
On How Xunzi's Disciples Composed the “Ruxiao” 儒效 (The Achievements of the *Ru*), “Dalüe” 大略 (The Grand Digest), and the “Zhongni” 仲尼 (On Confucius)¹

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There are thirty-two chapters in the extant *Xunzi*. Some *Xunzi* scholars hold that a number of passages have been authored by the disciples of Xunzi and not Xunzi himself. While such passages may not have come directly from Xunzi's mouth or hand, it is possible to see them as part of his followers' thought; there is also the possibility that they include Confucian thought antedating Xunzi. Through investigating the parallel passages among different *Xunzi* chapters, this article compares the important ones in detail and discusses their similarities and differences. It aspires to present evidence to explore how the relevant chapters explain, interpret, and expand Xunzi's thought, and explore possible misunderstandings in the annotations of *Xunzi* in later generations. In particular, this article sums up three major methods used by Xunzi's disciples in order to compile new chapters: (1) copying previous passages with explanations; (2) providing new interpretations and emendations of existing passages; and (3) merging different passages. By the same token, this article attempts to trace the methodology that was used by Xunzi's disciples to compose “Ruxiao” 儒效 (The achievements of the *ru*), “Dalüe” 大

1 This article is part of the research output of Hong Kong Research Grants Committee (RGC) General Research Fund (GRF) funded project “A Study of the Intratextuality and Intertextuality of *Xunzi*: A New Attempt at Dating Ancient Chinese Texts” (《荀子》篇章關係研究：古文獻斷代的新嘗試) (CUHK14606918). The first draft of this paper (in Chinese) was presented at the Symposium on New Interpretations on Ancient Texts 古籍新詮研討會, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, December 2017, and was subsequently published in its proceedings. Thereafter, it was revised in light of new evidence. A different approach to source material can be seen reflected in this version. My gratitude goes to the journal's two anonymous reviewers for providing useful comments, as well as to Mr. Peter Tsung Kei Wong 王棕琦 and Mr. Parker Chan Pak Ka 陳柏嘉 for their fundamental contribution to improve an early draft of the manuscript.

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Introduction

Most scholars in the field of Xunzi studies, no matter whether they are from Asia or the West, accept that the majority of the chapters of the *Xunzi* were written by Xunzi himself. However, three chapters seem to be exceptions to this assertion, and they are "Ruxiao" 儒效 (The achievements of the *ru*), "Yi bing" 議兵 (A debate on military affairs), and "Qiang guo" 彊國 (The strong state), all of which refer to Xunzi in the third person by writing "Sun Qingzi yue" 孫卿子曰 (Xunzi said), and hence were presumably written by his disciples. On the other hand, the Tang commentator Yang Liang 楊倞 categorized chapters 28 to 32, a total of five chapters, namely "You zuo" 宥坐 (The right-hand vessel), "Zi dao" 子道 (The way to be a son), "Fa xing" 法行 (The proper model and proper conduct), "Ai gong" 哀公 (Duke Ai), and "Yao wen" 堯問 (Yao asked) as not being the work of Xunzi but compilations by his disciples from various sources. He therefore placed them at the back of his edition of the *Xunzi*.

The problem of the authorship of these chapters has been discussed by a number of scholars. In his book *Yaoji jieti ji qi dufa* 要籍解題及其讀法 (Explanations of titles of important texts and how to read them), Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929) suggests that starting from chapter 27 "Dalü" 大略 (The grand digest) and ending on chapter 32 "Yao Asked," a total of six chapters, were records made by the disciples of Xunzi, and that also the chapters "The Achievements of the *Ru*," "A Debate on Military Affairs," "The Strong State" were authored by them.² Recently, Liao Mingchun 廖名春 has stated in his *Xunzi xintan* 荀子新探 (A new investigation of Xunzi) that "The Achievements of the *Ru*," "A Debate on Military Affairs," "The Strong State," "The Grand Digest" and "Zhongni" 仲尼 (On Confucius) are "Xunzi dizi suo jilu de Xunzi yanxing" 荀子弟子所記錄的荀子言行 (sayings and deeds by Xunzi that have been recorded by his disciples), while "The Right-Hand Vessel," "The Way to Be a Son," "The Proper Model and Proper Conduct," "Duke Ai," and "Yao Asked" are "Xun Qing ji dizi suo yin jizhuan zashi" 荀卿及弟子所引記傳雜事 (miscellaneous records quoted by Xunzi and his disciples).³ Liang and Liao hold similar opinions on the authorship and formation of many of the *Xunzi* chapters. Recent scholars writing on the time of formation of the different

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John Knoblock, states that,

D.C.Lau [...] has aptly characterized this body of oral literature as consisting of “stories which illustrated philosophical ideas, and rhyming passages which served as mnemonics for the initiate. At any rate, what was important was not a story or mnemonic as such, but the use the story was put to and the interpretation of the mnemonic.” In *Xunzi*’s philosophy, the *Ru* body of oral literature provided the model from which principles (*li* 理) could be inferred that would then be applied to similar things and situations (*lei* 類), because such things and situations share the same essential nature. [...]

These last five books of *Xunzi*’s corpus [i.e., chapters 28 to 32] contain materials from the oral tradition and are probably the type of materials he presented to the King of Qin. There is, accordingly, little reason to suggest that the materials are compilations of his disciples. Rather, they were school sayings he himself used for explicating the true heritage of Confucius as transmitted through Zigong 子弓.⁴

Knoblock’s suggestion is based on D. C. Lau’s (1921–2010) article “On the Term *Ch’ih Ying* 持盈 and the Story Concerning the So-called ‘Tilting Vessel’ (*Ch’i Ch’i* 欹器).” Lau finds that the same story concerning the “tilting vessel” appears in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, the *Wenzi* 文子, the *Xunzi* 荀子, the *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳, the *Shuoyuan* 說苑, and the *Kongzi jiyu* 孔子家語. Lau discovers that there are inconsistencies between the Confucian version and the Taoist version, including several textual variants. He provides an explanation for this,

Nevertheless, if we examine the Confucian version of the story with some care, we shall find that it is not without inconsistency. For even in the Confucian version it is said that the vessel overturns when full. This amounts to saying that the state of fullness cannot be maintained. This agrees with the general principle stated in the Taoist version, but contradicts the substituted Confucian principle which states that the state of fullness can be maintained. Since there is such an important

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inconsistency in the Confucian version, we are justified in thinking that the story was originally meant to illustrate the Taoist, and not the Confucian principle. [...]

It appears to me that by the middle of the Warring Kingdoms period there was already a considerable body of oral literature, consisting of stories which illustrated philosophical ideas, and rhyming passages which served as mnemonics for the initiate. It is possible that a good deal of this oral literature did not exclusively belong to any one school of thought and was more or less common property.⁵

Lau explains the variants of the same stories, in the form of oral literature or rhyming passages, appearing in the Taoist school and Confucian school. As we are discussing the internal differences between Xunzi and his disciples, it might not be appropriate to apply his theory to explain all the discrepancies between the chapters written by Xunzi himself with other chapters compiled by his disciples. In fact, what Lau suggested cannot be considered strong evidence for John Knoblock's hypothesis. Even if the last five chapters of *Xunzi* contain material from the oral tradition, there is still the possibility that they were written by Xunzi's disciples.

Earlier, John Knoblock had already attempted to date the individual chapters of the *Xunzi*. His article, "The Chronology of Xunzi's Works," opened a discussion on the dating of each individual chapter of the *Xunzi*.⁶ However, the evidence for dating the chapters is relatively limited. The assumption of single authorship suggested by him as well as the dates the chapters are assigned are still questionable.

In his book *Xunxue yu Xunzi sixiang yanjiu* 荀學與荀子思想研究 (Research on Xunzi's learning and thoughts), Satō Masayuki 佐藤將之 summarizes the late Uchiyama Toshiko's 內山俊彥 (1933–2020) claims and comments,

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If you spread out firewood evenly and apply fire to it, the fire will seek out the dry pieces. If you level the earth and irrigate it with water, the water will flow to the wet places.⁸

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follows its own class).¹⁵ The main theme of these passages is the same. Yang Liang of the Tang dynasty annotates the sentence “*shi xin ruo yi*” 施薪若一，

To distribute firewood on the ground, making it even, and fire will seek out the dry pieces to burn them.

布薪於地，均若一，火就燥而焚之矣。¹⁶

To explain the meaning of “*shi xin ruo yi*,” the editors of the *Xunzi xinzhu* 荀子新注 (New annotations on *Xunzi*) say,

The sentence means: the stacked firewood looks the same, but fire always first burns from the dry firewood.

這句意思是：堆放的柴草看來一樣，火總是先從乾燥的柴草燒起。¹⁷

The editors understand *ruo yi* 若一 as “firewood looks the same.” From “The Grand Digest,” for the sentence, “*jun xin shi huo, huo jiu zao; ping di zhu shui, shui liu shi*” 均薪施火，火就燥；平地注水，水流溼， the editors then say,

The sentence means: When lighting a fire on a level-stacked firewood, the dry wood catches fire early. When pouring water on level land, water flows to the wet land first.

這句意思是：在一堆鋪平的木柴上點火，乾燥的木柴先起火；在平地上注水，濕的地方水先流。¹⁸

The meaning of these two passages should in fact be the same. However, the editors here understand the expression as “*pu ping de muchai*” 鋪平的木柴， meaning “level-stacked firewood.” This shows the editorial team does not fully understand the meaning of *ruo yi* in the chapter “An Exhortation to Learning.” In fact, referring to “*jun xin shi huo*” 均薪施火 in “The Grand Digest,” *ruo yi* in “*shi xin ruo yi*” 施薪若一 in “An Exhortation to Learning” should mean leveled as (the number) one. In other words, stack firewood level, like the character *yi* 一. D. C. Lau explains in detail in his article “Xunzi ‘Quan xue’ pian ‘shi xin ruo yi, huo jiu zao ye; ping di ruo yi, shui jiu shi ye’ jie” 《荀子·

¹⁵ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 3.

¹⁶ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 7.

¹⁷ Department of Philosophy of Peking University, *Xunzi xinzhu* 荀子新注 (Taipei: Liren shuju, 1983), 5.

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「平地若一」與「施薪若一」對文。因為「施」字只能作動詞用，所以「施薪」只能看作動賓結構。「平地」與「施薪」對文，所以也只能是動賓結構。〔……〕這裏「一」字可以看作「完全相同」的具體象徵，也可以解作「一」字。如果解作「一」字，這句話便可以理解為「把柴鋪開，鋪到像『一』字那樣均勻……；把地弄平，弄到和『一』字那樣平。」¹⁹

Lau accurately explains the meaning of the phrase “*shi xin ruo yi*” in “An Exhortation to Learning.” The editors in not referring to “*jun xin shi huo*” in “The Grand Digest” when explaining “*shi xin ruo yi*” in “An Exhortation to Learning” produced an inaccurate explanation.

