》

5.1 德教者，人君之常任也。而刑罰為之佐助焉。古之聖帝明王所以能親百姓，訓五品，和萬邦，蕃黎民，召天地之嘉應，降鬼神之吉靈者，實德是為，而非刑之攸致也。至於革命之期運，非征伐用兵，則不能定其業，奸宄之成羣，非嚴刑峻法，則不能破其黨，時勢不同，所用之數，亦宜異也。教化以禮義為宗，禮義以典籍為本，常道行於百世，權宜用於一時，所不可得而易者也。

5.2 大治之後，有易亂之民者，安寧無故，邪心起也。大亂之後，有易治之勢者，創艾禍災，樂生全也。刑繁而亂益甚者，法難勝避，苟免而無耻也。教興而罰罕用者，仁義相厲，廉耻成也。任循吏於大亂之會，必有恃仁恩之敗，用酷吏於清治之世，必有殺良民之殘，此其大數也。我有公心焉。則士民不敢念其私矣。我有平心焉。則士民不敢行其險矣。我有儉心焉。則士民不敢放其奢矣。此躬行之所徵者也。開道塗焉。起隄防焉。舍我塗而不由，逾隄防而橫行，逆我政者也。誥之而知罪，可使悔過於後矣。誥之而不知罪，明刑之所取者也。教有道，禁不義，而身以先之，令德者也。身不能先，而聰略能行之，嚴明者也。忠仁為上，勤以守之，其成雖遲，君子之德也。譎詐以御其下，欺其民而取其心，雖有立成之功，至德之所不貴也。

5.3 問者曰：治天下者，壹之乎人事，抑亦有取諸天道也。曰：所取於天道者，謂四時之宜也。所壹於人事者，謂治亂之實也。周禮之馮相，保章，其無所用耶。曰：大備於天人之道耳，是非治天下之本也。是非理生民之要也。曰：然則本與要奚所存耶。曰：王者官人無私，唯賢是親，勤卹政事，屢省功臣，賞錫期於功勞，刑罰歸乎罪惡，政平民安，各得其所，則天地將自從我而正矣。休祥將自應我而集矣。惡物將自舍我而亡矣。求其不然，乃不可得也。

6、《蔣子萬機論》無

7、《傅子》

7.1 治國有二柄，一曰賞，二曰罰，賞者政之大德也。罰者政之大威也。人所以畏天地者，以其能生而殺之也。為治審持二柄，能使殺生不妄，則其威德與天地并矣。信順者，天地之正道也。詐逆者，天地之邪路也。民之所好莫甚於生，所惡莫甚於死，善治民者，開其正道，因所好而賞之，則民樂其德也。塞其邪路，因所惡而罰之，則民畏其威矣。善賞者，賞一善而天下之善皆勸，善罰者，罰一惡而天下之惡皆懼者何，賞公而罰不貳也。有善，雖疏賤必賞，有惡，雖貴近必誅，可不謂公而不貳乎。若賞一無功，則天下飾詐矣。罰一無罪，則天下懷疑矣。是以明德慎賞而不肯輕之，明德慎罰而不肯忍之，夫威德者，相須而濟者也。故獨任威刑而無德惠，則民不樂生，獨任德惠而無威刑，則民不畏死，民不樂生，不可得而教也。民不畏死，不可得而制也。有國立政，能使其民可教可制者，其唯威德足以相濟者乎。

7.2 商君始殘禮樂，至乎始皇，遂滅其制，賊九族，破五教，獨任其威刑酷暴之政，內去禮義之教，外無列國之輔，日縱桀紂之淫樂，君臣競留意於刑書，雖荷戟百萬，石城造天，威凌滄海，胡越不動，身死未收，奸謀內發，而太子已死於外矣。胡亥不覺，二年而滅，曾無盡忠效節之臣以救其難，豈非敬義不立，和愛先亡之禍也哉。禮義者，先王之藩衛也。秦廢禮義，是去其藩衛也。夫齋不訾之寶，獨宿於野，其為危敗，甚於累卵，方之於秦，猶有泰山之安。易曰：上慢下暴，盜思伐之，其秦之謂與。

