

Chia I's "Techniques of the Tao" and the Han Confucian Appropriation of Technical Discourse

"Fish lose themselves in rivers and lakes,
Humans lose themselves in the tao and techniques."
Chuang-tzu 莊子, "Ta-tsung-shih 大宗師"

The Chinese term *shu* 術 has a variety of meanings, but the common translation of "technique" conveys several of its connotations – those of a specific method, a skill, or craft. During the sustained period of political unification and cultural integration of the Ch'in and Western Han dynasties (221–8 BC), *shu* proved to be a useful term for describing myriad systems of making or doing things that had previously been isolated by regional, cultural, or social boundaries. In Chia I's 賈誼 (200–168 BC) *Hsin-shu* 新書, the term *shu* is defined as a particular method of applying the *tao* 道, usually translated "Way"; specifically, it describes the ruler's method of applying virtue. Examination of the category of "techniques" as used in texts from this period reveals a pattern of integrating the discussion of virtues into models of human physiology, bringing together discourses that today are separately discussed as "Confucian" and "Taoist," as well as practices described in our own times as "self-cultivation" and "medicine."¹

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References to the standard histories are to the Chung-hua shu-chü punctuated editions published in Peking, either *Shih-chi* 史記 (1959), *Han-shu* 漢書 (1962) or *Hou-Han-shu* 後漢書 (1965). Citations of the Thirteen Classics refer to the 1979 Chung-hua reprint of the Ch'ing-dynasty blockprint of Juan Yuan's 阮元 (1764–1849) *Shih-san-ching chu-shu* 十三經注疏, published in Peking. References to *Lun-yü* 論語, *Meng-tzu* 孟子, *Chuang-tzu* 莊子, *Kuan-tzu* 管子, and *Han Fei-tzu* 韓非子 are to the 8-vol. 1986 rpt. of the 1954 *Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng* 諸子集成 edition published by Chung-hua in Peking.

¹ Such a naturalistic perspective blurs the distinction between ethical and cosmological discourses. This provides an important contrast with Aristotelian *techné*, which in general run counter to natural patterns. (See George Saliba, "The Function of Mechanical Devices in Medieval Islamic Society," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 441 (1985), pp. 141–51.) This distinction

DEFINING "TECHNIQUE"

The *Shuo-wen* 說文 dictionary (ca. 100 AD) identifies *shu* as an urban thoroughfare, with the phonetic component *shu* allied with the semantic component *hsing* 行, to ambulate. It is closely related to, and sometimes a loan word for, the graph *shu* 述, to narrate. They form a pair of meanings – a road and to speak – words whose meanings are not very different from the two meanings of *tao* as seen in the first line of the received *Lao-tzu*.² Indeed, *shu* is often defined in terms of *tao* and used in similar contexts. The tenth-century philologist Hsü K'ai 徐鍇 (920–974) neatly summarizes the relationship between the two with the statement that *shu* is "a branch of the great *tao* 大道之派," which he likens to the spokes on a wheel or in a carriage cover. This metaphor implies that *shu* are smaller than the *tao*, but are also necessary constituents of it. Where *tao* is uncountable, *shu* are generally plural. Hsü K'ai explains their importance by saying, "only the sage can exhaust the great *tao*...",³ and in so doing Hsü underlines the point that the perfection of sagehood was seen as an elusive goal. Mastery of techniques was a necessary element or stage of the process of becoming a sage, but could not in itself be considered sufficient to constitute sagehood.

The elusiveness of the full attainment of the *tao* was especially true in chaotic times like the late-Warring States period, and for this reason the *tao/shu* contrast was also drawn in temporal terms. As Pan Ku 班固 (32–92 AD) writes in his discussion of the lineages 家 of the "various masters" in the *History of the Han* (*Han-shu* 漢書):

[The lineages of the various masters] all arose when the kingly *tao* had already diminished and the feudal lords used their strength to conquer others. The rulers of this period each ruled for a generation, their likes and dislikes leading them each in different directions. This is the reason the *shu* of the nine lineages swarmed forth at the same time.⁴ Each [lineage] drew on a different basis, promoting a corresponding notion of what

argues against drawing a parallel between the Han medical or other "techniques" and *techné*, as Donald Harper does in "Tekhné in Han Natural Philosophy: Evidence From Ma-wang-tui Medical Manuscripts," in Kidder Smith, Jr., ed., *Sagehood and Systematizing Thought in Warring States and Han China* (Brunswick: Bowdoin College Asian Studies Program, 1990), pp. 33–45.

² This was pointed out to me by Albert Dien in his proseminar on bibliographical methods in sinology.

³ Hsü K'ai's "T'ung-lun 通論" comprises *chüan* 33–35 of his *Shuo-wen hsi-chuan* 說文繫傳. It is quoted in Ting Fu-pao 丁福保, comp., *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu ku-lin* 說文解字詁林 (Shanghai: Medical Publishing House, 1930), p. 837. The author would like to thank Eric Hutton for his help locating this citation.

⁴ The nine lineages in question were *ju* 儒, *tao* 道, *yin-yang* 陰陽, *fa* 法, *ming* 名, *Mo* 墨, *tsung-heng* 從橫, *isa* 雜, and *nung* 農.

is good. [The lineages] disseminated them through persuasion, and thereby united the feudal lords.⁵

The Warring States period is here described as a time when the *shu* arose as expedients because the more complete *tao* had disappeared. A similar description of the Warring States period is provided by Liu Hsin 劉歆 (d. 23 AD): "The *tao* of Master K'ung (that is, Confucius) declined, and the *shu* of [military strategists] Sun 孫 [Wu 武] and Wu 吳 [Ch'i 起] rose up."⁶ Both these descriptions imply that *shu* are similar in kind to *tao*, but lesser and subsequent to it. Thus techniques were merely spokes on the wheel of the Way, but proliferated when the Way itself was no longer attainable.

During the Han, the term *shu* was at times used abstractly to refer to "techniques" and at other times used to refer concretely to a subset of that category, one that is distinguished from other subsets. The bibliographic chapter of Pan Ku's *History of the Han*, the culmination of a cataloging effort which began in 26 BC, lists texts devoted to "calculation techniques" (*suan-shu* 算術),⁷ as well those devoted to "techniques of the mind" (*hsin-shu* 心術) and "techniques of eternity" (*wei-yang-shu* 未央術).⁸ It also devotes a category to *shu-shu* 數術, which I translate as "algorithmic techniques"; this includes six subcategories: astronom-

⁵ *Han-shu* 30, p. 1746.

⁶ *Han-shu* 36, p. 1968.