1.2 “The Grand Digest”:

He who speaks much but whose words match the proper categories of things is a sage. He who speaks little but conforms to the proper model in everything is a gentleman. He who speaks much but does not follow the proper model, and whose words are perverse and twisted, even if he argues keenly, is nothing but a petty man.²⁰

多言而類，聖人也。少言而法，君子也。多言無法而流喆然，雖辯，

19 D.C. Lau 劉殿爵, “*Xunzi* ‘*Quan xue*’ pian ‘*shi xin ruo yi, huo jiu zao ye; ping di ruo yi, shui jiu shi ye*’ jie” 《荀子·勸學篇》「施薪若一，火就燥也；平地若一，水就溼也」解, *Current Research in Chinese Linguistics* 中國語文通訊 1990.10: 19–20.

20 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 315.

follows its own class).¹⁵ The main theme of these passages is the same. Yang Liang of the Tang dynasty annotates the sentence “*shi xin ruo yi*” 施薪若一，

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These are also Xunzi's words that were recorded by his disciples. Similar words can also be found in the chapter "Fei shi'er zi" 非十二子 (Against the twelve masters),

For this reason, he who speaks much but whose words match the proper categories of things is a sage. He who speaks little but conforms to the proper model in everything is a gentleman. He who speaks much but does not follow the proper model, and whose words are perverse and dissolute, if he argues keenly, is nothing but a petty man.

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The above passages are nearly identical. "The Grand Digest" might have referred to the "Against the Twelve Masters" to record Xunzi's words. "Against the Twelve Masters" contains the term *liumian* 流湏. Tsukada Tora 冢田虎 (1745–1832) said, "'Yueji' 樂記 (Records of music) [in the *Liji* 禮記 (Book of rites)] has '*liumian yi wang ben*' 流湏以忘本 (reckless and therefore forgetting the root). It shows the appearance of moving but not reaching" <樂記>: 「流湏以忘本」，移而不及之貌也。²³ Yang Liang's annotation to "The Grand Digest" says, "*Zhe dang wei mian*. 'Fei shi'er zi pian' *you ci yu, ci dang tong*" 「喆」當為「湏」。<非十二子篇>有此語，此當同。²⁴ ('*Zhe*' 喆 should be '*mian*' 湏. The "Against the Twelve Masters" has this phrase. Here, it should be the same.) In the chapter "Against the Twelve Masters," it is "*duo shao wu fa er liumian ran*" 多少無法而流湏然, while in "The Grand Digest" it is "*duo yan wu fa er liu zhe ran*" 多言無法而流喆然. Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 (1717–1796) annotates the sentence in the "Against the Twelve Masters" saying,

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21 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 518.

22 Idem, 97.

23 Wang Tianhai 王天海, *Xunzi jiaoshi* 荀子校釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005), 217.

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此數語又見〈大略篇〉。彼作「多言無法」，此「少」字似訛。²⁵

Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1744–1832) agreed with Lu, and therefore recorded the latter's explanation into his *Dushu zazhi* 讀書雜誌 (Miscellaneous records of reading books) and supplemented, “*er* 而 is the same as *ru* 如.”²⁶ On the other hand, Long Yuchun 龍宇純 does not accept Lu's theory and interprets the sentences “*duo shao wu fa er liumian ran, sui bian, xiaoren ye*” 多少無法而流湏然，雖辯，小人也 in the “Against the Twelve Masters” as:

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For one sort of person, even when he speaks much, he displays proper

25 *Idem*, 98.

26 Wang Niansun 王念孫, *Dushu zazhi* 讀書雜誌 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, photographic reproduction of Wang's block print edition, 1985), 657.

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form and accords with the proper categories of things. He can debate all day long the basis for his claims, and throughout numerous twists and myriad changes his guiding categories remain one and the same — such is the understanding of the sage.

For another sort of person, even when he speaks only a little, he is straightforward yet reserved in his use of words. When he debates, he conforms to the proper model as surely as though being regulated by a carpenter's ink-line — such is the understanding of the well-bred man and the gentleman.²⁸

多言則文而類，終日議其所以，言之千舉萬變，其統類一也，是聖人之知也。少言則徑而省，論而法，若佚之以繩，是士君子之知也。²⁹

It says, “*duo yan ze wen er lei* [...] *shi shengren zhi zhi*” 多言則文而類 [……] 是聖人之知. This is strongly reminiscent of “*duo yan er lei, shengren ye*” 多言而類，聖人也 in “Against the Twelve Masters” and “The Grand Digest.” It further says, “*shao yan ze jing er sheng, lun er fa* [...] *shi shi junzi zhi zhi*” 少言則徑而省、論而法 [……] 是士君子之知. This is likewise similar to “*shao yan er fa, junzi ye*” 少言而法，君子也 in the said chapters. Yang Liang annotates,

Jing 徑 means easy. *Sheng* 省 means sayings are few. “*Lun er fa*” 論而法 means all arguments follow a method, they are not made recklessly. 徑，易也。省，謂辭寡。論而法，謂論議皆有法，不放縱也。³⁰

Hao Yixing 郝懿行 (1757–1825) says,

Yi 佚 means to hide. It talks about subtly fitting in with rules and regulations and not being biased or twisted. 佚者，隱也。言若闇合於繩墨，不邪曲也。³¹

It can be seen that “*shao yan er fa*” 少言而法 means *junzi* speak less but their arguments are offered according to methods, and are not loose, biased, or twisted. The sentence “*duo yan wu fa er liumian ran*” 多言無法而流湏然 in “The Grand Digest” and “Against the Twelve Masters” talks about it in an

28 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 255.

29 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 445.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

opposite way. *Liumian* indicates that the arguments are loose and changing, therefore not fitting rules and regulations, thus twisted or leading to bias. The main theme and meaning are in accord with "Human Nature Is Bad." Thus, "Against the Twelve Masters" should not be read as "*duoshao wu fa er liu, zhe ran sui bian, xiaoren ye*" 多少無法而流，哲然雖辯，小人也 as Long Yuchun suggests. This reading does not comply with the meaning in "Against the Twelve Masters."

1.3 "Fa xing" 法行 (The proper model and proper conduct):

Those who complain against others are bankrupt, and those who complain against Heaven in such a situation are witless. To be lacking something in oneself yet blame it on others—is this not far off the mark?³²
怨人者窮，怨天者無識。失之己而反諸人，豈不亦迂哉！³³

This passage is taken by Xunzi's disciples from the "Rongru" 榮辱 (On honor and disgrace),

Those who know themselves do not complain against others, and those who understand fate do not complain against Heaven. Those who complain against others are bankrupt, and those who complain against Heaven lack proper intentions. The fault is with themselves, but instead they seek it in others. How far off the mark they are!³⁴
自知者不怨人，知命者不怨天，怨人者窮，怨天者無志。失之己，反之人，豈不迂乎哉！³⁵

The passages above are nearly identical. "The Proper Model and Proper Conduct" might have been composed according to "On Honor and Disgrace" as a record of Xunzi. Comparing the two passages, "The Proper Model and Proper Conduct" has "*yuan tian zhe wu shi*" 怨天者無識. The editors of the *Xunzi xinzhu* annotates,

This sentence means, if you do not work hard but just complain against others, this shows that you have no ways [to do things]. Complaining

32 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 331.

33 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 536.

34 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 25.

35 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 58.

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For another sort of person, even when he speaks only a little, he is straightforward yet reserved in his use of words. When he debates, he conforms to the proper model as surely as though being regulated by a carpenter's ink-line — such is the understanding of the well-bred man and the gentleman.²⁸

多言則文而類，終日議其所以，言之千舉萬變，其統類一也，是聖人之知也。少言則徑而省，論而法，若佚之以繩，是士君子之知也。²⁹

It says, “*duo yan ze wen er lei* [...] *shi shengren zhi zhi*” 多言則文而類 [……] 是聖人之知。This is strongly reminiscent of “*duo yan er lei, shengren ye*” 多言而類，聖人也 in “Against the Twelve Masters” and “The Grand Digest.” It further says, “*shao yan ze jing er sheng, lun er fa* [...] *shi shi junzi zhi zhi*” 少言則徑而省、論而法 [……] 是士君子之知。This is likewise similar to “*shao yan er fa, junzi ye*” 少言而法，君子也 in the said chapters. Yang Liang annotates,

Jing 徑 means easy. *Sheng* 省 means sayings are few. “*Lun er fa*” 論而法 means all arguments follow a method, they are not made recklessly. 徑，易也。省，謂辭寡。論而法，謂論議皆有法，不放縱也。³⁰

Hao Yixing 郝懿行 (1757–1825) says,

Yi 佚 means to hide. It talks about subtly fitting in with rules and regulations and not being biased or twisted. 佚者，隱也。言若闇合於繩墨，不邪曲也。³¹

It can be seen that “*shao yan er fa*” 少言而法 means *junzi* speak less but their arguments are offered according to methods, and are not loose, biased, or twisted. The sentence “*duo yan wu fa er liumian ran*” 多言無法而流湏然 in “The Grand Digest” and “Against the Twelve Masters” talks about it in an

28 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 255.

29 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 445.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

opposite way. *Liumian* indicates that the arguments are loose and changing, therefore not fitting rules and regulations, thus twisted or leading to bias. The main theme and meaning are in accord with "Human Nature Is Bad." Thus, "Against the Twelve Masters" should not be read as "*duoshao wu fa er liu, zhe ran sui bian, xiaoren ye*" 多少無法而流，哲然雖辯，小人也 as Long Yuchun suggests. This reading does not comply with the meaning in "Against the Twelve Masters."

1.3 "Fa xing" 法行 (The proper model and proper conduct):

Those who complain against others are bankrupt, and those who complain against Heaven in such a situation are witless. To be lacking something in oneself yet blame it on others—is this not far off the mark?³²
怨人者窮，怨天者無識。失之己而反諸人，豈不亦迂哉！³³

This passage is taken by Xunzi's disciples from the "Rongru" 榮辱 (On honor and disgrace),

Those who know themselves do not complain against others, and those who understand fate do not complain against Heaven. Those who complain against others are bankrupt, and those who complain against Heaven lack proper intentions. The fault is with themselves, but instead they seek it in others. How far off the mark they are!³⁴
自知者不怨人，知命者不怨天，怨人者窮，怨天者無志。失之己，反之人，豈不迂乎哉！³⁵

The passages above are nearly identical. "The Proper Model and Proper Conduct" might have been composed according to "On Honor and Disgrace" as a record of Xunzi. Comparing the two passages, "The Proper Model and Proper Conduct" has "*yuan tian zhe wu shi*" 怨天者無識. The editors of the *Xunzi xinzhu* annotates,

This sentence means, if you do not work hard but just complain against others, this shows that you have no ways [to do things]. Complaining

32 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 331.

33 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 536.

34 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 25.

35 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 58.

against Heaven, this shows that you are ignorant.

這句意思是：自己不努力，只是埋怨別人，說明自己沒有辦法，埋怨老天，說明自己沒有見識。³⁶

This shows that *shi* 識 in “The Proper Model and Proper Conduct” means knowledge. “On Honor and Disgrace” has “*yuan tian zhe wu zhi*” 怨天者無志 and should connote the same meaning. However, Yang Liang annotates “On Honor and Disgrace,”

People with lofty ideals are concerned only with self-cultivating. They leave favorable or unfavorable turns in life to fate, so they do not complain against Heaven.