7.3 立善防惡謂之禮，禁非立是謂之法，法者所以正不法也。明書禁令曰法，誅殺威罰曰刑，治世之民，從善者多，上立德而下服其化，故先禮而後刑也。亂世之民，從善者少，上不能以德化之，故先刑而後禮也。周書曰：小乃不可不殺，乃有大罪，非終，乃惟眚災，然則心惡者，雖小必誅，意善過誤，雖大必赦，此先王所以立刑法之本也。禮法殊塗而同歸，賞刑遞用而相濟矣。是故聖帝明王，惟刑之恤，惟敬五刑以成三德，若乃暴君昏主，刑殘法酷，作五虐之刑，設炮烙之辟，而天下之民無所措其手足矣。故聖人傷之，乃建三典，殊其輕重，以定厥中，司寇行刑，君為之不舉樂，哀矜之心至也。八辟議其故而宥之，仁愛之情篤也。

7.4 柔愿之主，聞先王之有哀矜仁愛、議獄緩死也。則妄輕其刑、而赦元惡，刑妄輕則威政墮而法易犯，元惡赦則奸人興而善人困，剛猛之主，聞先王之以五刑糾萬民，舜

誅四凶而天下服也。於是峻法酷刑以侮侮上疑脫威字天下，罪連三族，戮及善民，無辜而死者過半矣。下民怨而思叛，諸侯乘其弊而起，萬乘之主，死於人手者，失其道也。齊秦之君，所以威制天下，而或不能自保其身，何也。法峻而教不設也。末儒見峻法之生叛，則去法而純仁；偏法見弱法之失政，則去仁而法。此法所以世輕世重而恒失其中也。

7.5 傅子曰：秦始皇之無道，豈不甚哉。視殺人如殺狗彘，狗彘仁人用之猶有節，始皇之殺人，觸情而已，其不以道如是，而李斯又深刑峻法，隨其指而妄殺人，秦不二世而滅，李斯無遺類，以不道遇人，人得以不道報之，人讎之，天絕之，行無道，未有不亡者也。或曰：漢太宗除肉刑，可謂仁乎。傅子曰：匹夫之仁，非王天下之仁也。夫王天下者，大有濟者也。非小不忍之謂也。先王之制，殺人者死，故生者懼，傷人者殘其體，故終身懲，所刑者寡而所濟者衆，故天下稱仁焉。今不忍殘人之體而忍殺之，既不類，傷人刑輕，是失其所以懲也。失其所以懲，則易傷人，人易相傷，亂之漸也。猶有不忍人心，故曰匹夫之仁也。

8、《時務論》無

9、《抱朴子》無

Legalism (8 books)

1、《管子》

1.1 明主之治國也。案賞罰，行其正理，其當賞者，羣臣不得辭也。其當罰者，羣臣弗敢避也。夫賞功誅罪者，所以為天下致利除害也。草茅弗去，則害禾穀，盜賊弗誅，則傷良民，夫舍公法而行私惠，則是利奸邪而長暴亂也。行私惠而賞無功，則是使民偷幸而望於上也。行私惠而赦有罪，則是使民輕上而易為非也。夫舍公法，用私惠，明主弗為也。故曰：不為惠於法之內。

2、《商君子》

2.1 世之為治者，多釋法而任私議，此國之所以亂也。先王懸權衡，立尺寸，而至今法之，其分明也。夫釋權衡而斷輕重，廢尺寸而意長短，雖察，商賈不用，為其不必也。故法者國之權衡也。夫背法度而任私議，皆不知類者也。故立法明分，中程者賞，毀公者誅，賞誅之法，不失其議，故民不爭，不以爵祿便近親，則勞臣不怨，不

以刑罰隱疏遠，則下親上，故官賢選能，不以其勞，則忠臣不進，行賞賦祿，不稱其功，則戰士不用。

2.2 聖人為民法，必使之明白易知，愚智遍能知之，萬民無陷於險危也。故聖人立天下而天下無刑死者，非可刑殺而不刑殺也。萬民皆知所以避禍就福而皆自治也。明主因治而治之，故天下大治也。