⁷ These texts, included in the *li-p'u* subsection (see below), are the 26-roll *Calculation Techniques of Hsü Shang* [*Hsü Shang suan-shu* 徐商算術] and the 16-roll *Calculation Techniques of Tu Chung* [*Tu Chung suan-shu* 杜忠算術]. Hsü Shang, who rose to the post of superintendent of the imperial household in 8 BC, also wrote a text about the five phases in the *Classic of History* [*Shang-shu* 尚書]. The techniques involved in such texts were not only mathematical but also astronomical; Pan Ku describes this subsection: "The [writers'] techniques in every case derive from their predictive knowledge of the conjunctions of the five planets [i. e., Jupiter the wood-star, Mars the fire-star, Saturn the earth-star, Venus the metal-star, and Mercury the water-star], the sun and the moon, their anxiety at inauspicious contraction and their gratification at auspicious expansion" (*Han-shu* 30, p. 1766–77). Assuming connections between these techniques and the Five Phases appears justified.

⁸ The 25-p'ien text *Expectant Appointee Subject Jao's Techniques of the Mind* [*Tai-chao ch'en Jao hsin-shu* 待詔臣饒心術] and the one-p'ien text, *Expectant Appointee Subject An-ch'eng's Techniques of Eternity* [*Tai-chao ch'en An-ch'eng wei-yang-shu* 待詔臣安成未央術] are listed under the subcategory of *hsiao-shuo* 小說. These two titles are somewhat opaque. Of the first, Liu Hsiang 劉向 (d. 6 BC) said: "Jao was from the state of Ch'i, his surname is unknown. During the reign of Emperor Wu he wrote a book called *Techniques of the Mind* as an expectant appointee" (*Han-shu* 30, p. 1745). From the Warring States period on, Jao was a surname in the state of Ch'i, and was the surname of the imperial upholder of ceremonies (*feng-ch'ang*) from 179 to 168 BC (*Han-shu* 19A, p. 755). An expectant appointee was a candidate for the examinations who had received the recommendation of an official and was supported by the state up to the time the exam was taken, hence the usual translation of *ch'en* as "minister" would be inappropriate. As in the case of the *Han-shu* commentator Ch'en Tsan 璣, *ch'en* can also be indicative of uncertainty about a surname; and so it is translated here as "subject." Whoever the book is credited to, the title is certainly *Techniques of the Mind*, and so its contents may well be similar to the chapter in the *Kuan-tzu* 管子 of the same name. For a discussion of these techniques, see Harold D. Roth, "Psychology and Self-Cultiva-

ical (*t'ien-wen* 天文), calendrical (*li-p'u* 歷譜), five phases (*wu-hsing* 五行), divination by milfoil and turtle shell (*shih-kuei* 蓍龜), miscellaneous divinations (*tsa-chan* 雜占), and methods based on forms (*hsing-fa* 形法) such as geomancy and physiognomy. The "algorithmic techniques" category is distinct from a "recipes and arts" (*fang-chi* 方技) category that includes medical, pharmaceutical, hygiene, and immortality texts. This neat division is not always observed – for instance, *shu* is defined by the T'ang commentator Li Hsien 李賢 as including both medical and divination methods, in opposition to "attainments 藝" such as writing and archery.⁹ Nevertheless, there are some general similarities among the practices described as "techniques" in the *Han-shu*. For one thing, many of them depend on the interpretation of some omen according to such correspondence schemes as the four seasons, five phases, eight hexagrams, ten branches and twelve stems, or on theriological principles. Such schema could provide information about the human world because of a basic cosmological principle widely accepted during the Han that a homology existed between the human world and the realms of the heavens and the earth.¹⁰

This evidence suggests that the techniques referred to by *shu* are necessarily limited, and are only a part of the whole – the *tao*. Pan Ku highlights the

tion in Early Taoistic Thought," *HJAS* 51.2 (1991), pp. 599–650. The type of technique described in the second text is likely related to that of the first. The late-Han writer Ying Shao 應劭 (fl. 170 AD) comments that the text "... is Taoist. They excelled in matters of nourishing life, and created techniques of eternity" (*Han-shu* 30, p. 1745). The modern scholar Ch'en Chih 陳直 makes the point that during the Western Han the expression *wei-yang* was used following the expression "nourishing life" (*yang-sheng* 養生) on a variety of architectural features like roof tiles and other building materials, and so it may have been used here as a suffix to indicate techniques of nourishing life (*Han-shu hsün-cheng* 漢書新証 [Tientsin: T'ien-chin jen-min, 1979], p. 233). It is possible that the term *wei-yang* also refers to the Wei-yang (literally, "unending") Palace, the main palace in the capital Ch'ang-an. However, since these two texts were included in the one subcategory devoted to texts of popular origin, it is unlikely. In either case, the techniques appear to be associated with practices of nourishing life. Their association with expected appointees may be due to the fact that, at least in the Eastern Han, expected appointees comprised much of the staff of the offices concerned with astronomy, the calendar, and divination (Hans Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times* [Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1980], pp. 17–23).

⁹ *Hou-Han-shu* 26, p. 898, n. 2.

¹⁰ This idea actually dates to at least the Warring States period. The triad consisting of the heavens, earth, and humankind is first seen in *Hsün-tzu*, and the basic idea that the human world should be patterned on the natural world is clearly foreshadowed in *Hsün-tzu*'s use of the term *t'ien-shu* 天數, "Heaven's algorithm," in connection with periodic cyclical change in nature. *Hsün-tzu* used this concept, also found in *Han Fei-tzu* 韓非子 and *Lü-shih ch'ün-ch'iu* 呂氏春秋, to argue that social hierarchy was justified by the existence of natural hierarchies. Such a mechanistic model was also behind *Hsün Tzu*'s discussion of *t'ien* 天 as a clockwork that will not send you answers to specific questions, but which does contain answers if you know how to interpret them. See *Hsün-tzu* 9 (*Hsün-tzu chi-chieh* 荀子集解 5, p. 96). For a fuller exposition of *t'ien-shu*, see Mark Csikszentmihalyi, "Emulating the Yellow Emperor: The Theory and Practice of Huang-Lao, 180–141 B.C.E." (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1994), pp. 166–79. Note that *Hsün-tzu*'s use of

calculation involved in these techniques: "Demolishing the great to make it into the small, paring down the distant to make it into the near, this is how techniques (*shu*) of the *tao* do their breaking and splitting, and are difficult to see."¹¹ The relationship of *shu* to *tao* is of a part to the whole, what George Lakoff calls a "part/whole" metaphorical relationship.¹² This metaphor is an important one in understanding the perceived basis of the legitimacy of such techniques during the period.

CHIA I'S "TECHNIQUES OF THE TAO"

Nowhere is this metaphor given more cogent development than in the *Hsin-shu* chapter now called "Tao-shu 道術" ("Techniques of the Tao") and which is commonly ascribed to Chia I.¹³ In this chapter, the relationship between *tao* and *shu* is explained in a dialogue between Chia I and an unnamed figure who might be identified as emperor Wen's son, king Huai of Liang:

[Someone] said: "I have often heard the name 名 of the *tao*, but have yet to hear of its actuality 實. May I ask what this thing, the *tao*, refers to?"

