CHAPTER II

SOME ISSUES ON THE LIFE OF GUAN ZHONG AND HIS WRITINGS.

1. The Life and Career of Guan Zhong

(i) Family background, year of birth and death.

Guan Zi 管子 or Master Guan, named Yi Wu 夷吾, and styled Zhong 仲 or Jing Zhong 敬仲, was called Zhong Fu 仲父 by Duke Huan of Qi.[1] He was henceforth known as Guan Zhong. It has been said that Guan Zhong was a descendant of the Ji 姬 clan, and that his father was Guan Yan 管严,[2] however there was no proof concerning the above. The *Historical Records* states that he was a man of Ying Shang 颍上 south of Ying Shang 颍上县 in modern Anhui 安徽).[3] The *Historical Records* and *Guan Zi* 管子 have not recorded in any great detail about his family background, therefore there is no reference which can be made with regard to his family origin.

The year of Guan Zhong's birth was also a mystery. His date of birth was not recorded in the *Historical Records*. It was mentioned in his biography "Guan Yan

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1 "Zhongkuang Pian"(中匡篇) in *GZJJ*, p.377.

2 Zhang Shoujie 张守节 who quotes Wei Zhao 韦昭 says that Guan Zhong was a descendant of the Ji clan; he was the son of Guan Yan and styled Jing Zhong. See biography of Guan Zhong in *Shiji, juan* 62, p. 2131.

3 *Ibid.*

Liezhuan" 管晏列传 (The biographies of Guan Zhong and Yan Yin 晏婴? - 550 B.C.) that he was a contemporary of Baoshu Ya 鲍叔牙. [4] According to the estimate of the later generations, Guan Zhong was born in the time between the last year of the reign of King Ping 平 of Zhou i.e. 720 B.C. and the first year of the reign of King Huan 桓 of Zhou i.e. around 719 B.C. [5]

In respect of the year of his death, there are the following interpretations:

(a) It is recorded in the *Zuo Zhuan* 左传 that Guan Zhong and Duke Huan died in the 17th year of Duke Xi of Lu 鲁僖公 i.e. in 643 B.C. [6]

(b) In the "Annals of Qin" *Qin Benji* 秦本记 it is recorded that "Guan Zhong and Xi Peng of Qi passed away" in the 12th year of Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 i.e. in 648 B.C. [7]

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[4] In Guan Zhong's biography, it is noted that Guan Zhong always travelled with Baoshu Ya. See *Shiji*, p.2131.

[5] According to a chronicle of Guan Zhong's life in *Fajia Zhexue Tixi Zhigui* 法家哲学体系指归, Guan Zhong was born at Ying Shang of Qi in 719 B.C. See in Huang Gongwei 黄公伟, *Fajia Zhexue Tixi Zhigui*, Taiwan: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1983, p. 51. See also Xie Yunfei 谢云飞, *Guan Zi_Xilun* 管子析论 Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng Shuju 台湾学生书局, 1983, p.23. Xie estimates that Guan Zhong was born in 720 B.C.

[6] Wang Yunwu, Li Zongtong, *CZJJ*, *juan* 7, p.306.

[7] Sima Qian, "Qin Benji" in *Shiji*, *juan* 5, p.188.

(c) "Aristocratic Families of Qin" (*Qi Taigong Shijia* 齐太公世家) states that "Duke Mu of Qin captured Duke Hui of Jin 晋惠公, but Duke Mu of Qin later released him. Guan Zhong and Xi Peng died in this year". This incident occurred in the 15th year of the reign of Duke Mu, i.e. 645 B.C. [8]

(d) "Aristocratic Families of Jin" (*Jin Shijia* 晋世家) recorded that "Zhong Er 重耳 heard of the death of Guan Zhong and Xi Peng" in the 7th year of Duke Hui 惠公. The year should be 644 B.C. [9]

According to most scholars, Guan Zhong died in the 7th year of the reign of King Xiang 襄 of Zhou, [10] i.e. in 645 B.C. By inference, a conclusion could be made that Guan Zhong was born in 719 B.C. and died in 645 B.C.

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8 *Ibid.*, "Qi Taigong Shijia", *juan* 32, p.1492.

9 Ibid., "Jin Shijia", *juan* 39, p.1657.

10 Mei Zhongxie 梅仲协, "Guan Zi De Falu SiXiang Yu Fazhi Zhuyi" 管子的法律思想与法治主义, see *Zhongguo Zhengzhi Sixiangshi Yu Zhidushi Lunji* 中国政治思想史与制度史论集, vol. 1, Taipei: Zhonghua Wenhua Chuban shiyeshe 中华文化出版事业社, 1961, p.1. According to *Zhongguo Lishi Dashi Bian Nian* 中国历史大事编年, Guan Zhong died in 645 B.C. See *Zhongguo Lishi Dashi Bian Nian*, edited by Zhang Xikong 张习孔, Tian Jue 田珏, Beijing: Beijing Chubanshe 北京出版社, 1987, *juan* 1, p.137.