3、《申子》無

4、《慎子》無

5、《韓子》

5.1 夫良馬固車，使臧獲御之，則為人笑，王良御之，而日取千里，車馬非異也。或至乎千里，或為人笑，則巧拙相去遠矣。今以國為車，以勢為馬，以號令為轡銜，以刑罰為鞭策，堯舜御之，則天下治，桀紂御之，則天下亂，則賢不肖相去遠矣。夫欲追遠致速，不如任王良，欲進利除害，不如任賢能，此則不知類之患也。夫堯舜亦民之王良也。明主之治國也。適其時事，以致財物，論其稅賦，以均貧富，厚其爵祿，以盡賢能，重其刑罰，以禁奸邪，使民以力得富，以事致貴，以過受罪，以功置賞，而不望慈惠之賜，此帝王之政也。

5.2 釋法術而心治，堯不能正一國，去規矩而妄意，奚仲不能成一輪，使中主守法術，拙匠執規矩，則萬不失也。君人者，能去賢巧之所不能，而守中拙之所萬不失，則人力盡而功名立。

6、《崔寔政論》

6.1 承三患之弊，繼荒頓之緒，而徒欲修舊修故而無匡改，雖唐虞復存，無益於治亂也。昔聖王遠慮深思，患民情之難防，憂奢淫之害政，乃塞其源以絕其末，深其刑而重其罰，夫善堙川者，必杜其源，善防奸者，必絕其萌，昔子產相鄭，殊尊卑，異章服，而國用治，豈大漢之明主，曾不如小藩之陪臣，在修之與不耳。

7、《劉廙政論》無

8、《政要論》

8.1 夫治國之本有二，刑也。德也。二者相須而行，相待而成矣。天以陰陽成歲，人以刑德成治，故雖聖人為政，不能偏用也。故任德多，用刑少者，五帝也。刑德相半者，三王也。杖刑多，任德少者，五霸也。純用刑強而亡者，秦也。夫人君欲治者，既達專持刑德之柄矣。位必使當其德，祿必使當其功，官必使當其能，此三者，治亂之本也。位當其德，則賢者居上，不肖者居下，祿當其功，則有勞者勸，無勞者慕，未之有也。

8.2 是以聖主用其刑也。詳而行之，必欲民犯之者寡，而畏之者衆，明刑至於無刑，善殺至於無殺，此之謂矣。夫暗亂之主，用刑彌繁，而犯之者益多，而殺之者彌衆，而慢之者尤甚者何，由用之不詳而行之不必也。不詳則罪不值，所罪不值則當死反生，不必則令有所虧，令有所虧則刑罰不齊矣。失此二者，雖日用五刑，而民猶輕犯之，故亂刑之刑，刑以生刑，惡殺之殺，殺以致殺，此之謂也。

8.3 凡國無常治，亦無常亂，欲治者治，不欲治者亂，後之國土人民，亦前之有也。前之有，亦後之有也。而禹獨以安，幽，厲獨以危，斯不易天地，異人民，欲與不欲也。吳阪之馬，庸夫統銜則為弊乘，伯樂執轡即為良驥，非馬更異，教民亦然也。故遇禹，湯則為良民，遭桀，紂則為凶頑，治使然也。故善治國者，不尤斯民而罪諸己，不責諸下而求諸身。傳曰：禹，湯罪己，其興也勃焉。桀，紂罪人，其亡也忽焉。由是言之，長民治國之本在身。故詹何曰：未聞身治而國亂者也。若詹者，可謂知治本矣。

Daoism (6 books)

1、《鬻子》無

2、《老子》

2.1 太上，下知有之，太上，謂太古無名之君也。下知有之者，下知上有君，而不臣事，質樸淳也。其次親之譽之，其德可見，恩惠可稱，故親愛而譽之。其次畏之設刑法以治之。其次侮之，禁多令煩，不可歸誠，故欺侮之也。信不足焉。有不信焉。君信不足於下，下則應之以不信，而欺其君也。

2.2 民不畏死，治國者刑罰酷深，民不聊生，故不畏死也。治身者嗜欲傷神，貪財殺身，不知畏之。奈何以死懼之，人君不寬其刑罰，教人去情欲，奈何設刑罰法，以死懼之。若使民常畏死，當除己之所殘刻，教民去利欲。而為奇者，吾得執而殺之，孰敢矣。以道教化，而民不從，反為奇巧，乃應王法，執而殺之，誰敢有犯者，老子傷時主不先道德化之，而先刑罰也。