[Master Chia] replied: "This thing, the *tao*, is what you follow when you associate with the world of things. Its beginning is called the undifferentiated 虛, its endings are called techniques 術. The undifferentiated refers to its essential subtlety; it is plain and ordinary but one cannot act upon it. Techniques refer to that by which one regulates the world of things; the algorithms of movement and stillness. Both are the *tao*."¹⁴

this term to link natural cycles and social hierarchy did not disappear in the Han, as witnessed by Tung Chung-shu's statement: "The ancient sages ... saw where Heaven's algorithm began and so knew where noble and base, rebellion and obedience, were located." See Su Yü 蘇輿, *Ch'ün-ch'iu fan-lu i-cheng* 春秋繁露義證 (Hsin-pien chu-tzu chi-ch'eng edn.; Peking: Chung-hua, 1992) 43, p. 324.

¹¹ *Han-shu* 30, p. 1767.

¹² *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago: U. Chicago P., 1987), pp. 273–74.

¹³ *Tao-shu* is sometimes used as a binome, something along the lines of "great ways and little ways." This is probably how it is used to describe the *shih* 士 in the discussion of the five types of excellence in *Hsün-tzu* 31 and *Ta-Tai Li-chi* 大戴禮記 40: "although he is not able to completely plumb the *tao*'s and *shu*'s..." (Wang P'in-chen 王聘珍, *Ta-Tai Li-chi chieh-hu* 大戴禮記解詁 [Peking: Chung-hua, 1983], p. 10; cf. *Hsün-tzu chi-chieh*, p. 354). In the Chia I text, however, the meaning of *shu* is refined such that it only refers to one aspect of the *tao*, and as a result the title should not be read as a coordinate binome. This is not the view taken by Graham, who substitutes *shu* 述, "narrate"; see *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China* (LaSalle: Open Court, 1989).

¹⁴ Ch'i Yü-chang 祁玉章, *Chia-tzu Hsin-shu chiao-shih* 賈子新書校釋 (Taipei: Chung-kuo wen-hua tsa-chih-she, 1975), p. 919. Ch'i reads *tao* as "to speak." Here it makes more sense to follow

The response contrasts the abstract and pure aspect of the *tao*, which cannot be used in the phenomenal world, to techniques that can. This is an extraordinarily clear statement of the relationship between *tao* and *shu*, one that Ts'ai T'ing-chi 蔡廷吉 has summarized in this way: "Vacuity is *tao*'s manifestation in the human mind, and methods are the concrete application of the *tao* in human life."¹⁵

Where does this idea of technique come from? The first thing one might notice is that this framework makes use of terms of art central to texts usually classified as Legalist and Huang-Lao. The dichotomy between names and realities is found in the writings of Shen Pu-hai 申不害 (fl. 354 BC) and Han Fei 韓非 (ca. 280–233 BC).¹⁶ The relationship between quiescence, associated with the undifferentiated, and action, necessary for governance, is characteristic of numerous early texts to be examined below. Many of these texts, in fact, use the same image to describe the quiescent attitude of the ruler. In Chia I's *Hsin-shu*, the vacuity at the beginning of the *tao* is likened to a mirror at rest:

The bright ruler 明主, in facing south, is correct and pure, undifferentiated and quiescent, causing names to define themselves and things to fix themselves. He is like the reflection of a mirror or the weight of a balance.¹⁷

This image of the mirror-like qualities of the sage-ruler harkens back to quite a few passages using the same metaphors: for example, one traditionally attributed to Shen Pu-hai,¹⁸ and another in *Hsün-tzu* (the mind's action of reflecting, as with a pan of water),¹⁹ to quotations from Kuan Yin 關尹 in *Chuang-tzu* ("In movement like water/ Quiescence like a mirror/ Response like an echo"), to the inner chapters of *Chuang-tzu* ("The use of the mind of the paramount person

the more common variant which reads 所從接物, "what you follow in association with the world of things."

¹⁵ *Chia I yen-chiu* 賈誼研究 (Taipei: Wen-shih-che, 1984), p. 128. Here, *hsin* 心 – the human mind envisioned in the organ of the heart – is translated most accurately as "mind."

¹⁶ The "techniques" associated with Shen Pu-hai by Han Fei include the matching of names and realities, see *Han Fei-tzu* 43 (*Han Fei-tzu chi-chieh* 韓非子集解 17, p. 304). See also the discussion by Herrlee G. Creel, *Shen Pu-hai: A Chinese Political Philosopher of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Chicago: U. Chicago P., 1974), pp. 125–34. These writers have been grouped under the rubric "Legalist," and although the precision of this term has been called into question, it will be used sparingly in this article, *pace* Ssu-ma Ch'ien, to refer to these particular texts.

¹⁷ Ch'i, *Chia-tzu Hsin-shu chiao-shih*, p. 921. Note that in the *Kuan-tzu* chapter "Techniques of the Mind," part one, the qualities of being undifferentiated and quiescent are associated with the *tao* of Heaven and the *tao* of Earth, respectively.

¹⁸ The mirror and the scale reflect beauty and indicate weight without acting, according to this fragment (1[9]) found in Creel's *Shen Pu-hai*, pp. 351–52. I owe this point to Paul Goldin.

¹⁹ *Hsün-tzu* 21 (*Hsün-tzu chi-chieh* 15), p. 267.

is like a mirror. It neither ushers out nor welcomes; it echoes but does not store"),²⁰ and even to the *Sixteen Classics* discovered at Ma-wang-tui: "I do not store up the old and do not embrace what has passed. Once the echo is gone, then what comes is new."²¹ Yet the closest parallel is found in *Han Fei-tzu*:

[The bright ruler] is undifferentiated and quiescent in waiting, causing names to define themselves and affairs to fix themselves. If he is undifferentiated then he can understand when actuality is pure, and if he is quiescent then he can understand when movement is correct.²²

There is little question that the passages attributed to Chia I and Han Fei were not written in isolation from one another. "Techniques of the Tao" is strongly influenced by Legalism in its stress on the ruler's attainment of a mirror-like, *wu-wei* mental state. In this state of quiescence, the qualities of the superordinary state of undifferentiation emulated by the ruler allow him to judge things and actions in the ordinary world. Using Hsü's metaphor, only from the perspective of the whole wheel can the straightness or suitability of the individual spokes be evaluated.

While Chia I does pay some attention to the abstract level of *tao*, he quickly moves on to discuss the more concrete level of *shu*. Three *Hsin-shu* chapters – "Tao-shu," "Liu-shu 六術," and "Tao-te shuo 道德說" – form a coherent block probably written in the Western Han, but may or may not be the work of Chia I.²³

²⁰ *Chuang-tzu* chapters 33 and 7; see *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh* 莊子集解 2, p. 51; and 8, p. 221.