(ii) The Friendship between Guan Zhong and Baoshu Ya

Guan Zhong and Baoshu Ya grew up together and became very good friends in their childhood days. Later they went into business together in Nan Yang 南阳 southwest of modern Henan 河南). It is said that since Guan Zhong was poor and had an aged mother to care for, when it come to distributing the business profits, Guan Zhong used to keep a bigger share for himself. However, Baoshu Ya had not complained about it. He had been nice to Guan Zhong throughout. This was because he knew that Guan Zhong was not a dishonest or crafty person who cared only for profits. He understood that Guan Zhong was forced by circumstances to do so. [11] The cordial relationship between Guan Zhong and Baoshu Ya was documented in his biography in the *Historical Records* where Guan Zhong had said:

> Formerly when I was poor, I had been doing business in partnership with Baoshu Ya. When distributing the profit, I always distributed more to myself. Nevertheless Baoshu Ya did not think that I was greedy, because he knew that I was very poor. I had been employed by Baoshu Ya before, but Baoshu Ya became even poorer, nevertheless he did not think that I was stupid because he knew that it was not the right time for me. I had served the government on three occasions, but I was dismissed. Baoshu Ya did not think I was untalented; he knew that I was just unlucky. In addition, I had been a commander in the army on three occasions, but I lost in all three wars. Baoshu Ya did not think I was a

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[11] Biography of Guan Zhong in *Shiji*, p.2131.

> coward because he knew that I had to care for my aged mother at home. When Prince Jiu 公子纠 lost in the fight for the throne Shao Hu 召忽 (an official of Qi who assisted Prince Jiu) committed suicide, and I was imprisoned. Baoshu Ya did not regard me as a person without shame, since he knew fully well that I was willing to be humiliated in small matters. What he regarded as the greatest shame was one's lack of achievement. My mother gave birth to me, but the one who understood me most was Baoshu Ya. [12]

From the above, it is clear that Baoshu Ya was a broad-minded person, and he understood Guan Zhong very well. It is therefore understandable that Sima Qian frequently praised Baoshu Ya in Guan's Biography. He said, "The people recognize Guan Zhong's ability and virtue but they praise Baoshu Ya's ability to identify and acknowledge the person who is talented". [13]

It cannot be denied that it was mainly Guan Zhong's ability and good virtues that made him an important person, but his association and personal relationship with others were also factors that cannot be omitted. His friendship with Baoshu Ya had saved him from danger at critical moments in his life.

Furthermore, Baoshu Ya trusted Guan Zhong fully. A report in the "Dakuang Pian" 大匡篇 shows that Guan Zhong was a man with vision. It is obvious that Baoshu

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12 *Ibid.*, p. 2132.

13 *Ibid*.

Ya had confidence in Guan Zhong's character and his mental capability.

It is mentioned in the "Dakuang Pian" that among the princes of Duke Xi of Qi 齐僖公, Prince Jiu and Prince Xiao Bai 公子小白 were the two most outstanding ones. Duke Xi once asked Baoshu Ya to assist Xiao Bai. Baoshu Ya thought that because he was not a capable administrator, the ruler had asked him to assist Xiao Bai (who appeared to have less chance to succeed to the throne). So he pretended to be ill and declined the offer. Shao Hu also believed that Xiao Bai would not succeed to the throne. It was only Guan Zhong who was resourceful and astute; he held the view that it would be either Prince Jiu or Prince Xiao Bai who had the ability to suppress the rebellion in Qi, and praised Xiao Bai for his stable character and ability to consider matters from a wider perspective. He further analysed that if Qi were struck down by disaster, and if Prince Jiu succeeded to the throne, Prince Jiu would not be able to rule the state. Guan Zhong believed that Baoshu Ya was the perfect candidate to assist Xiao Bai in pacifying the society, Therefore, he strongly urged Baoshu Ya to honour the duke's order to assist Xiao Bai. Urged on by Guan Zhong, Baoshu Ya finally accepted the offer. Baoshu Ya then immediately sought Guan Zhong's counsel as to what he should do. In reply, Guan Zhong

made a very important statement. Baoshu Ya took Guan Zhong's advice which won him the trust of the duke. His actions indirectly helped Guan Zhong to play an important role in the political arena of Qi. This was what Guan Zhong said:

> Those officials who do not do their best for the ruler will not be trusted by the ruler; if the official is not trusted, the ruler will not take his words; if the ruler does not take his words, the society will not be peaceful; those who serve the ruler must be loyal to him. [14]

When Prince Xiao Bai succeeded to the throne as Duke Huan of Qi, He ordered the people of the state of Lu 魯 to kill Prince Jiu. Guan Zhong was imprisoned and Shao Hu on the other hand committed suicide.