3、《鶡冠子》無

4、《列子》無

5、《文子》

5.1 冬日之陽，夏日之陰，萬物歸之，而莫之使也。至精之感，弗召自來，不去自往，不知所為者，而功自成，待目而照見，待言而使令，其於以治難矣。皋陶喑而為大理，天下無虐刑，師曠瞽而為大宰，晉國無亂政，不言之令，不視之見，聖人所以為師也。民之化上，不從其言，從其所行也。故人君好勇，而國家多難，人君好色，而國多昏亂，故聖人精誠形於內，好憎明於外，出言以副情，發號以明旨，是故刑罰不足以移風，殺戮不足以禁奸，唯神化為貴也。夫至精為神，精之所動，若春氣之生，秋氣之殺也。故治人者慎所以感也。

5.2 以道治天下，非易民性也。因其有而條暢之，故瀆水者因水之流，產稼者因地之宜，征伐者因民之欲，能因即無敵於天下矣。故先王之制法，因民之性，而為之節文，無其性，無其養養作資不可使遵道也。人之性有仁義之資，非聖王為之法度，不可使向方也。因其所惡以禁奸，故刑罰不用，威行如神矣。因其性，即天下聽從，拂其性，即法度張而不用。

5.3 帝者貴其德也。王者尚其義也。霸者迫於理也。道狹然後任智，德薄然後任刑，明淺然後任察。

5.4 治身，太上養神，其次養形，神清意平，百節皆寧，養生之本也。肥膚，充腹腸，開嗜欲，養生之末也。治國，太上養化，其次正法，民交讓，爭處卑，財利爭受少，事力爭就勞，日化上而遷善，不知其所以然，治之也。利賞而勸善，畏刑而不敢為非，法令正於上，百姓服於下，治之末也。上世養本，而下世事末。

5.5 欲治之主不世出，可與治之臣不萬一，以不世出求不萬一，此至治所以千歲不一至，霸王之功不世立也。順其善意，防其邪心，與民同出一道，即民性可善，風俗可

美矣。所貴聖人者，非貴其隨罪而作刑也。貴其知亂之所生也。若縱之放僻淫逸，而禁之以法，隨之以刑，雖殘天下，不能禁其奸矣。

5.6 天地之道，極即反，益即損，故聖人治弊而改制，事終而更為矣。1.1 聖人之道，非修禮義，廉耻不立，民無廉耻，不可治也。不知禮義，不可以行法，法能教不孝，不能使人孝，能刑盜者，不能使人廉耻，聖王在上，明好惡以示人經，非譽以導之，親賢而進之，賤不肖而退之，刑措而不用，禮義修而任賢德也。

5.7 夫使天下畏刑，而不敢盜竊，豈若使無有盜心哉。故知其無所用，雖貪者皆辭之，不知其無所用，廉者不能讓，夫人之所以亡社稷，身死人手，為天下笑者，未嘗非欲也。知冬日之扇，夏日之裘，無用於己，則萬物之變為塵垢，故以湯止沸，沸乃益甚，知其本者，去火而已。

6、《莊子》

6.1 堯治天下，伯成子高立為諸侯，堯授舜，舜授禹，伯成子高辭為諸侯而耕，禹往見之，則耕在野，禹趨就下風，立而問焉。曰：昔堯治天下，吾子立為諸侯，堯授舜，舜授予，而吾子辭為諸侯而耕，敢問其故何也。子高曰：昔堯治天下，不賞而民勸，不罰而民畏，今子賞罰而民且不仁，德自此衰，刑自此立，後世之亂，自此始矣。

6.2 故曰：莫神於天，莫富於地，莫大於帝王。故曰：帝王之德配天地，同乎天地之無為也。此乘天地，馳萬物，而用人羣之道也。本在於上，末在於下，要在於主，詳在於臣，三軍五兵之運，德之末也。賞罰利害，五刑之辟，教之末也。禮法數度，刑名比詳，治之末也。鐘鼓之音，羽旄之容，樂之末也。哭泣衰經降殺之服，哀之末也。此五末者，須精神之運，心術之動，然後從者也。夫精神心術者，五末之本也。任自然而運動，則五事之末，不振而自舉也。