²¹ *Ma-wang-tui Han-mu po-shu* 馬王堆漢墓帛書, vol. 1, p. 79. Another related passage is in the Warring States Ma-wang-tui text "Origin of the Tao" (*Ma-wang-tui Han-mu po-shu*, vol. 1, p. 87): "The ruler is undifferentiated, his subjects quiescent/the *tao* is attained and the myriad things settle themselves."

²² *Han Fei-tzu*, chapter 5 (*Han Fei-tzu chi-chieh* 1), p. 18; cf. Burton Watson, *Han Fei Tzu: Basic Writings* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1964), p. 16.

²³ There has been much speculation about whether the three chapters "Tao-shu," "Liu-shu," and "Tao-te-shuo" should be attributed to Chia I. In the first place, there have been suggestions that the entire *Hsin-shu* is a post-Han forgery. Arguments to this effect are based on differences between Sung-era descriptions of the text and the Ch'ing-era version, as well as on the fact that in *Hsin-shu*, Chia's memorials are presented in a manner very different from that of the authoritative chapters in the standard histories, *Shih-chi* 84 and *Han-shu* 48. Some scholars, e. g., Liu Shih-p'ei 劉師培 (1884–1919), have argued that the latter discrepancies are consistent with the process of selection used in the writing of Han historical texts. For a general summary of this debate, see Mark Csikszentmihalyi, "The Memorials of Jia Yi: An Annotated Translation" (M.A. thesis, Stanford University, 1991), especially pp. 28–40. See also Michael Nylan, "Hsin shu" in Michael Loewe, ed. *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley: U. California, Institute of East Asian Studies, et al., 1993), pp. 161–70.

A second and more immediate set of concerns are those of Shao Ho-shun 弭和順, who in his 1988 article, "Ka Gi Shinsho no seiritsu o meguru mondai ten Dōjutsu, Rokujutsu, Dōtokusetsu hen o chūshin toshite" 賈誼新書の成立をめぐる問題点道術六術道德說篇を中心として, argues that these three chapters in particular were not written by Chia I but were instead written by his

One thing they have in common is that they are devoted to various sixfold schema that seek to delineate some of the *shu* – “those by which one regulates the world of things.”²⁴ The specific techniques with which Chia is concerned bear little resemblance to the *shu* so central to *Han Fei-tzu*, beyond the fact that they are the province of the ruler. The goal of *shu* in *Han Fei-tzu* is, in the words of Roger Ames, “checking the power vested in any one minister.”²⁵ For Chia I, by contrast, the concern is with methods for the ruler to transform the populace and cause a certain desirable condition in the state. When the interlocutor asks about techniques, the response is in six parts:

[Someone] said: “May I ask what is the connection between these techniques and the world of things?”

[Master Chia] replied:

“(1) If the ruler of the people is benevolent, then the people in the state will be harmonious, and everyone regardless of position will feel kinship.

(2) If the ruler of the people is righteous, then the people in the state will be principled, and everyone regardless of position will be in accord.

later followers (*Nagoya daigaku bungakubu kenkyū ronshū* 名古屋大学文学部研究論集, Tetsugaku 哲学 35 [1988], pp. 161–72). Shao argues that the contents of these chapters as well as the chapter on deportment (“Jung-ching 容經”), because of their emphasis on the number six instead of the number five and their lack of quotations from the classics *Poetry* and *History*, are inconsistent with the memorials appearing in prior chapters of the *Hsin-shu* and in the standard histories. Interestingly, these are the same chapters that, on the basis of their content, were considered by the “Han Studies” scholar Lu Wen-ch’ao 盧文昭 (1717–1795) to be too authentically Han as to judge them Wei-Chin-period forgeries (see Chang Hsin-ch’eng 張心澂, *Wei-shu t’ung-k’ao* 偽書通考 [Shanghai: Shang-wu, 1954], p. 756). While these arguments seem to contradict each other, they both hinge on what might be called the Huang-Lao character of these chapters, and in this sense actually agree.

An often overlooked aspect is the fact that the chapters are in dialogue form, in contrast to most, but not all, of the rest of *Hsin-shu*. An exception is the dialogue between king Huai 懷 of Liang and Chia I in the “Hsien-hsing 先醒” chapter. This could indicate that Chia’s dialogue was also with King Huai, and therefore they express Chia’s thinking in the last years of his life, after his period of writing most of his memorials and his subsequent exile to Ch’u. Chia’s famous “Prose Poem on the Owl” seems to echo similar themes and was reputedly written in the latter part of his life. Because of this, the inconsistencies so well catalogued by Shao do not necessarily mean that these chapters were written by another hand. In any case, Lu’s point that the chapters were written in Chia’s lifetime is substantiated by the similarities between sections in these chapters and many of the texts recently unearthed at Ma-wang-tui, which date to 168 BC at the latest. While it is not in any sense certain that these chapters are Chia I’s writings, the above indications allow little chance that they date from later than his lifetime.

²⁴ Among the sixes that Chia correlates are the six *yin* and *yang* months of each year, the six relationships, six degrees of mourning garment, six orders of magnitude in weight measurement, and the Six Classics.

²⁵ *The Art of Rulership: A Study in Ancient Chinese Political Thought* (Honolulu: U. Hawaii P., 1983), p. 10.

(3) If the ruler of the people is ritually correct, then the people in the state will be reverent, and everyone regardless of position will have respect.

(4) If the ruler of the people is trustworthy, then the people in the state will be authentic, and everyone regardless of position will have trust.

(5) If the ruler of the people is public-minded, then the people in the state will be governable, and everyone regardless of position will have esteem.

(6) If the ruler of the people is lawful, then the people of the state will follow the track, and everyone regardless of position will give assistance.”²⁶

In this response, *shu* refers to the application of the ruler’s virtues to cause a corresponding virtue in the people of the state, and further causing them to reinforce that virtuous behavior in each other.²⁷ Chia I’s techniques are not simplistic imitations or debased forms of the *tao*, but the constituents of it that may be used to guide the everyday life of the populace.

By the Han, the term *shu* had acquired the status of a term of art, and was used by writers of different persuasions to describe concrete applications of the more abstract *tao*. While a number of writers refer to the need for the ruler to achieve an undifferentiated intuitive state, the techniques employed by such a ruler vary depending on the writer in question. Thus Chia I, who not only studied the classics but taught them in the capacity of erudit and grand tutor, adopted the same model to conceptualize the ruler’s state of mind as had Han Fei-tzu, a late-Warring States period writer who eschewed the value of the same classics. While chronology might suggest that Chia I simply substituted Confucian virtues for Han Fei-tzu’s methods, the similarity between his six “techniques” and a similar sixfold list in a recently discovered Kuo-tien 郭店 text buried before the *Han Fei-tzu* text was composed might indicate the borrowing ultimately went the other way.²⁸ In either case, the *tao/shu* metaphor was ac-

²⁶ Ch’i, *Chia-tzu Hsin-shu chiao-shih*, p. 924.