When Duke Huan first became the ruler of Qi, he sought Baoshu Ya's advice to make the society stable. Baoshu Ya immediatly recommended both Guan Zhong and Shao Hu to the Duke in service. But Duke Huan pointed out to Baoshu Ya that Guan Zhong and Shao Hu were his enemies. Baoshu Ya at once informed the Duke that Guan Zhong had persistently advised him to assist Xiao Bai before he came to power so as to dispel the misunderstanding of Duke Huan. Later he suggested that Duke Huan should demand the return of Guan Zhong to Qi

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[14] "Da Kuang Pian " in *GZJJ*, pp. 335 - 336.

from the Duke of Lu. [15]

It was at Baoshu Ya's recommendation that Guan Zhong later was able to serve Duke Huan. Baoshu Ya was even willing to assume a position inferior to that of Guan Zhong. [16]

Duke Huan's initial plan was to appoint Baoshu Ya as premier, however Baoshu Ya strongly recommended that Guan Zhong be appointed to that post. He said:

> I am unable to compare with Guan Zhong in five matters: his compassion for the people, his management of governmental affairs, his ability to obtain the people's loyalty, his execution of rules and regulations throughout the entire land, and finally his contributions in the military field. [17]

The claims he made about Guan Zhong only goes to show that Baoshu Ya was an honest and loyal compatriot who put state affairs above his personal gains. It also shows that his friendship with Guan Zhong was unique. Baoshu Ya was a valuable asset for Guan Zhong. The trust, loyalty and friendship between Guan Zhong and Baoshu Ya secured a virtuous premier in the name of Guan

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15 *Ibid.*, pp. 337 - 338.

16 Biography of Guan Zhong in *Shiji*, p.2131.

17 "Qi Yu" 齐语 in *Guo Yu* 国语, Shanghai: Shanghai Shudian 上海书店, 1987, p.77.

Zhong to help Duke Huan assert dominance over the other states.

Guan Zhong was grateful to Baoshu Ya for the latter's willingness to defer to him. When Baoshu Ya fell ill, Guan Zhong could not eat or drink from grief. He said sadly:

> My parents gave birth to me, but the one who understands me is Baoshu Ya. An official would be prepared to die for someone who truly understands him, as a horse would be good to the person who understands it. If Baoshu Ya dies, no one else in the world will understand me...I would not feel grieved even if I were to die for him. [18]

(iii) Guan Zhong's Character and his Achievements

It is reported in the "Qi Yu" section of *Guo Yu* that Duke Huan of Qi wanted to appoint Baoshu Ya as the premier but the latter declined by saying that he was only a mediocre minister and that the task of government should be assigned to Guan Zhong. He further said that he was not as good as Guan Zhong in the five respects as mentioned earlier. [19]

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[18] "Han shi Waizhuan" 韩诗外传, see in *Zhongguo Gudai Zhexuejia Pingzhuan - Xubian 1* 中国古代哲学家评传 - 续篇一, edited by Xin Guanjie 辛冠洁, Ding Jiansheng 丁健生, and Meng Dengjin 蒙登进, Shandong: Qi Lu Shushe 齐鲁书社, 1982, p.13.

[19] "Qi Yu" in *Guo Yu* , *op.cit.*, p.77.

These five merits of Guan Zhong caused Duke Huan Of Qi to ignore the fact that Guan Zhong had once attempted to shoot him with an arrow; instead he tried all means to welcome Guan Zhong, and entrusted him with heavy responsibility.

The purpose of a ruler in appointing good and capable persons to help him run the country is to achieve the aim of peace and harmony, and strengthen his own position. The merits of Guan Zhong made him a suitable person to fulfil the above tasks. Baoshu Ya indeed would have known Guan Zhong well due to his close relationship with the latter. However Guan Zhong was in a unique position then; he was a good friend of Baoshu Ya but on the other hand, he was the enemy of Duke Huan of Qi. Did Baoshu Ya exaggerate the merits of Guan Zhong so as to convince Duke Huan to forget about his personal feud and entrust Guan Zhong with important tasks? It could possibly be so but we can verify the five merits mentioned by Baoshu Ya with the later achievements of Guan Zhong. Not only can it be verified that the praises of Baoshu Ya were not unfounded, it can also make us understand Guan Zhong's ambitions and his mind. We shall now take a brief look at the various principles advocated by Guan Zhong.

(a) Compassion for the People

Guan Zhong was very concerned about the problem of food and shelter for the people, therefore his policies and his administration all geared towards enriching the livelihood of the masses. In the implementation of his policies, everything must be based on the opinion of the people.

Therefore, he frequently remonstrated with Duke Huan to reduce taxes and punishment, [20] to bring barren lands under cultivation so as to increase productivity.[21] At the same time he taught the people to observe the virtues of filial piety, brotherly kindness, loyalty and faithfulness, frugality and industry, unity and cooperation. [22] As such the relation among the people was like that among brothers, naturally they would also respect the government authorities (as they would to heads of their households). Guan Zhong's policy was therefore based upon the principle of reciprocality.[23] The government must first give benefit to the people,

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20 When Duke Huan of Qi inquired about the political affairs, Guan Zhong answered that he might start from loving the people. He then mentioned the method to love the people, namely, "reduce punishment and reduce taxes" in order to make the people rich. See "Xiaokuang Pian" 小匡篇 in *GZJJ*, p.388.

