THE BOOK
OF LORD
SHANG

A CLASSIC
OF THE CHINESE SCHOOL OF LAW

TRANSLATED FROM THE CHINESE WITH INTRODUCTION
AND NOTES BY

DR. J. J. L. DUYVENDAK

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
TO MY WIFE

Tibi tua

UNESCO COLLECTION OF REPRESENTATIVE WORKS—CHINESE SERIES

This work has been accepted in the Chinese translation series of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco). It was recommended for publication by the Committee on Far Eastern Literature set up to advise Unesco in this field by the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, and by the Chinese National Commission for Unesco.

© 1928 by Arthur Probsthain, 41 Great Russell Street
London W.C. 1, England

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 63-22586

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO
THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS, TORONTO 5, CANADA

All rights reserved. Published 1963
Printed by THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

PREFACE

This book gives a complete translation of the work known in Chinese as Shang-chün-shu, and the title, which I have chosen, is a literal rendering of the Chinese designation of the book. The Lord of Shang held high office in the state of Ch'in between 359 and 338 B.C., and the book which bears his name is regarded as belonging to the School of Law. In order to ascertain how far the connection of his name with the book is justified, it has been necessary to study his life, and for a right understanding of the ideas of the book, its relation to the principles of the School of Law have had to be examined. This has been done in the Introduction. I should, however, point out that this aims neither at giving a complete historical study of the times of Shang Yang, nor at making a complete systematic study of the principles of the School of Law; both would have far exceeded the scope of an introduction, where naturally the attention should be centred around the man and the book named after him.

Shang Yang and the Book have long been execrated in China. The opinion of a scholar like Su Tung-p'o (1036–1101)

1 商君書.

2 I have preferred to render Shang-chün by the Lord Shang or the Lord of Shang, rather than by the Prince of Shang, as his sometimes called, because I believe that the former expression is a better equivalent of the feudal rank which he held.

蘇東坡.
there will be no ostentatious conduct. If farmers do not suffer from famines and there is no ostentatious conduct, then public activities will be pursued with energy, and in the sphere of private activities there will be no fallow fields. (This being so), then agricultural affairs will certainly excel, and this being the case, it is certain waste lands will be brought under cultivation.

If in transporting grain for official use, carters are prohibited from plying for hire and returning with private cargo, and if measures are taken to ensure the registration of carts, oxen, carriages and baggage waggons, the expedition backward and forward will thus be quick and then this occupation will not harm agriculture; agriculture not being harmed, it is certain waste lands will be brought under cultivation.

If it is not permitted to petition officials on behalf of wrong-doers, nor to provide them with food, then criminal people will have no patrons; having no patrons, crimes will not be encouraged; crimes not being encouraged, criminal people will have no hold; criminal people having no hold, farmers will not suffer and if farmers do not suffer, it is certain waste lands will be brought under cultivation.

1 Some such phrase should be inserted.
2 荒 is difficult. I follow an unnamed commentary quoted by Wang, who explains that such things would delay the grain traffic.
3 With Wang Shih-jun I take 勉 in the sense of "to encourage", and not as 友 does as 免 "to avoid".
4 條 is explained as 肢, cf. par. 4, p. 198, note 1. Yen's standard edition reads, after 勉: 农民不畜, 农民无条, 农民无条, 农民, etc. With Wang Shih-jun, who follows Yu and others, I omit the first four characters and replace them by 勉.

PARAGRAPH 3

AGRICULTURE AND WAR

The means, whereby a ruler of men encourages the people, are office and rank; the means, whereby a country is made prosperous, are agriculture and war. Now those, who seek office and rank, never do so by means of agriculture and war, but by artful words and empty doctrines. That is called "wearying the people." The country of those, who weary their people, will certainly have no strength, and the country of those, who have no strength, will certainly be dismembered. Those, who are capable in organizing a country, teach the people that office and rank can only be acquired through one opening, and thus, there being no rank without office, the state will do away with fine speaking, with the result that the people will be simple; being simple, they will not be licentious. The people, seeing that the highest benefit comes only through one opening, will strive for concentration, and having concentration, will not be negligent in their occupations. When the people are not negligent in their occupations, they will have much strength, and when they have much strength the state will be powerful.

