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“BAO WEI QUAN” 保位權, CHAPTER 20 OF THE CHUNQIU FANLU 春秋繁露
An Annotated Translation*

IVANA BULJAN

This work provides an annotated translation, together with a brief commentary, of the “Bao Wei Quan” chapter, the 20th chapter of the Chunqiu fanlu. The Chunqiu fanlu is an important Chinese Confucian text. It is ascribed to a pivotal Former Han (206 BCE – 9 CE) scholar, an exegete of the Gongyang zhuan 公羊傳, Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca. 195–115 BCE). This text offered to readers an ideal of rulership that remained highly relevant to the development of the ethical and political discourse of Chinese Confucianism. Despite its importance, the Chunqiu fanlu has only very recently been fully translated into a Western language,¹ and is one of the rare major classical Chinese texts which still lacks a full Japanese translation. Thus, the purpose of this work is to contribute to the ongoing Chunqiu fanlu translation project and to present to the reader some of the form and content of this influential work.

KEYWORDS: Chunqiu fanlu, Dong Zhongshu, power (quan 權), rewards (shang 賞), punishments (fa 罰), non-action (wuwei 無 為)

ABBREVIATIONS

BWQ  “Bao wei quan”
CQFL  Chunqiu fanlu

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I. BASIC INFORMATION ON THE CHUNQIU FANLU

The Chunqiu fanlu (The Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals, henceforth: CQFL)\(^2\) is an important Chinese Confucian text. It is traditionally ascribed to the pivotal Former Han (206 BCE – 9 CE) scholar Dong Zhongshu  董仲舒 (ca. 195–115 BCE). Dong was an exegete of the Gongyang zhuan  公羊传 of the Chunqiu  春秋, a dominant commentary in the early Han.\(^3\) Tradition credits him as playing a tremendous role in establishing Confucianism as the state ideology during the reign of emperor Wu (140–134 BCE), for which reason he is often referred to as the “father of Han Confucianism.”\(^4\)

CQFL is a lengthy work, a collection of seventeen books (juan 卷) consisting of 82 chapters (pian 篇), of which 79 have survived. This lengthy work attributed to Dong Zhongshu has long been viewed as an important text by which to understand the development of Chinese Confucianism. It created an ideal of rulership and a concept of the relationship between Heaven and humans that remained central to

\(^2\) The title “Chunqiu fanlu” is actually untranslatable. In fact, Su Yu 蘇舆 (1874–1914) argues in his book Chunqiu fanlu yizheng 春秋繁露義證 (Verification of the Meanings in the Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn) that the title Chunqiu fanlu is the result of a mingling of the bibliographic category (“Chunqiu”) and the original title of the first essay (“Fanlu”) (Su Yu, CQFLYZ, p. 497). The text Lüshi chunqiu 呂氏春秋 also uses the term chunqiu in its title. James D. Sellmann explains that chunqiu in this title refers to the Chunqiu 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals) of the state of Lu: “The expression chunqiu (‘spring and autumn’) denotes the whole year – pivotal agricultural and administrative activities occur during these seasons – and as such, chunqiu became a shorthand title for ‘state histories’, especially those of the state of Lu and, by extension the name for the era from 722–481, which the state of Lu records cover. Because these seasonal chronicles recorded timely and untimely behaviour, as well as the policies of the rulers and statesman, chunqiu came to mean ‘moral critique’. Along these lines, the Spring and Autumn Annals of the state of Lu was given an ethical interpretation in the famous Zuozhuan commentary. Regardless of Kongzi’s (Confucius’) actual role in the preparation of the Chunqiu, the work became an important text for those who followed his teachings. In this context, chunqiu came to mean a comprehensive study of appropriate and timely actions for the achievement of social and political order. In imitation, this same purpose is pursued by the Lüshi chunqiu and the Chunqiu fanlu, which use the phrase chunqiu in their titles.” Sellmann 2002, pp. 12–13.

\(^3\) Joachim Gentz notes: “The Chunqiu (Annals) is one of the main if not the most important canonical work of early Han times after Wudi. Being a rather dry annalistic chronicle of the state of Lu, it was only able to achieve such exceptionally high status through the exegesis of the Gongyang zhuan (Gongyang traditions), which was the most important commentary in early Han.” Gentz 2009, p. 813.

\(^4\) Queen 1996, pp. 2–3.
ethico-political discussion for two thousand years, and hence highly relevant to the development of the ethical and political discourse of Chinese Confucianism. The text itself has been commented upon in China throughout history and is regarded as the most authoritative text of Chinese Confucianism from Han times onward.

Despite its importance, the CQFL has not been the subject of proper non-Chinese scholarly attention. It has only very recently been fully translated into a Western language, and it is one of the rare major classical Chinese texts which still lacks a full Japanese translation. Part of the reason for this lies in the complexity of the text, connected with some doubts about its authenticity and textual integrity.

It is rather problematic that, although the CQFL is attributed to a Han scholar, no references to any book attributed to that name appear during the Han dynasty. Han sources attribute three works to Dong Zhongshu. The Hanshu 漢書 lists a book entitled Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 with 123 chapters, and another, Gongyang Dong Zhongshu zhiyu 公羊董仲舒治獄, with 16 chapters, while the Shiji 史記 mentions a Dong Zhongshu as author of the Zai yi zhi jí 災異之記. It is striking that these three works gradually disappeared from historical records after the Han. The earliest references to the text named CQFL date to the Liang 梁 dynasty (6th c.). Chinese scholars began questioning the authenticity of the text in the 11th century.

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5 See Gentz 2005.
6 Up to the translation by Sarah A. Queen and John S. Major (cf. fn. 1), only parts of the Chunqiu fanlu have been translated into European languages: the first six chapters of the Chunqiu fanlu have been translated into German by Robert H. Gassmann (see Tung Chung-shu 1945), and parts of various chapters have been translated into English by Sarah Queen and Wing Tsit Chan. See, for example, Queen 2000 and Chan 1969, pp. 273–288. Large sections have also been translated into Russian in Antologiya mirovoy filosofii (Anthology of World Philosophy), vol. I, part I, including chapters 35, 36, 41, 42, 58 and 81, and in Yan Khinshun 1990, including chapters 1, 2, 12, 13, 21 and 42. Chapters 35 and 44 have been translated into French in: Hsu Sung-nien 1932 (see Tong Tchong-chou, Tch’oun Ts’ieou fan lou: Wang tao t’ong san and Cheng tch’a ming hao). Kao Ming-k’ai et al. have translated two chapters, 44 and 74, see Tung Chung-shu 1945. Chapter 18 and 22 have been translated into English by Ivana Buljan (“Chapter 18 of the Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals: Separation and Union with the Root,” in: Ekrem Cašević et al. [eds.], Trava od srca [Grass From the Heart], Bibliotheca Orientalica, Zagreb, 2012, pp. 203–241) and “Emptying the Mind and Stilling the Body. Syncretism in the Concept of Self-Regulation in Chapter 22 of the Chunqiu fanlu,” Synthesis philosophica 29 [2014] 1, pp. 41–62).
7 The first five chapters have been translated into Japanese by Hihara Toshikuni日原利憲, see id. 1977.
11 Gary Arbuckle notes: “The first citation which can be dated with any certainty is that in the lost Liang dynasty bibliography Qi lu 七錄 (begun 523) by Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 (479–536), preserved in a quotation from the Shiji zhengyi 史記正義 (Takigawa 1977: 121/28 [1292]). This text mentions a Chunqiu fanlu by Dong Zhongshu, in 17 juan, in the same length the text has today.” Arbuckle 1991, p. 316.
12 The first doubts are expressed in the Chongwen zongmu 崇文總目, edited by Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 (1003–1058) and others between 1034–1045. Sarah Queen notes: “Wang suspected the text
Research conducted by Sarah Queen, Gary Arbuckle, Joachim Gentz, and Michael Loewe has shown that the *CQFL* is a composite work consisting of different layers of very heterogeneous material from early Han and likely even post-Han *Gongyang* scholarly work assembled by an anonymous compiler between the third and sixth century. The composite nature of the *CQFL* is apparent in the organization of the text, which contains a great diversity of subject matter and content. Based on both its content and structure, Hsü Fu-kuan 徐復觀 (1902 or 1903–1982) has proposed that the *CQFL* consists of three major divisions: Dong’s scholarship on the *Chunqiu*, Dong’s philosophy of Heaven, and Dong’s discussion of sacrifice and court ceremony. Sarah A. Queen and John S. Major identify eight “literary units” of the text based on common subject matter, to which they have given the following titles: 1) Exegetical Principles (chapters 1–17), 2) Monarchical Principles (ch. 18–22), 3) Regulatory Principles (ch. 23–28), 4) Ethical Principles (ch. 29–42), 5) Yin-Yang Principles (ch. 43–57), 6) Five-Phase Principles (ch. 58–64), 7) Ritual Principles (ch. 65–76) and Heavenly Principles (ch. 77–82).