Strategist (6 books)

1、《六韜》

1.1 武王勝殷。召太公問曰：今殷民不安其處，奈何使天下安乎。太公曰：夫民之所利，譬之如冬日之陽，夏日之陰，冬日之從陽，夏日之從陰，不召自來，故生民之道，先定其所利而民自至，民有三幾，不可數動，動之有凶，明賞則不足，不足則民怨，生，明罰則民懾畏，民懾畏則變故出，明察則民擾，民擾則不安其處，易以成變，

故明王之民，不知所好，不知所惡，不知所從，不知所去，使民各安其所生，而天下靜矣。樂哉。聖人與天下之人，皆安樂也。武王曰：為之奈何。太公曰：聖人守無窮之府，用無窮之財，而天下仰之，天下仰之，而天下治矣。神農之禁，春夏之所生，不傷不害，謹修地利，以成萬物，無奪民之所利，而農順其時矣。任賢使能而官有材，而賢者歸之矣。故賞在於成民之生，罰在於使人無罪，是以賞罰施民而天下化矣。

2、《陰謀》無

3、《司馬法》

3.1 古者以仁為本，以義治之，治之謂正，治民用兵，平亂討暴，必以義。是故殺人安人，殺之可也。以殺止殺，殺可以生也。攻其國，愛其民，攻之可也。除民害，去亂君也。以戰去戰，雖戰可也。故仁見親，義見悅，智見恃，勇見方，信見信，將有五材，則民親悅恃方而信之也。故內得愛焉。所以守也。外得威焉。所以戰也。利加於民則守固，威加敵民則戰勝。

3.2 先王之治，順天之道，設地之宜，官人之德，而正名治物，正者，正官名也。名正則可法。立國辨職，立國治民，分守境界，各治其職。諸侯悅懷，海外來服，服從己也。獄弭而兵寢，聖德之治也。

3.3 故禮與法，表裏也。文與武，左右也。古者賢王明民之德，盡民之善，故無廢德，無簡民，賞無所生，罰無所誡也。民有一善，處一事，故能盡民之善，無損德弃民也。能堪其事，故賞罰無所施也。有虞氏不賞不罰而民可用，至德也。夏賞而不罰，至教也。殷罰而不賞，至威也。周以賞罰，德衰也。賞不逾時，欲民速得為善之利也。罰不遷列，欲民速睹為不善之害也。賞功不移時，罪惡不轉列，所以勸善懲惡，欲速疾也。大捷不賞，上下皆不伐善也。一軍皆勝，上下俱不取功也。上苟不伐善，則不驕矣。下苟不伐善，必不登矣。上下不伐善若此，讓之至也。大敗不誅，上下皆不善在己也。一軍奔北，人皆有罪，故不誅，上下俱有過失也。上苟以不善在己，必悔其過，下苟以不善在己，必遠其罪，上下分惡若此，讓之至也。上下不取其善，君不驕下，下不求進也。

4、《孫子兵法》無

5、《吳子》無

6、《三略》

6.1 釋近而謀遠者，勞而無功，釋遠而謀近者，逸而有終，逸政多忠臣，勞政多怨民。故曰：務廣地者荒，不修德政而務廣地，荒之道。務廣德者強也。務崇節儉，廣其德教，強之道也。荒國者無善政，廣德者其下正，君德廣於上，則兆庶正於下也。廢一善，則衆善衰，賞一惡，則衆惡多，多作歸善者得其佑，惡者受其誅，則國安而衆善到矣。一令逆者，則百令失，君令一逆，民不從，故百令皆廢也。一惡施者，則百惡結，一惡得施，則百惡結而相從也。故令施於順民，惡加於凶人，教令施於順化之民，刑惡加於凶逆之人。則令行而不怨，羣下附親矣。教令當，刑法值，百姓悅之，親附之也。

6.2 利一害百，民去城郭，利一害萬，國乃思散，去一利百，民乃慕澤，慕思君子之恩澤也。去一利萬，政乃不亂。刑以止刑，殺以止殺，政得其所，亂無由生也。

Logician (1 book)

