ORTHODOXY AND HETERODOXY IN ANCIENT CHINESE PATTERNS OF THOUGHT

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Contents

Introduction

The following pages do not represent an attempt to sum up the present state of knowledge regarding all aspects of Chinese antiquity; rather, they highlight important considerations, to serve as a background to historical trends in Chinese thought.

Unlike Europe, China experienced little struggle between church and state because of the absence of such entities as Catholicism and Protestantism.[1]

1. For a classical treatment of the struggle between church and state, see Charles H. McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West* (New York: Macmillan, 1932), 146-318.

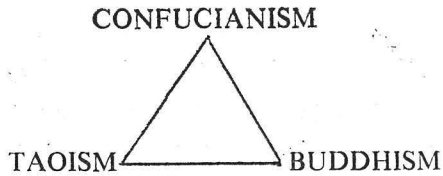
Instead she had a great number of conflicts between orthodoxy and heterodoxy in more than two millennia. Orthodoxy is taken to mean an officially and authoritatively established doctrine for the government and the people to follow.[2] This is called the correct teaching (*cheng-chiao*) or rightful denomination (*cheng-t'ung*), a position occupied by Confucianism.[3] Heterodoxy, corresponding to the following Chinese terms (*i-tuan*,[4] *hsieh-chiao*,[5] *hsiao-tao*,[6] and *tso-tao*[7]),

2. Orthodoxy stems from the Greek *orthos* (correct) plus *doxa* (opinion), signifying right opinion. It is translated in Chinese as *cheng-tsung* 正宗 or the orthodox sect. Heterodoxy, "the other opinion," corresponds to the Chinese term *i-tuan* 異端 (see note 4 below).
3. Confucianism primarily means Confucius' teaching or doctrine. Many Chinese scholars did not consider it a religion. But in English usage it has been often mentioned together with Buddhism and Taoism, and in reatility it has functioned as a national orthodox religion since the second century B. C. Any idea not in accordance with the Confucian classics was condemned as heretical. Only the Confucian doctrine was the rightfully dominating pattern of thought.

   Concerning the rightful doctrine (*cheng-chiao*) Wang Ping-hsieh 王炳燮 (*chin-shih* 1876) said, "The doctrine is derived from heaven. Because there is no second heaven, there is no second doctrine... After the death of Confucius' seventy disciples, the great principle was perverted. This gave rise to heretics... The followers of Yang Chu and Mo Tzu prevailed in the Chou dynasty, and those of Lao Tzu and Buddha began in the Han." *Wu Tzu-ch'i shih wen-chi*, 毋自欺室文集 pp. 100-101; See Ssu-yü Teng, *Protest and Crime in China, a Bibliography of Secret Associations, Popular Uprisings, Peasant Rebellions* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1981), 390.
4. *I-tuan* 異端, literally meaning different side or strange extremity, appears in the *Lun-yü*, "Tzu yüeh, 'Kung hu i-tuan, Ssu-hai yeh-i.' 子曰, 攻乎異端, 斯害也已.'" ("The Master said, 'The study of strange doctrines is injurious indeed'"); James Legge's translation of the *Confucian Analects*, II, ch. 16. *I-tuan* is rendered by Arthur Waley as "a different strand" (*Analects of Confucius*, 2.16), and by James R. Ware as "utterly and strange doctrines" (*The Best of Confucius*, p. 26). *I-tuan* implies heathenism or paganism in the sense that he who is not a Confucian is an *i-tuan*. But the famous scholar and prolific writer Yü Cheng-hsieh 俞正燮 (1775-1840) went even further to include Wang An-shih 王安石 (1021-86) in the list of the *i-tuan* heretics, *Kuei-ssu ts'un-kao* 癸巳存稿 14:425. In short, all those who are not Confucian or have different opinions from the orthodox scholars such as Wang Ch'ung and Wang An-shih might be classified as *i-tuan*.
5. *Hsieh-chiao* 邪教 is the antonym of *cheng-chiao*.
6. *Hsiao-tao* 小道 is probably derived from the sentence, "Sui hsiao-tao, pi-yu k'o-kuan che yen, 雖小道, 必有可觀者焉, "*Lun-yü*, XIX. 4. "Even the lesser doctrines certainly have their attraction," my translation. The *Analects*' commentators inform us that *hsiao-tao* resembles minor philosophers such as those in the periods of the Spring-Autumn and Warring States (770-221 B.C.). *Hsiao-tao* is further explained by Chu Hsi (1130-1200) as the way of farmers, gardeners, physicians, and fortune-tellers. Liu Pao-nan 劉寶楠 (1791-1855) interprets *hsiao-tao* as *i-tuan*, heterodoxy, *Lun-yü cheng-i* 論語正義 (Basic Commentaries on the *Analects*) (Taiwan: *Chung-hua ts'ung-shu* edition, 1958), 1053-54. Taking *hsian-tao* as a synonym of *i-tuan* actually began with Ho Yen 何晏 (3rd century A.D.) and was recently endorsed by the legal historian, Ch'eng Shu-te 程樹德 (1876-?) in his *Lun-yü chi-shih* 論語集釋 (Collection of Commentaries on the *Lun-yü*) (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1965) II:1132-34.
7. *Tso-tao* 左道 is derived from the phrase "Chih tso-tao i-luan kuo-cheng 執左道以亂國政," "Practicing corrupt ways [or holding fast to heterodoxies] so as to throw government into confusion" is a guilt punishable by death; See Legge's translation of the *Li Chi* 禮記 (*Book of Rites*), chapter on "The Royal system," I:237 (Photo-reprint, University Books Inc.,

may refer to such unorthodox religions as Buddhism and Taoism, especially in the early stage of their development, and to subversive sects, such as Zoroastrianism, Manicheanism, Maitreya-Buddhism, the White Lotus sect, and numerous other denominations.

Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism contended with each other for a long time, but eventually they fought to a triangular stalemate.[8] At the apex of the triangle stood Confucianism; the two base angles were held by alien Buddhism and native Taoism, each of which commanded a large following and hence gained a legal position in public debates and in ceremonial services. The seditious sects, with less formal doctrines were not so fortunate. They were declared illegal, and were persecuted by the Confucian governing class. The oppressors and the oppressed engaged in life-and-death struggles on many occasions in Chinese history.



The framework of this study generally follows Hegelian dialectic: thesis-antithesis-synthesis,[9] or more simply stated: orthodoxy-opposition-eclecticism. Let us test whether the evolution of Chinese thought is well fitted into this pattern. If not, what theoretical modifications are necessary? If so, can we expect some corollaries and ramifications? Although this topic is large enough for a thick volume, we can only provide "large branches without leaves." It is hoped that some general tendencies of Chinese thought and the peculiar conditions of China may be discerned. It is expected, too, that a little hint

1967). Other commentators take *tso-tao* to include witchcraft, black magic, and other unlawful sects. Another commentator classifies Yang, Mo, Shen, Han 楊, 墨, 申, 韓, i. e. Yang Chu (ca. 440-360 B.C.), Mo Ti (ca. 468-376 B.C.), Shen Pu-hai (d. 337 B.C.), and Han Fei-tzu (d. 233 B.C.) as *tso-tao*. In this case *tso-tao* may be translated as the left wing, implying that Confucius was the right wing. See Sun Hsi-tan 孫希旦 (1778 *chih-shih*), *Li-chi chi-chieh* 禮記集解 (Collected Commentaries on the *Book of Rites*), *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* ed., p. 34. Thus *tso-tao* means: (1) heterodoxy; (2) sorcery, witchcraft;(3) black magic; (4) left-wing doctrine; (5) evil course.