Most authors agree, as Joachim Gentz states, that “the first seventeen chapters, which end with a postface (‘Yu xu 俞序’) represent the earliest and most probably authentic part of the whole compilation.” Ascribing the other parts of the text to the historical Dong Zhongshu is a questionable practice. Michael Loewe points out:

> While no certain or comprehensive [response] can be made to the fundamental question what parts of the *Chunqiu fanlu* and which of its ideas can be authentically traced to Dong Zhongshu, it is possible to identify certain *pian* which can probably or perhaps certainly be ascribed to different sources of various types. These include: a) *pian* which draw directly on the explanations of the *Gongyang zhuan* [...]; b) *pian* which concern the *Wu xing* 五行 [...]. In addition, there are single chapters dispersed throughout the texts which can be ascribed to different sources.

**2. CHAPTER 20 IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WHOLE CHUNQIU FANLU**

Michael Loewe posits chapter 20 in a group of chapters with a common subject, specifically the relationship of Heaven and Earth, Ruler and Ruled, and wuwei 無為. These chapters are: 18, 19, 20, 35, 37, 38, and 78. Together with chapters 18 and 19, chapter 20 forms a sort of unity which differentiates itself from the...
rest of the CQFL. All three chapters discuss the role of the ruler in a state and techniques by which he can preserve his position and power and maintain control over bureaucracy. In this vision the ruler adheres to the principle of non-action (wuwei). Sarah Queen situates these chapters in the “Monarchical principles” unit of the text which comprises chapters 18–22. This unit follows the first seventeen chapters concerned with the Chunqiu. What at first glance differentiates these chapters from the other chapters of the CQFL is the form of their titles. These chapters have three-word titles, which is a relatively uncommon form in the CQFL (“Li he gen” 离合根, “Li yuan shen” 立元神, “Bao wei quan,” “Kao gong ming” 考功名 and “Tong guo shen” 通國身.) As for the content of these chapters, Sarah Queen, following and expanding on the research conducted by the Qing scholar Su Yu 蘇輿 (1874–1914) and Tanaka Masami 田中麻紗, notes that these chapters differ significantly from the Confucian tradition of the Han. She observes that these chapters contain very little reference to Confucian scripture, and that they do not stress the importance of humanity, righteousness and moral transformation through education. These chapters focus instead on the problem of statecraft in a highly syncretic manner, synthesizing elements from different traditions.

Sarah Queen has suggested that these chapters were written by several authors at different stages throughout the development of the tradition known as “Huang-Lao” 黄老. Dong may indeed have composed some, but not all of the essays of these chapters, states Queen. She suggests that some of these syncretic statecraft chapters may have been authored by Dong Zhongshu early in his career, in the service of Emperor Jing 景 (188–141 BCE, reign 157–141 BCE) when “Huang-Lao” thought was popular. In 135 BCE, various teachings were forbidden because they appeared to mark the triumph of Confucianism over other schools. As Michael Loewe notes: “[...] expansionist policies were being adopted and growing attention was being paid to a ‘Confucian’ point of view and traditional texts of literature.”

3. The Chapter Title: “Bao wei quan”

The title of pian no. 20 of the CQFL is “Bao wei quan” 保位權. The character bao 保 is a verb meaning to “preserve,” “protect,” or “maintain.” The Shuowen jiezi 說文解字 defines bao as yang 養, to “nourish,” “cultivate,” or “preserve”: bao: yang ye 保: 養也 (“The term bao means to ‘preserve.’”).

The first object succeeding the verb bao, the term wei 位, represents a person standing in an assigned position. The term is used to refer to the position of the

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21 Queen 2015, p. 186.
22 Arbuckle 1991, p. 460. The title of the following pian, no 23, consists of six characters: san dai gai zhi zhi wen 三代改制質文.
24 Queen 1996, p. 85.
25 Ibid., p. 93.
26 Ibid., p. 85.
27 Loewe 2005, p. 149.
person in social hierarchy and all of the benefits derived from it. Strictly speaking,  
wei designates the position of a ruler, or “the throne.”

A basic denotation of the second object, the term quan 權, is a “sliding scale of  
balance.”29 Andrew Meyer explains this meaning of quan: “The quan is the  
weight used in conjunction with a steelyard or a set of balanced scales or, by  
extension, the entire weighing apparatus.” From this basic denotation, the following  
meanings are derived: “expediency,” “balance,” “weighing up,” and “moral  
balance.” The concept of quan is used in this sense in Chinese ethical and political  
thought to refer to the process of making decisions that may be ethically or  
politically sensitive.30 While deciding on an act or policy, the sage ruler is described as  
who weighs the circumstances and adapts to their change.31

Besides a sense of “expediency,” quan can mean “heft,” or “tactics.” In this usage,  
quan occurs in military discourse where, as Andrew Meyer states, it denotes “a form  
of potential power that is intrinsic to a combatant before going into battle, an  
advantage that can ‘tip the scales’ and lead to victory after the combat has begun.  
Examples are the training of the troops or the education of the commander.”32

The concept of quan receives a new dimension of meaning, analogous to its  
application in military sources, in Legalist thought.33 In Legalist discourse, quan  
was imbued with political connotations, and could thus be rendered as a “political  
weight,” “political power,” or “authority.” The Legalists argued that quan, political  
authority, is what grants a ruler his power and should therefore be his exclusive  
property. The “Zhu shu xun” 主術訓 chapter of the Huainanzi 淮南子 expresses  
this assumption: “Political authority and purchase are the carriage of the ruler;  
rank and emollients are the harness and bit of the minister.”34 The term quan 權  
(second tone), signifies “power,” or “authority,” and is closely related to the term  
quan 劝 (fourth tone), with the meaning “advise,” “urge,” “try to persuade,” or  
“encourage.” As Su Yu notes: 權當作勸 (“Quan 權 is treated as quan 勸”).35 This  
indicates the relationship between power and persuasion as perceived in the classical  
Chinese tradition. This position is explicit in the BWQ essay, which argues that if a

29 Csikszentmihalyi 2004, p. 119.
30 Andrew S. Meyer explains the importance of quan in the process of making ethical  
decision as: “Quan entails weighing the exigencies of the moment against the imperatives of morality, and it  
refers to an act that violates a moral precept yet ultimately serves the greater good.” See also id.  
2010, p. 884.
31 Sarah Queen discusses the central place the notion of quan holds with Gongyang scholars,  
who developed it as a criticism of the Qin legal system: “Kung-yang scholars developed this principle  
to address the limitations of Ch’in legal practices. They emphasized intent to redress the  
Ch’in’s failure to consider the complex relationship between conduct and motivation; they stressed  
expediency to remedy another area of jurisprudence they felt had been neglected: the circumstances  
under which crimes occur. They recognized that, under certain circumstances, if actions prescribed  
by the law were blindly carried out, they could lead to greater evils than those the laws were meant  
to prevent. An inflexible legal system that left no room for individual moral autonomy could give  
32 Meyer 2010, p. 885.
33 On the problem of the usual practice of calling the school “Legalists” or “the School of Law”  
see Creel 1970, pp. 92–120.
34 權者，人主之車軸，爵祿者，人臣之欽鉤也。故人人主處要權勢之要，而持爵祿之柄，  
35 Su Yu, CQFLYZ, p. 172.
ruler does not have the means to encourage (persuade) his people, he then will lack the means to preserve his political power. The term *quan* is used in the BWQ chapter as a political term, with the same connotations found in the works of earlier Legalist thinkers.

The title of the chapter consists of a verb-object phrase, which offers two possibilities. The first of these possibilities is that the verb is followed by two nouns, i.e., two objects. This construction is embedded in Sarah Queen’s translation of the title, “Preserving Position and Authority.”

36 Another possibility is that the object consists of the noun *quan*, preceded by its modifier, *wei*. Gary Arbuckle thus translates the title as “Preserving the Governing Power of Position.”

The title of the chapter corresponds with its content. As the title states, the essay deals with the issue of safeguarding the ruler’s power and position. It describes techniques that enable the ruler to protect his political status and the strategically advantageous position of the throne. As Zhong Zhaopeng notes: “This *pian* discusses the technique of [a] ruler’s consolidating position and power.”

38 If a comparison is made between the title of this chapter and other titles of chapters of pre-Han and early Han texts, the title that shows the closest resemblance with “Bao wei quan” is *Han Feizi*, “Yang quan” 揚權 (“Extolling Power”).

4. SUMMARY OF THE CONTENT OF “BAO WEI QUAN”

The BWQ is a manual for rulers, advising them on effective techniques (*shu* 術) in rulership. The techniques it proscribes are constructed around the ultimate goal of rulership: maintaining the ruler’s political power and authority. The *pian* opens by stating which conditions must be fulfilled in order for a ruler to retain the strategically advantageous position (*shi* 勢) of the throne. It argues that, when the ruler has the means to restrain and regulate people, his political power will be preserved and his positional advantage (*shi*) will not be compromised. These means are based on the likes and dislikes of the people. Therefore, the ruler sets up rewards (*shang* 賞) and punishments (*fa* 罰).