But now the people within the territory all say that by avoiding agriculture and war, office and rank may be acquired, with the result that eminent men all change their occupations,

1 I follow Yu's emendation: 皆從而得官職.
2 壯 "one-ness"; i.e. to be engaged in one thing only, viz. agriculture and war, which are considered complementary to each other.
3 Wang wants to omit 倫 and to explain 言 by 敢, but this is unconvincing.
to apply themselves to the study of the Odes and History and to follow improper standards; 1 on the one hand, they obtain prominence, and on the other, they acquire office and rank. Insignificant individuals 2 will occupy themselves with trade and will practise arts and crafts, all in order to avoid agriculture and war, thus preparing a dangerous condition for the state. 3 Where the people are given to such teachings, it is certain that such a country will be dismembered.

The way to organize a country well is, even though the granaries are filled, not to be negligent in agriculture and even though the country is large and its population numerous, to have no licence of speech. (This being so) 4 the people will be simple and have concentration; the people being simple and having concentration, then office and rank cannot be obtained by artfulness. If these cannot be obtained by artfulness, then wickedness will not originate, and if wickedness does not originate, the ruler will not be suspicious.

1 外権, cf. par. 2, p. 170; par. 3, p. 188; and par. 14, p. 204, note 5.
2 I follow Wang’s excellent emendation, i.e. reading 么 庸 for 壽 跬. He compares it with Ho Kuan-tzu 高冠子, ch. 6, pp. 188, 204: 無道之君, 任用 么 庸. 動則煩 惡, 有道之君, 任用 俊傑, 動則 明 白.
3 Princes, without the right way, employ insignificant individuals, so that, in every act, there is confusion; princes, with the right way, employ men of genius, so that, in every act, there is clearness.”
4 Here 么 庸 and 俊傑 are each other’s antithesis, as in the text 寔庸 and 豪傑 are. Cf. p. 188.
5 夏 suggests omitting this last clause, as it does not occur further down, where the rest is repeated. Wang compares it with par. 13, p. 226, 以 造 農 戰, 外交 以 備, 國之危 也, and thinks that 俊備 should be 備 and 外交 should be inserted. All this seems unnecessary.
6 Wang suggests repeating 不 留 於 言.

But now the people, within the territory, and those who hold office and rank, see that it is possible to obtain, from the court, office and rank by means of artful speech and sophistry. Therefore, there is no permanency in office and rank, with the result that, at court, they deceive their ruler and, retiring from court, they think of nothing but of how to realize their selfish interests 1 and thus sell power 2 to their inferiors. Now deceiving the ruler and being concerned for their own interests is not to the advantage of the state, but those who thus act, do so for the sake of rank and emolument; selling power to inferiors is not proper for a loyal minister, but those who thus act, do so for the sake of insignificant presents.

Consequently all the lower officials, who hope for promotion, say: “If we send many presents, we may obtain the higher office which we desire.” They say too: “To strive for promotion, without serving superiors with presents, is like setting a cat as bait for a rat— it is absolutely hopeless. To strive for promotion by serving superiors with sincerity, 4 is like wishing to climb a crooked tree by holding on to a broken rope—it is even more hopeless. If, to attain promotion, these two methods are out of the question, what else can we do, in striving for it, but to bring the masses below us into action and to obtain presents, for the purpose of serving our superiors?” 5

1 With Wang I want to omit the character 私 after 言.
2 Cf. par. 14, p. 204.
3 Cf. for this expression, par. 22, p. 312.
4 Wang explains 言 由 述.
5 Cf. for the style of this passage Hsin Fei-tzu, ch. 4, par. 14, pp. 23 and 25.
The people say: "We till diligently, first to fill the public granaries and then to keep the rest, for the nourishment of our parents; for the sake of our superiors we forget our love of life and fight for the honour of the ruler and for the peace of the country. But if the granaries are empty, the ruler debased and the family poor, then it is best to seek office. Let us then combine relatives and friends and think of other plans." Eminent men will apply themselves to the study of the Odes and History, and pursue these improper standards; insignificant individuals will occupy themselves with trade, and practise arts and crafts, all in order to avoid agriculture and war. Where the people are given to such teachings, how can the grain be anything but scarce, and the soldiers anything but weak?