有志之士，但自修身，遇與不遇，皆歸於命，故不怨天。³⁷

He interprets *zhi* 志 as lofty ideals, an interpretation that does not align with “The Proper Model and Proper Conduct.” Wang Niansun says,

Zhi 志 should be read as *shi* in *zhishi* 知識. If one does not understand fate and complains against Heaven, it is called “to be ignorant.” “The Proper Model and Proper Conduct” has “*yuan tian zhe wu shi*” 怨天者無識. In that chapter, Yang Liang annotates, “*Wu shi* means not understanding fate,” which is accurate. Yang’s annotation here reads *zhi* 志 as *zhi* in *zhiqi* 志氣 (aspiration), which is wrong.

志，讀為「知識」之「識」。不知命而怨天，故曰「無識」。〈法行篇〉正作「怨天者無識」，楊彼注云：「無識，不知天命」，是也。此注以「志」為「志氣」之「志」，失之。³⁸

Yang Liang inaccurately interprets “On Honor and Disgrace,” while Wang Niansun relies on the parallel passage in “The Proper Model and Proper Conduct” to infer the explanation of the sentence “*yuan tian zhe wu zhi*” 怨天者無志, leading to an accurate interpretation.

1.4 “The Grand Digest”:

The gentlemen can make himself honorable, but he cannot ensure that

36 Department of Philosophy of Peking University, *Xunzi xinzhuzhu*, 590.

37 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 58.

38 Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, 645.

others will honor him. He can make himself useful, but cannot ensure that others will employ him.³⁹

君子能為可貴，不能使人必貴己；能為可用，不能使人必用己。⁴⁰

The passage above is taken by Xunzi's disciples from "Against the Twelve Masters,"

What the well-bred man and gentleman can and cannot do: The gentleman can make himself honorable, but he cannot ensure that others will honor him. He can make himself trustworthy, but cannot ensure that others will trust him. He can make himself useful, but cannot ensure that others will employ him.⁴¹

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Comparing the two passages, Xunzi's disciples only omitted two sentences—"neng wei ke xin, buneng shi ren bi xin ji" 能為可信，不能使人必信己 when writing "The Grand Digest." The rest is identical to "Against the Twelve Masters." This is a proof that Xunzi's disciples relied on "Against the Twelve Masters" to record Xunzi's words.

1.5 "On Confucius":

King Wen launched four punitive campaigns. King Wu launched two. The Duke of Zhou finished their work, and by the time of King Cheng, accordingly there were simply no more punitive campaigns.⁴⁴

文王誅四，武王誅二，周公卒業，至於成王則安以無誅矣。⁴⁵

A parallel passage can be seen in "The Grand Digest,"

King Wen launched four punitive campaigns. King Wu launched two. The

³⁹ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 317.

⁴⁰ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 519.

⁴¹ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 45.

⁴² Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, 659.

⁴³ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 102.

⁴⁴ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 48–49.

⁴⁵ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 108–9.

against Heaven, this shows that you are ignorant.

這句意思是：自己不努力，只是埋怨別人，說明自己沒有辦法，埋怨老天，說明自己沒有見識。³⁶

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 文王誅四，武王誅二，周公卒業，至成、康則案無誅已。⁴⁷

“On Confucius” and “The Grand Digest” are both from the hands of the disciples of Xunzi. It can be seen that these later chapters also refer to each other. Comparing the two passages, the sentence “*an yi wu zhu yi*” 安以無誅矣 in “On Confucius” is written “*an wu zhu yi*” 案無誅已 in “The Grand Digest,” which causes Wang Niansun to suggest that the word *yi* 以 following the word *an* 安 in “On Confucius” is a redundant character,

Originally there was no *yi* 以 after *an* 安. People do not understand *an* is a word with only syntactical meaning but misinterpret it as *an* of *anding* 安定 (settled), therefore adding *yi*. In “The Grand Digest” chapter the sentence “*zhi Cheng, Kang ze an wu zhu yi*” 至成、康則案無誅已 (*an* 案 is also a word with only syntactical meaning), there is no *yi* following *an*. This is a clear proof.

「安」下本無「以」字，此後人不知「安」為語詞而誤以為安定之安，故妄加「以」字耳。〈大略篇〉「至成、康則案無誅已」（「案」亦語詞）。「案」下無「以」字，是其明證。⁴⁸

Yang Liang annotates “The Grand Digest,”

An explanation can be found in the “On Confucius” chapter. It says that when the Duke of Zhou completed the royal enterprise, execution and attack were still inevitable, whereas by the time of Cheng and Kang, punishments were established. Here, authors are quoting this again in order to clearly state that to reduce punishments is to refrain from competing with commoners in their business.

竝解在〈仲尼篇〉。言周公終王業，猶不得無誅伐，至成、康然後刑措也。重引此者，明不與民爭利則刑罰省也。⁴⁹

This is because in the previous passages of “The Grand Digest” it says,

46 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 304–5.

47 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 503.

48 Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, 660. The punctuation marks are added by the author.

49 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 503.

From regular officers on up, all are to be ashamed to practice profit-mongering, and they are not to compete with the common people for business.⁵⁰

從士以上皆羞利而不與民爭業。⁵¹

It makes Yang Liang think that "The Grand Digest" quotes the passage "*Wenwang zhu si, Wuwang zhu er*" 文王誅四，武王誅二 again in order to explain that not competing with commoners is a means to reduce punishments. According to the collection and analysis of the present article, "The Grand Digest" chapter quotes words from other passages again and again; it does not necessarily link to preceding or succeeding passages.

1.6 "On Confucius":

If one's intentions cannot avoid such a vile heart and the vile ways of one's actions, and instead one seeks to have the reputation of a gentleman or sage, then to draw an analogy for it, this would be like trying to lick Heaven by bending down, or trying to save someone from hanging to death by pulling on their feet. Such a proposition is sure not to succeed, and the harder one works at it, the further off one gets.⁵²

志不免乎姦心，行不免乎姦道，而求有君子聖人之名，辟之是猶伏而啣天，救經而引其足也，說必不行矣，俞務而俞遠。⁵³

This passage is also seen in "The Strong State,"

When one is so misguided and mistaken, yet seeks to have the accomplishments and fame of Tang and Wu, is that achievable? To draw an analogy for it, this would be like trying to lick Heaven by bending down, or trying to save someone from hanging to death by pulling on their feet. Such a proposition is sure not to succeed, and the harder one works at it, the further off one gets.⁵⁴

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50 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 304.

51 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 502.

52 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 51. The translation is amended for a different interpretation on the first two sentences.

53 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 113.

54 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 168.

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Both “On Confucius” and “The Strong State” were written by disciples of Xunzi. This shows that chapters from disciples refer to each other. Reading these passages, “On Confucius” says “*qiu you junzi shengren zhi ming*” 求有君子聖人之名 whereas “The Strong State” says “*qiu you Tang, Wu zhi gongming*” 求有湯、武之功名. This means that the phrase “*junzi shengren*” in “On Confucius” specifically points to King Tang and King Wu.

Let us look at another example. In the “Huanghou ji” 皇后紀 (Annals of empresses) of the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han) there is an expression that reads, “*Tang meng ji tian er shi zhi, si jie sheng wang zhi qian zhan*” 湯夢及天而啣之，斯皆聖王之前占。⁵⁶ This same expression, with slightly different wording, can also be seen in the *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記 (Records of Han from the Eastern Library): “*Tang meng ji tian shi zhi, jie sheng zhu zhi meng*” 湯夢及天舐之，皆聖主之夢。⁵⁷ The “*shi*” 啣 in the *Hou Han shu* is a variant of the *shi* 舐 in the *Dongguan Hanji*. This is further evidence that the term *shi tian* 啣天 in “On Confucius” is used to describe King Tang.

Regarding “*junzi shengren zhi ming*” in “On Confucius,” with reference to “The Strong State,” *ming* should be interpreted as *gongming*. The editors of the *Xunzi xinzhū* annotates,

The meaning of this sentence is: With respect to thought, I retain the thought of opposing etiquette and morality, and with respect to behavior, I also oppose etiquette and morality, but I want to pursue the reputation of gentlemen and sages.

這句意思是：思想上保留著反對禮義的念頭，行為上也是反對禮義的，卻想追求君子、聖人的名聲。⁵⁸

The annotation team uses *mingsheng* 名聲 to translate *ming* in the original texts. This suggests that they might not have referred to “The Strong State,” therefore their interpretation might not be accurate.

⁵⁵ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 299.

⁵⁶ Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 418–19.

⁵⁷ Liu Zhen et al. 劉珍等, *Dong guan Han ji jiaozhu* 東觀漢記校注, compiled and annotated by Wu Shuping 吳樹平 (Zhongzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1987), 204.

⁵⁸ Department of Philosophy of Peking University, *Xunzi xinzhū*, 103.

2) Different wordings and further interpretations

When the disciples of Xunzi who wrote the chapter "The Grand Digest," and the chapters following it, they had widely accessed other chapters of *Xunzi* as references, and also amended and re-interpreted some of them.

2.1 "The Grand Digest":

Relations between father and son must be close. Relations between brothers must be smooth. Relations between husband and wife must be happy. The young grow and mature. The old obtain nurture. Thus, Heaven and Earth produce them, and the sage completes them.⁵⁹

父子不得不親，兄弟不得不順，夫婦不得不驩。少者以長，老者以養。故天地生之，聖人成之。⁶⁰

This passage is based on "Fuguo" 富國 (Enriching the state),

Without him, relations between father and son will not be close. Without him, relations between brothers will not be smooth. Without him, relations between man and woman will not be happy. Through him, the young grow and mature. Through him, the old obtain nurture. Thus it is said, "Heaven and Earth produce them, but the sage completes them." This expresses my meaning.⁶¹

父子不得不親，兄弟不得不順，男女不得不歡，少者以長，老者以養。故曰：「天地生之，聖人成之。」此之謂也。⁶²

Yang Liang comments, "*gu zhe you ci yu, yin yi ming zhi ye*" 古者有此語，引以明之也⁶³ (there was this old saying and it is quoted in order to shed light on [the passage]). This is to say, he holds that the sentence "*tiandi sheng zhi, shengren cheng zhi*" 天地生之，聖人成之 originates from old sayings. The author of "The Grand Digest" copied passages from "Enriching the State" for Xunzi's thoughts, and deleted *gu yue* 故曰 in order to take the old saying as

59 Compare Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 296. The translation is amended for a different interpretation.

60 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 494.

61 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 87.

62 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 182.

63 Ibid.

而引其足也，說必不行矣，俞務而俞遠。⁵⁵

Both “On Confucius” and “The Strong State” were written by disciples of Xunzi. This shows that chapters from disciples refer to each other. Reading these passages, “On Confucius” says “*qiu you junzi shengren zhi ming*” 求有君子聖人之名 whereas “The Strong State” says “*qiu you Tang, Wu zhi gongming*” 求有湯、武之功名. This means that the phrase “*junzi shengren*” in “On Confucius” specifically points to King Tang and King Wu.

Let us look at another example. In the “Huanghou ji” 皇后紀 (Annals of empresses) of the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han) there is an expression that reads, “*Tang meng ji tian er shi zhi, si jie sheng wang zhi qian zhan*” 湯夢及天而啣之，斯皆聖王之前占。⁵⁶ This same expression, with slightly different wording, can also be seen in the *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記 (Records of Han from the Eastern Library): “*Tang meng ji tian shi zhi, jie sheng zhu zhi meng*” 湯夢及天舐之，皆聖主之夢。⁵⁷ The “*shi*” 啣 in the *Hou Han shu* is a variant of the *shi* 舐 in the *Dongguan Hanji*. This is further evidence that the term *shi tian* 啣天 in “On Confucius” is used to describe King Tang.