²⁷ The chapter continues by stressing the attention to words and affairs, and ends with what Graham called “the fullest collection of early Confucian definitions” (*Disputers of the Tao*, p. 21).

²⁸ The text given the title “The Way of T’ang and Yü (*T’ang Yü chih tao* 唐虞之道)” examines the grounds for abdication, and in so doing gives the following sixfold description of the way that the sage transforms the populace: “Now, (1) the sage serves Heaven above, and thereby teaches the people to have respect. (2) [The sage] serves Earth below, and thereby teaches the people to have familial closeness. (3) [The sage] serves the mountains and streams in a timely way, and thereby teaches the people to have reverence. (4) [The sage] serves their ancestral temples with familial closeness, and thereby teaches the people filial piety. (5) In the Great Study (*t’ai-chiao* 太教), the crown prince waits on his elders, and thereby teaches the people respect for the elder brother. (6) The elder sage depends on the younger sage, and the younger sage shields the elder, and they thereby teach the people the Way of ‘Great Accord’ (*ta-shun* 大順)” (*Kuo-tien Ch’u-mu chu-chien* 郭店楚墓竹簡 [Peking: Wen-wu, 1998], p. 157). While Chia I’s list of virtues is differ-

cepted by widely different writers in the third and second centuries, and constituted a way of thinking about the world that transcended the categories usually applied to that period.

TECHNIQUES AND THE APPLICATION OF VIRTUES

How, then, are we to categorize such a way of thinking that appears to transcend categories like Confucianism and Legalism? When *shu* was used in texts like *Han Fei-tzu* to refer to methods of monopolizing power, it was part of a viewpoint critical of reliance on the cultivation of virtue to ensure good government. For Chia I, however, the technical application of his sixfold scheme of virtues was at the very core of good government. The image of the technically proficient ruler common to Chia I and Han Fei may jar the modern reader not only because it disturbs the traditional boundaries between Confucianism and Legalism, but also because the image appears to reduce ethics to a "technique" like those used to construct calendars, divine the future, physiognomize animals, and attain eternal life, and in doing so violates the distinction between judgments of fact and those of value.

Tensions that might strike a modern reader as resulting from fundamental errors of category may not have been difficult to resolve in the syncretic atmosphere of second-century BC China. The opposition between Confucianism and Legalism was simply not an issue for Chia I. The Western Han, heir to the legal framework and to many ideological elements of the short-lived unification undertaken by the Ch'in court, was a period during which the ideas and terminology of Han Fei enjoyed widespread application. It was only after Chia I's death that the anti-Ch'in faction that the historian Michael Loewe calls the "reformists" began to control the government.²⁹ While Chia himself is often identified as the first major writer to criticize the Ch'in, his famous essay discussing the "Errors of the Ch'in" ("Kuo Ch'in 過秦") praises the efficacy of many of the dynasty's methods, but faults them for a lack of virtue. In this context, then, there is no real contradiction in the Western Han's prescribing virtues in the same mechanistic manner that the Ch'in applied rewards and punishments.

The apparent contradiction arising from Chia I's use of a mechanistic

ent, the basic account of the way by which the virtues of the ruler generate virtues in the people is similar. This similarity is especially notable in light of both passages' divergence from the precedent of *Lun-yü* II/20 (*Lun-yü cheng-i* 論語正義 2, p. 35), where Confucius outlines three levels at which the ruler generates virtues in the people.

²⁹ Michael Loewe, "The Former Han Dynasty," in Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, eds., *The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.-A.D. 220*, vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1986), pp. 103-222, esp. 179 ff.

scheme to apply virtues to governance is a more complex issue, one that must be understood in the context of the *tao/shu* relationship examined earlier. The idea of a "technique" of virtue does not originate with Chia I. The term *shu* is also used in conjunction with the virtues in the classic *Mencius*, where the phrase "technique of benevolence" is used by Mencius (Meng-tzu 孟子; ca. 371-ca. 279 BC) to encourage king Hsüan of Ch'i when, in a well-known passage, he spares the ox.³⁰ The king happened to see the preparation of a sacrificial ox, and Mencius uses the expression to counsel the king to extend his compassion towards the people (to whose suffering the king is blind). The use of *shu* appears to throw off the nineteenth-century translator James Legge, who translates the phrase as "an artifice of benevolence."³¹ There is something to Legge's translation, because king Hsüan has not really got the whole picture: while he has shown a benevolent reaction, he has yet to manifest benevolence to his people. In some sense, Legge is asking whether, if a gentleman's goal is the *tao*, then would settling for a "branch of the great tao" be an error? Nevertheless, the king's reaction is more than artifice, more than the semblance of virtue exhibited by the "village honest man" 鄉原 in Mencius.³² As with Chia I, Mencius' technique of applying virtue is more than a simplistic imitation of the *tao*, but a part of it – the first stage in the development of sagehood. This conception of a "technique of benevolence" is not the only point of convergence between the thought of Chia I and the branch of Confucianism represented by Mencius.

The plurality of the "branches" of the Way in the Han finds its strongest precedent in a corpus of texts associated with Mencius and his predecessor Tzu Ssu 子思. The reason that this metaphor was important for these writers was that it served to reconcile their intuitionist view of moral dispositions arising from the "inner mind" 內心 with the traditional reliance on such external sources as the classics and ritual practice. The use of this metaphor can be seen clearly in two of newly discovered texts associated with these two writers, who have traditionally been labeled "Confucian."

A bamboo text recently discovered at Kuo-tien gives an excellent example of the attempt to synthesize particular "techniques" under the whole of the Way. Its discussion of the concept of human nature has echoes of texts associated with Confucius' grandson Tzu Ssu, namely the transmitted *Chung-yung* 中庸 and the recently excavated "Five Kinds of Action" ("Wu-hsing" 五

³⁰ *Meng-tzu cheng-i* 孟子正義 1, p. 50 (1A7).

³¹ James Legge, trans., *The Works of Mencius*, volume 2 of *The Chinese Classics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), p. 140. Compare D. C. Lau's "way of a benevolent man" in *Mencius* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), p. 55.

³² *Meng-tzu cheng-i* 14, p. 605 (7B37).