The way to administer a country well, is for the law for the officials to be clear; therefore one does not rely on intelligent and thoughtful men. The ruler makes the people singleminded and therefore they will not scheme for selfish profit. Then the strength of the country will be consolidated. A country, where the strength has been consolidated, is powerful, but a country that loves talking is dismembered. Therefore it is said: "If there are a thousand people engaged in agriculture and war, and only one in the Odes and History, and clever sophistry, then those thousand will all be remiss in agriculture and war; if there are a hundred people engaged in agriculture and war and only one in the arts and crafts, then those hundred will all be remiss in agriculture and war."

The country depends on agriculture and war for its peace, and likewise the ruler, for his honour. Indeed, if the people are not engaged in agriculture and war, it means that the ruler loves words and that the officials have lost consistency of conduct. If there is consistency of conduct in officials, the country is well-governed, and if single-mindedness is striven after, the country is rich; to have the country both rich and well governed is the way to attain supremacy. Therefore is it said: "The way to supremacy is no other than by creating single-mindedness!"

However, nowadays, the ruler, in his appointments, takes into consideration talent and ability and cleverness and intelligence, and thus clever and intelligent men watch for the likes and dislikes of the ruler, so that officials are caused to transact their business in a way which is adapted to the ruler’s mind. As a result there is no consistency of conduct in the officials, the state is in disorder and there is no concentration. Sophists (are honoured) and there is no law. Under such circumstances, how can the people’s affairs

---

1 Cf. the dictum on p. 191.
2 Cf. par. 4, p. 198; par. 5, p. 212.
3 王道作文身作壹而已矣, but this is certainly corrupt. Wang wants to read 不 for the first 作 and either omit 身 or read 乎 for it. I translate according to the first suggestion, as 乎 as a preposition does not occur in this text. Cf. Introduction.
4 The text is defective and some words like these should be supplied.
be otherwise than many and how can the land be otherwise than fallow?

If, in a country, there are the following ten things: odes
and history, rites and music, virtue and the cultivation thereof,
benevolence and integrity, sophistry and intelligence, then
the ruler has no one whom he can employ for defence and
warfare. If a country is governed by means of these ten
things, it will be dismembered, as soon as an enemy approaches,
and, even if no enemy approaches, it will be poor. But if a
country banishes these ten things, enemies will not dare to
approach, and even if they should, they would be driven
back. When it mobilizes its army and attacks, it will gain
victories; when it holds the army in reserve, and does not
attack, it will be rich. A country that loves strength makes
assaults with what is difficult and thus it will be successful.
A country that loves sophistry makes assaults with what is
easy and thus it will be in danger.

Therefore sages and intelligent princes are what they are,
not because they are able to go to the bottom of all things, but
because they understand what is essential in all things.
Therefore the secret of their administration of the country
lies in nothing else than in their examination of what is
essential. But now, those who run a state, for the most part,
overlook what is essential, and the discussions at court, on
government, are confused and efforts are made to displace
each other in them; thus the prince is dazed by talk, officials
Confused by words, and the people become lazy and will not
farm. The result is that all the people within the territory
change and become fond of sophistry, take pleasure in study,
pursue trade, practise arts and crafts, and shun agriculture
and war and so in this manner the ruin of the country will not be far off. When the country has trouble, then,
because studious people hate law, merchants are clever in
bartering and artisans are useless, the state will be easily
destroyed.