Regarding “*junzi shengren zhi ming*” in “On Confucius,” with reference to “The Strong State,” *ming* should be interpreted as *gongming*. The editors of the *Xunzi xinzhū* annotates,

The meaning of this sentence is: With respect to thought, I retain the thought of opposing etiquette and morality, and with respect to behavior, I also oppose etiquette and morality, but I want to pursue the reputation of gentlemen and sages.

這句意思是：思想上保留著反對禮義的念頭，行為上也是反對禮義的，卻想追求君子、聖人的名聲。⁵⁸

The annotation team uses *mingsheng* 名聲 to translate *ming* in the original texts. This suggests that they might not have referred to “The Strong State,” therefore their interpretation might not be accurate.

⁵⁵ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 299.

⁵⁶ Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 418–19.

⁵⁷ Liu Zhen et al. 劉珍等, *Dong guan Han ji jiaozhu* 東觀漢記校注, compiled and annotated by Wu Shuping 吳樹平 (Zhongzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1987), 204.

⁵⁸ Department of Philosophy of Peking University, *Xunzi xinzhū*, 103.

2) Different wordings and further interpretations

When the disciples of Xunzi who wrote the chapter "The Grand Digest," and the chapters following it, they had widely accessed other chapters of *Xunzi* as references, and also amended and re-interpreted some of them.

2.1 "The Grand Digest":

Relations between father and son must be close. Relations between brothers must be smooth. Relations between husband and wife must be happy. The young grow and mature. The old obtain nurture. Thus, Heaven and Earth produce them, and the sage completes them.⁵⁹

父子不得不親，兄弟不得不順，夫婦不得不驩。少者以長，老者以養。故天地生之，聖人成之。⁶⁰

This passage is based on "Fuguo" 富國 (Enriching the state),

Without him, relations between father and son will not be close. Without him, relations between brothers will not be smooth. Without him, relations between man and woman will not be happy. Through him, the young grow and mature. Through him, the old obtain nurture. Thus it is said, "Heaven and Earth produce them, but the sage completes them." This expresses my meaning.⁶¹

父子不得不親，兄弟不得不順，男女不得不歡，少者以長，老者以養。故曰：「天地生之，聖人成之。」此之謂也。⁶²

Yang Liang comments, "*gu zhe you ci yu, yin yi ming zhi ye*" 古者有此語，引以明之也⁶³ (there was this old saying and it is quoted in order to shed light on [the passage]). This is to say, he holds that the sentence "*tiandi sheng zhi, shengren cheng zhi*" 天地生之，聖人成之 originates from old sayings. The author of "The Grand Digest" copied passages from "Enriching the State" for Xunzi's thoughts, and deleted *gu yue* 故曰 in order to take the old saying as

59 Compare Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 296. The translation is amended for a different interpretation.

60 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 494.

61 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 87.

62 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 182.

63 Ibid.

their own words. In his book, Sato Masayuki quotes and explains Toyoshima Mutsumi's 豐島睦 research findings,

Toyoshima discovered that among parallel passages in *Hanshi waizhuan* and *Xunzi*, seven passages start with *zhuan yue* 傳曰, "other works state," but this expression cannot be found in the transmitted *Xunzi*. According to this, Toyoshima deduces that these are passages copied from other previous works when the disciples of Xunzi composed the transmitted *Xunzi*. Otherwise, the disciples could have directly written "Sun Qingzi yue" 孫卿子曰 if they had recorded sayings by Xunzi.

豐島也發現在《韓詩外傳》和《荀子》同樣內容的段落中，《韓詩外傳》有七段以「傳曰」開頭的文字，而現本《荀子》中則沒有。豐島據此推測，這應該是荀卿後學在撰作現本《荀子》之際，從之前的其他著作中抄錄下來的部分。否則若後學真正直接記錄荀卿的言論，他們應該可以直接寫成「孫卿子曰」。⁶⁴

Now we have seen examples of Xunzi's disciples deleting *gu yue* 故曰, so copying from other works and deleting *zhuan yue* 傳曰 can also be regarded as a similar editing method. This might in fact be the customary method used by Xunzi's disciples to explain the meanings of passages.

2.2 The "Duke Ai":

Moreover, I [Confucius] have heard it said that the lord is like a boat, and the common people are like water. The water may support the boat, but the water may also overturn the boat. If my lord uses this to ponder danger, then how would understanding of danger not come?⁶⁵

且丘聞之：君者舟也，庶人者水也。水則載舟，水則覆舟；君以此思危，則危將焉而不至矣！⁶⁶

This passage is based on "The Rule of a True King,"

There is a saying, "The lord is the boat. The common people are the water. The water can support the boat. The water can also overturn the boat."

64 Satō Masayuki, *Xunxue yu Xunzi sixiang yanjiu: pingxi, qianjing, gouxiang*, 53.

65 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 336.

66 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 544.

This expresses my meaning.⁶⁷

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2.3 “The Grand Digest”:

...allow me to borrow from the gentleman and give you, my good sir, a gift of words. The wheels of chariots and carriages were once trees on great mountains. Expose them to the shaping frame for three to five months, and the trees become wheel rims, and even if the spokes break, they will not return to their once-usual shape. The shaping frame of the gentleman is something one must diligently pursue. Carefully attend to it!⁶⁹

請假於君子，贈吾子以言：乘輿之輪，太山之木也，示諸槩栝，三月五月，為疇菜蔽而不反其常。君子之槩栝不可不謹也，慎之！⁷⁰

The “gift of words” is from Xunzi’s “An Exhortation to Learning,”

Through steaming and bending, you can make wood as straight as an ink-line into a wheel. And after its curve conforms to the compass, even when parched under the sun it will not become straight again, because the steaming and bending have made it a certain way.⁷¹

木直中繩，輮以為輪，其曲中規，雖有槁暴，不復挺者，輮使之然也。⁷²

The editors of the *Xunzi xinzhu* annotates,

⁶⁷ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 70.

⁶⁸ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 152–53.

⁶⁹ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 309.

⁷⁰ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 507–8.

⁷¹ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 1.

⁷² Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 1.

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65 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 336.

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⁶⁷ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 70.

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⁶⁹ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 309.

⁷⁰ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 507–8.

⁷¹ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 1.

⁷² Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 1.

The meaning of this sentence is: Wood is straight and conforms to the standard of an inkline yet can be processed into wheels and its curve conforms to the compass. Even when dried under the sun, it will not go back to its original form again, because the processing made it this way.

這句意思是：木材很直，符合墨線的標準，但加工後卻可以做成車輪，其彎曲的程度和圓規的標準相符合。即使再把它曬乾，也不能使它恢復原狀，這是加工使它變成這樣的。⁷³

Yang Liang annotates “The Grand Digest,”

Yinkuo is a tool for shaping and bending wood. It says that one places wood in the shaping tool, maybe for three months, maybe five months. [...] It says that after bending straight wood into a rim, even when the hub and wheel are both broken, its curve will not revert to its original form.

櫟栝，矯揉木之器也。言真諸櫟栝，或三月，或五月也。[……]言矯揉直木為牙，至於轂輻皆敝，而規曲不反其初。⁷⁴

The meaning of “The Grand Digest” is that trees on great mountains are shaped and bent into the wheels of chariots; and even if a wheel is broken, its curve will not go back to its original form. Here we can see the quoted passage of “The Grand Digest” is extended from the words of “An Exhortation to Learning.” This is to say that just as wood can change its original form by shaping and bending, so do gentlemen also have their form altered through shaping and bending; a gentleman should be aware of this. Again, we see the disciples building on passages from earlier chapters.

2.4 “On Confucius”:

When good fortune arrives, then be harmonious and well-ordered. When misfortune arrives, be calm and well-ordered. When rich, be broadly generous. When poor, restrict your expenditures.⁷⁵

福事至則和而理，禍事至則靜而理；富則施廣，貧則用節。⁷⁶

This passage is based on “Bugou” 不苟 (Nothing improper),

⁷³ Department of Philosophy of Peking University, *Xunzi xinzhuzhu*, 2.

⁷⁴ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 507.

⁷⁵ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 49.

⁷⁶ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 110.

If he is happy then he is harmonious and well-ordered. If he is troubled, then he is calm and well-ordered. If he is successful, then he is refined and enlightened. If he is unsuccessful, then he is restrained and circumspect.⁷⁷
喜則和而理，憂則靜而理；通則文而明，窮則約而詳。⁷⁸

The words in “Nothing Improper” are “*xi ze he er li, you ze jing er li*” 喜則和而理，憂則靜而理. Disciples of Xunzi compiled “On Confucius” and regarded *xi* 喜 (happiness) as “*fushi zhi*” 福事至 (good fortune arrives) and *you* 憂 (troubled) as “*huoshi zhi*” 禍事至 (misfortune arrives) and thus adopted words from “Nothing Improper” and further elaborated them.

3) Different interpretations

When the disciples of Xunzi composed “The Grand Digest” and “On Confucius,” passages from other chapters of *Xunzi* were not only copied, amended, and explained, but also re-interpreted and given new meanings.

3.1 “The Grand Digest”:

According to ritual, the Son of Heaven wears a garment with a mountain decoration and a high ceremonial cap. A feudal lord wears black garments and a cap. A grand officer wears lesser garments and a high ceremonial cap. A regular officer wears leather garments and a cap of hide.⁷⁹
天子山冕，諸侯玄冠，大夫裨冕，士韋弁，禮也。⁸⁰

Yang Liang annotates,

Shanmian 山冕 means depicting *shan* 山 (mountain) on garments and wearing a cap, that is, dragon-robos. Probably it is called dragon-robe cap when it alludes to dragon images, while it is called mountain cap when it involves imagery of mountains.

山冕，謂畫山於衣而服冕，即袞也。蓋取其龍則謂之袞冕，取其山則

⁷⁷ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 18.

⁷⁸ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 43.

⁷⁹ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 289.

⁸⁰ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 486.

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⁷⁹ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 289.

⁸⁰ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 486.

謂之山冕。⁸¹

The quoted passage can also be found in “Enriching the State,”

Thus, the Son of Heaven wears a red dragon-robe and a high ceremonial cap. The feudal lords wear black dragon-robcs and high ceremonial caps. The grand officers wear lesser robes and high ceremonial caps. The regular officers wear fur caps and plain robes.⁸²

故天子袞衣冕，諸侯玄纁衣冕，大夫裨冕，士皮弁服。⁸³

Yang Liang annotates,

Zhu 袞 is the ancient form of *zhu* 朱. *Gun* 纁 is the same as *gun* 袞. Garments depicting dragons are called *gun*. *Zhu gun* 朱袞 means using *zhu* as the material.

「袞」，古「朱」字。纁與袞同。畫龍於衣，謂之袞。朱袞，以朱為質也。⁸⁴

Comparing the two passages, “The Grand Digest” does not adapt “*tianzi zhugun*” 天子袞衣 from “Enriching the State.” It regards the garments of the Son of Heaven as depicting mountains instead of dragons and therefore changes the phrase into “shanmian.”