8. Ts'ai Jen-hou 蔡仁厚 "Kuan tsung-chiao ti hui-t'ung wen-t'i 關於宗教的會通問題," (On the Problem of Religious Conglomeration), *Chung-kuo wen-hua yüeh-k'an* 中國文化月刊 no. 16 (Feb. 1981) 67.
9. Merlan, Philipp: "Ist die 'These- Antithese-Synthese' Formel Unhegelisch?" In *Archiv fur die Geschichte de Philosophie* 53.1 (1971) 35-40; W. T. Stace, *The Philosophy of Hegel* (Dover Publications, 1955), 126, 166.

may be offered, not for presumptuous prediction of what may happen in the future, but for a little deeper understanding of China.

The complex ideas may be divided into three periods for the convenience of presentation: firstly, ideological formation from antiquity to the Christian era; secondly, orthodox Confucianism, native Taoism, and alien Buddhism from the first to the twelfth century; and thirdly, orthodox Confucianism versus religious sects from the thirteenth to the twentieth century. In this essay, we have space to cover the first period.

A. Ideological formation from antiquity to the Christian era

Chinese ideas and ideals are occasionally referred to as "this-worldly" philosophy or "down-to-earth" philosophy. These appellations are not strictly true. The goal of Chinese philosophy and religion seems to be to provide both educated and uneducated people with an understanding of the workings of heaven and earth. This understanding includes the role of the individual in society, and the role of "secret societies" within society as well. The evolution of Chinese history and society is also closely bound up with the good earth where hundreds of millions of human beings have lived. Location, climate, and topography have influenced the pattern of life and thought.

People in a primeval stage seem to have been greatly affected by meteorology. Ancient Chinese must have learned by experience and observation the vagaries of weather and climate, the properties of the soil, the alternation of day and night, the mystery of the moon and power of the sun. From the moon and sun they developed the concept of the Yin and Yang. Rain and cloud are connected with Yin, the shady, dark, cold, mysterious side; sunshine with Yang, the bright, warm, productive side. Facing the south a cottage is warmer in the winter and cooler in summer; facing south, plants grow faster. This gave them the impression that Yang is more powerful than Yin. Moreover the sun gave them a sense of seasons and a sense of directions. And by watching the vapors of the sky, they learned to foretell the following day's weather and wind conditions.[10] Therefore meteorology fostered a natural

10. Wang Meng-ou 王夢鷗, "Yin-yang Wu-hsing chia yü hsing-li chi chan-shih 陰陽五行家與星曆及占筮" (Astrology, Sorcery and Divination of the Yin-yang and Five Elements School), *Shih-yü So chi-k'an*), 489; Chou Ch'ün-chen 周羣振, "Yin-yang Wu-hsing shuo ssu-hsiang chih yüan-yüan 陰陽五行說思想之淵源" (The Origin of the ideas of Yin-yang and the Five Elements) in *Chung-kuo wen-hua t'e-k'an* 中國文化特刊 18 (Sept. 1981) 65-69. For China's meteorological zones, see *Chung-yang yen-chiu yüan ch'i-hsiang yen-chiu so chi-k'an* 中央研究院氣象研究所集刊 (Academia Sinica: Memoir of the National Research Institute of Meteorology, 1929-35), no. 1-8.

development of the Yin-yang concept by the early Chinese. The view that the Yin-yang dualism of Chinese thought is "an importation of Iranian origin" may warrant a reconsideration.[11]

Fire was probably produced in China after repeated experimentation, inspired by lightning or sparks from striking a rock with a stone axe. Discovery of how to make fire was not necessarily carried from a certain cultural center in Africa or west Asia to China.[12] At the dawn of human society fire kept beasts from attacking human beings. Early humans soon tasted the difference between raw and cooked food. Along with fire early Chinese used water, wood, earth, and later, metal, without any complicated ideas behind them, as developed still later with the conception of the Five Elements (*Wu-hsing*). Seemingly simple-minded the early people were superstitious and apprehensive of many objects.[13] Natural phenomena like flood and drought were beyond their comprehension and control. Especially incomprehensible were the changeable sky and the ever-moving sun and moon, all of which stimulated their imagination but remained beyond their dominion. They imagined that above the sky there must be a Supreme Ruler (*Shang-ti* or God).[14] The

11. This is stated by Arthur Waley in *The Way and its Power* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1954) 112. The Yin and Yang symbols have been found on the Neolithic Yang-shao pottery from about 2000 B. C. and also on Chou bronzes; P. J. Lowenstein, "Swastika and Yin-Yang," *China Society Occasional Papers*, Lo ndon, 1942. This may serve as follow-up material for a natural-development concept of fire and *Yin-Yang*. Joseph Needham does not pay much attention to Waley's statement.

12. The Chinese story attributes the discovery of fire to a fabulous ruler, Sui-jen 燧人, the Prometheus of China, who procured fire from wood by friction, probably using a piece of metal. See *Confucian Analects* with James Legge's translation and notes, XVII, ch. 21; Han Fei (d. 233 B.C.), *Han Fei Tzu* 韓非子, 2:1-2 (any edition); and Sir James George Frazer (1854-1941), *Myths of the Origin of Fire* (London: Macmillan, 1930) 100-108, 193 *passim*. All these stories belong to mythology, which is defined by Frazer as "the philosophy of primitive man."

13. Certain schools of diffusionists hold that "the presence of similar traits in two cultures is always an indication of contact irrespective of distance which may separate the cultures in either time or space." As a matter of fact, "independent invention has been more frequent than the extreme diffusionists admit"; Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: D. Appleton Century, 1936), 368. See also Joseph Needham's discussion of "Simplicity and complexity," *Science and Civilization in China* II: 228-29 *passim*. Needham seems to be in agreement with Linton; otherwise the diffusionists would not leave him much chance to write several volumes on *Science and Civilization in China*. On this problem, Herbert Chatley has also presented some reference data with an objective attitude in "Origin and Diffusion of Chinese Influence" (London: The China Society, occasional paper, 1948).

14. *Shang-ti* 上帝 seems to be derived from the classic, *Shih-ching* (*Book of Poetry*): "Shang-ti lin ju, wu er er hsin 上帝臨汝, 無二爾心" (God is with you, have no doubts in your heart), "Ta-ya, ta-ming 大雅, 大明," *The Chinese Classics* V: 436. Karlgren translated this term as "God on High," *The Book of Poetry* (Stockholm: The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), 189. *Shang-ti* appears 19 times in *The Book of Poetry;* 16 in *Li Chi;* 6 in *Chou-li;* 25 in *Mo Tzu;* and only once in *Hsün Tzu*. *I-ching* is one of the oldest of the *Thirteen Classics*, yet it is surprising to find no record of *Shang-ti* in the *Book of Changes*. Nor is there mention of *Shang-ti* in *Lun-yü*, *Meng-tzu*, *Ch'un-ch'iu* and *I-li*.

almighty and mysterious sky was awe-inspiring. Spirits of the sun, the moon, thunderbolt, cloud, wind, rain, snow, earth, rivers, high mountains, and foggy islands (especially as seen from the Shantung coast) were all regarded with reverence. Such a conception of a world of natural gods prevailed in ancient China.

Life was full of uncertainties with no way to ensure good hunting or abundant harvest, and full of anxieties about birth, death, illness, and weather conditions. Elderly people were admired, especially people's parents and grandparents, who had acquired rich experience from weathering many storms. While the elders were alive, their children and grandchildren always asked their advice before starting any major activities. After their deaths their counsel was still sought, and hence ancestor worship developed. Worship of man after his death has been considered "the oldest religion of the human race."[15]

They might also worship a tall tree, a queer rock, a high mound, and many other objects which might have served them as a landmark in the past, or which might have come to symbolize their ancestry. This resembles the totem system.[16] No doubt animism was practiced, and it is still visible and traceable in China and Japan.