Indeed, if farmers are few, and those who live idly on others
are many, then the state will be poor and in a dangerous
condition. Now, for example, if various kinds of caterpillars,
which are born in spring and die in autumn, appear only once,
the result is that the people have no food for many years.
Now, if one man tills and a hundred live on him, it means
that they are like a great visitation of caterpillars. Though
there may be a bundle of the Odes and History in every hamlet
and a copy in every family, yet it is useless for good govern-
ment, and it is not a method whereby this condition of things
may be reversed. Therefore the ancient kings made people
turn back to agriculture and war. For this reason is it said:
"Where a hundred men farm and one is idle, the state will
attain supremacy; where ten men farm and one is idle, the
state will be strong; where half farms and half is idle, the

1 亡国, which Wang suggests inserting.
2 For this meaning of 化, see Couvreur; Yin also explains it in this way.
3 䗮 is a small green caterpillar, which eats the hearts of plants, whereas
the 䗮 eats the leaves. Cf. Shih-ching, ed. Legge, p. 380. 䗮 is explained
by Sun as 䗮, a black caterpillar, 䗮 is a green caterpillar.
4 獨: but with Wang I read 獨.
state will be in peril."¹ That is why those, who govern the country well, wish the people to take to agriculture. If the country does not take to agriculture, then, in its quarrels over authority with the various feudal lords, it will not be able to maintain itself, because the strength of the multitude will not be sufficient. Therefore the feudal lords vex its weakness and make use of its state of decadence; and if the territory is invaded and dismembered, without the country being stirred to action, it will be past saving.

A sage knows what is essential in administrating a country, and so he induces the people to devote their attention to agriculture. If their attention is devoted to agriculture, then they will be simple, and being simple, they may be made correct.² Being perplexed it will be easy to direct them,³ being trustworthy, they may be used for defence and warfare. Being single-minded, opportunities of deceit will be few and they will attach importance to their homes.⁴ Being single-minded, their careers may be made dependent on rewards and penalties; being single-minded, they may be used abroad.

Indeed, the people will love their rulers and obey his

1 Cf. the dictum on p 180.
2 Wang's edition reads 拔 instead of 正; I do not know on what authority.
3 Cf. 洛氏-仲周, ch. 26, par. 6: "民農則其産復,其産復則重徒,重徒則死其處."
4 "If people farm, their estates yield returns; this being so, they will look upon changing their residence as an important thing, and in consequence will die in their homes and will not have two thoughts." A few lines further, 多許, "many opportunities of deceit" is called the result of 好善, "love of knowledge."

commandments even to death,¹ if they are engaged in farming,² morning and evening; but they will be of no use, if they see that glib-tongued, itinerant scholars succeed in being honoured in serving the prince, that merchants succeed in enriching their families and that artisans have plenty to live upon. If the people see both the comfort and advantage of these three walks of life, then they will indubitably shun agriculture; shunning agriculture, they will care little for their homes; caring little for their homes, they will certainly not fight and defend these for the ruler's sake.³

Generally speaking, in administrating a country, the trouble is when the people are scattered and when it is impossible to consolidate them. That is why a sage tries to bring about uniformity and consolidation. A state, where uniformity of purpose has been established for one year, will be strong for ten years; where uniformity of purpose has been established for ten years will be strong for a hundred years; where uniformity of purpose has been established for a hundred years

1 Cf. Li-ch'i, ch. 叔祿, Ch'tsh-li, ed. Couvreur, I, p. 84: "士死制 "un simple officier doit mourir, s'il le faut, pour le maintien des lois et des ordonnances". Cf. par. 8, p. 234.
2 I would suggest adding 也.
3 Cf. 洛氏-仲周, ch. 26, par. 6: "民農則其産未則不令,不令則不可以守,不可以戰,民農則其産約,其産約則輕徒." "If the people reject what is primary and pursue secondary things, they are not virtuous (行 explained as 善); not being virtuous, they cannot be used for defence or aggressive warfare; and if the people reject what is primary and pursue secondary things, the yields of their land will be sketchy, and this being the case, they will think nothing of moving their residence."
it will be strong for a thousand years; and a state which has been strong for a thousand years will attain supremacy.\(^1\) An ordinary prince cultivates the system of rewards and penalties in order to support his teaching of uniformity of purpose, and in this way his teaching has permanency and his administration is successfully established. But he, who attains supremacy, succeeds in regulating those things which are most essential for the people, and therefore, even without the need of rewards and gifts, the people will love their ruler; without the need of ranks and emoluments, the people will follow their avocations; without the need of penalties the people will do their duty to the death.