21 See "Zhiguo Pian" 治国篇 which states: "Bring farmland under cultivation, the chestnuts will be more; the chestnuts more, the country will be rich, ...". *GZJJ*, p.768.

22 "Wufu Pian" 五辅篇, *GZJJ*, p.191, and "Xiao Kuang Pian", *ibid.*, p.389.

23 "Mumin Pian" 牧民篇, *GZJJ*, p.2.

then only the people would be loyal to it. In this way the government would be more effective in utilising the people.

Apart from that, Guan Zhong treated the various feudal states equally. When these states gave presents of inferior quality to Qi, Qi returned them with gifts of high quality. When the feudal lords of other states suffered from famine, Qi would send food in relief. When the feudal states were attacked, Qi would send soldiers to help them, exterminating the evil and appeasing the good ones. As such, not only were the people of Qi loyal to the country, the people of neighbouring states also looked upon Qi with great admiration.

Thus compassion was Guan Zhong's principle of administration: "Treat the people generously, then you would get the support of the people; favour the people, and they will submit to your authority and work for the country." To be compassionate to the people means to pacify the people. The aim of Guan Zhong in running the country was to provide the people with a comfortable and prosperous livelihood, and if the people work and live in peace and contentment, the political power would be enhanced. In fact, to achieve the ideal state where the people could live in peace and harmony depends on the

mutual co-operation between the government and the people. The fact that Guan Zhong was able to use the principle of compassion for the people in administering the government shows that he was indeed a good and talented statesman.

(b) Never losing control in the handling of governmental affairs

Since ancient times there was no law in China which was used to bind the monarch, there was also no compulsive force to compel a learned monarch to listen to remonstrance. Absolute power corrupts absolutely. The personal life of a monarch in a dictatorship can never be isolated from the politics of his country. In other words, the conduct of the monarch can often influence politics directly. The corruption of the monarch, apart from leading to abuses of power and breaches of the principle of justice, will also face the danger of the loss of power or authority. [24]

Guan Zhong was well aware of these; he took remonstrance seriously, and encouraged the people to

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[24] Wang Shounan 王寿南, "The Character of Chinese Political History" 论中国古代政治的特质, see *Chinese Cultural Renaissance Monthly* (*Zhonghua Wenhua Fuxing Yuekan* 中华文化复兴月刊) hereafter *CCRM*, vol. 5, no. 3, March 1972, p.19.

criticize any misconduct of the ruler. [25] In other words, he was in favour of using the observation of others to examine oneself critically, and at the same time narrowing the gap between the ruler and the ruled. This would help to minimize the disadvantage faced by the ruler by being unfamiliar with the ways of the world and the feelings of the people due to his isolation from the rest of the world. The ruler would then know the aspirations of the people and could fulfil their needs, as such the people would not plan a coup to overthrow the ruler, and the position of the ruler could be strengthened.

Apart from admonishing the ruler to eliminate evil and to do good by implementing policies that would cherish and benefit the people, Guan Zhong also emphasized the importance of establishing and honouring the ruler. During the Spring And Autumn period, the ruler's authority had greatly declined, and the orders of the Zhou King were not upheld by the feudal lords of the various states; the power of the Zhou court was challenged by the different states. Guan Zhong therefore came out with the proposal to honour the Zhou King. His idea was that once the ruler was honoured, there would be peace and stability throughout the country. This was because a ruler who was honoured

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[25] "Huangong Wen Pian" 桓公问篇 in *GZJJ*, p.883.

would be able to implement his orders throughout the land, and the obedience to the King's orders would show that the King was being honoured. [26] This was the reason behind Guan Zhong's advocation of the recovery of the ruler's power and his emphasis upon guarding the ruler's power from falling into the hands of others as the major principle of government.

(c) The establishment of rules and regulations throughout the land

From the establishment of the Western Zhou to the Spring and Autumn period, though the system of monarchy was practised, the power of the monarch was not concentrated in one person. With the decline in power of the Zhou King, the feudal lords fought among themselves. Duke Huan of Qi wished to be the most powerful among the feudal lords, and Guan Zhong as his premier played an important role in building up the former's power. Guan Zhong was very good in adapting the rules and regulations set up by the Duke of Zhou (Zhou Gong 周公) previously. [27] He established the legal system, enacted new policies, set up a system of equal power between the

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26 "Zhongling Pian" 重令篇, in *GZJJ*, p.276.

27 Sun Bin 孙斌, "Guanzi sixiang yu qi xinyi" 管子思想与其新义, in *Guoli Bianyiguan guankan* 国立编译馆馆刊, vol. 10, no. 1, 1981, p.66.

central government and local government, and he was the first to practise the rule of law.