Divination seems to have been extensively used to get answers from deceased ancestors and natural spirits. The anthropologist K. C. Chang defines divination as "communication with ancestors."[17] Their descendants formulated simple questions, and recorded some of the answers and, if known, the results. Many of these transactions are inscribed on tortoise shells and animal bones. This is the earliest ideographic Chinese, written first with fine brushes, then incised on bones about 3400 years ago prior to other written script in East Asia.[18]

15. J.J. M. deGroot, *Reiglion in China* (New York and London: Knickerbocker Press, 1912), 177.
16. Cheng Te-k'un, *Shang China* in *Archaeology in China* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1960) II: 132; Linton, *Study of Man*, 206-207, 425-26. Totemic symbols are more visible in Japan, because of Shintoism, than in China.
17. In K. C. Chang, *Early Chinse Civilization: Anthropological Perspectives* (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, no. 23, 1976), 196.
18. Traditionally, the Chinese attributed the invention of the writing brush to Meng T'ien 蒙恬 (D. 209 B.C.) But a long-time field worker in the Yin ruins and great expert on oracle bones assures us: "In the Yin dynasty people wrote characters definitely with a well-made fine brush." Tung Tso-pin 董作賓 (1895-1965), *Chia-ku-hsüeh liu-shih nien* 甲骨學六十年 (Sixty Years of Studies of the Oracle-bone Inscriptions) (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1965), 101. There is an English translation of Tung Tso-pin's earlier work, *Fifty Years of Studies in Oracle Inscriptions* (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Studies [Toyo Bunko], 1964).

These oracle bones appeared to learned society in 1899 in the old capital of the Yin dynasty (ca. 1523–1028 B. C.), which is briefly referred to as Yin-hsü or the Yin ruins. Here, and later from a few other nearby sites, the Academia Sinica conducted archeological excavations and harvested about 10,000 oracle bones. The ones with inscriptions provide 4500 characters, 1723 of which hava been deciphered including 371 compound expressions. There are 2949 isolated or partly obliterated characters which have not been deciphered.[19] These longburied records on oracle bones, unknown to the great Chinese historian, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, in the first century B. C., offer us valuable information about ancient China in general and the 495-year history of the Yin dynasty in particular. The deciphered characters have been incorporated in large dictionaries for students to compare the earliest form of a certain character with the modern script.[20] The writing of the Yin dynasty looks quite different from modern Chinese, but most of the oracle-bone ideograms have been identified with their later forms by paleographers.

From the Yin ruins, the well-known specialist, Tung Tso-pin, deduced a dualistic phenomenon within the ancient ruling family. Lamenting the paucity of source material and hence the brevity of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's chapter on the Yin dynasty in the *Historical Memoirs* (*Shih-chi*), Tung furnished us with new information after careful analysis of the dualism.

Conservatives and Progressives in the Oracle Bone Records

In the royal house of the Yin dynasty there were two powerful factions alternately dominating the administration like thesis-antitheses. Tung Tso-pin divided the Yin history into four periods:

19. The progress in deciphering oracle-bone characters may be seen from the following works: 873 characters in Wang Hsiang 王襄, *Fu-shih Yin-ch'i lei-tsuan* 簠室殷契類纂 (1920); 789 characters in Shang Ch'eng-tso 商承祚, *Yin-hsü wen-tzu lei-pien* 殷墟文字類編 (1933); 956 in Chu Fang-p'u 朱芳圃, *Chia-ku-hsüeh wen-tzu pien* 甲骨學文字編 (1933); 1006 deciphered, 1112 undeciphered in Sun Hai-po 孫海波, *Chia-ku-wen pien* 甲骨文編 (1934); 1046 deciphered, 1585 undeciphered in Chin Hsiang-heng 金祥恆, *Hsü chia-ku wen-pien* 續甲骨文編 (1959), and finally 1377 deciphered in Li Hsiao-ting 李孝定, *Chia-ku wen-tzu chi-shih* 甲骨文字集釋 (1965). See Tung Tso-pin, *Chia-ku-hsüeh liu-shih nien*, 10-13. Yen I-p'ing 嚴一萍, a devoted disciple of Tung Tso-pin, who regarded Yen as an amateur but productive writer on oracle scripts, has lent us his assistance; herein we offer him our best regards. *Cf.* also the statistical figures given under the "*Chia-ku-wen*" entry in the *Tz'u-hai* 辭海 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1979).
20. Such as Ting Fu-pao 丁福保, *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu ku-lin* 說文解字詁林 and Supplement (Shanghai: I-hsüeh shu-chü, 1928, 1932); Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次; *Dai Kan Wa jitem* 大漢和辭典 (Tokyo, 1956-60); and Chang Ch'i-yun 張其昀, *Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien* 中文大辭典 (Taipei, 1962-68).

1. Conservatives (adhering to tradition) 1401–1274 B. C., covering five reigns.
2. Progressives (innovating) 1273–1227 B. C., three reigns.
3. Conservatives (restoring the tradition) 1226–1210 B. C., two reigns.
4. Progressives (reviving the innovation) 1209–1112 B. C., two reigns.

These two factions' major differences lie in the ceremonial rites, calendar system, style of writing, and scope of divination. The conservatives found a favorable date for official sacrifice by divination; the progressives adopted pre-fixed dates for such occasions in order to avoid the trouble of casting lots each time. The conservatives offered sacrifices to remote ancestors, mountains, rivers, and the earth (or local god); the progressives were more regular, rational, and definite with predated sacrifices. It is easy to arrange the bones of the progressives, while some of their opponents' bones are hard to put in order. Regarding the calendar, the reformers placed the intercalary month right after the acumulated extra days, instead of (as a thirteenth month) at the end of each year. In style of writing, the progressives' oracle bone inscriptions are more skillfully done and better spaced than the conservatives'. As an excellent archaic-style calligrapher, Tung enjoyed the beautiful oracle inscriptions by official historians (*shih-ch'en* 史臣) under King Wu-ting 武丁 (r. 1339–1281 B. C.), a leader of the conservative faction, and well known in ancient Chinese literature.

In divination, the conservative kings consulted more spirits and raised more inquiries than the progressives; the latter felt that it was unnecessary to divine dreams, births (regarding identification of sex), illness (regarding prognosis), etc. The leader of the progressives was Tsu-chia 祖甲 (r. 1273–1239 B. C.), who, in contrast to Wu-ting, has been unknown; he attained some fame only recently, with the discovery of new information from oracle-bone records.[21]

While Tung had many supporters, he was challenged, notably by Ch'en Meng chia and Kaizuka Shigeki.[22] Fortunately for us, the well-established

21. Tung Tso-pin, *Chia-ku-wen tuan-tai yen-chiu li* 甲骨文斷代研究例 (Periodic Classification of Oracle-bone Inscriptions), published in Academia Sinica's *Shih-yü so chi-k'an, wai-pien* 外編 extra 1.1 (1933) 323-424; Tung's "Ten Examples of Early Tortoise-shell Inscriptions," (resumé, notes, and forward by Yang Lien-sheng) *HJAS* (1948) 119-129; his *Chia-ku wen liu-shih nien* (see n. 18) 102-120; and K. C. Chang, *Early Chinese Civilization* (see n. 17) 103-106, 113-14 with pertinent comments.

22. Ch'en Meng-chia 陳夢家, *Yin-shü pu-tz'u tsung-shu* 殷墟卜辭綜述 (A Synthetic Account of Oracle Bone Inscriptions from the Yin Ruins) (Peking: K'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, 1956); Kaizuka Shigeki 貝塚茂樹 and Ito Michiaru 伊藤道治, *Kôkotsu soji kenkyū* 甲骨文字研究 (Study of the Oracle Bone Writing) (Kyoto: Dohosha, 1980) I:5-14. (This is the Catalogue of the Oracle bones in the Kyoto University Research Institute for Humanistic Studies.)

theory of dualism remains unaffected by Tung's detractors.