In the chapter of “Yuzao” 玉藻 (Jade pendants) of the *Book of Rites*, one of the most important three ritual books of Confucianism, it says “*tianzi yuzao, shi you er liu, qianhou sui yan, long juan yi ji*” 天子玉藻，十有二旒，前後邃延，龍卷以祭⁸⁵ (The jade pendants of the Son of Heaven have twelve tassels, hanging front and back; he wears the dragon robe to offer sacrifices). Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) noted, “*long juan, hua long yu yi, zi huo zuo gun*” 龍卷，畫龍於衣，字或作袞 (For the dragon robe, which means the robe is depicting/adorned with dragons, instead of *long juan*, there is a variant *long*

81 Ibid.

82 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 85.

83 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 178.

84 Ibid.

85 Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, annot., Kong Yingda 孔穎達, coll., Lü Youren 呂友仁, ed., *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義, in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 1175.

gun 龍袞).⁸⁶ From this, it can be seen that “*tianzi zhugun*” from “Enriching the State” might have taken reference from the *Book of Rites*. “The Grand Digest” did not adapt it, but that the Son of Heaven’s garments depict mountains might have also cited external sources. The “Yiji” 益稷 (Yi and Ji) of the *Shang shu* 尚書 (Venerable documents),

I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients: the sun, moon, stars, mountains, dragons, flowers and pheasants.⁸⁷

予欲觀古人之象，日、月、星辰、山、龍、華、蟲。⁸⁸

The *Wei Kong zhuan* 偽孔傳 (Forged sub-commentary) annotates,

Depicting the three celestial bodies, mountains, dragons, flowers and pheasants on garments and banners.

畫三辰、山、龍、華、蟲於衣服、旌旗。⁸⁹

This shows us that “The Grand Digest” might have used external passages as its source materials. In the *Shang shu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (Correct meaning of the *Venerable Documents*), which was prepared under the nominal editorship of Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) during the Tang period, it says,

Wang Su pointed out that in the time of Emperor Shun 舜, the three celestial bodies would have been depicted only on banners and flags, instead of robes. The robe the Son of Heaven wears will be depicted only with mountains, dragons, flowers and pheasants.

王肅以爲舜時三辰即畫於旌旗，不在衣也，天子山、龍、華、蟲耳。⁹⁰

Also, regarding the garments of the Son of Heaven depicting mountains and dragons, this is in accord with “The Grand Digest.” Therefore, when Xunzi’s disciples amended words from other passages to compose their own theory,

86 Ibid.

87 Clae Waltham, *Shu Ching: Book of History. a Modernized Edition of the Translations of James Legge* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972), 32. With amendments.

88 Kong Anguo 孔安國, annot., Kong Yingda 孔穎達, coll., Huang Huaixin 黃懷信, ed., *Shang shu zhengyi* 尚書正義, in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), 166.

89 Ibid.

90 Idem, 169.

謂之山冕。⁸¹

The quoted passage can also be found in “Enriching the State,”

Thus, the Son of Heaven wears a red dragon-robe and a high ceremonial cap. The feudal lords wear black dragon-robcs and high ceremonial caps. The grand officers wear lesser robes and high ceremonial caps. The regular officers wear fur caps and plain robes.⁸²

故天子袞衣冕，諸侯玄纁衣冕，大夫裨冕，士皮弁服。⁸³

Yang Liang annotates,

Zhu 袞 is the ancient form of *zhu* 朱. *Gun* 纁 is the same as *gun* 袞. Garments depicting dragons are called *gun*. *Zhu gun* 朱袞 means using *zhu* as the material.

「袞」，古「朱」字。纁與袞同。畫龍於衣，謂之袞。朱袞，以朱為質也。⁸⁴

Comparing the two passages, “The Grand Digest” does not adapt “*tianzi zhugun*” 天子袞衣 from “Enriching the State.” It regards the garments of the Son of Heaven as depicting mountains instead of dragons and therefore changes the phrase into “shanmian.”

In the chapter of “Yuzao” 玉藻 (Jade pendants) of the *Book of Rites*, one of the most important three ritual books of Confucianism, it says “*tianzi yuzao, shi you er liu, qianhou sui yan, long juan yi ji*” 天子玉藻，十有二旒，前後邃延，龍卷以祭⁸⁵ (The jade pendants of the Son of Heaven have twelve tassels, hanging front and back; he wears the dragon robe to offer sacrifices). Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) noted, “*long juan, hua long yu yi, zi huo zuo gun*” 龍卷，畫龍於衣，字或作袞 (For the dragon robe, which means the robe is depicting/adorned with dragons, instead of *long juan*, there is a variant *long*

81 Ibid.

82 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 85.

83 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 178.

84 Ibid.

85 Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, annot., Kong Yingda 孔穎達, coll., Lü Youren 呂友仁, ed., *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義, in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 1175.

gun 龍袞).⁸⁶ From this, it can be seen that “*tianzi zhugun*” from “Enriching the State” might have taken reference from the *Book of Rites*. “The Grand Digest” did not adapt it, but that the Son of Heaven’s garments depict mountains might have also cited external sources. The “Yiji” 益稷 (Yi and Ji) of the *Shang shu* 尚書 (Venerable documents),

I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients: the sun, moon, stars, mountains, dragons, flowers and pheasants.⁸⁷

予欲觀古人之象，日、月、星辰、山、龍、華、蟲。⁸⁸

The *Wei Kong zhuan* 偽孔傳 (Forged sub-commentary) annotates,

Depicting the three celestial bodies, mountains, dragons, flowers and pheasants on garments and banners.

畫三辰、山、龍、華、蟲於衣服、旌旗。⁸⁹

This shows us that “The Grand Digest” might have used external passages as its source materials. In the *Shang shu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (Correct meaning of the *Venerable Documents*), which was prepared under the nominal editorship of Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) during the Tang period, it says,

Wang Su pointed out that in the time of Emperor Shun 舜, the three celestial bodies would have been depicted only on banners and flags, instead of robes. The robe the Son of Heaven wears will be depicted only with mountains, dragons, flowers and pheasants.

王肅以爲舜時三辰即畫於旌旗，不在衣也，天子山、龍、華、蟲耳。⁹⁰

Also, regarding the garments of the Son of Heaven depicting mountains and dragons, this is in accord with “The Grand Digest.” Therefore, when Xunzi’s disciples amended words from other passages to compose their own theory,

86 Ibid.

87 Clae Waltham, *Shu Ching: Book of History. a Modernized Edition of the Translations of James Legge* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972), 32. With amendments.

88 Kong Anguo 孔安國, annot., Kong Yingda 孔穎達, coll., Huang Huaixin 黃懷信, ed., *Shang shu zhengyi* 尚書正義, in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), 166.

89 Ibid.

90 Idem, 169.

they had some grounds, instead of creating the theories from scratch.

3.2 “On Confucius”:

Among the disciples of Confucius, even the young lads considered it shameful to speak in praise of the five hegemonies. How can this be the case? I say: It is indeed so. For the hegemonies did not base themselves on government through education. They did not strive to become exalted and lofty. They did not pursue the extremes of culture and good order. They did not make people’s hearts submit willingly. They inclined to tactics and stratagems, paid attention to fatigue and rest for troops, accumulated stores and fostered their men’s fighting skills, and so they were able to topple their rivals. They used deceitful hearts in order to achieve victory, and used deference as a cover for conflict. They relied on the appearance of being *ren*, but walked the path of obtaining profit. They are heroes for petty men. Simply how could they be worthy of praise in the school of the great gentleman!⁹¹

仲尼之門人，五尺之豎子言羞稱乎五伯，是何也？曰：然。彼非本政教也，非致隆高也，非綦文理也，非服人之心也。鄉方略，審勞佚，畜積修鬪而能顛倒其敵者也。詐心以勝矣。彼以讓飾爭，依乎仁而蹈利者也，小人之傑也，彼固曷足稱乎大君子之門哉！⁹²

The quoted passage can also be seen in “Wangba” 王霸 (The true king and the hegemon),

Then, even though they may reside in a remote and backward state, their power to inspire awe will shake the whole world. Such was the case with the five hegemonies. They did not base themselves on government through education. They did not strive to become exalted and lofty. They did not pursue the extremes of culture and good order. They did not make people’s hearts submit willingly. They inclined to tactics and stratagems, paid attention to fatigue and rest for troops, were careful to store up provisions, and prepared the equipment necessary for war. Those above and those below had mutual trust as tight as the way one’s upper and lower teeth come together, and no one under Heaven dared stand up to

⁹¹ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 48.

⁹² Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 107–8.

them.⁹³

雖在僻陋之國，威動天下，五伯是也。非本政教也，非致隆高也，非綦文理也，非服人之心也，鄉方略，審勞佚，謹畜積，修戰備，鬪然上下相信，而天下莫之敢當。⁹⁴

Wang Yinzhi 王引之 (1766–1834) compares these two passages and concludes “*xuji xiu dou*” 畜積脩鬪 in “On Confucius” should be “*jin xuji, xiu doubai*” 謹畜積，脩鬪備， according to the “*jin xuji, xiu zhanbei*” 謹畜積，修戰備 in “The True King and the Hegemon.” Wang says,

The sentences from “*xiang fang lue*” 鄉方略 onwards of this chapter and “The True King and the Hegemon” chapter are all trisyllabic sentences, therefore it is clear [that here they are also trisyllabic sentences].

此篇及〈王霸篇〉自「鄉方略」以下，皆以三字為句，以是明之。⁹⁵

From this, it can be seen that there are parallel passages in *Xunzi* which have traceable origins. Putting duplicated passages together, readers can learn the differences between the passages and make their own amendments. Comparing the two passages, “On Confucius” says, “among the disciples of Confucius, even the young lads considered it shameful to speak in praise of the five hegemons,” while “The True King and the Hegemon” says, “even though they may reside in a remote and backward state, their power to inspire awe will shake the whole world. Such was the case with the five hegemons.” It can be seen that when Xunzi’s disciples composed “On Confucius,” they criticized the five hegemons instead of taking the original words of “The True King and the Hegemon.” Yang Liang annotates “On Confucius,”

The previous chapter says the five hegemons saved their era; therefore, they praised them. This chapter explains the government of kings, therefore they talked about their faults. Mencius 孟子 said, “The five hegemons are offenders against the three Kings.”

前章言五霸救時，故褒美之，此章明王者之政，故言其失。《孟子》曰：「五霸者，三王之罪人也。」⁹⁶

93 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 100.

94 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 205.

95 Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, 660. Punctuation marks added by the author.

96 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 108.

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94 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 205.

95 Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, 660. Punctuation marks added by the author.

96 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 108.

Now we know “On Confucius” was composed by the disciples of Xunzi. It is not uncommon that its parallel passages to other chapters hold different views or are contradictory to the argument of other chapters.

4) How the disciples of Xunzi combine and rearrange different passages to write the chapter “The Achievements of the *Ru*”

When the disciples of Xunzi were editing the work, not only did they copy passages from *Xunzi* and reinterpret them, they also took apart and rearranged passages in different chapters and gave them new meaning. Take the chapter “Ruxiao,” for instance; the disciples would normally copy relevant passages from other chapters of the *Xunzi*, then put them together to reinterpret the meaning.