Guan Zhong carried out his administration upon the principle of "putting things in their correct order of importance" and also the principle of careful consideration. [28] He enacted rules and regulations to achieve the aim of getting wealth for the country and setting up a strong army. "Putting things according to their order of importance" was the means to achieve wealth for the people and country, and "careful consideration" ensured that power was kept under control. Guan Zhong knew very well that a nation comprised land, people and sovereignty. To run a country successfully, the land must be fully utilised, the people must be given various facilities and stable livelihood. Furthermore there must be a sovereign authority which was the highest, the sole and inseparable power that could compel the execution of laws and command the obedience of the people; this sovereign authority was the so called "law".[29] Therefore Guan Zhong emphasised specifically, "When the granaries are full the people will know about rites and propriety; when the people have been sufficiently clothed and fed,

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[28] Biography of Guan Zhong, *Shiji*, p.2133.

[29] Liang Qichao 梁启超, "Guan Zi Zhuan" 管子传, see in *Yinbingshi Heji* 饮冰室合集, edited by Lin Zhijun 林志钧, *Zhuanji* 专集, vol. 8, Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuju, 1941, p.12.

they will know about honour and shame." [30] The establishment of rules and regulations would lead to closer and stronger ties among family members. Guan Zhong also emphasized the virtues of rites, righteousness, integrity and honour and their important role in the rise and fall of nations. [31]

It can be seen that whenever Guan Zhong carried out political orders, he started with the upper class. In forming the government he started with families as the basic units, which were then extended to villages and finally to states. He selected government officers from among the villages and districts to serve in the court. As for the people, he first provided them with their basic needs before educating them so that they would know rites and propriety and distinguish between honour and shame, and thus form a regulated and orderly society.

(d) Using loyalty and faithfulness to bring about cohesion

Before Guan Zhong became the premier for Duke Huan, he was faithful to Prince Jiu. In his attempt to help Prince Jiu succeed to the throne, he nearly killed Duke

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30 Biography of Guan Zhong, *Shiji*, p.2132.

31 *Ibid.*

Huan. At that time it was only Baoshu Ya who knew that Guan Zhong's ambition was to use all his capability and ability to seek wealth and peace for Qi, therefore he was certain that Guan Zhong would not work for Lu (where he was taking refuge) even if he were to die. Thus he advised Duke Huan to bring Guan Zhong back as soon as possible to stabilise the state of Qi. [32] It can be seen that Guan Zhong's loyalty was towards the state rather than to a particular ruler.

It was held that the promotion of sincerity and faithfulness would lead to unity among the people and there would be no contention. [33] Therefore, if a leader could lead by personal example, and was sincere and impartial, then he would be respected. He would be able to govern the people and state, and unite the whole country. Guan Zhong had always been a sincere and honest man. In his biography he admitted that he took the bigger share when distributing the profit with Baoshu Ya. He also admitted that when Prince Jiu lost in the war, he was captured, imprisoned and humiliated. [34] He was unlike other man who would conceal their personal failures and shortcomings. He was thankful to Baoshu Ya

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32 "Dakuang Pian" in *GZJJ*, p.337.

33 "Shuyan Pian" 枢言篇, *ibid.*, p.235.

34 Biography of Guan Zhong, *Shiji*, p.2132.

for his love and understanding; in return he would repay Baoshu Ya for his kind deeds.

In addition, Guan Zhong proved himself to be a faithful and honest government official, administrator, and premier. While he was in the service of Duke Huan, he was not afraid to remonstrate with the ruler who took his advice willingly and with confidence. Establishing stability in the state was his sole purpose, to this end he had often had confrontation with Duke Huan, and had never feared him. For example, Duke Huan liked to drink and womanize, but Guan Zhong was not afraid of infuriating Duke Huan by remonstrating with the ruler.[35] It is clear that Guan Zhong was not foolishly loyal to the sovereign, his loyalty was not just to a particular ruler but to the state; this was "conscientious" or true loyalty. An official who was conscientiously loyal and would remonstrate openly would have the power to keep the ruler in check so that the head of state would not act according to his own will. This way, the state would be able to grow in strength. [36]

Guan Zhong stressed trustworthiness in the ruler's relating with his subjects, his orders would not be modified or changed easily. He said:

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35 "Xiaokuang Pian" in *GZJJ*, p.395.

36 *Ibid.*, p.396.

> ...the orders should not be changed after being issued, so that the people would be correct in their behaviour. This is the way to love people ...keep the promise, the orders could then be practised throughout the state without obstruction. This is the way to make use of people. [37]

(e) Military reforms

When Duke Huan of Qi wanted to establish his hegemony among the feudal lords, he needed a strong army and an efficient military organization. As a premier, Guan Zhong stressed on internal reforms to strengthen the army. Therefore he set up a plan, that is, to carry out military reforms through internal administration.[38] This system of combining political organization and military forces would help to achieve the aim of strengthening the army. He aimed to establish a strong army of 30,000 soldiers in order to help him to succeed in his military accomplishment. [39]

Apart from that, he also encouraged the soldiers to farm the land; farmers would be the major component of the military. [40] In this way he was thus able to widen the sources of the soldiers.