Legendary rebels

Another brilliant savant, Joseph Needham, made a new observation which is enlightening and informative. According to legend, a group of mythological beings, as rebels and heretics, revolted against the earliest orthodox king, who had to fight and destroy them. One of the leaders, Ch'ih Yu 蚩尤, the first rebel in Chinese history, attempted in 2698 B. C. to overthrow the Yellow Emperor (Huang-ti) and was crushed at a battlefield (Cho-lu, in modern Hopei). Another monster, Huan Tou 歡兜, was punished by the Yellow Emperor, on a certain mountain. Pai Kun 伯鯀, father of Yü, despite his perverse nature, was reluctantly appointed by Emperor Yao as Minister of Works to drain the flooded country. After performing his duty perfunctorily for nine years without success, he was banished. The work was entrusted to his son who achieved the goal and became the Great Yü, the founder of the so-called Hsia dynasty (traditionally 2205-1755 B. C.).[23] Another legendary being, Kung Kung 共工, a minister of state under emperor Fu Hsi, led an abortive rebellion and was banished. Finally the chieftains of San Miao 三苗 formed a confraternity with solemn ceremonies. The oath of mutual alliance is illustrated by a vivid picture under the label, "The Miao People Sworn Alliance (*Miao-min chü-meng t'u* 苗民咀盟圖)" in Needham's *Science and Civilization in China,* II: 118. The rebels, Ch'ih Yu, Huan Tou, Pai Kun, and Kung Kung, were grouped together in a picture entitled, "The Four Punished Miscreants (*Ssu-hsiung fu-tsui t'u* 四兇服罪圖)" in Needham, II: 116.

Needham includes these legends in his work because of the relation to science of the bronze workers, who became rebels and subsequently received favorable mention in Taoist texts. Some of the rebels' names have a distinct connection to later scientific technical terms. For instance, Needham says that Huan Tou means "literally 'peaceable bellows.'"[24] There is no doubt that

23. Yü, a cultural hero, was, during the period of the Warring States, incorporated into the systematized dynasties of ancient times as founder of the Hsia. Professor Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛 (1893-1980) cast doubt in 1926 upon the real existence of Yü. This caused an era of suspicion and argument in the academic world about the authenticity of ancient Chinese history and literature. See Ku Chieh-kang, "Yü Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung hsien-sheng lun ku-shih shu 與錢玄同先生論古史書" (A Letter Discussing Ancient Chinese History with Professor Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung) in *Ku-shih pien* (Discussions on Ancient History) I (1926) 106-34, 165-86, 207-10. For other rebels, see Liang Yü-sheng 梁玉繩, *Han-shu jen-piao k'ao* 漢書人表考 (A Study of the List of Personal Names in the *Han-shu*), *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* ed., pp. 447-48.

legendary rebels have come to be regarded as spirits of various kinds and have come to be worshipped and sacrificed to. Ch'ih Yu, a legendary inventor of metallurgy and metal weapons, joined with the San Miao as sworn brothers. He is painted black in the chapter "Lü-hsing" of the *Book of Historical Documents* (*Shu-ching*). He was the first to rebel, and supplanted Emperor Yen 炎 as ruler. He was avaricious and murderous. The *Book of Historical Documents* states:

> Disorder spread among the common people, all of whom became robbers and bandits. They conducted themselves like owls and traitorous villains. They carried on seizures, robbery, deception and looting.[25]

San Miao or Miao is mentioned six times in the *Book of Historical Documents* and was located in the region between the lakes Tung-t'ing and Po-yang in modern Hunan, Hupeh, and Kiangsi.[26]

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24. *Huan-tou* 驩兜 can be used interchangeably with 歡兜 meaning a harmonious or peaceful belows. The connection between legendary rebels and metal workers needs a little explanation. Legends might have been transmitted verbally, but they were not written down until the period of the Warring States (481-221 B.C.) or later, when metals including iron and steel were in wide use. It is not easy for a historian to write ancient tales completely detaching himself from his own time and environment. Similarly, no one could describe an atomic bomb in detail until nuclear physics had advanced to the manufacturing stage and actual bombs had been made and dropped. See Needham, III, 108, 115-120; Vi, 135ff; H. Maspero, *China in Antiquity*, pp. 18, 21, 193, 278.
25. Chapter "Lü-hsing 呂刑," *Shu-ching* (Book of Historical Documents). Cf. translations of Legge in *Chinese Classics*, III, 590-1; and Karlgren in the *Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, no. 22: 74. For Ch'ih Yu, including a dramatized battle at Cho-lu 涿鹿, Hopei, see Henri Maspero, *Taoism and Chinese Religion* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981), 233-34.
26. Lin Yüeh-hwa, "The Miao-Man Peoples of Kweichow," *HJAS* 5 (1941) 261-344, esp. 271. Ruey Yi-fu, a famous senior anthropologist, supplies more information in a special essay about the Miao people. Consisting of several tribes, they were referred to as San Miao. Together with the Chinese and others, they were the earliest occupants of China. But the Miao ancestors, according to Ruey, were probably the legendary emperor Fu-hsi 伏羲 (2953-2838 B.C.) and his female successor Nü Wa 女媧. The customs and rites of these two rulers were different from the then legitimate line, emperors Yao 堯 (d. 2258 B.C.), Shun 舜 (2317-2208 B.C.) and Yü 禹. The heretic San Miao line rebelled against the orthodox Yao-Shun-Yü line. The former was defeated, driven from the north to Nan-hai 南海, Kwangtung, in southern China, where its descendants eked out a living awaiting a chance for revenge. After nearly a thousand years they supported King Wu of Chou (Chou Wu-wang 周武王 〔?-1122 B.C.〕) in overthrowing the last king Chou 紂 of the Shang dynasty. The successful Chou kings put the descendants of Miao under the control of the feudal state of Ch'in. Thereafter the Miao was overshadowed by other names such as Mao 髦 and Nan-man 南蠻. Until the thirteenth century A. D. the term Miao-jen had seldom been used. In the last several hundred years, the Miao tribe reappears in history, and their rebellion in the early 1830s made them noticeable. Ruey is inclined to think that today's Miao people are descendants of the Miao in the ancient period. Now their population is more than 2,500,000 scattered in Kweichow, Yunnan, Szechwan, Hunan, Kwangsi, and

Needham has noticed that in every case the legends attributed to the rebels have connections with metal workers. He says "A vast mass of folklore is available from Han and pre-Han texts, and a full working out of the views would embrace such diverse subjects as the position of totemism and the secret societies of the first bronze founders."[27]

We can see that whenever there are weapons, whether primitive or advanced, there may be danger of rebellion. That is why Lao Tzu says, "In general, good weapons are inauspicious tools."[28]

We can also see that wherever there are human societies, whether clans or communities, dualism will exist in one way or another in the form of argument or conflict.

One may raise a question whether legends have historical value. The answer is affirmative, because these legendary tales are recorded in Chinese classical literature from the fifth to first centuries B. C. As the eminent historian Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng 章學誠 (1738-1801) said, "Of the *Six Classics*, all have historical value."[29] If history is a reflection, interpretation, or evaluation by the author in the present, then the pre-Christian records have historical value in understanding that period.