4.1 To copy a passage from “Wangzhi” 王制 (The rule of a true king) then further explain the meaning:

“The Achievements of the *Ru*”:

It means that what he requires of people’s intentions and thoughts goes no lower than becoming a well-bred man. It means that what he requires of people’s ways and virtue does not deviate from the later kings. If a person’s way goes back beyond the Three Dynasties, he calls it reckless. If a person’s model deviates from the later kings, he calls it unrefined.⁹⁷
言志意之求，不下於上；言道德之求，不二後王。道過三代謂之蕩，法二後王謂之不雅。⁹⁸

This passage is based on “The Rule of a True King,”

The rule of a true king is such that his ways do not go back beyond the Three Dynasties, and his models do not deviate from the later kings. If a person’s way goes back beyond the Three Dynasties, he calls it reckless. If a person’s model deviates from the later kings, he calls it unrefined.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 67.

⁹⁸ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 146.

⁹⁹ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 73.

王者之制：道不過三代，法不貳後王。道過三代謂之蕩，法貳後王謂之不雅。¹⁰⁰

Yang Liang annotates the original words “*dao bu guo sandai, fa bu er houwang*” 道不過三代，法不貳後王, in the following way: “*lun wangdao buguo Xia, Yin, Zhou zhi shi, guo ze jiuyuan nanxin. Fa bu er houwang, yan yi dangshi zhi wang wei fa, bu li er er yuan qu zhi*” 論王道不過夏、殷、周之事，過則久遠難信。法不貳後王，言以當世之王為法，不離貳而遠取之¹⁰¹ ([the passage] regards *wangdao* 王道 as the affairs of Xia 夏, Yin 殷, and Zhou 周. Things beyond that are faraway and therefore not to be trusted. That his models do not deviate from the later kings means taking models from contemporary kings, not deviating from them by taking models from far away). Yang’s annotation interprets *fa* as *qufa* 取法 (taking as a model) which does not agree with the context. The fact that *dao* 道 and *fa* 法 are parallel means the way of ruling a state should not go beyond that of the Three Dynasties and decrees of ruling a state should not be far away from later kings. “The Achievements of the *Ru*” explains the meaning with simpler words, saying, “*yan daode zhi qiu, bu er houwang*” 言道德之求，不二後王 (it means that the pursuit of the way and virtues should not be different from the later kings). Yang Liang annotates, “*daode, jiaohua ye. Ren yi jiaohua lai qiu, ze yan dangshi zhi qie suo yi shixing zhi shi*” 道德，教化也。人以教化來求，則言當時之切所宜施行之事¹⁰² (*Daode* means enlightenment. People come for enlightenment. [The passage] talks about the appropriate business in current situations that should be carried out). This phrase means moral enlightenment should not depart from the later kings. We thus see that “The Achievements of the *Ru*” changes and further explains the original meaning of “The Rule of a True King.”

4.2 To copy the passages from “Enriching the State,” “The True King and the Hegemon,” and “A Debate on Military Affairs,” then make rearrangements to explain the meaning:

We also find that some passages in “The Achievements of the *Ru*” are taken almost word for word from various chapters of the *Xunzi*. “The Achievements of the *Ru*”:

100 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 158.

101 Ibid.

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⁹⁷ Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 67.

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¹⁰⁰ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 158.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 146.

Xunzi said, “As people’s superiors they are great indeed! Their intentions and thoughts are set properly within them. Ritual and proper regulation are cultivated in the court. Laws, standards, and measures are kept straight among the officials. Loyalty, trustworthiness, concern, and beneficence are manifested toward those who are subordinate. Even if they could obtain the whole world by performing a single act that goes against *yi* or by killing a single innocent person, they would not do it. Thus, the *yi* of the lord is trusted among the people. When this trust spreads throughout the four seas, then all under Heaven will respond to him as though with a single shout. Why is this? It is because when one values having a reputation that is pure, then all under Heaven become well-ordered. Thus, singing and chanting, those who are nearby will delight in him. Exhausted and stumbling, those who are far away will run to him. All within the four seas will become like one family, and all the men of understanding will willingly submit. This is called being the teacher of the people. The *Odes* says:

From the west and from the east,
From the south and from the north,
All submit as they come forth.¹⁰³

孫卿曰：「其爲人上也廣大矣：志意定乎內，禮節修乎朝，法則度量正乎官，忠信愛利形乎下。行一不義，殺一無罪而得天下，不爲也。此君義信乎人矣，通於四海，則天下應之如響。是何也？則貴名白而天下治也。故近者歌謳而樂之，遠者竭蹶而趨之，四海之內若一家，通達之屬莫不從服，夫是之謂人師。《詩》曰：『自西自東，自南自北，無思不服。』此之謂也。」¹⁰⁴

The quoted passage is a combination and rearrangement of different passages of different chapters. At first, the sentences “*lijie xiu hu chao, faze duliang zheng hu guan, zhongxin ai li xing hu xia*” 禮節修乎朝，法則度量正乎官，忠信愛利形乎下 are obviously based on the “Enriching the State” sentences “*ranhou jiezou qi yu chao, baishi qi yu guan, zhong shu qi yu xia*” 然後節奏齊於朝，百事齊於官，眾庶齊於下。¹⁰⁵

“The Achievements of the *Ru*” then has the following passage:

Had it been necessary to perpetrate one wrongful deed or to kill one

103 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 54–55.

104 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 120–21.

105 *Idem*, 137–38.

innocent man in order to gain the Empire, none of them would have consented to it.¹⁰⁶

行一不義，殺一無罪而得天下，不為也。¹⁰⁷

This passage is based on "The True King and the Hegemon,"

To perform one act contrary to *yi* or kill one innocent person and thereby gain the whole world is something that the person of *ren* would not do.¹⁰⁸

行一不義、殺一無罪而得天下，仁者不為也。¹⁰⁹

The origin of these two passages lies in the "Gongsun Chou, shang" 公孫丑上 of *Mencius*,

But had it been necessary to perpetrate one wrongful deed or to kill one innocent man in order to gain the Empire, none of them would have consented to it.¹¹⁰

行一不義，殺一不辜，而得天下，皆不為也。¹¹¹

Neither the *Mencius* nor "The Achievements of the *Ru*" mention *renzhe* 仁者, while only "The True King and the Hegemon" contains "*renzhe bu wei*" 仁者不為. Therefore, the conclusion is that "The Achievements of the *Ru*" is from the hands of the disciples of Xunzi, as it refers to Xunzi's words in "The True King and the Hegemon," but that it also takes account of *Mencius*'s sayings, making the final wording closer to the *Mencius*.

"The Achievements of the *Ru*" then has the following passage about how to be the teacher of the people:

Thus, singing and chanting, those who are nearby will delight in him. Exhausted and stumbling, those who are far away will run to him. All

106 The origin of these passages lies in "Gongsun Chou, shang" 公孫丑上 of the *Mencius* 孟子. The translation of the *Xunzi* here is given by D. C. Lau in his *Mencius*. D. C. Lau 劉殿爵 trans., *Mencius* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1979), 61.

107 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 120.

108 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 99.

109 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 202.

110 D. C. Lau 劉殿爵 trans., *Mencius*, 67.

111 Jiao Xun 焦循, annot., Shen Wenzhuo 沈文倬, ed., *Mengzi zhengyi* 孟子正義, in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 216–17.

Xunzi said, “As people’s superiors they are great indeed! Their intentions and thoughts are set properly within them. Ritual and proper regulation are cultivated in the court. Laws, standards, and measures are kept straight among the officials. Loyalty, trustworthiness, concern, and beneficence are manifested toward those who are subordinate. Even if they could obtain the whole world by performing a single act that goes against *yi* or by killing a single innocent person, they would not do it. Thus, the *yi* of the lord is trusted among the people. When this trust spreads throughout the four seas, then all under Heaven will respond to him as though with a single shout. Why is this? It is because when one values having a reputation that is pure, then all under Heaven become well-ordered. Thus, singing and chanting, those who are nearby will delight in him. Exhausted and stumbling, those who are far away will run to him. All within the four seas will become like one family, and all the men of understanding will willingly submit. This is called being the teacher of the people. The *Odes* says:

From the west and from the east,
From the south and from the north,
All submit as they come forth.¹⁰³

孫卿曰：「其爲人上也廣大矣：志意定乎內，禮節修乎朝，法則度量正乎官，忠信愛利形乎下。行一不義，殺一無罪而得天下，不爲也。此君義信乎人矣，通於四海，則天下應之如響。是何也？則貴名白而天下治也。故近者歌謳而樂之，遠者竭蹶而趨之，四海之內若一家，通達之屬莫不從服，夫是之謂人師。《詩》曰：『自西自東，自南自北，無思不服。』此之謂也。」¹⁰⁴

The quoted passage is a combination and rearrangement of different passages of different chapters. At first, the sentences “*lijie xiu hu chao, faze duliang zheng hu guan, zhongxin ai li xing hu xia*” 禮節修乎朝，法則度量正乎官，忠信愛利形乎下 are obviously based on the “Enriching the State” sentences “*ranhou jiezou qi yu chao, baishi qi yu guan, zhong shu qi yu xia*” 然後節奏齊於朝，百事齊於官，眾庶齊於下。¹⁰⁵

“The Achievements of the *Ru*” then has the following passage:

Had it been necessary to perpetrate one wrongful deed or to kill one

103 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 54–55.

104 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 120–21.

105 Idem, 137–38.

innocent man in order to gain the Empire, none of them would have consented to it.¹⁰⁶

行一不義，殺一無罪而得天下，不為也。¹⁰⁷

This passage is based on "The True King and the Hegemon,"

To perform one act contrary to *yi* or kill one innocent person and thereby gain the whole world is something that the person of *ren* would not do.¹⁰⁸

行一不義、殺一無罪而得天下，仁者不為也。¹⁰⁹

The origin of these two passages lies in the "Gongsun Chou, shang" 公孫丑上 of *Mencius*,

But had it been necessary to perpetrate one wrongful deed or to kill one innocent man in order to gain the Empire, none of them would have consented to it.¹¹⁰

行一不義，殺一不辜，而得天下，皆不為也。¹¹¹

Neither the *Mencius* nor "The Achievements of the *Ru*" mention *renzhe* 仁者, while only "The True King and the Hegemon" contains "*renzhe bu wei*" 仁者不為. Therefore, the conclusion is that "The Achievements of the *Ru*" is from the hands of the disciples of Xunzi, as it refers to Xunzi's words in "The True King and the Hegemon," but that it also takes account of *Mencius*'s sayings, making the final wording closer to the *Mencius*.

"The Achievements of the *Ru*" then has the following passage about how to be the teacher of the people:

Thus, singing and chanting, those who are nearby will delight in him. Exhausted and stumbling, those who are far away will run to him. All

106 The origin of these passages lies in "Gongsun Chou, shang" 公孫丑上 of the *Mencius* 孟子. The translation of the *Xunzi* here is given by D. C. Lau in his *Mencius*. D. C. Lau 劉殿爵 trans., *Mencius* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1979), 61.

107 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 120.

108 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 99.

109 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 202.