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37 *Ibid.*, p.388.

38 *Ibid.*

39 *Ibid.*, p.392.

40 *Ibid.*, pp. 388-389.

At the same time, Guan Zhong also stressed on armament. At that time Qi was short of weapons, so Guan Zhong enacted a new law whereby the offender could contribute weapons to atone for a crime, and he also allowed enemy soldiers to use weapons to atone for their crimes. [41] In this manner Qi built up its supply of arms for the military.

From the reforms in the military, it was apparent that Guan Zhong had a good knowledge of military organization. Qi's success in military affairs was due to the tight military administration set up by Guan Zhong, and the premier's ability to assign generals with proper tasks, and to organize the troops efficiently.

Guan Zhong divided the state of Qi into three sections with three armies, each comprising 10,000 persons and led by the captains of five villages. This "five villages" unit was formed from the smaller units, namely from family, neighbourhood and village, with each unit of five villages being led by a captain. Therefore, Qi had 30,000 soldiers and the army dominated the country. This kind of military organization could ensure mutual protection among the people and families. Since the soldiers had been recruited from the neighbourhood, they were all friends who had lived

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41 *Ibid.*, p.391.

together since young , and could therefore co-operate with one another. When they were fighting at night, they would not be confused because they were familiar with the voices of their comrades. When fighting during day time, they could co-operate with one another since they knew one another.[42] As such the people would have the desire to protect their own land, they would be courageous and would form a strong and stable military force.

During the reign of Duke Huan, the military led by Guan Zhong went on several punitive expeditions, and they were all successful in their various missions, whether it be defending the country, controlling unrest or confronting the feudal lords. [43] Furthermore, Guan Zhong was a gallant fighter. He had personally led the military to fight at war. For example, when he was assisting Prince Jiu in the power struggle to succeed to the throne, he had personally shot at Prince Xiao Bai (the future Duke Huan). [44]

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42 *Ibid.*, pp.388-389.

43 For example, in 660 B.C., the Qi army saved the state of Wei 卫 and resisted the barbarians. In 655 B.C., Duke Huan assembled the other dukes at Shou Qiu 首丘. He formed an alliance with the Prince of Zhou in order to decide the latters position as crown prince (Taizi 太子). See *Zhongguo Lishi Dashi Biannian, juan* 1, *op.cit.*, p.131.

44 "Qi Yu" in *Guo Yu, op.cit.*, p.77.

2. The Guan Zi and Guan Zhong

As the premier of Qi, Guan Zhong was known for his efforts in getting the dukes together in assembly on nine occasions. Guan Zhong had many followers and admirers. It is logical for these followers to record his achievements in the government, or his theories of administration for purposes of reference. His achievements were recorded mainly in his biography, and "Aristocratic Families of Qi Tai Gong" in the *Historical Records*,"Qi Yu" in Guo Yu, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋. However his biography in the *Historical Records* has only a brief mention about his achievements; a large portion of it describes his theories and thinking. The "Aristocratic Families of Qi Tai Gong" and "Qi Yu" contained more information about his achievements and undertakings.

With regard to the *Guan Zi*, although Sima Qian claimed that it was written by Guan Zhong, [45] nevertheless according to the inference made by many scholars, it was not written by Guan Zhong personally. Sima Qian said that he had read many chapters of "Mu Min" 牧民, "Shan Gao" 山高, "Cheng Ma" 乘马, "Qing Zhong" 轻重, "Jiu Fu" 九府 [46] which clearly showed that

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[45] Biography of Guan Zhong in *Shiji*, p.2136.

[46] *Ibid.*

Guan Zi was widely circulated even before the Han 汉 dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.). When Sima Qian compiled the *Historical Records*, he did not do any research about the author of *Guan Zi* and his works. The "Yiwen Zhi" 艺文志 in *Han Shu* 汉书 and the "Jingji zhi" 经籍志 in *Sui Shu* 隋书[47] treated "*Guan Zi* as having been written by Guan Zhong simply because the authors of *Han Shu* and *Sui Shu* were only responsible for compiling the index, and had not done any research as to the contents of the books either.

Throughout the dynasties, the scholars who have researched the author of *Guan Zi* include those from the Jin 晋, Song 宋 and Ming 明 dynasties, and recent scholars. From the research and analysis of these scholars, five points provide strong evidence against the argument that the *Guan Zi* was written by Guan Zhong:

(a) The contents do not match Guan Zhong's thinking.