Let us take Ch'ih Yu as an example. Ch'ih Yu was first recorded in the *Book of Historical Documents* in chapter "Lü-hsing," which has been generally considered authentic and translated into English by Bernhard Karlgren and others. This name, Ch'ih Yu, appeared thirteen times each in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's

Kwangtung. There are also more than 100,000 Miao tribesmen living in northeast Burma, north Thailand, northeast Cambodia, and in Tongking, Vietnam. Most Miao people are living in mountainous areas, possibly because they are minority groups. In China there are several "Self-government Districts (*Tzu-chih hsien* 自治縣) established by the Peking government for the Miao peopale to rule themselves in Kweichow, Hunan, Yunnan, and especially in Kwangsi. Ruey Yi-fu 芮逸夫, "Miao-jen k'ao 苗人考 " (A Study of the Miao Tribe), *Hong Kong Ta-hsüeh wu-shih chou-nien chi-nien lun-wen chi* 香港大學五十週年紀念論文集 (A Symposium Commemorating the Fiftieth-year Establishment of Hong Kong University) (Hong Kong University Press, 1964), 2: 308-321. Especially see Wen I-to 聞一多 (1899-1946), "Fu-hsi k'ao 伏羲考 " in *Wen I-to ch'üan-chi* (Hong Kong: Yüan-tung t'u-shu kung-ssu遠東圖書公司, 1968) 1: 3-68. This scholarly article actually traces many other legendary beings of the Miao tribe in connections with totemism and flood stories. Wen believed that these beings were totem animals of primitive tribes who became incorporated into Chinese civilization in the fourth century B. C. One of his conclusions is that Fu Hsi and Nü Kua were the ancestors of the Miao tribe (p. 52).

27. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, II: 119.
28. *Lao Tzu* 老子 XXXI, my own translation.
29. *Wen-shih t'ung-i* 文史通義 (A General Discussion of Literature and History) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1961), 1. In the same essay the six classics are listed as *I* 易, *Shih* 詩, *Shu* 書, *Li* 禮, *Yüeh* 樂, and *Ch'un-ch'iu* 春秋.

Shih-chi and in Pan Ku's *Han-shu*; these two histories are comparable to Herodotus and Thucydides in Western historiography. In Ssu-ma Chien's narrative, Ch'ih Yu revolted against Huang-ti and engaged in a great battle in Cho-lu in modern Hopei. He was a fierce fighter who killed many people. For his awe-inspiring bravery he was deified in later ages. Ch'in Shih-huang worshipped eight spirits; the first was called Lord of Heaven, the second, Lord of the Land, and the third, Ch'ih Yu, Lord of Arms (主兵 or God of War). The location of his grave is given in the *Historical Memoir*. When Liu Pang (later Han Kao-tsu) began his uprising aginst the Ch'in dynasty, he offered prayers and sacrifice to Ch'ih Yu. After he became governor of the district of P'ei, he worshipped the warrior-god Ch'ih Yu again, and anointed his drums and flags with the blood of the sacrifice. During the thirty-year war covering the Ch'in conquest of the six states and Liu Pang's defeat of Ch'in and Hsiang Yü (231-202 B.C.), "the people killed, like scattered sesame seeds, were incalculable. There has never been a tragedy like this since the time of Ch'ih Yu."[30] This statement signifies the importance of Ch'ih Yu who was said to have eighty-one dauntless warriors consisting of his brothers and cousins. Because of his awe-struck might, he was worshipped also in the Han dynasty, when more temples were built in his honor. He was respected as a national hero; his name and flags were used to bolster the morale of the soldiers who were deployed for the territorial expansion of the Ch'in Han Empire, and were especially used when repulsing the invasion of the Hsiung-Nu people.[31] This background may help us understand why Ch'ih Yu became a prototype god of war, like Kuan Yü 關羽 or Kuan Kung 公 (d. 219 A.D.), who received this title in later ages. Thus the evolution of Ch'ih Yu's reputation from "First Rebel" of the legendary period (see p. 9) to that of a national hero and god of war in the third and second centuries B. C., indicates a contradiction resolved by a kind of eclecticism. Nevertheless, in the Shantung reliefs decorating the walls of shrines at the Wu family graves of the second century A. D., Ch'ih Yu appears again as a

30. *Shih-chi*, 27:40, "T'ien-kuan shu" (On astronomy), 40, Wu-ying tien chu-chen-pan ed., photo-reprint (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan). See also *Shih-chi* 1:3, 3:5, 8:7 referring to Ch'ih Yu. *Cf.* Burton Watson's translation of *Records of the Grand Historian of China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), II: 30-32.

31. Liu Ming-shu 劉銘恕, "Han Wu-liang-tz'u hua-hsiang chung Huang-ti, Ch'ih-yu ku-chan T'u-k'ao 漢武梁祠畫象中黃帝蚩尤古戰圖考" (A Study of the Picture of Fighting Between Huang-ti and Ch'ih Yu in the Stone Chamber of Wu-liang Tz'u of the Han Dynasty), *Chin-ling hsüeh-p'ao* 金陵學報 42.9 (Sept. 1942) 341-66.

rebel warrior in company with such other famous assassins as Nieh Cheng 聶政 (d. 397 B.C.) and Ching K'o 軻荆 (d. 227 B.C.). But this is not a reevaluation of Ch'ih Yu, but rather a display of ancient legends to show the long history of the Wu family, which claimed descent from Wu-ting (r. 1339-1281 B.C.) of the Yin dynasty.[32]

It behooves us now to straighten out the chronology, so that we can move forward to a more colorful arena. In archeological terms, the Yang-shao (Painted Pottery) culture and Lung-shan (Black Pottery) culture in North China belong to the late Neolithic times. The material foundation of these Neolithic cultures was a primitive agricultural economy supplemented by hunting, fishing, and domestication of dogs, pigs, and other animals. Many people lived in round, subterranean dwellings and engaged in cultivation of millet and other coarse grains. Villages developed into clan-organized units, which are claimed to have been matriarchal in the Yang-shao period and patriarchal in the Lung-shan period. Each village was self-sufficient and autonomous.[33]

The *Nu-li* Slave society existed in the Shang (ca. 1520-ca. 1030 B.C.) and early Chou periods (ca. 1030-722 B.C.). The *Feng-chien* Feudal society prevailed in the late Chou (722-221 B.C.). and its spirit survived in subsequent dynasties. More seeds of culture were planted in the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals (722-480 B.C.). By the middle of this period, about 600 B. C., there were signs that all of the old social order of the Western Chou was crumbling. The second half of the Spring and Autumn period witnessed the disintegration of the higher social strata of Chinese society, the upward rise of individuals on the basis of ability, and the use of

32. Wilma Fairbank, "The Official Shrines of 'Wu Liang Tz'u,'" *HJAS* 6 (Mar. 1941) 1-36, with excellent artistic retouching of the indistict stone rubbings: and "A Structural Key to Han Mural Art," *HJAS* 7 (1942) 52-88. Joseph Needham has reproduced a second-century A. D. tomb-shrine of relief showing the culture-heroes, Fu-hsi and his sister consort Nü-kua, jointly holding a carpenter's square and a *quipu* as symbols of construction and order, Needham, I, 164.