《尹文子》無

Mohism (1 book)

《墨子》無

Appendix Two: Distribution of Thematic Elements of Selected Excerpts in the Canonical and Master Sections

Section/ school	Number	Book Title	Related Excerpts	Education Primacy		Punishment Subordination		Use of analogy	Historical example
				Leader's example	Secondary of punishment	Corrective usage	Negative outcome		
Canonical	1	<i>Changes (zhouyi 周易)</i>	1.1	•				•	
	2	<i>Venerable Documents (shangshu 尚書)</i>	2.1		•	•			
			2.2		•	•		•	
			2.3			•			
			2.4	•					•
			2.5	•					•
	3	Mao Tradition of Commentary on the Odes (<i>maoshi</i> 毛詩)	3.1	•					•
	4	<i>Zuo Tradition of Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals (chunqiu zuozhuan 春秋左傳)</i>	4.1	•		•			
			4.2	•		•			•

	5	<i>Records on Ritual</i> (<i>liji</i> 禮記)	5.1			•			
			5.2			•			
			5.3	•					
			5.4	•				•	•
	6	<i>Rites of Zhou</i> (<i>zhouli</i> 周禮)	None						
	7	<i>History of the Zhou Dynasty</i> (<i>zhoushu</i> 周書)	None						
	8	<i>Discourses of the States</i> (<i>guoyu</i> 國語)	None						
	9	<i>Exoteric Commentary on the Odes by Han Ying</i> (<i>hanshi waizhuan</i> 韓詩外傳)	None						
	10	<i>Classic of Family Reverence</i> (<i>xiaojing</i> 孝經)	10.1	•					
			10.2	•		•			•
	11	<i>Analects</i> (<i>lunyu</i> 論語)	11.1	•					
			11.2	•					
			11.3	•					•
			11.4	•					
			11.5	•				•	

	12	<i>School Sayings of Confucius</i> (kongzi jiayu 孔子家語)	12.1	•		•			
			12.2	•					
			12.3	•			•	•	
			12.4	•	•	•			•
Confucian ism (17/10)	1	<i>Master Yan</i> (yanzi 晏子)	1.1	•					
	2	<i>Master Zeng</i> (zengzi 曾子)	None						
	3	<i>Mencius</i> (mengzi 孟子)	None						
	4	<i>Master Xun</i> (sun qingzi 孫卿子)	4.1	•		•			
			4.2	•		•			
	5	<i>New Analects</i> (xin yu 新語)	5.1				•		•
			5.2				•		•
			5.3				•		
			5.4				•		•
	6	<i>Master Jia</i> (jiazi 賈子)	6.1	•	•				
	7	<i>Discourses on Iron and Salt</i> (yantie lun 鹽鐵論)	7.1	•				•	
			7.2		•				•
			7.3		•			•	•

	15	<i>Structural Discourses</i> (<i>tilun</i> 體論)	15.1				•	•	•
			15.2		•			•	
			15.3		•				
			15.4				•		•
	16	<i>Normative Discourses</i> (<i>dianyu</i> 典語)	None						
	17	<i>Political Writings of Master Yuan</i> (<i>yuanzi zhengshu</i> 袁子正書)	17.1	•	•				•
			17.2		•	•			
			17.3			•			
			17.4		•	•			
			17.5			•			
Sycretism (9/5)	1	<i>Master Shi (shizi</i> 尸子)	None						
	2	<i>Master Wei Liao</i> (<i>Wei liaozhi</i> 尉繚子)	2.1		•				
	3	<i>Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals</i> (<i>lüshi chunqiu</i> 呂氏春秋)	3.1				•		•
	4	<i>Master nan (Huainan zi</i> 淮南子)	4.1	•	•				•
			4.2	•	•				•