110 D. C. Lau 劉殿爵 trans., *Mencius*, 67.

111 Jiao Xun 焦循, annot., Shen Wenzhuo 沈文倬, ed., *Mengzi zhengyi* 孟子正義, in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 216–17.

within the four seas will become like one family, and all the men of understanding will willingly submit. This is called being the teacher of the people. The *Odes* says:

From the west and from the east,
From the south and from the north,
All submit as they come forth.
This expresses my meaning.¹¹²

故近者歌謳而樂之，遠者竭蹶而趨之，四海之內若一家，通達之屬莫不從服，夫是之謂人師。《詩》曰：「自西自東，自南自北，無思不服。」此之謂也。¹¹³

This passage can also be found in “A Debate on Military Affairs,”

Xunzi said, “ [...] And so, singing and chanting, those who were nearby delighted in him. Exhausted and stumbling, those who were far away ran to him. Among the isolated and remote states, all quickly sent envoys and took comfort and delighted in him. All within the four seas became like one family, and all the men of understanding willingly submitted. This is called being the teacher of the people. The *Odes* says:

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Both chapters of “The Achievements of the *Ru*” and “A Debate on Military Affairs” are written by the disciples of Xunzi. This is another piece of evidence proving that passages from the disciples refer to each other. “A Debate on Military Affairs” contains “Sun Qingzi yue” (Xunzi said), which is subsequently quoted by the author of “The Achievements of the *Ru*” in which the quotation is presented as the master’s words. “The Rule of a True King”

112 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 55.

113 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 121.

114 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 154–55.

115 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 278–79.

has a similar passage,

The region within the four seas becomes like a single family. Thus, those nearby do not hide their abilities, and those far away are not troubled by the required labor. Among the isolated and remote states, all quickly send envoys and take comfort and delight in him. This is called being the teacher of the people. Such is the model of a true king.¹¹⁶

四海之內若一家，故近者不隱其能，遠者不疾其勞，無幽閒隱僻之國莫不趨使而安樂之。夫是之謂人師，是王者之法也。¹¹⁷

“The Rule of a True King” does not come from Xunzi’s disciples, so its wording might be closer to Xunzi’s original wording, but it is not parallel to the words from “The Achievements of the *Ru*.”

It can be seen that when Xunzi’s disciples composed “The Achievements of the *Ru*,” they combined the wordings from different chapters like “Enriching the State,” “The True King and the Hegemon” and “A Debate on Military Affairs.” They rearranged and reinterpreted passages and combined them into a new passage.

4.3 To copy the opinion from “The True King and the Hegemon” and “Jundao” 君道 (The way to be a lord), then further explain the meaning:

In another passage, for instance, “The Achievements of the *Ru*” rearranges passages found in “The True King and the Hegemon” and “The Way to Be a Lord” to explain its interpretation of “*qi yi tianxia*” 齊一天下. Let us look at the text.

Zao Fu was the best driver in the whole world, but without a chariot and horses, he would have had nowhere to display his abilities. Yi was the best archer in the world, but without a bow and arrows, he would have had nowhere to display his skill. The great *ru* is one who is good at aligning and unifying the whole world, but without a territory of a hundred *li*, he will have nowhere to display his merit. If the chariot is sturdy and the horses are of select quality but the man cannot use them to go as far as a thousand *li* in a single day, then he is not a Zao Fu. If the bow is properly

116 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 74.

117 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 161.

within the four seas will become like one family, and all the men of understanding will willingly submit. This is called being the teacher of the people. The *Odes* says:

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The region within the four seas becomes like a single family. Thus, those nearby do not hide their abilities, and those far away are not troubled by the required labor. Among the isolated and remote states, all quickly send envoys and take comfort and delight in him. This is called being the teacher of the people. Such is the model of a true king.¹¹⁶

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116 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 74.

117 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 161.

adjusted and the arrows are straight but the man cannot use them to hit a fine point shooting from far away, then he is not an Yi. If the man has use of a territory of a hundred *li* but cannot use it to align and unify the whole world and put a stop to violence and tyranny, then he is not a great *ru*. [...] He would thrash the tyrannical states, bring concord and unity to the whole world, and no one could overthrow him. Such is the mark of a great *ru*.¹¹⁸

造父者，天下之善御者也，無輿馬則無所見其能。羿者，天下之善射者也，無弓矢則無所見其巧。大儒者，善調一天下者也，無百里之地則無所見其功。輿固馬選矣，而不能以至遠一日而千里，則非造父也。弓調矢直矣，而不能以射遠中微，則非羿也。用百里之地，而不能以調一天下，制疆暴，則非大儒也。〔……〕答桓暴國，齊一天下，而莫能傾也。是大儒之徵也。¹¹⁹

The passage above analogizes aligning and unifying the whole world to driving or shooting. This means that objective conditions must coordinate with subjective factors in order to make accomplishments. The objective conditions here are “chariot and horses,” “bow and arrows,” and “a territory of a hundred *li*.” Subjective factors are “Zao Fu,” “Hou Yi,” and “the great *ru*.” Based on other passages from the *Xunzi*, disciples of Xunzi used analogies to explain and analyze them. “The True King and the Hegemon” chapter states,

Yi and Peng Men were men who were good at getting archers to submit to them. Wang Liang and Zao Fu were men who were good at getting charioteers to submit to them. A bright and perceptive gentleman is one who is good at getting people in general to submit to him. When people submit to a man, then power will attach to him. When people do not submit to a man, then power will depart from him. Thus, being a true king rests in getting people to submit to oneself.

So, if the ruler of men wishes to get people who are good at shooting and can hit small targets from far away, nothing is as good as having Yi and Peng Men. If he wishes to get people who are good at driving and can rapidly go a great distance, nothing is as good as having Wang Liang and Zao Fu. If he wishes to be able to harmonize and unify all under Heaven and keep Qin and Chu in check, then nothing is as good as having a bright and perceptive gentleman.¹²⁰

118 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 62.

119 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 137–38.

120 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 107.

羿、蠡門者，善服射者也；王良、造父者，善服馭者也；聰明君子者，善服人者也。人服而執從之，人不服而執去之，故王者已於服人矣。故人主欲得善射，射遠中微則莫若羿、蠡門矣；欲得善馭，及速致遠，則莫若王良、造父矣；欲得調壹天下，制秦、楚，則莫若聰明君子矣。¹²¹

“The True King and the Hegemon” chapter claims that “a bright and perceptive gentleman” can “harmonize and unify all under Heaven” which is copied in “The Achievements of the *Ru*.” “The Achievements of the *Ru*” further develops this into “a great *ru*.” “The True King and the Hegemon” chapter has “keep Qin and Chu in check.” “The Achievements of the *Ru*” chapter regards Qin and Chu as states of “violence and tyranny,” and therefore generalizes it to “put a stop to violence and tyranny.” Related content is also found in “The Way to Be a Lord,”

If the ruler of men desires to obtain good archers, who can hit a small target while shooting from far away, then he will dangle an offer of noble rank and weighty rewards in order to attract them. Within his family, he may not favor his sons and younger brothers. Outside his family, he may not ignore someone from a faraway place. If the person can hit the target, then one picks him. How could this not be a sure way to obtain good archers? Even a sage cannot alter this.

If the ruler of men desires to obtain good chariot drivers, who can travel great distances at high speed, going a thousand *li* in a single day, then he will dangle an offer of noble rank and weighty rewards in order to attract them. Within his family, he may not favor his sons and younger brothers. Outside his family, he may not ignore someone from a faraway place. If the person can travel the distance, then one picks him. How could this not be a sure way to obtain good chariot drivers? Even a sage cannot alter this.

As for those who desire to order the state, steer the people, and coordinate and unify superiors and subordinates, within the state they will use these things to solidify its fortifications, and outside the state they will use these things to ward off troubles. If there is order, then they will have control over others, and others will not be able to get control over them. If there is chaos, then danger, disgrace, and destruction for them are things one can

¹²¹ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 215–16.

adjusted and the arrows are straight but the man cannot use them to hit a fine point shooting from far away, then he is not an Yi. If the man has use of a territory of a hundred *li* but cannot use it to align and unify the whole world and put a stop to violence and tyranny, then he is not a great *ru*. [...] He would thrash the tyrannical states, bring concord and unity to the whole world, and no one could overthrow him. Such is the mark of a great *ru*.¹¹⁸

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118 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 62.

119 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 137–38.

120 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 107.

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“The True King and the Hegemon” chapter claims that “a bright and perceptive gentleman” can “harmonize and unify all under Heaven” which is copied in “The Achievements of the *Ru*.” “The Achievements of the *Ru*” further develops this into “a great *ru*.” “The True King and the Hegemon” chapter has “keep Qin and Chu in check.” “The Achievements of the *Ru*” chapter regards Qin and Chu as states of “violence and tyranny,” and therefore generalizes it to “put a stop to violence and tyranny.” Related content is also found in “The Way to Be a Lord,”

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If the ruler of men desires to obtain good chariot drivers, who can travel great distances at high speed, going a thousand *li* in a single day, then he will dangle an offer of noble rank and weighty rewards in order to attract them. Within his family, he may not favor his sons and younger brothers. Outside his family, he may not ignore someone from a faraway place. If the person can travel the distance, then one picks him. How could this not be a sure way to obtain good chariot drivers? Even a sage cannot alter this.

As for those who desire to order the state, steer the people, and coordinate and unify superiors and subordinates, within the state they will use these things to solidify its fortifications, and outside the state they will use these things to ward off troubles. If there is order, then they will have control over others, and others will not be able to get control over them. If there is chaos, then danger, disgrace, and destruction for them are things one can

¹²¹ Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 215–16.

simply stand by and await.¹²²

人主欲得善射，射遠中微者，縣貴爵重賞以招致之，內不可以阿子弟，外不可以隱遠人，能中是者取之，是豈不必得之之道也哉！雖聖人不能易也。欲得善馭，〔及〕¹²³速致遠者，一日而千里，縣貴爵重賞以招致之，內不可以阿子弟，外不可以隱遠人，能致是者取之，是豈不必得之之道也哉！雖聖人不能易也。欲治國馭民，調壹上下，將內以固城，外以拒難，治則制人，人不能制也，亂則危辱滅亡可立而待也。¹²⁴

“The Way to Be a Lord” chapter also analogizes aligning and unifying the whole world (“*tiao yi tianxia*” 調一天下) to driving and shooting, but it changes it to “coordinate and unify superiors and subordinates” (“*tiao yi shangxia*” 調壹上下). This alteration makes it different from “The True King and the Hegemon.” It seems to me that the author of “The Achievements of the *Ru*” does not agree with the changes. He continues to say “*chi chui bao guo, qi yi tianxia*” 笞極暴國，齊一天下 (he would thrash the tyrannical states, bring concord and unity to the whole world). Here, it also uses *tianxia* 天下 as the object of *qiyi* 齊一 instead of using *shangxia* 上下. “The Achievements of the *Ru*” chapter continues to say,

If he employs great *ru*, then even a territory of just a hundred *li* can be preserved for a long time, and after several years, all people under Heaven will be unified under him, and the feudal lords will be his ministers.¹²⁵

用大儒，則百里之地久；而後三年，天下爲一，諸侯爲臣。¹²⁶

The passages also refer to “*tianxia weiyi*” 天下爲一，instead of “*shangxia weiyi*” 上下爲一. Here we learn that “The Achievements of the *Ru*” chapter has copied the opinions from “The True King and the Hegemon” and “The Way to Be a Lord” as they both analogize aligning and unifying the whole world to driving and shooting. Xunzi’s disciples once again composed “The Achievements of the *Ru*” by combining passages from different chapters to explain its interpretation of “*qi yi tianxia*” 齊一天下.