The *pian* continues with a discussion of the application of rewards and punishments, which are the two complementary forces of government. First, rewards and punishments must be based on the likes and dislikes of the people. Second, they must be appropriate to one’s crime or merit. An abundance of rewards and punishments create two extremes: luxury (*fu* 富) or tyranny (*wei* 威) and, in consequence, the ruler will lose his power (*quan* 權) and generosity (*de* 德). This will finally lead to disorder (*luan* 亂), and the ministers will rebel. For this reason, the ruler is advised to “guard his generosity” (*shou qi de* 守其德) and “grasp his power” (*zhi qi quan* 執其權).

In the final part, the *pian* discusses techniques used to control the ministers, advocating “non-action” (*wuwei*) as the proper posture of the ruler. While the ruler takes the position of non-action, his ministers are burdened with administrative affairs. From the position of non-action, the ruler can carefully observe his ministers and confer rewards and punishments on the basis of his observations. Stressing that

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36 Queen 2015, p. 209.

37 Arbuckle 1991, p. 466.

38 Zhong Zhaopeng, *CQFLJS*, p. 313: 本篇言君鞏固其地位，權力之術。
rewards and punishments should be based on the reality (shi 實) of performance of an official and not on his reputation / title (ming 名), the BWQ advocates the importance of congruence between titles / reputation and reality. The essay ends describing the outcomes of successful rulership. If the ruler takes a position of non-action, then his techniques of rulership are “so-of-themselves” (zi ran 自然), and as a consequence, his ministers will produce achievement (gong 功), while fame (ming 名) will return to the ruler. So, as Dong Tiangong 董天工 (ca. 1703–1771) states, the BWQ’s view can be summed up as follows: “If people are attached and if ministers obey the ruler, and the ruler is wuwei, then position and power is preserved.”39

It can be noted that the entire political discourse used in the BWQ is constructed around complementary pairs: likes / dislikes (hao 好 / wu 惡), encouraging / frightening (quan 劝 / wei 畏), rewards / punishments (shang 賞 / fa 罰), political power / generosity (quan 權 / de 德), non-action / action, coming out / returning (chu 出 / gui 歸), actuality / fame (shi 事 / ming 名), achievement / fame (gong 功 / ming 名), ruler / ministers (jun 君 / chen 臣), noble / base (gui 貴 / jian 賤), honored / humbled (zun 尊 / bei 卑), luxury / tyranny (fu 富 / wei 威), sound / echo (sheng 聲 / xiang 響), shape / shadow (xing 形 / ying 影).

5. SOURCES OF POLITICAL THOUGHT IN “BAO WEI QUAN”

The BWQ develops the theory of rulership by synthesizing elements from different sources. Su Yu correctly notes that the BWQ was influenced by the text Han Feizi 韓非子,40 which was compiled in the middle of the third century BCE.41 Han Feizi’s (ca. 280–233 BCE) political theory and administrative methods serve the interest of the ruler, and the main purpose of Han Feizi’s program of government is the political survival of the ruler. The text itself is described as a confluence of various pre-Qin political thoughts. The text effectively brings Shen Dao’s 慎到 (ca. 395–315 BCE), Shang Yang’s 商鞅 (390–338 BCE) and Shen Buhai’s 申不害 (ca. 400–337 BCE) ideas of rulership together. These three streams of thought can also be recognized as the art of rulership in the BWQ.

Shen Dao is reputed to have stressed the concept of shi, “compelling force of circumstances,” “strategic / positional advantage,” “power,” “political advantage,” or “political purchase.” The notion of shi was first used in the discussion of military affairs of the Warring States period, where “it was devised as a conceptual gauge by which conditions on the battlefield could be measured and compared.” In this context it could be translated as “force” or “strategic / positional advantage.”42 Shen Dao imports the notion of shi into the realm of political discourse. Andrew Meyer explains its use as a political term: “In a political or social structure, an individual is said to have shi contingent on the systematic powers of the office or station that he or she occupies and the actual functioning of the system as a whole. Ideally, the shi of the prime minister, for example, should be less than that of the sovereign and more than that of the palace eunuchs, but this ideal situation could

39 Dong Tiangong 董天工, CQFL 春秋繁露 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2001), 拾輯 2-222.
40 Su Yu, CQFLYZ, p. 172.
41 Ames 1994, p. 87.
42 Meyer 2010, p. 889.
(and often was) distorted when individuals were able to accrue and exercise powers beyond the normative parameters of their station.\textsuperscript{43}

Shen Dao urges the ruler to maintain the highest degree of 
shì. Moreover, according to Shen Dao, the preservation of the ruler’s supreme authority and position became the most important task of the statesman. He argues that, without access to power and position (shì), a ruler is unable to rule regardless of his wisdom and capacities. Hence, if a ruler lacks power and position, he would be subjugated by his ministers and the people would not assist him.\textsuperscript{44} Governing by means of power (shì), also became one of the main precepts of Han Feizi’s political theory. Like Shen Dao, Han Feizi stresses that it is of vital interest for a ruler to keep his position powerful and maintain the highest degree of shì. If the ruler loses his position, his life and state will be in danger:

That his position is powerful, that is the source from which the ruler of men feeds. He who rules over others has a powerful position among the ministers. When he loses this position it cannot be won back. Duke Jian lost it to Tian Cheng, the Duke of Jin lost it to the Six Senior Ministers, and their states were ruined while they themselves died. Thus it says: “A fish must not be removed from his deep pond.”\textsuperscript{45}

In short, Han Feizi states that “… if one is good at availing oneself of one’s position, one’s state is safe, and if one does not understand how to use one’s position, one’s state is in danger.”\textsuperscript{46}

Like Shen Dao and Han Feizi, the BWQ stresses an importance of shì, and advises the ruler on the means of maintaining his distinctive shì:

If people do not have what they like, the ruler will not have the means to encourage [them].
If people do not have what they dislike, the ruler will not have the means to frighten [them].
If the ruler does not have the means to encourage and frighten [them], he will not have the means to prohibit and control.
If he does not have the means to prohibit and control, the ruler and the people will stand at the same level and have equal positional advantage, and then the ruler will not have the means to become dignified.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{43} Meyer 2010, pp. 889–890.

\textsuperscript{44} 慎子曰：飛龍乘雲，騰蛇遊霧，雲霧霽，而龍蛇與螾蟻同矣，則失其所乘也。賢人而詘於不肖者，則權輕位卑也；不肖而能服於賢者，則權重位尊也。 (“Shenzi said: ‘Dragons in flight ride the clouds, soaring snakes roam in the mist; clouds gone and mists dispersed, the dragons and snakes are like ants, and that is because they have lost what they have ridden on. When men of talent submit to those without talent that is because their position of power is slight and their position is low. When the incompetent are able to submit to the talented then one’s political weight will be great and his position will be elevated.’”). See Han Feizi 韓非子, “Nan shì, di sìshì” 難勢, 第四十, 1/1, http://tls.uni-hd.de/ (6 Jan. 2016).


\textsuperscript{47} CQFL 6.7/27/7-6.7/27/.
The BWQ argues that, when the ruler has the means to restrain and regulate people, his political power will be preserved and his positional advantage (shí) will not be compromised. For the BWQ, rewards (shàng) and punishments (fá) are the means to restrain and regulate people, and because of this reason they serve as the main instruments of the ruler in keeping his political advantage intact. In proposing rewards and punishments as the main instruments of the ruler, the BWQ follows Shang Yang’s vision of rulership. In a very particular way, Shang Yang’s political philosophy is based on the concept of rewards and punishments. Shang Yang argues that rewards and punishments are the main instruments of the ruler. In promulgating rewards and punishments, the ruler must proceed within the limits of human nature. Therefore, Shang Yang proposes both punishing on the basis of what people dislike, and rewarding on the basis of what people like.\(^4\)

For a prince there exists the fact that people have likes and dislikes; therefore, for it to be possible to govern the people, it is necessary that the prince should examine these likes and dislikes. Likes and dislikes are the basis of rewards and punishments. Now, the nature of man is to like titles and emoluments and to dislike punishments and penalties. A prince institutes these two in order to guide men’s wills, and he establishes what they desire. Now, if titles follow upon the people’s exertion of strength, if rewards follow upon their acquisition of merit, and if the prince succeeds in making people believe in this as firmly as they do in the shining of sun and moon, then his army will have no equal.\(^4\)

With Shang Yang, Han Feizi advocates rewarding and punishing on the basis of what people like / dislike. However, these two thinkers differ in their application of rewards and punishments. Whereas Shang Yang proposed severe penalties for offensive conduct and light rewards for good conduct,\(^5\) Han Feizi proposed severe penalties, but also generous rewards. The BWQ, while agreeing with the positions of Shang Yang and Han Feizi on the general role of rewarding and punishing for governing the state, implicitly criticizes their application of rewards and punishments. Namely, the BWQ argues against excessive use of rewards and punishments. The BWQ supports this position by combining the Legalist notion of quan (power) with the Confucian notion of de (generosity). It argues that excessive rewards and punishments would lead to the ruler’s loss of political power (quan) and generosity (de):

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\(^4\) Ames 1994, p. 128.