行).³³ In it, the dichotomy between the Way and technique is used to explain one of the most basic conundrums facing early intuitionist thinkers: how to reconcile the authority of the classics with a view of morality that assumes the inerrancy of the inner mind. In this case the "techniques of the mind" are related to the techniques of the classics using the metaphor explored above:

The "techniques of the mind," in all cases, is the leader 主 of the Way.³⁴ Of the four techniques of the Way, only [those of] the human Way "can be spoken."³⁵ The other three techniques are simply the speaking of it. In the *Poetry*, *History*, and *Rites and Music* they begin to come forth, born together in human beings.³⁶

In this text, the statement that the "techniques of the mind" serve as the "leader of the Way" echoes an earlier statement that an individual's nature is one's leader, but one still needs objects in the phenomenal world in order to

³³ The Kuo-tien bamboo text titled "[Human] nature emerges from [Heaven's] command (*hsing tzu ming ch'u* 性自命出)" is transcribed in *Kuo-tien Ch'u-mu chu-chien*, pp. 178-84. That phrase itself is similar to the opening line, "Heaven's command is called nature 天命之謂性)" in the *Chung-yung* (*Li-chi cheng-i* 禮記正義 52, p. 397). Other Kuo-tien texts have strong links to Tzu Ssu, including a dialogue between Tzu Ssu and duke Mu 穆 of Lu (perhaps later incorporated into the 23-fasc. *Tzu Ssu* listed in *Han-shu* 30, p. 1724), the "Black Robes (Tzu-i 緇衣)" chapter of *Li-chi* (attributed to Tzu Ssu by Shen Yüeh 沈約, 441-513), and the *Wu-hsing*. In that text, *hsing* refers to "enacted" virtues, and so is not translated as "phases," as it was above. The "*Wu-hsing*" and the translation of *wu-hsing* are both discussed in greater detail below. For the dating criteria of the Kuo-tien finds, see Ts'ui Jen-i 崔仁義, "Ching-men Ch'u-mu ch'u-t'u te chu-chien Lao-tzu ch'u-t'an" 荆門楚墓出土的竹簡老子初探, in *Ching-men she-hui k'e-hsüeh* 荆門社會科學 (May 1997), pp. 31-35.

³⁴ For "techniques of the mind," see above, n. 8.

³⁵ The meaning of this phrase becomes clear when it is compared with the line "Of what is called the *tao*, there are four, and only the human *tao* is 'tao-able,'" that appears later in the text parallel to sentences like "there are five types of wisdom, but only the dutiful Way approaches loyalty" (*Kuo-tien Ch'u-mu chu-chien*, p. 179). The statement in this passage that the human *tao* "serves as the *tao*-able 為可道" is curious, yet serves to contrast neatly the function of the human *tao* with the functions of the Classics: the *Poetry* contains what is "for enacting it 為為之," the *History* what is "for speaking it 為言之," and the *Rites and Music* what is "for bringing it to attention 為舉之." This raises some interesting possibilities regarding the first line of the transmitted *Lao-tzu* (not present in the Kuo-tien version of that text), which claims that the *tao*-able (usually glossed as "expressible") *tao* is not the constant (恆 or 常) *tao*. Since the next section appears to say that the expression of the human *tao* is the text of the classics, the *Lao-tzu* formulation may perhaps be seen as a rebuttal to this particular contention. The claim that the human *tao* is *tao*-able also might have nothing to do with speech, but instead refer to the sagely capacity to contain the entire *tao* in a limited sense, a sense which is still not equivalent to the constant *tao* in that it has yet to contact the world outside the mind.

³⁶ "[Human] nature emerges from [Heaven's] command," in *Kuo-tien Ch'u-mu chu-chien*, p. 179. The use of *wei* 唯 ("lone") in the previous sentence is juxtaposed with the *ts'an* 參 ("three") in this sentence so as to indicate that the three Classics of this sentence are being opposed to the human *tao*, but taken together they add up to the "four techniques" of the previous sentence. The author thanks Harold Roth for introducing and discussing this passage.

actually form intentions, desires, or judgments. This is the sense in which they are still only "techniques" and not a mental microcosm of the *tao*, for the *tao* comprises both the mind and its interaction with objects in the world. This text not only signifies an early attempt to synthesize the cultivation of internal dispositions ("techniques of the mind") with methods of applying the classics (techniques of the *Poetry*, *History*, and *Rites and Music*) by giving them status as parts of the same whole, but also gives an early precedent for the usage of the ubiquitous Han phrase "classicist techniques (*ju-shu* 儒術)."

The use of the metaphor of technical branches of the Way to integrate intuitionism and classicism in this passage of Tzu Ssu is also a characteristic of the "Five Kinds of Action" text associated with Tzu Ssu. One version of this text was recently found at Kuo-tien, and a similar version with a partial appended commentary is one of four manuscripts that follow the "*chia* 甲" version of the *Lao-tzu* discovered at Ma-wang-tui twenty-some years ago, copied probably within five years of 200 BC.³⁷ The discussion of the virtues in "Five Kinds of Action" is reminiscent of Chia I's, but is focussed on the internal cultivation of virtue rather than its external application. "Five Kinds of Action" explicitly divides the self-cultivation process into five aspects, each devoted to the development of one virtue. The five virtues appear first in section one of "Five Kinds of Action" and are, in standard translation, benevolence (*jen* 仁), righteousness (*i* 義), wisdom (*chih* 智), ritual propriety (*li* 禮), and sagacity (*sheng* 聖). In addition, the cultivation of each virtue is further subdivided into five stages.³⁸ The "Five Kinds of Action" is concerned primarily with the *internal* cultivation of kinship feelings that lead to benevolence, and the author of "Techniques of the Tao" was concerned with the *external* effect of benevolence on the development of kinship feelings in the general population. Despite this difference in orientation, the similarities between the texts suggest that Chia I was aware of this school of thinking about the cultivation of the virtues, and further that the choice of the number six is explicable in terms of that awareness.

In "Five Kinds of Action" the five virtues are called the *wu-hsing* 五行, and in the "Techniques of the Tao" the virtues are at times referred to as the *liu-hsing* 六行. Four of the five virtues in "Five Kinds of Action" are on an equal footing, but the fifth one, sagacity, is on a different level. In the newly-discovered manu-

³⁷ See Mark Csikszentmihalyi, "Fivefold Virtue: Reformulating Mencian Moral Psychology in Han Dynasty China," *Religion* 28.1 (1998), pp. 77-89.

³⁸ The order of the virtues differs between the Kuo-tien and Ma-wang-tui texts. The Ma-wang-tui order is benevolence, wisdom, righteousness, ritual propriety, and sagacity; the Kuo-tien order is benevolence, righteousness, ritual propriety, wisdom, and sagacity. See *Kuo-tien Ch'u-mu chu-ch'ien*, p. 149.

script, the cultivation of four virtues allows one to practice "good" acts, but it is *only after* the addition of the fifth virtue, that of sagacity, that one's virtue is complete: "If the five *hsing* of virtue are harmonized, this is called virtue, if four of them are, this is called good."³⁹ This goodness is the "human *tao*," while the virtue that accompanies all five virtues is the "heavenly *tao*." In the *Hsin-shu* chapters, these identical five virtues are on an equal footing, but a sixth is added as the signification of the harmonization of the five: "Human beings have the *hsing* of benevolence, righteousness, ritual propriety, wisdom, and sagacity. When these *hsing* are harmonized, then pleasure arises."⁴⁰ This passage is also in "Five Kinds of Action," which reads: "[When the five *hsing* are harmonized...] then there is pleasure. Harmonized means in the sense of the harmony of the five tones."⁴¹ In other words, the Han scheme augments that of the "Five Kinds of Action" in the same way that the latter text augmented the scheme laid out in *Mencius*. Mencius' original four virtues are expanded to five in the Ma-wang-tui text, the fifth being in some sense the culmination of the original four.⁴² In the same way that the Eastern Han writer Yang Hsiung 揚雄 (53 BC–18 AD) added a third element to the *yin-yang* basis of the *pa-kua* 八卦, the author of "Techniques of the Tao" is expanding the list of five virtues in the Ma-wang-tui text to six, the sixth being in some sense the culmination of the original five.