33. For a more detailed and well-documented presentation, see Paul Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters* (Chicago: Aldine Co., 1971), 22-30; an Cheng Te-k'un, "New Light on Ancient China," *Antiquity* 38 (1964) 179-86. In these sources there is a controversy as to whether the climate in ancient north China was warmer than it is today. I am inclined to think that it was warmer because: (1) elephant bones were unearthed in North China where no such animal can exist in the wild today, and (2) silk and hemp were often mentioned in Chinese literature, while cotton was not introduced from India until more than a millennium later. Not everyone could have afforded to wear fur. Thus ancient winters along the Yellow River might not have been so severely cold as they are today.

technical skills dissociated from noble birth. This background gave rise to Confucius and Mo Tzu, and subsequently many other philosophers, in the period of Warring States (480–221 B.C.), especially in the 5th and 4th centuries when a period of intense ferment resulted in a great burgeoning of thought, the so-called "Hundred Flowers Blossom."[34]

B. Confucius and the Confucian school

War should be cursed in every way, but we cannot but admit that war is sometimes thought-provoking. One of the earliest respondents to the declining and war-torn feudal system was Confucius (K'ung Ch'iu 孔丘, K'ung Tzu or K'ung Fu-tzu, 551–479 B.C.). He tried to save the traditional socio-political system by means of a vehemently advocated moral code, including benevolence (*jen*), filial piety, loyalty, considerateness, righteousness, propriety, honesty, and wisdom. He was a spokesman for morality, traveling from state to state seeking a responsible post from the feudal lords, with his earnest pledge, which was quoted by his students as: "If I were given the conduct of the government of a country now, in one year, I should have accomplished something considerable; after three years, I should have put everything in order."[35]

This self-assertion did not generate the expected result, even though it is said that he visited more than seventy princes. Disappointed, Confucius went home in the state of Lu (Shantung), where he resumed teaching as a lifelong profession, though he traveled again when there was an opportunity.[36] He is

34. Generally people have the impression that there were more wars in the period of the Warring States than that of the Spring and Autumn Annals. However, Hsü Cho-yün has calculated that in the Ch'un-ch'iu period of 259 years there were 1215.5 wars with only 38 peaceful years. The number of wars in the Chan-kuo period of 242 years was 468.5 with 89 peaceful years. (*Ancient China in Transition, an Analysis of Social Mobility*, 722-222 B.C. [Stanford University Press, 1965], pp, 56, 65). With so many wars in 500 years, no wonder people were wearied, as we can see in many poems in the *Shih-ching*. They blamed the sociopolitical system. The intelligentsia wondered what should be done to remedy the situation.
35. *Lun yü*, XIII, 10. Here we adopt Ku Hung-ming's translation, *The Discourses and Sayings of Confucius* (Shanghai, 1898), 111.
36. It was Ssu-ma Ch'ien who recorded that Confucius had interviewed more than seventy princes, none of whom granted him a steady position. *Shih-chi*, 14: lb. It is Feng Yu-lan 馮友蘭 who advocated that Confucius was the first professional school teacher in Chinese history. "K'ung-tzu tsai Chung-kuo li-shih shang ti ti-wei 孔子在中國歷史上的地位" (The Position of Confucius in Chinese History), *Yen-ching hsüeh-pao* 2 (Dec. 1927) 233-47. This idea is also included in Feng's *Chung-kuo che-hsüeh-shih* (Hong Kong: T'ai-p'ing yang, 1959), 68-78. For Confucius' traveling and life history, see Fang Chüeh-hui 方覺慧, K'ung Tzu pien-nien chi 孔子編年記 (A Chronological Account of Confucius) (Taipei: Taiwan shu-tien, 1958).

one of the earliest sowers of practical philosophy, which he accumulated through his checkered life. His disciples glorified him as a great sage. The master modestly remarked, "As to being a sage, or a man of virtue, how dare I presume to such a claim? But as to striving thereafter unswervingly, and teaching others therein without flagging — that can be said of me, and that is all." "And that," said Kung Hsi-hua, "is just what we disciples can not learn."[37]

As a matter of fact Confucius was not very famous during his lifetime. A villager from Ta-hsiang said, "Great indeed is Master Kung. Though his learning is vast, in nothing does he acquire a reputation."[38] Once a stranger, trying to pay him a visit, inquired about his residence, "Where is Philosopher K'ung's house?" A villager pointed it out contemptuously, "Are you looking for my 'East Neighbor, Ch'iu' [or K'ung Ch'iu]?"[39] In ancient China when a person's given name was used without any modifier, it signified, not familiarity, but disrespect. There are two other examples in the *Lun-yü* to indicate the contempt shown him. No wonder the Master lamented, "Alas, no one knows me!"[40] Evidently he was not yet celebrated during his lifetime.

What then makes Confucius famous and great posthumously and so permanently? It seems to be his wisdom, his modesty, his golden mean, and a government machinery to promote Confucianism, especially after 1200A. D. He was wise to open a road through the jungle of myth, legend, divination, and superstition. The pioneer's task is not easy, for he is like a lotus flower that grows out [of dirty mud and yet stands aloof, uncontaminated, with subdued color, and mild fragrance. He dodged the question of what life would be after death.[41] He offered sacrifices to ancestors hoping that they

37. *Confucian Analects*, VII, ch. 33. Here the translation of W. D. Soothill is adopted, *The Analects* (Oxford University Press, 1910), 69.
38. *Confucian Analects*, IX, ch. 2, with modification of Legge's translation.
39, The story of Tung-chia Ch'iu 東家丘 is neither in the *Lun-yü* nor in *K'ung-tzu chia-yü* 孔子家語 (The Discourse of the Confucian School). Such dictionaries as *Tz'u-yüan*, *Tz'u-hai*, *Dai Kan-wa jitem*, and *Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien*, all indicate the source of *K'ung-tzu chia yü* without mentioning the chapter. We had no success in finding the exact location from the best available editions of this work. Fortunately the internal evidence in the *Lun-yü*, XVIII, 507, can prove that K'ung Tzu was not well known during his lifetime. *Cf.* also R. P. Kramers, *K'ung Tzu chia yü* (Leiden, 1950).
40. *Confucian Analects*, XIV: 37.
41. "Chi Lu asked about serving the spirits of the dead. The Master said, 'You are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits?' Chi Lu added, 'I venture to ask about death?' He was answered, 'While you do not know life, how can you know about death?'" *Confucian Analects*, XI: 11.

were alive to enjoy it.[42] Confucius would not speculate on what is invisible or intangible. He "did not discuss prodigious feats of strength, rebellions, and the supernatural."[43] Therefore it is safe to say that Confucius was an agnostic. Ironically and unexpectedly he enjoyed posthumous honor as the founder of Confucian religion. His polite name, K'ung Fu-tzu, has been Latinized as Confucius in modern times.

He was perhaps wise, too, in not publishing any book of his writing but in editing his school textbooks—some of the *Five Classics*.[44] He rarely argued or competed with others, insisting, "I have no course for which I am predetermined, and no course against which I am predetermined."[45] Moreover there were four things from which the master was entirely free. "He had no preconceptions, no predeterminations, no obstinacy, and no egoism."[46] He was broad-minded but reserved; slow of speech but quick of action. He advocated filial piety in the family, loyalty in the state, considerateness and reciprocity in human relationship. These characteristics *inter alia* and the good fortune of having many enthusiastic adherents made Confucianism the long-lived orthodoxy of Chinese history.

Confucius' reputation gained headway after his demise. Several disciples mourned near his tomb for three years, while Tzu Kung 子貢 mourned six years. On one occasion a few of his devoted students competed with one another in eulogizing their master. Tzu Kung compared Confucius to the sun

42. *Ibid.*, III: 12. This imagining of a deceased person's actual presence at a sacrifice seems to have been a psychological justification so that Confucius could compromise with prevailing custom of his time and environment. Whether he really believed in spirits or not is uncertain. Let's remember that when the master fell ill, Tzu Lu asked him to pray. The Master doubted, "Is there such a thing?" He politely ended the request, "My praying has been in progress a long time." *Confucian Analects*, VI: 34.

43. *Ibid.*, XVI: 20. For the English translation in the text I have eclectically drawn from Legge, Waley, Ware, Soothill; each of their translations makes good sense. For instance, this sentence is translated by Ku Hungming as: "Confucius always refused to talk of supernatural phenomena, of extraordinary feats of strength, of crime or unnatural depravity of men, or of supernatural beings"; *The Discourses and Sayings of Confucius*, 53.