\(^5\) Shang Yang states: 重罰輕賞，則上愛民，民死上；重賞輕罰，則上不愛民，民不死上。興國，行罰，民利且畏；行賞，民利且愛。行刑重其輕者，輕者不生，重者不來 (“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.”). Shang jun shu, “Elimination of Strength,” 4.1, tr. J.J.L. Duyvendak, http://ctext.org/shang-jun-shu/elimination-of-strength#n47158 (20 Jan. 2016).
If what is liked is in abundance, then it will create luxury (fu); if what is disliked is present beyond the appropriate measure, then it will create terror (wei). If terror is created, then the ruler will lose his power (quan), and then all individuals under heaven will mutually hate each other. If luxury is created, then the ruler will lose his generosity (de), and then all individuals under heaven will mutually destroy each other.51

In order to confer appropriate rewards and punishment, the ruler must take a position of non-action (wuwei). In this particular viewpoint of BWQ, Shen Buhai’s vision of rulership can be recognised. Herrlee G. Creel notes that Shen Buhai was focused on “the role of the ruler and the methods by which he could organize and control the bureaucracy.”52 According to Shen Buhai, the ruler holds firm control over his ministers through a number of techniques (shu).53 His famous dictum is: “The sage ruler depends upon methods, not on (his) sagacity. He employs a technique (shu 術), not theory.”54 As the main technique of rulership, Shen Buhai stresses “non-active management” (wuwei). Wuwei, literally “non-action,” refers to natural activity, activity without any coerciveness. The notion of wuwei is associated with cosmic activity. The ruler who takes a posture of non-activity imitates cosmic activity, essentially, an imitation of Heaven. Non-action is the ideal of ruling. Thus, it was commonly associated with the rule of ancient sages.

Roger Ames notes that Shen Buhai “elaborated the theory of wuwei into a practical principle of political control.”55 His vision of wuwei as a technique of rulership is intended to protect the ruler and enable him to control the state.56 In this view of the government, the ruler controls the state rather than administers it,57 as Shen Buhai states: “One who has (the right) method does not perform the functions of the five officials, and yet he is the master of the government.”58 This means that wuwei is the “appropriate posture of the ruler whereas activity is appropriate of his subordinates.”59 Thus, whereas the ruler takes a position of non-action, the ministers are burdened with administrative affairs. While “the ruler understands the methods; the ministers understand (the management of particular) affairs.”60 Like Shen Buhai, Han Feizi applies the notion of wuwei in the context of the same vision of government.

51 Translated from CQFL 6.7/27/13-6.7/27/14.
52 Creel 1970, p. 93.
53 Fung Yu-lan described Shen Buhai as “the leader of the group which emphasized shu 術, that is, statecraft or methods of government.” Fung Yu-lan 1952, p. 319.
54 Creel 1974, p. 356.
56 In Shen Buhai’s vision of rulership the ruler conceals himself in inaction, which enables him to remain in a superior position: “The skillful ruler … conceals himself in inaction. He hides his motives and conceals his tracks. He shows the world that he does not act. Therefore those who are near feel affection for him, and the distant think longingly of him (that is, desire to become his subjects). One who shows men that he has surplus has (his possessions) taken from him by force, but to him who shows others that he has not enough, (things) are given. The strong are cut down; those in danger are protected. The active are insecure; the quiet have poise.” Creel 1974, p. 349.
He sharply divides the duties of the ruler and the ruled and points out that an intelligent ruler employs competent and talented people to manage affairs. In this way he does not need to personally attend governmental affairs.\textsuperscript{61}

As an indispensable technique for rulership, Shen Buhai proposes a demand that “the substance of one’s performance (shì 質) accords with one’s title (míng 名),” also called “notion of accountability.”\textsuperscript{62} Shen Buhai’s theory is outlined in the Han Feizi:

Now Shen Buhai proposed the art of politics and Gongsun Yang practised the law. As for the art of politics, it is to give out offices on the basis of concrete responsibilities, it is to act according to job descriptions and to demand performance, it is to wield the handle of life and death, and to examine those among the ministers who are capable. These are the things the ruler of men is to hold on to.\textsuperscript{63}

As the passage states, Shen Buhai’s art of rulership was the practice of comparing an officer’s behaviour and deeds, or his “real” performance with the duties implied by his “title” (míng), and to demand performance (shì) in accordance with the title (míng) of the office. He stresses that the performance of an official should be congruent with the objective definition of his title. This is an administrative method through which the ruler can maintain a firm control. Han Feizi, following Shen Buhai, stresses that the art of the governing lies in employing capable ministers and in the correspondence between their míng and shì.\textsuperscript{64}

Shen Buhai’s method is also advocated in the BWQ. Like Shen Buhai and Han Feizi, the BWQ stresses demanding actual performance (shì) in accordance with the title of the office held (míng). With Shen Buhai, the BWQ argues that the ruler has to examine both the relationship between the titles of an official and the nature of his performance, and based upon this, to confer rewards and punishments: “[In examining an official], he questions his nature on the basis of his reputation in order to examine his actual situation. Rewards are not given for nothing, punishments are not handed down for nothing.”\textsuperscript{65} Like Shen Buhai, this is an administrative method for the author of the BWQ with which the ruler can examine the ministers and maintain firm control.

\textsuperscript{61} Han Feizi states: “The Way of the enlightened ruler is to get the competent to do their utmost in planning so that the ruler decides matters on that basis. As the result, the ruler does not exhaust himself for the sake of competence. The talented adjust their talents and the ruler employs them on the basis of that. Therefore the ruler does not exhaust himself for the sake of (concrete) abilities. If there are achievements then the ruler claims the talent; if there are failures then the minister takes responsibility for the misdeeds: therefore the ruler does not wear himself out for the sake of fame. In this way the ruler, without being talented himself, becomes a correcting force for the competent. The ministers have the troublesome work and the ruler claims the ready achievements.” Han Feizi, “Zhu dao, di wu” 主道，第五，1/9-10, tr. C. Harbsmeier, http://tls.uni-hd.de/ (6 Jan. 2016).

\textsuperscript{62} Creel 1970, p. 83.

\textsuperscript{63} The text reads as follows: 今申不害言術，而公孫鞅為法。術者，因任而授官，循名而責實，操殺生之柄，課群臣之能者也，此人主之所執也。法者，憲令著於官府，刑罰必於民心，賞存乎慎法，而罰加乎嚴令者也，此臣之所師也。君無術則弊於上，臣無法則亂於下，此不可一無，皆帝王之具也。 Han Feizi, “Ding fa, di sishisan” 定法，第四十三，1/2, tr. C. Harbsmeier, http://tls.uni-hd.de/ (6 Jan. 2016).


\textsuperscript{65} CQFL 6.7/27/26-6.7/27/8.
**ANNOTATED TRANSLATION**

The present translation of the BWQ chapter of the CQFL is based on a version of the received Chinese text published in: D.C. Lau [Liu Dianjue] 劉殿爵 – Chen Fangzhen 陳方正, *Chunqiu fanlu zhuzi suoyin* 春秋繁露逐字索引, in: D.C. Lau (ed.), *A Concordance to the CQFL*, The ICS Ancient Chinese Texts Concordance Series Classical Works No. 6, Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1994. The printed text of the *Concordance* is based on the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (SBCK) edition, a reprint of the text in the *Siku quanshu zhen ben* 四庫全書珍本 (1773 or 1775) from the Qing period (1644–1911). The editors, while noting that there had been four Song dynasty editions of the work, accepted Lou Yue’s 樂元祐 樂元祐 (1117–1213) edition preserved in the encyclopedia *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (completed 1408). This edition has seventeen *juan* and eighty-two *pian*.

Besides the SBCK edition, the present translation takes into account other available editions of the *CQFL: CQFL* 春秋繁露, with commentary by Dong Tiangong 董天工 (1703–1771), Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2001; *CQFL* 春秋繁露, with commentary by Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 (1717–1796), Baojing tang congshu 抱經堂叢書, Beijing: Zhili shuju, Minguo 12 [1923], (preface 1785); *CQFL* 春秋繁露, with commentary by Liu Dianjue 劉殿爵 (1773 or 1775) from the Qing period (1644–1911). The editors, while noting that there had been four Song dynasty editions of the work, accepted Lou Yue’s 樂元祐 樂元祐 (1117–1213) edition preserved in the encyclopedia *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (completed 1408). This edition has seventeen *juan* and eighty-two *pian*.

**BAO WEI QUAN 保位權 – “PRESERVATION OF POSITION AND POWER”**

If people⁶⁶ do not have what they like (*hao*), the ruler⁶⁷ will not have the means to encourage (*quàn*) [them].⁶⁸

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⁶⁶ *Min* 民, “people,” “masses.” The term *min* is a general designation for “commoners.” *Min* includes a broad range of people, excluding imperial relatives, feudal lords, officials, or eunuchs.

In the Han dynasty, as Ch’ü T’ung-tsu says, “commoners were traditionally classified in the following order: scholars, farmers, artisans, and merchants. The classification was not an arbitrary one, but implied the evaluation of the four main occupations and represented a ranking of occupational groups. Although sometimes merchants were mentioned before artisans, scholars and farmers were always the first to be mentioned, and scholars always headed the list.” Ch’ü T’ung-tsu 1972, p. 101.