When a country is in peril and the ruler in anxiety, it is of no avail to the settling of this danger, for professional talkers to form battalions.\(^2\) The reason why a country is in danger and its ruler in anxiety lies in some strong enemy or in another big state. Now if a prince is unable to vanquish that strong enemy or to destroy that big state, he improves his defences, makes the best use of the topographical conditions, consolidates the strength of the people and thus meets the foreign attack. After this the danger may be averted and supremacy yet attained. That is why an intelligent prince, in improving the administration, strives for uniformity, removes those who are of no use, restrains volatile scholars and those of frivolous pursuits and makes them all uniformly into farmers. Thereafter the reigning dynasty may become rich and the people's strength may be consolidated.

\(^1\) Cf. par. 4, p. 202.
\(^2\) Lit., “bands of five men,” squads.

Par. 3] AGRICULTURE AND WAR

Nowadays, the rulers of the world are all anxious over the perilous condition of their countries and the weakness of their armies, and they listen at all costs to the professional talkers; but though these may form battalions, talk profusely and employ beautiful expressions, it is of no practical use. When a ruler loves their sophistry and does not seek for their practical value, then the professional talkers have it all their own way, expound their crooked sophistries in the streets, their various groups become great crowds, and the people, seeing that they succeed in captivating kings, dukes and great men, all imitate them.\(^1\) Now, if men form parties, the arguments and discussions in the country will be of confusing diversity; the lower classes will be amused and the great men will enjoy it, with the result that amongst such a people farmers will be few and those, who, in idleness, live on others will be many. These latter being numerous, farmers will be in a perilous position, and this being so, land will be left lying fallow. If study becomes popular, people will abandon agriculture and occupy themselves with debates, high-sounding words and discussions on false premises; abandoning agriculture, they will live on others in idleness and seek to surpass one another with words. Thus the people will become estranged from the ruler and there will be crowds of disloyal subjects. This is a doctrine, which leads to the impoverishment of the state and to the weakening of the army. Indeed, if a country employs people for their talking then the people will not be nurtured in agriculture; so it is

\(^1\) Cf. par. 25, p. 324.
only an intelligent prince, who understands that by fondness of words one cannot strengthen the army nor open up the land. Only when a sage rules the country will he strive for singleness of purpose and for the consolidation of the people in agriculture and for that alone.

**PARAGRAPH 4**

**THE ELIMINATION OF STRENGTH**

To remove the strong by means of a strong people brings weakness; to remove the strong by means of a weak people brings strength.¹ If the country practises virtue,² criminals are many. If the country is rich, but is administered as if it were poor, then it is said to be doubly rich, and the doubly rich are strong. If the country is poor, but is administered as if it were rich, it is said to be doubly poor, and the doubly poor are weak. If its army accomplishes what the enemy dares not accomplish, (a country) is strong; if affairs are undertaken which the enemy is ashamed to perform, (a country) profits.³ A ruler values many changes, but the country values few changes.² If the country has few products it will be dismembered, but if it has many products it will be strong.² A country of a thousand chariots that keeps only one outlet for its products will flourish, but if it keeps ten outlets it will be dismembered.³

If in war its army is efficient, a country will be strong,⁴ but if fighting is disorderly and the army unwilling, the country will be dismembered. Farming, trade and office are the three permanent functions ⁵ in a state,⁶ and these three functions give rise to six parasitic functions,⁷ which are called: care for old age,⁸ living on others, beauty,⁹ love, ambition and virtuous conduct. If these six parasites find an attachment, there will be dismemberment.¹⁰ The three functions are attached