44. The *Five Classics* comprise the *Shih* 詩 (*Book of Poetry*), *Shu* 書 (*Book of Historical Documents*), *I* 易 (*Book of Changes*), *Li* 禮 (*Book of Rites*), and *Ch'un-ch'iu* 春秋 (*Spring and Autumn Annals*). The order of the *Five Classics* is sometimes *I-ching*, *Shu-ching*, *Shih-ching*, *Li-chi*, and *Ch'un-ch'iu*. The last follows the arrangement of the archaic text school, which is different from modern (Han) text school.

45. Lao Tzu said, "If he does not contend, no one in the world would contend against him" (*Lao Tzu*, LXVI). Whether Confucius learned this knack from Lao Tzu or vice versa is a moot question to be tackled later. See also *Analects*, XVII, ch. 8.

46. *Confucian Analects*, IX, ch. 4.

and moon. Tsai Wo 宰我 regarded him as far "superior to Yao and Shun." Tzu-kung added, "From the birth of mankind till now, there has never been another 〔sage〕 like our Master." These highest honors paid by his disciples certainly enhanced Confucius' image. But at the same time they were seemingly fraught with political motivation. According to the *Mencius*, there was an attempt to make Yu Jo 有若 the successor to Confucius simply because he looked like the sage. Others objected to the idea, and so the attempt failed.[47]

Schism seems inevitable even in the same school of thought. Han Fei Tzu informs us that the Confucians were divided into eight schools, each one claiming that it alone taught the orthodox Confucian ideology.[48]

Confucius was said to have had some three thousand students of whom more than seventy-two were scholars of extraordinary ability.[49] Many of his first and second generation disciples, such as Tseng Tzu, Tzu-kung, and Tzu Ssu, were prominent and influential in socio-political circles and built a foundation for Confucianism. But they died before long. Some of the eight schools must also have been short-lived or local. So the most influential Confucian came to be Mencius and Hsün Tzu whose positions in Chinese philosophy correspond with those of Plato and Aristotle in Western philosophy.

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47. Those who supported Yu-jo were Tzu-hsia 子夏, Tzu-chang 子張, Tzu-yu 子游. The objector was Tseng-tzu 曾子, who was a very popular teacher in his own right and was second to none but Yen Hui in the Confucian school. The *Work of Mencius* in the *Chinese Classics*, Vol. 2, pt. 1, ch. 2, pp. 70-71, ch. 4, pp. 130-31; *Shih-chi*, ch. 47, "Hereditary House of Confucius," ch. 67, "Biographies of Confucius' Disciples"; James Legge, *Prolegomena*, III, "Immediate Disciples" (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 117; H. G. Creel, *Confucius aud the Chinese Way* (*Confucius; the Man and the Myth*, 1949) (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960), pp. 56, 176, 297; and Wing-tsit Chan, "Ch'u-ch'i Ju-chia 初期儒家" (Confucianists in the Early Period), *Shih-yü-so chi-k'an* 史語所集刊, 47.4 (1976) 1-76. Professor Chan granted me an offprint copy. He observes that in the *Lun-yü*, the affiliation of *tzu* with a name, such as Meng-tzu, Tseng-tzu, Tzu-kung, Tzu-hsia, indicates a ranked disciple, of which there were 27; see pp. 1-12.

48. Since the death of Confucius the Tzu-chang 子張 school, the Tzu-ssu 子思 school, the Yen family 顏氏 school, the Meng family 孟氏 school, the Ch'i-tiao family 漆雕 school, the Chung-liang family 仲良 school, the Sun family 孫 school, and the Yüeh-cheng 樂正 family school. Wang Hsien-shen 王先愼, *Han Fei Tzu chi-chieh* 韓非子集解 (Taipei: Shih-chai shu-chü, 1955), ch. 50, "Hsieh-hsüeh 顯學," p. 351. *Cf.* Burton Watson, tr., *Basic Writings of Mo Tzu, Hsün Tzu and Han Fei Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 118.

49. For details and exactness see the well-documented essay of Ch'ien Mu 錢穆, "K'ung-tzu ti-tzu t'ung-k'ao 孔子弟子通考" in *Hsien-ch'in chu-tzu hsi-nien* 先秦諸子繫年 (A Chronology of Pre-Ch'in Scholars) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937) I: 56-77; and Wing-tsit Chan (see n. 47), 1-20.

Mencius' campaign for democracy

Meng K'o 孟軻 Meng Tzu or Mencius (ca. 390–305 B.C.), was a native of Tsou, while Confucius was a native of Lu; both are in modern Shantung. He studied under Confucius' grandson, Tzu Ssu, who was trained by the sage's celebrated first generation disciple, Tseng Tzu. Therefore Mencius was a direct descendant of the Confucian school, and indeed the two masters were close in ideas and actions. Both were professional teachers; both traveled widely for a long time; both preferred the maintenance of the traditional socio-political systems of the Chou dynasty; and both were transmitters of previous ideas, not creative writers. Nevertheless Mencius sharpened the focus of Confucius' terse and vague statements. Speaking of human nature, Confucius said, "By nature near together, by practice far apart."[50] Mencius explained his belief that human nature is originally good in a dialogue with Kao Tzu who might have been his student or friend, and who held that human nature is neutral.

> Kao Tzu said, "The nature of man is like whirling water. Open a passage for it to the east, and it will flow to the east; open a passage for it to the west, and it will flow to the west. Human nature is indifferent to good and evil, just as the water is indifferent to the east and west." Mencius replied, "...Human nature is good just as water flows downward. There is no man who does not intend to do good, there is no water that does not flow downward. ...Due to the force of circumstance, man may be brought to do evil."[51]

Although this is only a part of Mencius' explanation, he ably defended his good-human-nature thesis, and made it popular in Chinese history.

Unlike Confucius, who spoke briefly, Mencius liked to argue, to debate, and to convince his audience with anecdotes, parables, and witty arguments. This resulted in wide publicity for Confucianism. The two sages were interested in political theory and practice, and especially in public administration. Both believed in a notion of "sage king" similar to Plato's "philoso-

50. The original text is 性相近也, 習相遠也. *Confucian Analects*, XVII, ch. 2. We adopt the translation of Arthur Waley. W. E. Soothill's rendering is "By nature men nearly resemble each other; in practice they grow wide apart" (188). Ku Hung-ming gives "Men in their nature are alike; but by practice they become widely different" (153).

51. *The Works of Mencius*, Bk. VI, pt. I, 2. *Cf.* Wm. Theodore de Bary *et al.*. *Sources of the Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 102-103.

pher king." It seems, however, that whereas Confucius paid more attention to the ruler in an enlightened monarchy, Mencius put more emphasis on the ruled—the people in a sort of proto-democracy where majority rule was advocated. Confucius disapproved of rebellion; Mencius sanctioned tyrannicide.