Huang Zhen 黄震 (19??) discovered that the contents of *Guan Zi* were very complicated and repetitive, therefore he concluded that it was unlikely that only

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47 Bangu 班固, "Yiwen Zhi" 艺文志 in *Han Shu* 汉书, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, *juan* 30, p.1729. Also see Zhangsun Wuji 长孙无忌, "Jingji Zhi" 经籍志 in *Sui Shu* 隋书, Shanghai: Shangwu Yingshuguan, 1955, p.76.

one person wrote it. [48] Song Lian 宋濂 (1301 - 1381) was even more certain that it was not written by Guan Zhong, because the book contained all kinds of teaching. [49]

Su Zhe 苏辙 (1039 - 1112) also said that the teachings appeared to be vastly different from the Confucian moral of *ren* 仁 and *yi* 义, and which advocated the theories of Shen Buhai 申不害 (circa 385 - 337 B.C.) and Han Fei 韩非 (280 - 233 B.C.). Therefore they are not the true teachings of Guan Zhong. [50] Besides, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130 - 1200), Ye Shilin 叶石林 and others pointed out that several chapters in the book were unlikely to have been written by Guan Zhong. [51]

(b) The language used was disorderly, self-contradictory, and vulgar.

According to Ye Mengde 叶梦得 (1077 - 1148), there were many similarities between *Guan Zi* and *Gui Guzi*

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[48] Huang Zhen 黄震, "Du Zhuzi Yi - Guan Zi" 读诸子一 - 管子, *Huang Shi Richao* 黄氏日抄, *juan* 55, p. 14A.

[49] Song Lian 宋濂, "Zhuzi Bian" 诸子辨, in *Guji Kaobian Congkan* 古籍考辨丛刊, edited by Gu Jiegang 顾颉刚, vol. 1, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1955, p.794.

[50] Su Zhe 苏辙, "Guan Yan Liezhuan" 管晏列传 in *Gushi* 古史, see *Siku Quanshu* 四库全书, Taipei: Shangwu Yingshuguan, Shibu Bieshi Lei 史部别史类, *juan* 25, 1975, p. 3A.

[51] Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Zhuzi Yulu* 朱子语录 and Ye Shilin 叶石林, *Hanshu Yiwenzhi Kaozheng* 汉书艺文志考证, cited in Luo Genze 罗根泽, *Guanzi Tanyuan* 管子探源, Hong Kong: Taiping Shuju 太平书局, "Xumu" 叙目, 1966, p.4.

鬼谷子 (the middle of the Warring States period), so he suspected that it was written by the advisers of the dukes during the Warring States period (Zhanguo 战国 475 - 221 B.C.). [52] Ye Shi 叶适 (1150 - 1223) pointed out that the part in the chapter "Xiaokuang" regarding the division of the country into twenty-one villages based on their occupations, whereby six of the villages were resided by merchants and artisans, while the other fifteen by government officials and peasants, was not written in logical sequence and thus confuses the reader. [53] Huang Zhen also pointed out that some of the contents in the book varied from one another when they were recorded several times. [54] Ye Shi and Huang Zhen agreed that the book was not written by one person.[55] Furthermore, many scholars criticised the language used especially in the chapter "Qing Zhong". For example, Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217-278 B.C.) even described it as "vulgar".[56]

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[52] Ye Mengde 叶梦得, see Xu Hanchang 徐汉昌, *Guan Zi Sixiang Yanjiu* 管子思想研究, Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng Shuju 台湾学生书局, 1990, p.52.

[53] Ye Shi 叶适, "Guan Zi" 管子 in *Xixue Jiyan* 习学记言, *Siku Quanshu*, Taipei: Shangwu Yingshuguan, Zibu Zajia Lei 子部杂家类, *juan* 45, 1972, p. 3B.

[54] Huang Zhen, *op.cit.*, p. 19A.

[55] Huang Zhen, *op.cit.*, p. 14A. Ye Shi, *Xixue Jiyan* 习学记言, *op.cit.*, *juan* 45, p. 1A.

[56] Fu Xuan 傅玄, see Xu Hanchang, *op.cit.*, p.50.

(c) The names of places and historical facts in the book did not match the times.

Gu Yanwu 顾炎武 (1613 - 1682 A.D.) discovered that Guan Zi mentioned the ruler of the "Three Jin" 三晋, however there was no "Three Jin" in the early years of the Spring and Autumn period. "Qingzhong" mentioned the states of Lu 鲁, Liang 梁, Qin 秦, Zhao 赵, but the states of Liang and Zhao did not exist then; it mentioned King Dai 代王, but there was no King Dai at that time. [57] There are therefore discrepancies between these places which were mentioned in the book and the historical background of Guan Zhong's time.

In Zhuzi Bian 诸子辩, Song Lian mentioned that certain historical facts recorded in *Guan Zi* only happened after the death of Guan Zhong. Some of the examples are, the personalities "Mao Qiang and Xi Shi" (毛墙，西施), the account entitled "King Wu was fond of swords" ("Wuwang haojian" 吴王好剑), and the records regarding "The death of Duke Wei, and the rebellion of the five princes" ("Weigong zhi shi, Wu Gongzi zhi luan"

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57 Gu Yanwu 顾炎武, "Zhuanji Bukao Shidai" 传记不考世代, in *Rizhi Lu Jishi* 日知录集释, *Guoxue Jiben Congshu Sibai Zhong* 国学基本丛书四百种, edited by Wang Yunwu, Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1968, *juan* 25, p.90. With regard to the term "Three Jin", during the Warring States period, three families of Jin, namely Han, Zhao and Wei carved up the territory of Jin. Thus the historians refer to the states of Han, Zhao and Wei together as "Three Jin". See *Zhongguo Lishi Chidian* 中国历史辞典, edited by Zhang Zuoyao 张作耀, Beijing: Wenhua Yishu Chubanshe 文化艺术出版社, 1991, p.47.