¹ Cf. par. 20, p. 305.
² The text reads: 國多物亦，主少物強，which gives no sense. I follow Wang’s suggestion, altering 主 into 國 and reversing 多 and 少. Cf. par. 20, p. 305.
³ 守十物者割: I follow Wang, who suggests: 守一者與守十者割. For an explanation of this phrase cf. par. 13, p. 258, with the quotations in note 1, and par. 20, p. 305. But cf. par. 13, p. 255, for a different use of the expression.
⁴ I translate according to Wang’s suggestion, reading 而國強 instead of 日強, making the phrase parallel with the following. But cf. par. 20, p. 306, where one also reads 日強.
⁵ 三官, cf. par. 5, p. 210, and Lu-shih-ch’un-ch’in, ch. 26, par. 3, p. 76, where the expression refers to farmers, artisans and merchants.
⁶ Cf. par. 20, pp. 306-7, which is more explicit.
⁷ Lit. “six lice”.
⁹ 美: var. 玩 “play”.
¹⁰ Cf. par. 5, p. 190; par. 4, p. 199; par. 5, p. 210; par. 13, p. 256; par. 20, p. 306.
to three different men, but these six functions may attach themselves to one man.\footnote{\textit{The raw material 模 are the persons, to whom the lice affix themselves; i.e. through whom these functions operate.}}

To abolish law by means of the law means strength; to establish law by means of the law means dismemberment.\footnote{The text reads \textit{以治法者强, 以治政者削}, which gives no sense. I translate according to Wang's emendation: \textit{以法去治者强, 以法致政者削}, which recalls par. 13, p. 254, which is more explicit. A simpler emendation would be to reverse \textit{治和法} and \textit{治和政}; \"ruling by means of the law, brings strength; ruling by means of administrative measures, brings dismemberment.\"} If officials are permanent, law is abolished, but if officials are often transferred, laws are established.\footnote{The text reads \textit{常官治者遵官, 但非治者折}；按宋之 ed. reads \textit{法去治者}; 覃 rejects this reading, but Wang emends: \textit{常官治法去则治; Cf. par. 3, p. 180, and par. 5, p. 212. The last two characters, however, remain thus unexplained, therefore I should suggest reading: \textit{常官法去, 遵官法致.}}}

In administering a great country, it becomes small; in administering a small country, it becomes great.\footnote{The meaning seems to be that a big country may be over-governed, and so loses its power, whereas for a small country, a strict administration may lead to greatness. Cf. par. 20, p. 307.} If the people are made strong, the army will be doubly diminished; if the people are made weak, the army will be doubly strengthened.\footnote{I insert the words \"people\" and \"army\" according to the sense of the context in par. 20, p. 308. Cf. also p. 304 for the expression 重强.}

Indeed, to attack the strong with a strong people spells ruin; to attack the strong with a weak people means the attainment of supremacy.\footnote{Cf. par. 20, p. 1308, where, erroneously, 政 is written instead of 攻 and 仕 instead of 強. In the second half of the phrase, a reading which is here also given by Ch'in's and Fan's texts, but rejected by Yen, who follows the Yuan ed.} If the country is strong and war is not waged, the poison will be carried into the territory; \textit{11} if rites and music and the parasitic functions will arise and dismemberment will be inevitable. But if the country (being strong)\footnote{國塡戰; following Wang's suggestion I read 國強而塡戰.}\textit{\footnote{Cf. par. 13, pp. 253-4.} therupon wages war, the poison will be carried to the enemy, and, not suffering from rites and music and the parasitic functions, it will be strong.\footnote{已榮任功曰強; but I translate according to Wang's emendation, reading \textit{則国日和} for \textit{曰}. For 菱 he suggests reading 策. I prefer to read 菱. Cf. par. 20, p. 308 and par. 9 p. 240; also par. 6, p. 225.}\textit{\footnote{Cf. par. 5, p. 130; par. 4, p. 200; par. 5, p. 206; par. 13, p. 256; and also par. 17, p. 282.}} If those who exert themselves are promoted and men of merit are employed in office, the country will be strong,\footnote{If the parasitic functions arise, dismemberment will be inevitable. If farmers are few and merchants numerous, men in high positions will be poor, merchants will be poor and farmers will be poor; these three functions all being poor, dismemberment is inevitable.} but if the parasitic functions arise, dismemberment will be inevitable. If farmers are few and merchants numerous, men in high positions will be poor, merchants will be poor and farmers will be poor; these three functions all being poor, dismemberment is inevitable.
country where the virtuous govern the wicked, will suffer from disorder, so that it will be dismembered; but a country, where the wicked govern the virtuous, will be orderly, so that it will become strong.  