Like the correlation of the five virtues with the tones of the pentatonic scale in the "Five Kinds of Action," the six virtues in *Hsin-shu* are correlated with sixfold schemata. The techniques of the classics are correlated with these *hsing*, the *Hsin-shu* passages also talk about how the ancient kings taught people with the "techniques of *Shu* 書, *Shih* 詩, *I* 易, *Ch'un-chiu* 春秋, *Li* 禮, and *Yüeh* 樂." Also correlated are the six *yang* months and six *yin* months of the year, as well as six styles of mourning garment and six magnitudes of measure. In terms of the theory of categories of natural correspondence, they are also correlated to the six *li* 理, or "patterns," which give birth to human virtue, but may also be

³⁹ Ikeda Tomohisa 池田知久, *Baotai Kanbo hakusho gogyōhen kenkyū* 馬王堆漢墓帛書五行篇研究 (Tokyo: Kuko shoin, 1993), p. 161; *Kuo-tien Ch'u-mu chu-chien*, p. 149.

⁴⁰ Ch'i, *Chia-tzu Hsin-shu chiao-shih*, p. 945. ⁴¹ Ikeda, *Baotai Kanbo*, p. 377.

⁴² Nathan Sivin has recently argued that this implies that the "correlative" cosmology of the Han emerged from this moral and political discourse, an argument that is fundamentally in accord with the views expressed here. In doing so, Sivin has turned on its head the accepted view established by A. C. Graham (see Graham's *Yin-yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking* [Singapore: Institute for East Asian Philosophies, 1986]) of the sequential relationship between these two discourses. The analysis provided in this article differs slightly from Sivin's view in that it argues for the co-existence of these discourses in socially distinct groups prior to the unifying influences of the third century BC, but Sivin was the first to fully appreciate the development of the naturalistic treatment of the virtues in his "The Myth of Naturalists," in *Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in Ancient China: Researches and Reflections* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995) 4, pp. 1–33.

found in jade.⁴³

Why was it possible during the Han to tie virtue into schemes that explain why physiognomy, for instance, works? Because the cosmological assumption that the human realm resonated with the heavenly and earthly realms had become increasingly accepted in the Han. This naturalistic explanation of the virtues can also be seen in the writings of Lu Chia 陸賈 (d. 178 BC) and Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 (ca. 179–ca. 104 BC), which attempt to correlate specific virtues with physical or physiological phenomena.⁴⁴ This way of conceiving of the virtues is prefigured in the commentary to the "Five Kinds of Action," which goes so far as to speak of the *ch'i* 氣 of each virtue. The five virtues are thus located in human physiology, an idea already present in an early form in *Mencius*,⁴⁵ and to some degree implicit in Mencius' location of the sprouts of virtue in the mind. The conceptual "technology" that was used first by Tzu Ssu and Mencius, but later broadly accepted by Han writers faced with a number of discourses each consistent within itself, was the *tao/shu* metaphor. This metaphor allowed Tzu Ssu and Mencius to assert that intuitionism did not contradict reliance on the classics, the writer of the "Five Kinds of Action" to reconcile the accounts of self-cultivation found in *Mencius* and *Hsün-tzu*, and Han Confucians to make sense of the great number of rapidly emerging and internally consistent technical discourses.

The relationship between the body and the virtues, first found in Mencius' intuitionism, is the basis for the naturalistic account of the development and application of the virtues found in the "Five Kinds of Action" and the writings of Chia I. As ethics was integrated into the dominant technical discourse, virtuous behavior became something in which one could and must be trained. Human nature was disposed to neither good nor evil, but instead was, for the most part, malleable. The practical implication of this shift was the opening of the discourse on self-cultivation to other discourses, newly united in the sense that they were all parts of the same Way. Chia I advocated a system in which the unborn prince had to undergo a process of fetal education *in utero*, and on

⁴³ The jade analogy is especially significant because "Five Kinds of Action" uses the term "jade 玉" to signify the outward sign of one who possesses the Way. The implication that moral self-cultivation occasions an actual physiological change is consonant with some of the writings attributed to Mencius, such as *Meng-tzu cheng-i* 12, pp. 534–35 (7A21), where the four virtues are "rooted in the mind and create coloration, glossiness in the face, showing in the back and reaching the four limbs"; Csikszentmihalyi, "Fivefold Virtue," p. 82.

⁴⁴ In the first chapter of *Hsin-yü* 新語, Lu Chia correlates the virtues of benevolence and righteousness with *yin* and *yang* (e.g., *Hsin-yü chiao-chu* 新語校注 [Peking: Chung-hua, 1986], p. 34). Tung Chung-shu explains the five central Confucian relationships in terms of *yin* and *yang*, see Su, *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu i-cheng*, p. 350.

⁴⁵ *Meng-tzu cheng-i* 3, pp. 110–30 (2A2).

becoming mature entered the "five studies 五學." These studies, correlated with the five directions, each taught the prince a particular virtue. Chia writes that: "once these five studies are completed above, then the many officials and common people can transform and harmonize below."⁴⁶ The training of the prince, like the cultivation of the virtues and their application by the ruler, are all processes that were subject to the patterns of the natural world. As such, the first step to sagehood was the mastery of the techniques that exploited the presence of these natural patterns.

TECHNIQUE AND SKILLFULNESS

The ideal of the sage who not only masters a given *shu*, but also the *tao* of which it is a constituent, echoes one of the most important themes of a tradition that is cotemporary with Mencius. This connection is made by Hsü K'ai in his explanation of *shu*'s relation to *tao*: "Only the sage is able to exhaust the great *tao*. . . Worthies begin from *shu* and arrive at the *tao*. This is what the words of Wheelwright P'ien meant." Wheelwright P'ien is a figure from *Chuang-tzu* who argued that the books of the sages are useless, and that what is useful "is gained in my hands and echoes in my mind, but cannot be put into words by my mouth."⁴⁷ In *Huai-nan-tzu*, this story is used as an illustration of the ineffability of the *tao* and with direct reference to the opening lines of the *Lao-tzu*.⁴⁸ Is this aspect of *shu* reconcilable with the techniques of Chia I, traditionally the prototypical "Han Confucian"?