122 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 128.

123 According to Wang Niansun, see Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, 691. Punctuation marks added by the author.

124 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 241–42.

125 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 64.

126 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 141.

4.4 To copy the opinion from "Against the Twelve Masters," "Enriching the State" and "Against Physiognomy," then further explain the meaning:

There is a passage in "The Achievements of the *Ru*" elaborating the characteristics of a "great *ru*,"

The great *ru* is such that even if he is hidden away in a poor neighborhood and a leaky hut, lacking even so much land as to plant an awl in, kings and dukes cannot compete with his fame. If he were to occupy even so much as a grand minister's position, then no single lord could keep him, and no single state could contain him. He would accomplish fame greater than the feudal lords, and no one would fail to want him as a minister. If he were to have use of a territory of a hundred *li*, then no state of a thousand *li* could compete with him for victory in battle. He would thrash the tyrannical states, bring concord and unity to the whole world, and no one could overthrow him. Such is the mark of a great *ru*.

His words accord with the proper categories of things, and his actions accord with ritual. In managing affairs, he leaves nothing to regret. In handling dangers and responding to changes, he does everything appropriately. He shifts and moves with the times. He bends and straightens with the age. Throughout a thousand acts and ten thousand changes, his way remains one and the same. Such is the test of a great *ru*. When he is in difficult circumstances, vulgar *ru* will mock him. When he is successful, then heroes and outstanding men will be transformed to follow him. Men of twisted and petty behavior will flee him. Men of perverse doctrines will fear him. The masses will be ashamed before him. When successful, then he unifies the whole world. When in difficult circumstances, then on his own he establishes a noble reputation for himself. Heaven cannot make it die. Earth cannot bury it. The ages of Jie and Robber Zhi cannot pollute it. None but a great *ru* can establish such a reputation. Just such men were Confucius and Zigong.¹²⁷

彼大儒者，雖隱於窮閭漏屋，無置錐之地，而王公不能與之爭名；在一大夫之位，則一君不能獨畜，一國不能獨容，成名況乎諸侯，莫不願得以爲臣；用百里之地而千里之國莫能與之爭勝，笞極暴國，齊一天下，而莫能傾也。是大儒之徵也。其言有類，其行有禮，其舉事無悔，其持險應變曲當，與時遷徙，與世偃仰，千舉萬變，其道一也。是大儒之稽也。其窮也，俗儒笑之；其通也，英傑化之，嵬瑣逃之，

127 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 62–63.

simply stand by and await.¹²²

人主欲得善射，射遠中微者，縣貴爵重賞以招致之，內不可以阿子弟，外不可以隱遠人，能中是者取之，是豈不必得之之道也哉！雖聖人不能易也。欲得善馭，〔及〕¹²³速致遠者，一日而千里，縣貴爵重賞以招致之，內不可以阿子弟，外不可以隱遠人，能致是者取之，是豈不必得之之道也哉！雖聖人不能易也。欲治國馭民，調壹上下，將內以固城，外以拒難，治則制人，人不能制也，亂則危辱滅亡可立而待也。¹²⁴

“The Way to Be a Lord” chapter also analogizes aligning and unifying the whole world (“*tiao yi tianxia*” 調一天下) to driving and shooting, but it changes it to “coordinate and unify superiors and subordinates” (“*tiao yi shangxia*” 調壹上下). This alteration makes it different from “The True King and the Hegemon.” It seems to me that the author of “The Achievements of the *Ru*” does not agree with the changes. He continues to say “*chi chui bao guo, qi yi tianxia*” 笞極暴國，齊一天下 (he would thrash the tyrannical states, bring concord and unity to the whole world). Here, it also uses *tianxia* 天下 as the object of *qiyi* 齊一 instead of using *shangxia* 上下. “The Achievements of the *Ru*” chapter continues to say,

If he employs great *ru*, then even a territory of just a hundred *li* can be preserved for a long time, and after several years, all people under Heaven will be unified under him, and the feudal lords will be his ministers.¹²⁵

用大儒，則百里之地久；而後三年，天下爲一，諸侯爲臣。¹²⁶

The passages also refer to “*tianxia weiyi*” 天下爲一，instead of “*shangxia weiyi*” 上下爲一. Here we learn that “The Achievements of the *Ru*” chapter has copied the opinions from “The True King and the Hegemon” and “The Way to Be a Lord” as they both analogize aligning and unifying the whole world to driving and shooting. Xunzi’s disciples once again composed “The Achievements of the *Ru*” by combining passages from different chapters to explain its interpretation of “*qi yi tianxia*” 齊一天下.

122 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 128.

123 According to Wang Niansun, see Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, 691. Punctuation marks added by the author.

124 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 241–42.

125 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 64.

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127 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 62–63.

邪說畏之，眾人媿之。通則一天下，窮則獨立貴名，天不能死，地不能埋，桀、跖之世不能汙，非大儒莫之能立，仲尼、子弓是也。¹²⁸

The quoted passage is once again a combination and rearrangement of different passages from different chapters. The beginning is based on “Against the Twelve Masters.” The following is the comparison.

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From “Against the Twelve Masters,”

The twelve masters cannot win sage kings’ affection. Even though they are lacking even so much land as to plant an awl in, kings and dukes cannot compete with their fame. If they had occupied even so much as a grand minister’s position, then no single lord could keep them, and no single state could contain them. They would accomplish fame greater than the feudal lords, and no one would fail to want them as ministers. These men are sages who do not obtain power, and just such men were Confucius and Zigong.¹³¹

十二子者不能親也，無置錐之地而王公不能與之爭名，在一大夫之位則一君不能獨畜，一國不能獨容，成名況乎諸侯，莫不願以爲臣，是聖人之不得執者也，仲尼、子弓是也。¹³²

128 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 137–38.

129 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 62–63.

130 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 137–38.

131 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 42.

132 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 96–97.

Comparing the two passages, "The Achievements of the *Ru*" attached "*bi daru zhe, sui yin yu qiongyan louwu*" 彼大儒者，雖隱於窮閭漏屋 which is from "Enriching the State,"

If a man with only coarse clothes and roughly woven sandals were truly to do this, then even if he were to live in a poor neighborhood in a house with a leaky roof, kings and dukes could not compete with him for a good reputation.¹³³

布衣紉屨之士誠是，則雖在窮閭漏屋，而王公不能與之爭名。¹³⁴

The "*buyi xunju zhi shi*" 布衣紉屨之士 refers to the "great *ru*."

The phrase "*chixian yingbian qudang, yu shi qianxi, yu shi yanyang*" 持險應變曲當，與時遷徙，與世偃仰 in "The Achievements of the *Ru*" is based on the "Feixiang" 非相 (Against physiognomy),

[He] cites closer events without being crude. He shifts with the occasions and bends with the times.¹³⁵

近世而不備，與時遷徙，與世偃仰。¹³⁶

It can clearly be seen that "The Achievements of the *Ru*" combined and rearranged different passages from different chapters.

The quoted passage of this section can also be found in *Hanshi waizhuan* chapter four,

The ten philosophers will be unable to come near. If he lacks even so much land as to plant an awl in, and yet even the nobility is unable to contest with him for fame—this is a case of a saint who does not attain his goal. It was thus with Confucius.¹³⁷

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133 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 96.

134 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 196.

135 Hutton, *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 38.

136 Wang Xianqian, *Xunzi jijie*, 85.

137 James Robert Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 147. With amendments.

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In his book *Yaoji jieti ji qi dufa*, Liang Qichao suggested that “The Achievements of the *Ru*” was written by the disciples of Xunzi,¹³⁹ while Liao Mingchun states in his *Xunzi xintan* that “The Achievements of the *Ru*” is “*Xunzi dizi suo jilu de Xunzi yanxing*” 荀子弟子所記錄的荀子言行¹⁴⁰ (Xunzi’s sayings and actions recorded by his disciples). In the light of the above investigation, “The Achievements of the *Ru*” seems to be a rearrangement and combination of Xunzi’s theories by his disciples.

Conclusion

From the above investigation I conclude that “The Achievements of the *Ru*,” “The Grand Digest,” and “On Confucius” frequently copy passages found elsewhere in *Xunzi*. This shows how Xunzi’s words and deeds were recorded by his disciples, as Liao Mingchun suggests,¹⁴¹ Xunzi’s disciples rearrange passages written by Xunzi himself so as to compose the chapters they are responsible for. I believe we are justified in treating these chapters as compositions by the disciples of Xunzi, but they build, in part at least, on the

139 Liang Qichao, *Yaoji jieti ji qi dufa*, 41.

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words and deeds of Xunzi himself.¹⁴²

"On Confucius," "The Grand Digest," and "The Strong State" were written by Xunzi's disciples, and the wording of these chapters are sometimes found to contain parallels. This is because they were written by the same group of people who had a similar method of editing and compiling and who accessed similar recorded information.

Among the material of the transmitted *Xunzi*, "Against the Twelve Masters," "The Rule of a True King," and "The True King and the Hegemon" often have parallel passages in the chapters composed by the disciples of Xunzi. These chapters are to be regarded as the core texts of Xunzi's thought, since they were consulted so frequently by his disciples.

142 Because of the limited space, this article focuses on the ways that Xunzi's disciples used to compose "Achievements of the *Ru*," "The Grand Digest," and "On Confucius." For the chapters of "The Strong State" and "A Debate on Military Affairs," please refer to Lai Chi Fung 黎智豐, "A Study on the Relationship between Chapters Quoted 'Xun Qingzi' in *The Book of Xunzi*" 《荀子》稱述「孫卿子」篇章文獻關係重探 (Mphil diss., The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2016).

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荀門弟子編撰〈儒效〉、〈大略〉、〈仲尼〉方法探微

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關於今傳《荀子》全書三十二篇，學者多認同部分篇章乃由荀門弟子撰成，而非出自荀子本人親撰。雖然，這些篇章內容或可能出自荀子口授而弟子筆錄，又或荀門弟子據他篇師說彙錄，比對其中異同，或能窺探荀門弟子之思想，甚或荀子以外的儒家思想。本文通過考查《荀子》各篇之間的互見內容，比對篇章之間的核心旨意，考其異同，望能蒐集書證，論述荀門弟子如何闡釋、拓展荀子思想，並通過荀門弟子對師說之詮釋，探討唐朝楊倞以來，後世《荀子》註釋可能存在的誤解。本文總結荀門弟子編撰新篇的三種主要方法，包括：（一）抄錄《荀子》他篇內容；（二）對已有《荀子》篇章段落重新闡釋，甚或修訂師說；（三）合併不同篇章段落，重構新篇。本文結合上述荀門弟子習用的編撰方法，進而溯源《荀子·儒效篇》、〈大略篇〉及〈仲尼篇〉的撰作過程。讀者可以從中得見《荀子》部分篇章，實能反映荀卿的主體思想，因而成為荀門弟子經常引用的核心內容。

關鍵詞：荀子 互見文獻 荀門弟子 儒效篇 大略篇 仲尼篇