A country which is administered by the aid of odes, history, rites, music, filial piety, brotherly duty, virtue and moral culture, will, as soon as the enemy approaches, be dismembered; if he does not approach, the country will be poor. But if a country is administered without these eight, the enemy dares not approach, and even if he should, he would certainly be driven off; when it mobilizes its army and attacks, it will capture its objective, and having captured it, it will be able to hold it; when it holds its army in reserve, and makes no attack, it will be rich. A country that loves force is said to attack with what is difficult; a country that loves words is said to attack with what is easy. 

If penalties are made heavy and rewards light, the ruler loves his people and they will die for him; but if rewards are made heavy and penalties light, the ruler does not love his people, nor will they die for him. When, in a prosperous country, penalties are applied, the people will reap profit and at the same time stand in awe; when rewards are applied, the people will reap profit and at the same time have love.  

A country that has no strength and that practises knowledge and cleverness, will certainly perish, but a fearful people, stimulated by penalties, will become brave, and a brave people, encouraged by rewards, will fight to the death. If fearful people become brave and brave people fight to the death (the country will have no match); having no match, it will be strong, and being strong it will attain supremacy.  

If the poor are encouraged by rewards, they will become rich and if penalties are applied to the rich, they will become poor. When in administrating a country one succeeds in making the poor rich and the rich poor, then the country will have much strength, and this being the case, it will attain supremacy.  

In a country that has supremacy, there are nine penalties

---

1 Cf. par. 5, p. 207, in more detail.
2 國 to be omitted.
3 Here eight things are mentioned instead of ten; perhaps the last two have been forgotten in copying and the character "ten" later altered into eight. Cf. par. 4, p. 199; par. 5, p. 206; par. 13, p. 256; and also par. 17, p. 282.
4 好 should be 好. Cf. par. 13, p. 257, where 此文 is used.
5 Cf. par. 3, p. 190; par. 5, p. 208; and par. 13, p. 257.
6 Cf. par. 5, p. 298, and par. 13, p. 257, where similar passages occur. In some ed. eighteen characters follow, which in par. 13 also follow on these words, but which seem to be out of place here. You rightly omit them.
7 聚 and zi, ch. 2, par. 8, p. 17: 智人之道去智去巧,智巧不去,難以爲常. "The method of a sage is to banish knowledge and cleverness; unless these are banished, it will be difficult to establish constancy."
8 勇以去死 but with Wang I read 民以去
9 則國無敵 to be inserted.
10 I have reversed the order of the words 刑 and 賞 in the text; this gives much better sense. Cf. par. 5, p. 210. Fines, etc. impoverish the rich.
11 Cf. ibid.
as against one reward\(^1\); in a strong country, there will be seven penalties to three rewards and in a dismembered country, there will be five penalties to five rewards.

A country where uniformity of purpose has been established for one year, will be strong for ten years; where uniformity of purpose has been established for ten years, it will be strong for a hundred years; where uniformity of purpose has been established for a hundred years, it will be strong for a thousand years, and a country that has been strong for a thousand years will attain supremacy.\(^2\)

One, who has prestige, captures ten by means of one, and grasps concrete things by means of the very sound of his name. Therefore he who succeeds in having prestige, attains supremacy.