The skillfulness stories of the *Chuang-tzu* are based on a similar framework of specialized methods that constitute an overarching Way. While the term *shu* is not used in the *Chuang-tzu* version of the famous tale of P'ao Ting's 庖丁 carving an ox (the term *chi* 技 is used in much the same sense), *shu* is used in the story of Hsi Chung 奚仲, a proto-P'ao Ting chariot-maker in the "Hsing-shih 形勢" chapter of *Kuan-tzu*. There the artisan's *shu* is explicitly compared to that of the good ruler.⁴⁹ An even clearer parallel is in the writings of Chia I, where we find the following story:

In one morning, ox-butcher T'an 坦 could dismember twelve oxen without his sharp knife becoming blunt. What he cleared, struck, skinned and

⁴⁶ *Han-shu* 48, pp. 2248-49 (cf. Ch'i, *Chia-tzu Hsin-shu chiao-shih*, p. 594). Note the similarities between this passage and the Kuo-tien passage treated in n. 29, above.

⁴⁷ *Chuang-tzu* 13; see *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh* 4, p. 87.

⁴⁸ *Huai-nan-tzu* 12; see *Huai-nan-tzu* 12, p. 196.

⁴⁹ *Kuan-tzu* 2 and 64; see *Kuan-tzu chiao-cheng* 管子校正 1, p. 4, and 20, p. 327. See also W. A. Rickett, trans., *Guanzi* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1985) 1, pp. 70-71.

cut was all divided according to the existing pattern (*li*). When he got to the pelvis and femur, if he could not use his axe, he used a hatchet.

Now, benevolence, righteousness, kindness and generosity are the ruler's sharp knife. Power, purchase, law and regulation are his axe and hatchet.

Once authority has been fixed and power has been made sufficient, then by means of [these four virtues] one gives them a basis and spreads them. Therefore when virtue is disseminated, the people of the world will have the will to long for it.⁵⁰

Continuing in his memorial, Chia makes a specific point about political policy – that the "feudal princes are all a mass of pelvises and femurs," and implies that the time for virtuous behavior is past and it is time to use the axe and hatchet. Yet Chia I uses the kinds of image often found in *Chuang-tzu* – the knife and the axe – to portray the skillful application of a technique, be it virtue or force. His use during the Han era of skillfulness stories from the Warring States is further evidence that techniques were a new prototype structure by which some Han thinkers explained virtues.⁵¹

This has implications for understanding the *Chuang-tzu* text's implicit attitude toward the classics, because Wheelwright P'ien's radical point of view seems at first to have no place for the writings of antiquity. Yet the part-whole metaphor inherent in the relationship between *shu* and *tao* implies that the writings are useful, but to be a sage and understand the *tao* holistically involves something beyond books.

The relation between *tao* and *shu* also sheds light on the nature of the connection between Heaven and humankind in the *Chuang-tzu*. The dichotomy outlined above in late-Warring States and Han texts between a sagacious mastery of the undifferentiated and a mastery of techniques is similar to one found in *Chuang-tzu*. Woodworker Ch'ing empties his mind until he can judge the heavenly nature of the trees, in much the same way that the "bright ruler" does in the writings of Chia I and Han Fei, examined earlier.⁵² In "Five Kinds of Action" four virtues are required for mastering the human *tao*, but mastering

⁵⁰ This text, with the exception of the last two sentences, exists in almost the same form in both Ch'i, *Chia-tzu Hsin-shu chiao-shih*, 2, p. 3, and *Han-shu* 48, p. 2236. The last sentences are only present in the *Hsin-shu* version. Butcher T'an also appears in *Kuan-tzu* 29 (*Kuan-tzu chiao-cheng* 10, p. 162), and a close relative of T'an's named T'u 吐 appears in *Huai-nan-tzu* 11 (*Huai-nan-tzu* 11, p. 179).

⁵¹ Would this make Chia I Huang-Lao rather than Confucian? Perhaps it would be better to say that he is trying to synthesize two slightly different categories: those who claim authority derives from text and those who claim it derives from nature.

⁵² *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh* 19, p. 289.

sagacity is Heaven's *tao*. Thus, while the *shu* applied to politics or ethics work because these fields are just one perspective on the *tao*, attainment of the field-encompassing field of the *tao* is the equivalent of glimpsing the world from the holistic perspective of Heaven.

CONCLUSION

Examining the use of *shu* in early China demonstrates how the notion of an all-encompassing *tao* that had constituent *shu* affected ethical discourse. As early as the end of the fourth century, this metaphor appears in texts associated with Confucius' grandson Tzu Ssu, and it can be seen as an underlying structure that is shared by such seemingly disparate third-century texts as *Han Fei-tzu* and *Chuang-tzu*. It has implications not only for locating second-century figures like Chia I in relation to his Warring States precursors, but also for understanding the relationship between ethics and natural philosophy during the Han period. Chia I's application of virtue as a "technique" must be understood in the context of this tradition of reconciling a variety of authorities for judging moral action by using the framework of an overarching *tao*.

The implication for the categories used in discussing Han and pre-Han thought is also suggestive. The similarity of the metaphor of the overarching *tao* among thinkers usually considered to be of different "lineages" indicates that by the time Ssu-ma Ch'ien 思馬遷 described a "Taoist" entity that sought to synthesize disparate techniques of governing, there was already long-standing precedent.⁵³ On a more theoretical level, the conscious blending of discourses implicit in many uses of the metaphor indicates that it would be a mistake to apply a rigid distinction between "ethical" discourses on one hand, and "naturalistic" discourses on the other. No less a scholar than A. C. Graham sought to distinguish "five phases" (in a scientific context) from "five kinds of moral conduct" (in an ethical context) in his translations of *wu-hsing*. In the texts examined above, however, ethical self-cultivation and natural philosophy are not two separate discourses. Moral conduct is tied to the fundamental correspondences that govern the world and therefore these correspondences must be reflected in practice, whether it be the application of techniques of virtue, as in *Hsin-shu*, or the fivefold methods of reflective meditation in "Five Kinds of Ac-

⁵³ The use of *tao* as an overarching framework is also characteristic of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's record of his father T'an's 談 discussion of the "Essentials of the Six Lineages" ("Liu-chia yao chih" 六家要指), which treats the six groups *yin-yang* 陰陽, *ju*, *Mo* 墨, *ming* 名, *fa* 法, and *tao-te* 道德 as having different "techniques" of governing, the best points of which are all available to the *tao* lineage (*Shih-chi* 130, p. 3288).

tion." Interestingly, this absence of distinction is also true of the ancient Greeks and Romans, as Pierre Hadot has pointed out in his book *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault*.⁵⁴ Hadot has argued that it is only relatively recently that thinking about ethics has been separated from the exercise of self-cultivation. Once this conceptual leap is made, the use of the term *shu* in both the context of astronomically-based prediction and the context of the Confucian ruler's ethical behavior does not seem inappropriate.

⁵⁴ Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995).