⁶⁷ *Jun* 君, usually rendered as “lord,” “royal,” “sovereign,” “monarch,” “nobleman,” “superior man” is “a broad generic term for rulers and other official superiors” (Hucker 1986, p. 200). The graph *jun* 君 comes from *yin* 尹, “govern” and *kou* 口, “command” (Karlgren 1970, p. 168). Michael Loewe explains the meaning of the title *jun:* “The meritious title of *jun*, which sometimes accompanied these marks of distinction, was not itself one of the orders of honour. In addition it may appear unaccompanied by further titles in instructions given in the kingdom of Qin . . . Both at this time and later the expressions chosen for the title of *jun* usually denoted the attainment of merit and were thus seen as expressions of praise. *Jun* takes its place as part of a title given in Han imperial times in two ways. Liu Bang granted it to some of his supporters in the years before he had acceded as emperor (B 1–5); later it was given in circumstances a nobility would have been inappropriate or perhaps impossible, e.g., for women. There is nothing to show that the honour necessarily carried with it the right to hold or to tax certain estates, as was the due of those who held the rank of

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If people do not have what they dislike (wu), the ruler will not have the means to frighten (wei) [them].

If the ruler does not have the means to encourage (quan)⁶⁹ and frighten [them], he will not have the means to prohibit and control.

If he does not have the means to prohibit and control, the ruler and the people will stand at the same level⁷⁰ and have equal positional advantage (shi),⁷¹ and then the ruler will not have the means to become dignified.

Therefore, in governing the state, the sage follows (yin)⁷² the natural disposition (xingqing)⁷³ of Heaven and Earth as they are, and those things

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Noble, or in some cases that of Noble of the Interior (Guanshui 同身, the nineteenth order). Possibly the title jun gave the holder emoluments of a different type, and it is clear that rights over estates followed only when he received a nobility ... The title jun was conferred at various times throughout Western Han. Recipients included men who had rendered valuable military service or given counsel on important matters of policy, or held high ranking official posts (B7, 8, 9). [...] On one occasion the title was conferred by one of the kings of the empire (B1 2). The term was also used as a means of expressing respect by a junior official who was referring to his superior, such as the governor of a commandery” (Loewe 2004, pp. 15–16). The term jun has its counterpart in the term min 民, i.e., the ruler has his counterpart in the ruled. This is the case in the classical Chinese corpus as it is in the BWQ chapter. It can be said that the central concern of the BWQ is a description of the relationship between the ruler and ruled.

⁶⁸ Dong Tiangong notes that quan 權 is a mistake for quan 勵, “encourage,” “stimulate” (Dong Tiangong, CQFL, 校諱 2-220). Su Yu notes that quan 權 here is borrowed to mean quan 勵. In order to support his claim, Su Yu cites a passage from the Guanzi 管子: 民輕其祿賞，則上無以勵民 (“If the people treat their salaries and rewards lightly, the sovereign will have no means to encourage his people”) (Guanzi “Quan xiu” 權修, 1/46, Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1993, translation adapted according to Rickett, 1985, p. 98; http://tls.uni-hd.de/ [21 Jan. 2016]), Su Yu, CQFLYZ, p. 172. I follow Dong Tiangong’s and Su Yu’s comments in translating quan 權.

⁶⁹ Quan 權, “authority,” “power” is borrowed to mean quan 勵, “encourage,” or “stimulate.”

⁷⁰ Bi jian 比肩. The meaning of this expression here is discussed by several scholars. Zhong Zhaoping explains it as “謂地位相等” (“[Bi jian] designates that the positions are equal”) (Zhong Zhaoping, CQFLJS, p. 314). A passage in the Xinzhu 新書 uses the phrase bi jian: 故暴亂在位，則士千里而有一人，則猶比肩也 (“Thus, when cruelty and chaos prevails, even though within a distance of one thousand li there exists only one scholar, he [this one scholar] could still be regarded as a multitude of them [scholars] standing shoulder to shoulder.”). Jia Yi, Xinzhu, jian 9, “Da zheng xia” 大政下 2; http://ctx.org/xin-shu-da-zheng-xia#135670 (21 Jan. 2016), trans. I. Buljan.

⁷¹ Qi shi 齊勢. Su Yu cites a statement from the Xinzhu: 君臣齊勢，亂之端也. (“A ruler and his ministers being of equal positional advantage is a cause of chaos.”), Su Yu, CQFLYZ, p. 173; trans. I. Buljan. A.S. Meyer explains the meaning of shi in early Chinese political discourse: “In a political and social structure, an individual is said to have shi contingent on the systematic powers of the office or station that he or she occupies and the actual functioning of the system as a whole. Ideally, the shi of the prime minister, for example, should be less than that of the sovereign and more than that of the palace eunuchs, but this ideal situation could (and often was) distorted when individuals were able to accrue and exercise powers beyond the normative parameters of their station.” Meyer 2010, pp. 889–890.

⁷² The term yin 因 means to “comply with,” “go along with,” or “rely on.” The character yin is defined in the Shuowen jiezi as jiu 就 as to “adapt to” or “accommodate”: (1) Jiu: it is also (“The term yin means to accommodate.”), Shuowen jiezi, juan 7, “Kou bu” 口部, 3904, http://ctx.org/shuo-wen-jiezi/wei-bu1#N30292 (21 Jan. 2016). W. Allyn Rickett, in his analysis of the “Xin shu shang” 心術上 (“The Art of the Mind”) chapter of the Guanzi, says that yin, which normally means to “rely on,” became a special Daoist term meaning to “rely on things as they are” (Rickett 1985, p. 66). He quotes a passage from an explanation of statement XIX of the Guanzi:
from which the bodily organs\textsuperscript{74} naturally benefit;\textsuperscript{75} using them to establish a system of the honored and the unworthy\textsuperscript{76} and to establish rank\textsuperscript{77}

無為之道因也，因也者，無益無損也 ("The way to be nonassertive is to rely on things as they are. Relying on things as they are is neither to add nor to detract from them."). Guanzi "Xin shu, shang" 心術上. 1/47, trans. Rickett 1985, p. 79, http://tls.uni-hd.de/ (21 Jan. 2016).

\textsuperscript{73} Xing 性 and qing 情 are closely related concepts. John Major states: "Whereas xing, 'nature', denotes the totality of all the potentials and inherent dispositions present in the human being at birth, qing denotes the particular affective dispositions subsumed within xing" (Meyer 2010, p. 884). Xingqing 性情 is a binomial in which xing is used to modify qing. I translate xingqing as "natural disposition." Zhong Zhaopeng’s CQFLJS from 1995, which includes notes from more than 30 earlier editions, states that Dong Tiangong’s edition, Lu Wenchao’s edition from 1787, Ling Shi’s edition from 1873 (preface dated 1815) and Su Yu’s editions have xingqing, "natural disposition." The Song, Ming and Hua 华 editions use qingqing 性情, "dispositional nature." Zhong Zhaopeng, CQFLZ, p. 314.

\textsuperscript{74} Kong 孔 and qiao 窍 are closely linked concepts. The term kong means "hole" and qiao means "aperture." The binomial kongqiao 孔竅 is used to mean "bodily orifices." The function of bodily orifices is explained in the "Zi di wang" 應帝王 ("The Normal Course for Rulers and Kings") chapter of the Zhuangzi: "Men all have seven orifices for the purpose of seeing, hearing, eating, and breathing.") ICS Zhuangzi 7/21/24, trans. Legge 1889, http://ctext.org/zhuangzi/norman-course-for-rulers-and-kings#n2769 (21 Jan. 2016).

The "Tian wen xun" 天文訓 ("Celestial Patterns") chapter of the Huainanzi, on the basis of the correlation between heaven and humans, describes the interrelation of the heavenly nine layers and the nine human orifices: 孔竅肢體，皆通於天。天下九有，人亦有七竅 ("[The bodily] orifices, limbs and trunk all penetrate to Heaven. Heaven has nine layers, man has nine orifices."). Major 2010, p. 135. In the "Jie Lao" 解老 ("Commentaries on Laozi’s teachings") chapter of the Han Feizi, vacated bodily orifices are a precondition to serving Heaven: 知治者其思慮靜知事天者其孔竅 ("As for a person who serves Heaven, his apertures are vacated. If his apertures are vacated, then the vital energy of harmony will enter him every day."). Han Feizi, "Jie Lao di ershi" 解老第二十，17/1, trans. Christoph Harbsmeier, http://tls.uni-hd.de/ (21 Jan. 2016).

\textsuperscript{75} Li 利, "benefit," or "profit" is an important concept in Warring States philosophical writings. Andrew Meyer explains an etymology of this term: "The character itself depicts a stalk of grain and a knife, indicating that it was meant to be understood in strictly material terms: harvested grain. Profit thus denotes material necessities like food, clothing, and shelter that are the mainstays of life," Meyer 2010, p. 879. Su Yu explains the meaning of the phrase 孔竅所利 as 諸順民欲 ("It means to comply with people’s desires"), Su Yu, CQFLYZ, p. 173. Lai Yanyuan in his CQFLJZY from 1984 similarly states: 孔竅之所利謂人的慾望 ("The term kongqiao zhi suoli designates people's wishes"), Lai Yanyuan, CQFLJZY, p. 164. A passage in the Lunyu 論語, similar to this passage in expression and meaning, states that the ruler follows (yin) the things from which the people naturally derive benefit: 因民之所利而利之，斯不亦惠而不費乎 ("When the person in authority makes more beneficial to the people the things from which they naturally derive benefit; – is not this being beneficent without great expenditure?"). Trans. Legge 1861, "Yao Yue," 2, Lunyu zhushu, in Ruan Yuan 2000, http://ctext.org/analects/yao-yue#n1600 (21 Jan. 2016).