Legalism (8/5)	1	<i>Master Guan</i> (<i>guanzi</i> 管子)	1.1			•		•	
	2	<i>Book of Lord Shang</i> (<i>shangjun shu</i> 商君書)	2.1			•			
			2.2			•			
	3	<i>Master Shen</i> (<i>shenzi</i> 申子)	None						
	4	<i>Master Shen</i> (<i>shenzi</i> 慎子)	None						
	5	<i>Master Han</i> (<i>hanzi</i> 韓子)	5.1			•		•	•
			5.2			•		•	•
	6	<i>Discourse on Government</i> (<i>zhenglun</i> 政論)	6.1			•			•
	7	<i>Political Discourse of Liu Yi</i> (<i>liu yi zhenglun</i> 劉廙政論)	None						
	8	<i>Discourse on the Essentials of Governing</i> (<i>zhengyao lun</i> 政要論)	8.1		•				•
			8.2			•			
			8.3	•				•	•
Daoism (6/3)	1	<i>Master Yu</i> (<i>yuzi</i> 鬻子)	None						
	2	<i>Old Master</i> (<i>laozi</i> 老子)	2.1	•		•			

			2.2	•	•				
	3	<i>Pheasant Cap Master</i> (<i>he guanzi</i> 鶡冠子)	None						
	4	<i>Master Lie</i> (<i>liezi</i> 列子)	None						
	5	<i>Master Wen</i> (<i>wenzi</i> 文子)	5.1	•				•	•
			5.2		•			•	
			5.3		•				
			5.4	•	•				
			5.5	•	•				
			5.6	•	•				
			5.7		•			•	
	6	<i>Master Zhuang</i> (<i>zhuangzi</i> 莊子)	6.1		•		•		•
			6.2	•	•				
Strategist (6/3)	1	<i>Six Quivers</i> (<i>liutao</i> 六韜)	1.1	•	•			•	
	2	<i>Secret Strategies</i> (<i>yinmo</i> 陰謀)	None						
	3	<i>Methods of Sima</i> (<i>sima fa</i> 司馬法)	3.1	•		•			
			3.2		•				
			3.3		•				

	4	<i>Art of War</i> (<i>sunzi bingfa</i> 孫子兵法)	None						
	5	<i>Master Wu</i> (<i>wuzi</i> 吳子)	None						
	6	<i>Three Strategies</i> (<i>sanlüe</i> 三略)	6.1	•		•			
			6.2			•			
Logician (1)	1	尹文子	None						
Mohism (1)	1	墨子	None						

Appendix Three: Related Historical Examples in the Canonical and Master Sections

Section	Exemplary Examples	Minatory Examples
Canonical Section	Six instances: King Yu of Xia dynasty 夏禹王, King Tang of Shang 商湯王 (2 occurrences), King Wen of Zhou 周文王, King Cheng of Zhou 周成王, King Kang of Zhou 周康王, Zi Chan 子產	Three instances: King Jie of Xia 夏桀王, King Zhou of Shang 商紂王, King Li of Zhou 周厲王
Master Section	Nineteen instances: Fu Xi 伏羲, Divine Farmer 神農, Five Kings and Three Augusts 五帝三王, King Yao 堯帝 (5 occurrences), King Shun 舜帝 (6 occurrences), Gao Yao 皋陶, Xia dynasty 夏朝, King Yu of Xia (2 occurrences), Shang dynasty 商朝, King Tang of Shang, King Cheng of Zhou, King Kang of Zhou, Confucius 孔子(2 occurrences), Zi Chan, Shi Kuang 師曠, Master Mo 墨子, Master Mi 宓子 (2 occurrences), Emperor Gao of Han 漢高祖 (2 occurrences), Emperor Wen of Han 漢文帝	Twenty-one instances: King Jie of Xia (4 occurrences), King Zhou of Shang (4 occurrences), Zhou dynasty 周朝, King Li of Zhou, King You of Zhou 周幽王, Duke Zhuang of Qi 齊莊公, Duke Li of Jin 晉厲公 (2 occurrences), King Ling of Chu 楚靈王, Zi Chan, Dukes in the Qi and Qin states 齊秦之君, Master Shen 申子, Shang Yang 商鞅 (3 occurrences), Master Han Fei 韓子, Qin dynasty 秦朝 (3 occurrences), First Emperor of Qin 秦始皇 (4 occurrences), Second Emperor of Qin 秦二世 (2 occurrences), Li Si 李斯, Zhao Gao 趙高 (2 occurrences), Emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝, Zhang Tang 張湯, Zhao Yu 趙禹