威公之死，五公子之乱）.[58] If indeed *Guan Zi* had been written by Guan Zhong, these events could never have been recorded. This shows that the book could not be the work of the Spring And Autumn period.

(d) Logically speaking, Guan Zhong would not have had the time to write books.

As the premier of Qi, Guan Zhong must have had a very busy work schedule. In addition he had three families to care for; so he definitely would not have had the leisure to write books. Consequently, Zhu Xi firmly believed that *Guan Zi* was not written by Guan Zhong.[59]

(e) It was not the habit of scholars to write books in the Spring and Autumn period.

Guan Zhong was a personality of the early years of the Spring and Autumn era. At that time it was not a common practice for scholars to write books to express one's views. Even Confucius (550 - 479 B.C.) who lived in the last years of the Spring and Autumn era did not have his writings. The *Analects* (*Lun Yu* 论语) which recorded the gist of his thinking was written by his

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58 Song Lian, *op.cit.*, p. 794.

59 Zhu Xi, *op.cit.*, p.4.

students who wanted to record his words and deeds. [60] It was not until The Warring States era that the philosophers and scholars from different schools of thought reduced their theories into writings. Yan Kejun 严可均 (1762-1843), in his comments on Guan Zi, said that "the writings of the scholars in the Pre-Qin era were written by their students, guests or descendants, not by them personally". [61]

Looking at the research of the scholars from different times, there are reasons and factual evidence to support their claim that Guan Zi was not written by Guan Zhong. However, while holding on to this view, they had not denied the fact that, certain events in the book were truly related to Guan Zhong. Zhu Xi said that the book was compiled by the people of the Warring States to note the deeds and words of Guan Zhong. [62] Song Lian also was of the opinion that it might be the people of the Warring States period who recorded the words and deeds of Guan Zhong, together with other books. [63] Zhang Xue cheng 章学诚 (1738 - 1801) was of the

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60 "Daoyan" 导言 in *Lun Yu Yi Zu* 论语译注, translated and annotated by Yang Bojun 杨伯峻, Hong Kong: Zhonghua Shuju Youxian Gongsi 中华书局有限公司, 1984, p.28.

61 Yan Kejun, "Shu Guan Zi Hou" 书管子后 in *Tieqiao Mangao* 铁桥漫稿, cited in Xu Hanchang, *op.cit.*, p.54.

62 Zhu Xi, *op.cit.*, p.4.

63 Song Lian, *op.cit.*, p.794.

view that this book recorded the words and deeds of Guan Zhong and was composed by those who had studied the theories of Guan Zhong. [64]

Although it has been established that *Guan Zi* was not written personally by Guan Zhong, and there were chapters in it that were forged or added on by scholars of different schools of the later generations, it nevertheless contained certain true records of the administration of Guan Zhong and his words and deeds at that time. Furthermore, different schools of thought did not exist during Guan Zhong's time. It cannot be inferred that just because the book contains views from different schools of thought, then it should have been written by the scholars from different schools who used the name of Guan Zhong to publish it. As a politician who had the power to run the country, Guan Zhong must be a very learned man in order to help Qi to establish hegemony. Otherwise, if Guan Zhong was not learned as he was, he would not be able to carry out overall reform and neither could he correct the abuses of the time and grab hold of the major criterion to achieve hegemony.

The book *Guan Zi* portrays Guan Zhong as well-rounded and intelligent person who knew commerce,

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[64] Zhang Xuecheng 章学诚, *Wenshi Tongyi* 文史通义, cited in Xu Qingyu 徐庆誉, "Guan Zi Zhengzhi Sixiang De Tantao" 管子政治思想的探讨, in *Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. 2, 1955, p.72.

management, administration, military affairs, psychology, agriculture etc. That a leader should have knowledge of these fields and possess many capabilities is not a matter of exaggeration but a necessity. Furthermore Guan Zhong had been a businessman; [65] he had learned to drive a carriage [66] and he also led the military at war. [67] In addition he was very intelligent; the experience gained through the years was enough to train him to be an all-rounder.

As such, in order to make a study on Guan Zhong's life and thought, we still need to gather the materials from *Guan Zi* and substantiate these with other historical sources.

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65 Sima Qian noted that in *Lushi Chunqiu* 吕氏春秋 it was recorded that Guan Zhong shared business with Baoshu in Nan Yang 南阳, see *Shiji*, p..2131.

66 *Ibid.*

67 *Ibid.*