\textsuperscript{76} Su Yu elucidates this statement: 天地有自然之尊卑。聖人因而制禮 ("Heaven and Earth naturally [produce] the honored and the unworthy. The sage follows this [pattern] and formulates the rituals."). Su Yu, CQFLYZ, p. 173.

\textsuperscript{77} Whereas the statement 立尊卑之制 ("to establish the system of the honored and the unworthy") refers to the hierarchy among the people in the sense of their political and social ranking, the statement that follows, 等貴賤之差 ("to establish rank differences between the dignified and the lowly"), refers to the hierarchy of the entire cosmos, i.e. among all creatures (humans, animals, spirits, etc.). Throughout the corpus of early Chinese texts, the view is stipulated that man has a special place in the cosmos, being the most noble of all creatures. The "Tian wen xun" 天文訓 chapter of the Huainanzi states: 起行嘆息，莫貴于人 ("Of all creatures that move and breathe, none is more honored than man"). Huainanzi, "Tian wen xun". 21, http://ctext.org/huainanzi/tian-wen-xun#n3075 (19 Apr. 2016), trans. Major 2010, p. 135.
differences⁷⁸ between the dignified and the lowly.⁷⁹ He establishes the ranks (jue)⁸⁰ and salaries⁸¹ of officials⁸² (guanfu)⁸³ and provides benefits⁸⁴ to the five tastes.⁸⁵ makes the five colours⁸⁶ flourish and brings the five tones⁸⁷ into harmony in order to control what one sees and hears; he personally (zi) commands the pure and the impure⁸⁸ to be clearly⁸⁹ different forms,⁹⁰ and the

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⁷⁸ Su Yu noted that an edition by Sun Kuang 孫 khấu printed during the Tianqi 天啓 period (1621–1627) uses the character yì 異, “distinguish,” instead of dēng 等, “rank,” or “grade.” Yu Shoukui states that the phrase 等貴賤之差 stands for 贏賤賤之等. See Zhong Zhaopeng, CQFLJS, p. 314.

⁷⁹ Zuì 尊 and bei 卑 as well as gui 賤 and jian 賢 are opposites, and form a matched pair in the corpus of early Chinese texts.


⁸¹ Lu 禄, meaning “salary,” “emolument,” or “revenue,” is defined in the Baihu tong: 禄者, 凍也, 以上敬禄接下, 以下名禄谨以事上 ("Lu ‘revenue accrued from a governmental position’ means lu ‘registered agreement.’ [It is that by which] the superior agrees to attach the inferior to him with consideration, and each official agrees to serve the superior with diligence."). Baihu tong, “Jing shi” 京師, 71/1, trans. Tjan Tjoe Som 1949–1952, p. 426, http://tls.uni-hd.de/ (21 Jan. 2016).

⁸² The phrase “to name officials” (she guan 設官) is used “with the sense of authorizing such and such posts with so and so many appointees at such and such ranks.” Hucker 1985, p. 417.

⁸³ Hucker explains the term guanfu 官府 in his A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China as follows: ‘Throughout history a very general reference to the government as a whole, or to those officials who collectively were considered to be the administration in power, or to particular government agencies.” Ibid., p. 285.

⁸⁴ Zhang Shiliang reads 利 “benefit,” “advantage,” or “profit” as 利, “harmony.” He views the character 利 here, as the result of a corruption. The two graphs 利 和 利 are graphically similar, and it can be suggested that 利 is a transcriptional mistake repeated in later editions. He says: (和) 原作 (利), 形近之誤 (“In place of the graph he, there was originally the graph li, and this is a mistake due to a graphical similarity”). Zhong Zhaopeng finds Zhang’s correction to be unnecessary: 不必如張改字 ("It is not necessary to change this graph"). He quotes Yu Shoukui 于首奎, who notes: 利, 和也 (“The term li means the term he”) and also adds an explanation of 利 利 from the Shouwen jiezi, where 利 is defined as follows: 利：銛也。从刀。和然後利，从和省。《易》曰：利者，義之和也 ("The term 利 利 means sharp xian 銛. It is derived from the character dao 刀 [‘knife’]. [Originally], the character 利 was like the character be, and later it became the character 利. The Zhouyi states: ‘The benefit is the harmony of all that is right’), see Shouwen jiezi, juan 5, “Dao bu” 刀部, 2738, http://ctext.org/shuo-wen-jie-zi/dao-bu#29037 (21 Jan. 2016), Zhong Zhaopeng, CQFLJS, p. 315. If 利 is used in a sense of be, “harmony,” an alternative reading would be: “harmonizes the five tastes.”

⁸⁵ The five tastes (flavors) are: spicy, salty, sour, bitter and sweet.

⁸⁶ The five colours are: black, red, qing, white and yellow.

⁸⁷ The Tianqi and Dong Tiangong’s edition uses yin 音, “sound,” or “tone” in place of sheng 聲, Dong Tiangong, CQFL, 撰輯 2–221. Traditional Chinese music is based on the pentatonic, five-tone musical system. The five tones are: gong 宮, shang 商, jue 角, zhi 徵, yu 羽.

⁸⁸ Qing 清, “pure” and zhou 濁, “impure,” are opposites. They are often used as categories for the analysis of ethics in early Chinese thought. However, Zhong Zhaopeng points out that qing zhou in this passage refers to the quality of sound: (清濁), 謂五聲之清與濁. (“[The term] qing zhou means the purity and impurity of the five sounds”), Zhong Zhaopeng, CQFLJS, p. 315.

⁸⁹ Lai Yanyuan explains the meaning of the expression zhaoran 昭然 as mingxian 明顯 (“clear,” “obvious,” “evident,” or “distinct”), Lai Yanyuan, CQFLJZY, p. 165.

⁹⁰ Shu ti 殊體. Lai Yanyuan explains: 殊體謂不同性質 (“Shu ti means not of the same quality”), Lai Yanyuan, CQFLJZY, p. 165.
glorious and the disgraceful\(^{91}\) to obviously\(^{92}\) contradict each other; in order to move the hearts of the people; he devotes his effort to decreeing measures to give the common people what they like. Only when they have what they like\(^{93}\) can they be encouraged.\(^{94}\)

Therefore, the sage establishes rewards in order to encourage them. If the people have what they like, then they must have what they dislike. Only when they have what they dislike can they be frightened. Therefore, the sage establishes punishments\(^{95}\) to frighten them. Only when they have both – what encourages them and what frightens them – can they be controlled.\(^{96}\)

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\(^{91}\) *Róng* 荣, “glory,” and *rú* 辱, “disgrace,” are opposites. They were customarily used as categories of ethical understanding in early Chinese thought. However, Lai Yanyuan assumes that they appear here in an aesthetic, and not ethical sense: 荣辱: 謂五味，五色，五聲的美惡 (“The phrase *rong* *rú* means the five tastes, the five colours, the beauty and ugliness of the five sounds”), *ibid*. The context of this passage and the whole essay suggests that it is very reasonable to accept Lai Yanyuan’s interpretation of glory and disgrace in this passage as aesthetic categories. Also, as stated above, Zhong Zhaopeng conceives of *qìng* *zhuó*, “purity and impurity,” in an aesthetic sense. Unlike Lai Yanyuan and Zhong Zhaopeng, Su Yu points out that the usage of the opposites pure / impure and glorious / disgraceful in this passage refers to moral qualities: 清濁 荣辱, 以人品等差言之 ("The terms pure and impure [qing / zhuó], glorious and disgraceful [rong / rú], refer to the usage of moral quality"), Su Yu, *CQFLYZ*, p. 173.

\(^{92}\) Lu Wenchao notes: 步, 疑當作趨 (“I suspect that the graph *zhuó* 趨 is meant to be the graph *zhuó* 趨”), Lu Wenchao, *CQFL*, p. 10. Su Yu says that the graph *zhuó* is an old form of the graph *zhuó* 趨, meaning “clear,” “bright,” “luminous”: 趨, 古灼字. Su Yu quotes the “Jun dao” 君道 (“Ruler’s Way”) chapter of the *Shuo yuan* 說苑 說苑: 跡然遠見, 蹶然獨立 (“He sees widely into the distance and stands alone clearly”), *Shuo yuan*, "Jun dao," 1 ICS *Shuo yuan* 1.11/14, http://ctext.org/shuo-yuan/jun-dao#n21514 (21 Jan. 2016). Following this he suggests that the meaning of the term *zhuó* *ran* *xiàng* *bo* 蹶然相向 is *zhuó* *ran* *bie* *yi* 蹶然別異 (“Clearly differentiating things that are different”), Su Yu, *CQFLYZ*, p. 173.