A country, which knows how to produce strength but not how to reduce it,\(^3\) may be said to be a country that attacks itself and it is certain that it will be dismembered, but a country that knows how to produce strength and how to reduce it, may be said to be one that attacks the enemy, and it is certain that it will become strong.\(^5\) Therefore, the combatting of the parasites,\(^5\) the curtailing of its energies and the attacking of its enemy\(^1\)—if a country employs two of these methods and sets aside only one, it will be strong; but that which employs all three methods, will have so much prestige that it will attain supremacy.

A country, where ten hamlets are the smallest unit for judgments, will be weak; a country where nine hamlets\(^2\) are the smallest unit for judgments, will be strong. He, who can create order in one day will attain supremacy; he, who creates order in a night, will be strong and he, who procrastinates in creating order will have his state dismembered.\(^3\)

If the whole population is registered at birth and erased at death, there would be no people who would escape agriculture and in the fields there would be no fallow land. Thus the country would be rich, and being rich it would be strong. If penalties are removed by means of penalties, the country will enjoy order, but if penalties are set up by means of penalties the country will be in disorder. Therefore it is said:

"In applying penalties, punish heavily the light offences."

If punishments are abolished, affairs will succeed and the country will be strong. But if heavy offences are punished heavily and light offences lightly, penalties will appear, trouble will arise and such a state will be dismembered.\(^5\)

---

1. The text uses three times the character 攻, which cannot, very well, be rendered by the same word in each instance.
2. This should be five. For the explanation of the whole passage cf. par. 5, p. 213, and par. 13, p. 222.
3. Cf. ibid. and par. 2. p. 175.
5. Cf. par. 5, p. 209; par. 7, p. 231, with note 2; and par. 13, p. 259. Also, for the same idea, par. 17, pp. 278 et seq.
Punishment produces force, force produces strength, strength produces awe, awe produces kindness. Kindness has its origin in force.  

In exerting force one should fight with complete courage, and, in fighting, plan with complete wisdom.  

The appearance of gold means the disappearance of grain, and the appearance of grain means the disappearance of gold. If products are cheap—those who occupy themselves with agriculture being many, and buyers being few—farmers will be in hard straits and wickedness will be encouraged, so that the army will be weak and the state will certainly be dismembered and come to extinction.

For every ounce of gold appearing within its borders, twelve piculs of grain will disappear abroad; but for every twelve piculs of grain appearing within its borders, one ounce of gold will disappear abroad. If a country favours the appearance of gold within its borders, then gold and grain will both disappear, granary and treasury will both be empty and the state will be weak. But if a country favours the appearance of grain within its borders, then gold and grain will both appear, granary and treasury will both be filled, and the state will be strong.

---

A strong country knows thirteen figures: the number of granaries within its borders, the number of able-bodied men and of women, the number of old and of weak people, the number of officials and of officers, the number of those making a livelihood by talking, the number of useful people, the number of horses and of oxen, the quantity of fodder and of straw. If he, who wishes to make his country strong, does not know these thirteen figures, though his geographical position may be favourable and the population numerous, his state will become weaker and weaker, until it is dismembered.

A country, where there are no dissatisfied people is called a strong country. When the army is mobilized for an offensive, rank is given according to military merit, and, reliance being placed upon the military, victory is certain. When the army is in reserve and agriculture is pursued, rank is given according to the production of grain, and, reliance being placed upon farming, the country will be rich. If in military enterprises the enemy is conquered and if, when the army is in reserve, the state becomes rich, then it attains supremacy.

---

1. "figures," by Shang-tzû, often used in the sense of "statistics." Cf. par. 6, p. 216.
2. 利人; those, who are worth their salt.
3. Wang wants to insert 則 before 必勝 and 粟倉.
4. 國 should be 兵.