\(^{94}\) Zhong Zhaopeng noted that the Song, Ming, Hua 華 and Liang Jing (Liang Jing Yi Bian 梁經翼編 *Hu Weixin 胡維新* *jinshi* 1559) editions mistakenly use *dong* 動, “move” in place of *quan* 勸, “encourage” (Zhong Zhaopeng, *CQFLJS*, p. 315). This error is most likely the result of graphic similarity between the characters *quan* 勸 and *dong* 動. First, it can be concluded that *quan* is the correct character from the sentence that follows it. It concludes that the sage uses rewards, which are that what the people like, in order to encourage the people. So, it is evident that the previous sentence should be “only when the people have what they like can they be encouraged.” Secondly, the term *quan* preserves a parallelism between this sequence of sentences and the following sequence. The first sentence talks about encouraging and rewarding, and the following discusses “frightening” and “punishing.” Also, *quan* and *wei* are a complementary pair throughout the text, which further supports a presumption that *dong* is not the appropriate term here. On prints and editions of the *CQFL* see *Loewe 2011*, pp. 214–221.

\(^{95}\) The Ling Shu edition uses the homophone *fa* 法, “standard,” or “law” in place of *fa* 罰, “penalty.” See Ling Shu, *CQFLZ*, p. 198.

\(^{96}\) Su Yu quotes a statement from the “Ming fa jie” 明法解 (“Explanation of the ‘Making the Law Clear’”) chapter of the *Guanzi*, 明主之治也, 鎮爵祿以勸其民: 民有利於上, 故主有以使之; 立刑罰以威其下, 下有畏於上, 故主有以牧之; 無刑罰者則主無以勸民, 無刑罰則主無以威眾 (“In maintaining order, the enlightened ruler dangles ranks and salaries before his people in order to motivate them. Since the people derive benefits from on high, the ruler is able to employ them. He establishes punishments to overawe those below. Since they fear their superior, the ruler is able to control them. Therefore, were it not for ranks and salaries, the ruler would have nothing with which to motivate his people. Were it not for punishments, the ruler would...
One who controls (zhì) the people controls what they like, and for this reason, he should not be excessive in encouraging through rewards. One who controls the people controls what they dislike, and for this reason, he should not be excessive in frightening through punishments.

If what is liked is in abundance, then it will create luxury (fu); if what is disliked is present beyond the appropriate measure, then it will create terror (wei).

If terror is created, then the ruler will lose his power (quan), and then all individuals under heaven will mutually hate each other. If luxury is created, then the ruler will lose his generosity (de), and then all individuals under heaven will mutually destroy each other.

Therefore, in controlling the people, the sage causes them to fulfill [their] desires (yu) and does not attain this by having nothing with which to overawe the masses."


Zhong Zhaopeng noted that the Ling Shu edition contains the character de 得, while the Zhou 周, Liang Jing, Shen, Cheng 程 (an edition compiled by Cheng Rong 程榮 [1447–1526], a collector who lived during the Wanli 萬歷 reign [1573–1619]), Wang Mo 王謙 (jinshi 進士 1771), Dong Tiangong’s and Lu’s edition contain ke 可. Zhong Zhaopeng, CQFLZ, p. 316.

Guo 郭. The Tianqi and Dong Tiangong editions use duo 多. Dong Tiangong, CQFL, 集注 2–221.


Su Yu, discussing the meaning of the term yu 欲 in this passage, properly noted that the term yu does not refer to greedy in a common sense, or to desires that are impossible to satisfy: 此(欲)字與嗜欲之欲微別 "There is a slight difference between this yu 欲 graph and yu of shiyu 嗜欲 (‘to indulge oneself in,’ ‘lust,’ or ‘carnal desire’)," and Su Yu also noted that in this sense, the usage of the term yu in the BWQ chapter differs from the usage of the term yu in the Zhongyi 周易 and Liji 禮記. Su Yu cites the Zhongyi: "The superior man, in accordance with this, restrains his wrath and represses his desires", Zhongyi, "Xiang zhuan" 象傳, Sun 損, 1.2, trans. Legge 1882, http://ctext.org/
exceeding (guo)\textsuperscript{103} proper limits (jie).\textsuperscript{104} he causes them to be honest and simple\textsuperscript{105} and does not attain this through the absence of any desires.\textsuperscript{106}

Both the absence and presence of desires are attained by means of sufficient measure, and then the ruler’s way is obtained.

What makes a country a country is generosity (de), what makes a ruler a ruler is majesty (wei).

Therefore, generosity should not be shared, and majesty should not be sundered.\textsuperscript{107}

If generosity is shared, then kindness (en)\textsuperscript{108} will be lost.

If majesty is divided, then power will be lost.

If power is lost, then the ruler will not be respected.\textsuperscript{109}

\textsuperscript{103} Guo 过, “crossing” and “exceeding (a limit).” Edward Slingerland notes that the metaphor of guo is the most common way to conceptualise moral, and, it should be added, legal error in Warring States thought. This metaphor belongs to a family of metaphors for moral (and legal) error that “all have to do with the physical transgression of boundary lines.” Slingerland, referring to the Lunyu and Confucian-related texts, calls this “a scheme of morality as bounded space.” Similarly, “a scheme of legality as bounded space” is present in Legalist-related texts. Slingerland 2003, p. 56.

\textsuperscript{104} The term jie 節 as a noun means “standard,” “regulation,” or “limit,” and as a verb to “regulate,” or “restrain.” The term is used in two senses: denoting moral and (or) legal restraints and regulations. The notion of jie is an important concept in the ethical and political discussions of early Chinese texts. A number of texts discuss the topic of the regulation and restraint of human beings’ inherent emotions as the task of both the individual and the government. An example of the usage of jie to denote “control of oneself” can be found in the “Wei ji” 未済 (“Not yet completed”) chapter of the Zhouyi: 節飲酒瀠音，亦不知節也 (“He drinks and gets his head immersed: – he does not know how to submit to the [proper] regulations”), Zhouyi, Xiang zhan, “Wei ji,” 7.2, trans. Legge 1882, http://ctext.org/book-of-changes/wei-jii#n26159 (22 Jan. 2016).

\textsuperscript{105} Pu 濮, literally “uncarved block,” is usually translated as “simplicity.” The attainment of simplicity is mentioned as an ideal in Daodejing 道德經: 無名之樸, 夫亦將無欲。不欲以靜, 天下將自正 (“Simplicity without a name is free from all external aim. With no desire, at rest and still, all things go right as of their will”), Daodejing 37, trans. Legge 1891, http://ctext.org/dao-de-jing#n11628 (22 Jan. 2016). Lai Yanyuan points out that dunpu 敦樸 here means chengpu 誠樸, “sincere” and “simple.” Lai Yanyuan, CQFLJZY, p. 166.

\textsuperscript{106} Zhong Zhaopeng explains: 聖人之治, 順乎民性, 使之敦厚純樸, 但不能要求民皆無欲, 此儒術所以異於道家 (“The sage’s administering the state follows the nature of the people and makes them simple and honest, yet he cannot demand that all the people are without wishes. This ru method differs from the Daoist one.”), Zhong Zhaopeng, CQFLJS, p. 316.


\textsuperscript{108} Zhong Zhaopeng explains the graph en 恩: 恩, 恩惠, 指賞賜, 晉升之權 (“En, enhui indicates the bestowing of rewards and the power to promote”), Zhong Zhaopeng, CQFLJS, p. 318.

If kindness (en) is lost, then the people will disperse.\[^{110}\]
If the people disperse, then the country will be in disorder.
If the ruler is not respected, then the ministers will rebel.

For this reason, one who acts as a ruler of men firmly guards his generosity in order to attract his people,\[^{111}\]
and he firmly grasps his power in order to correct his ministers.\[^{112}\]

If sound has harmony and disharmony, it surely has purity and impurity,
If form has beauty and ugliness, it surely has crookedness and straightness.

Therefore, when the sage hears a sound, he distinguishes between its purity and impurity.
When the sage sees a form, he differentiates between its crookedness and straightness.\[^{113}\]

Among impurities, he surely recognizes\[^{114}\] what is pure,
Among purities, he surely recognizes\[^{115}\] what is impure,
Among crookedness, he surely sees\[^{116}\] what is straight,
Among straightness, he surely sees\[^{117}\] what is crooked.

There is no sound so faint\[^{118}\] that he cannot hear\[^{119}\] it, and there is no form so small that he cannot see\[^{120}\] it.

He does not let the evident hide the obscure (wei),\[^{121}\] he does not allow the


\[^{111}\] The He guan zi 鶴冠子 states that the notion of de 德 corresponds to the notion of de 德, “get”: “What we call ‘power’ (de) is the ability to ‘get’ (de) others.” He guan zi, 5: 23/6, in: Defoort 1997, p. 209.

\[^{112}\] An alternate translation is: “in order to assure the correctness of his ministers.”

\[^{113}\] These statements are reminiscent of statements in a discussion of human nature in the “Rong ru” 荣辱 (“Of Honor and Disgrace”) chapter of the Xunzi 荀子: 目辨黑白美惡, 耳辨音聲清濁, 口辨酸鹹甘苦, 鼻辨芬芳腥臊 (“The eye distinguishes white from black, the beautiful from the ugly. The ear distinguishes sounds and tones as to their shrillness or sonority. The mouth distinguishes the sour and salty, the sweet and bitter. The nose distinguishes perfumes and fragrances, rancid and fetid odors”), trans. Knoblock 1988, p. 191, Xunzi, “Rong ru,” 9/2, tls. uni-hd.de (22 Jan. 2016).

\[^{114}\] Ling Shu’s edition uses the character jian 見. Ling Shu, CQFLZ, p. 200.

\[^{115}\] Ling Shu’s edition has jian 見. Ibid.

\[^{116}\] Dong Tiangong’s edition uses zhi 知 in place of jian 見, as does Ling Shu’s edition. Dong Tiangong, CQFL, 撰輯 2-221, Ling Shu, CQFLZ, p. 200.

\[^{117}\] Cf. n. 116.

\[^{118}\] Instead of sheng wen xi 聲無細 Dong Tiangong has sheng zhi zhong 聲之中. Dong Tiangong, CQFL, 撰輯 2-221. Ling Shu and Su Yu have wen xiao 無小. Ling Shu, CQFLZ, p. 200, Su Yu, CQFLYZ, p. 175.

\[^{119}\] Qu 取 literally means to “take,” or “get.”

\[^{120}\] Ju 舉 literally means to “lift,” or to “raise.”

\[^{121}\] Lu Wenchao’s edition, Ling Shu’s edition, and Su Yu’s edition also correctly use wei 微, “minute” and “subtle.” In the Ming Dynasty edition and Hua edition wei 微 is translated as “solicit,” “evidence,” “proof,” or “sign.” The term “portent” was erroneously written for wei 微 because of the graphic similarity of the two characters. Zhong Zhaopeng, CQFLJS, p. 318. The Daodejing defines the term wei 微 as “subtle,” as follows: 搏之不得, 名曰微 (“We try to grasp it, and yet do not get a hold of it, and we call it ‘the Subtle’”), Daodejing 14, trans. Legge 1891, http://ctext.org/dao-de-jing#n11605 (22 Jan. 2016).
majority to veil the minority.\footnote{122} Each resonates to one’s duties in order to bring forth its reply.\footnote{123}

Only when black and white\footnote{124} is clearly demarcated do the people know what to choose and what to reject.

Only when the people know what to choose and what to reject is it possible to carry out the governing of the state.

This is\footnote{125} a standard (ze)\footnote{126} worth imitating (xiang).\footnote{127}

One who acts as the ruler of men occupies a place of non-action, conveys his instructions without the use of speech, he is silent (ji) and soundless,\footnote{128} he is still (jing) and formless, he grasps one without end and acts as the wellspring of the country.

On the basis of regarding the country to be the body, and the ministers to be the heart, he regards the ministers’ language as a sound, and regards the ministers’ deeds as a form;

If a sound exists, its echo must surely exist, if a form exists, its shadow must surely exist.

A sound comes forth from inside, its echo replies from outside; a form stands from above, and its shadow is cast\footnote{129} from below.

An echo contains the pure and the impure, a shadow contains the crooked and the straight.

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\footnote{122} Zhong Zhaopeng explains the term bi 被 as yanbi 掩蔽, “sheltered” or “covered.” Zhong Zhaopeng, CQFLJS, p. 318.

\footnote{123} Zhong Zhaopeng explains the meaning of this statement as follows: 此言各與其事相應, 以達到適當的結果 (“This says that each discharges his duties in a mutually responsive way, in order to attain a mutually fitting result”), ibid.

\footnote{124} Zhong Zhaopeng notes: 宋本作 (白黑), 明鈔本, 華本誤作 (日黑), 殿本, 廬本, 凌本, 蘇本作 (黑白), 是 (“Song Ben has bai hei 白黑 ['white and black']; the Ming dynasty and Hua editions err, writing ri bei 日黑 ['sun and black'], the Dian, Lu, and Su editions have hei bai 黑白 ['black and white'] and this is correct.”), ibid.

\footnote{125} Zhong Zhaopeng notes: 明鈔本, 華本為 (謂); 殿本, 廬本, 凌本, 蘇本為 (為), 是 (“The Ming dynasty and Hua editions have wei 謂 in place of wei 為; the Dian, Lu, and Su editions have wei 為, and this is correct”), ibid.

\footnote{126} Zhong Zhaopeng notes: 華本, 兩京本, 王本 (則)下注 作 (副), 誤. 廬本, 凌本, 蘇均作(則). (“The Hua, Liang Jing and Wang edition have fu 副 in place of ze 則, and this is an error. The Dian, Lu and Su editions all have ze 則.”), ibid.

\footnote{127} The term xiang 象 denotes “pattern,” “appearance,” “image.” Su Yu holds that this is a place where the BWQ refers to the commentary on the Chunqiu, Zuozhuan 左傳. According to the Zuozhuan, proper rulership will make the ministers “follow” (ze) and “imitate”, xiang: 其臣畏而愛之，則而象之，故能有其國家 (“His ministers fear and love him, follow and imitate him, thus [the ruler] can preserve his country”, Chunqiu Zuozhuan, “Xiang gong, Xiang gong sanshiyian” 襄公, 襄公三十三年, 1.13, http://ctext.org/chun-qi-zuo-zhu-juan/xiang-gong-san-shi-yi-nian#n19840 (22 Jan. 2016), trans. I. Buljan, Su Yu, CQFLYZ, p. 175.

\footnote{128} The following phrases may be quotations from the Dao de jing which reads as follows: 是以聖人處無為之事, 行不言之教 (“Therefore the sage manages affairs without doing anything, and conveys his instructions without the use of speech”). Dao de jing 2, trans. Legge 1891, http://ctext.org/dao-de-jing#n11593 (22 Jan. 2016).
What replies from the echo is not only one kind of sound. What casts the shadow is not only one kind of form. Therefore, one who acts as a ruler empties his mind and dwells in stillness, acutely listens to their echoes, sharply watches their shadows, in order to carry out a model (xiăng) of rewards and punishments. His carrying out of rewards and punishments is as follows: When the echo is clear then one who caused the pure echo will be honored, when the echo is impure then one who caused the impure echo will be disgraced. When the shadow is straight then one who caused the straight shadow is promoted, when the shadow is crooked then one who caused the crooked shadow will be demoted.

In examining an official, he questions his nature (zhì) on the basis of his reputation in order to examine his actual situation (shi). Rewards are not given for nothing, punishments are not handed down for nothing. For this reason, his many ministers divide and so the country is


140 Another possible rendering is as follows: “Things should be administered by dividing the duties (job) of prince and minister, and each respectively tend to their [his] own affairs.”


142 Ling Shu notes: 而，猶乃也 (“Er is identical with nai [‘therefore’, or ‘only then’]”), Ling Shu, _CQFLZ_, p. 202.

143 There is a parallel expression for the phrase “爭進其功” in the KGM chapter of the _CQFL_: 萬物各得其宜，則百官勤職，爭進其功. _CQFL_ 7.1/13.

144 Zhong Zhaopeng explains the phrase _xian guang_ 顯廣 as 稟揚光大 (“to celebrate glory and greatness”), Zhong Zhaopeng, _CQFLJS_, p. 310.

145 The idea expressed here is that the ministers, by reverently serving their lord, raise him up and make him illustrious.
制其所惡，是以畏罰而不得過也；
所好多，則作福；所惡過，則作威。
作威則君亡權，天下相怨；
作福則君亡德，天下相賊。

故聖人之制民，
使之有欲，不得過節；
使之敦朴，不得無欲；
無欲有欲，各得以足，而君道得矣。

國之所以為國者，德也；君之所以為君者，威也。
故德不可共，威不可分，德共則失恩，威分則失權。

失權則君賤，失恩則民散，
民散則國亂，君賤則臣叛。

是故為人君者，
固守其德，以附其民；
固執其權，以正其臣。

於濁之中，必知其清，
於清之中，必知其濁；

於曲之中，必見其直；
於直之中，必見其曲。

於聲無細而不取，
於形無小而不一番，
不以著蔽微，不以眾掩寡，
各應其事，以致其報。

黑白分明，然後民知所去就，
民知所去就，然後可以致治，是為象則。

為人君者居無為之位，
行不言之教，寂而無聲，靜而無形，
執一無端，為國源泉。
因國以為身，因臣以為心，
以臣言為聲，以臣事為形；
有聲必有響，有形必有影；

聲出於內，響報於外；
形立於上，影應於下；

響有清濁，影有曲直；
響所報，非一聲也，
影所應，非一形也。
故為君，虛心靜處，聰聽其響，明視其影，以行賞罰之象。
其行賞罰也，響清則生清者榮，響濁則生濁者辱，
影正則生正者進，影枉則生枉者絀，
賞不空施，罰不虛出。
是以群臣分職而治，各敬而事，爭進其功，顯廣其名，而人君得載其中，此自然
致力之術也。
聖人由之，故功出於臣，名歸於君也。

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