Of the three basic elements of a state, Mencius believed that the people were the most valuable; the territory, second; the prince was the least important.[52] For him the people should be the master, the ruler the public servant. The ruler should like what the people like and hate what the people hate, and should follow the majority rule. When there is a candidate for a position, if the king's advisers say he is wise and talented, this is not enough; even if all high officials say he is wise and talented, this is still not enough; not until everyone in the state says so, may the candidate be investigated. If the result is satisfactory, then he may be employed. In order to make his point clear Mencius gives us two examples of the dismissal of an incompetent official or the execution of a criminal; the same procedure must be followed, namely a majority rule with nationwide approval.[53]

For further illustration of a government "by the people," Mencius drew supporting data from ancient history. He said that the reason for King Chieh 桀 (d. 1783 B.C.) and King Chou 紂 (d. 1122 B.C.) to have lost the Shang and Chou dynasties respectively was that they lost the support of the people. The king and the people should have close relations and each should fulfill their duties. If either party neglected its duty, then they would each suffer. In Mencius' words: "When a prince regards his ministers as his hands and feet, they will regard him as their belly and heart; when he treats them as dogs and horses, they will treat him as ... a robber or as an enemy." Worse still, they can rebel against or kill him. And this is tyrannicide, not regicide, because the king has forfeited the prerogatives of the throne and become a deserted man (*t'u-fu* 獨夫). Mencius drew this conclusion from ample historical evidence.[54]

52. Based on *Mencius*, Bk. VII, pt. II: 14, Mencius' political theory, with its emphasis on the people, may be verified in our present time in the cases of Japan and Germany whose territories were reduced after World War II. Despite such loss, they survived and have recovered quickly because of their energetic and cooperative people and their unselfish government.
53. It is based on *The Works of Mencius*, Bk. I, pt. II, ch. 7.
54. *Ibid.*, Bk. IV, pt. II, ch. 3. Mencius' approval of rebellion is not his personal opinion but based largely on the lessons given in the *Book of Historical Documents*. To begin with,

Modern scholars also support this analysis. According to James Legge, people have the right to raise the standard, "not of rebellion but of righteousness." "Ch'i i-ping 起義兵, a raising of righteous soldiers, is the profession of all rebel leaders in China".[55]

That Mencius approved of rebellion, even of tyrannicide, has also been endorsed by a current sinologist who says, "When a ruler fails to be a kingly ruler, he is no longer a king and the people have the right to resist, to rebel against him, and, if necessary, even to kill him in the course of rebellion."[56]

What then does the "mandate of heaven" (*T'ien-ming*) mean, when Mencius has already granted so much power to the people? To my mind, in the case of Mencius, *T'ien-ming* may simply mean popular support. To receive the mandate of heaven is to receive popular support. *T'ien* or heaven, in many usages, may be treated as an equivalent of *min*, people. As Mencius said, "Heaven sees according as my people see; Heaven hears according as my people hear." Here heaven is almost a symbol of the people. Heaven does not speak; it merely presents a person, as Yao presented Shun, to the people and "the people accepted him." Thus, to receive the mandate from heaven (*shou-ming yü T'ien*) actually means to receive popular support from the people. Mencius said: "There is a way to get the kingdom—get the people and the kingdom is got." He further stated: "They who accord with Heaven are preserved, and they who rebel against Heaven, perish." These statements may be taken to mean that those who work in accordance with the need of the people will prosper, whereas those who act against the wish

"Heaven sees as people see; Heaven hears as my people hear" is copied exactly from the chapter "T'ai-shih 泰誓" in James Legge's translation of *Chinese Classics*, III, 292. There are other instances of calling for people's rebellion. In the Speech of T'ang, the king said, "Come, ye multitudes of the people, listen all to my words. It is not I, the little child, who dare to undertake *what may seem to be a rebellious enterprise* but for the many crimes of the sovereign of Hea [Hsia], Heaven has given the charge to destroy him," III, 173. In the *Book of Chou*, the "Great Declaration," pt. 1, "Now, Chou 紂 the [last] king of Shang, does not reverence Heaven above, and inflicts calamities on the people below. He has been abandoned to drunkenness, and reckless in lust. Along with criminals he has punished all their relatives ... He has burned and roasted the loyal and good. He has ripped up pregnant women. Great Heaven was moved with indignation, and charged my deceased father Wan [King Wen] reverently to display its majesty; but he died before the work was completed ... The iniquity of Shang is full. Heaven gives command to destroy it. If I (Wu-wang Fa 武王發) did not comply with Heaven, my iniquity would be as great," III, 284-287. Based on these instances, it seems clear that to rebel against a tyrant king is to obey the will of heaven.

55. The *Chinese Classics*, II, Prolegomena, sect. II, Mencius' influence and opinions, 48.
56. Frederick W. Mote, *Intellectual Foundations of Chna* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), 58.

of the people will perish. Thus, mandate of heaven may mean popular support.[57] In Frederick Mote's understanding, "Mencius not only made the people the ultimate standard for judging the government, but made man the standard for Heaven itself. Heaven to Mencius meant nature, or the ethic cosmic order *in toto*."[58]

One of the most extensive treatment of *T'ien-ming* 天命 is given by T'ang Chün-i, who says, "Mencius' doctrine of establishing *ming* is a development of Confucius' doctrine of understanding *ming*, though Mencius emphasized more advanced preparation for cultivating one's virtue."[59] It is obvious that throughout the whole book, Mencius tried his best to promote Confucius' ideas and ideals, such as benevolence (*jen*), righteousness (*i*), propriety (*li*), and wisdom (*chih*). He is therefore called the Second Sage (*Ya-sheng* 亞聖).

Hsün Tzu's role in Confucianism and Legalism

Hsün Tzu, Master Hsün (given name, Hsün K'uang 荀況, and Hsün Ch'ing 卿, 3rd century B. C., ca. 298-238) was a native of Chao in modern Shansi. At the age of fifty he traveled to the state of Ch'i (in modern Shantung), then the center of Chinese civilization. He associated with other scholars in an informal academy located near the capital's city gate called Chi-hsia 稷下, thanks to the king of the Ch'i, who attracted many scholars from other states to come to his capital by offering them stipends, living quarters, and leisure to pursue their studies and to enjoy the freedom of thinking and discussion as we can see below. Having been an avid reader, Hsün Tzu was able to survey the late Chou thought as a whole including the Taoist, Legalist, and logic schools. Thus he became a great synthesist of ancient knowledge up to his time. His work represents the most complete and well-ordered

57. T'ien-ming 天命 is mentioned only once in *Mencius*, Bk. IV, pt, A, 7.5, "The decree of Heaven is not unchanging." My interpretation of this term was published in *China in Crisis*, Ping-ti Ho and Tang Tsou, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968) I: 438. The quotations are from the *Work of Mencius*, Bk. V, pt. 1, ch. V; Bk. IV, pt. 1, ch. IX; Bk. IV, pt. 1, ch. VII. These citations follow the order in the text. See also Yang Hua-chih 楊化之, comp., *Meng Tzu yen-chiu chi* 孟子研究集 (Taipei: Chi-ch'eng tu-shu Co., 1963), 30-31. *Cf.* also Vincent Y. C. Shih, "Metaphysical Tendencies in Mencius," *Philosophy East and West* 12.4 (Jan. 1963) 319-41.

58. Mote (see n. 56), 58.

59. T'ang Chün-i 唐君毅, "The T'ien-ming [Heavenly Ordinance] in Pre-Ch'in China," *Philosophy East and West* 11.4 (Jan. 1962) 195-218; 12.1 (Apr. 1962) 29-49. It was originally published under the Chinese title, "Hsien Ch'in ssu-hsiang chung chih t'ien-ming kuan 先秦思想中之天命觀" in *Hsin-ya hsüeh-pao* 新亞學報 11.2 (Feb. 1957) 1-33.

philosophic system of the early period.[60] As a senior scholar he was honored with the position of a Libationer. This high post incurred jealousy and criticism for him. He had to leave the Ch'i court for the Ch'u state where in 255 B. C. he was appointed magistrate of Lan-ling 蘭陵 in southern Shantung. As a living compendium of all the learning of the age, Hsün Tzu rendered excellent service in promoting education and in teaching students to enhance the cultural level of the district. He won the fond respect of the people. For eighteen years he continued in the office until the assassination of his superior, Prince Ch'un Shen 春申 in 238 B. C., when he lost his position. He continued to live and teach in Lanling until his death, and there he was buried.

Hsün Tzu trained two outstanding disciples: Han Fei-tzu (d. 233 B. C.), the last of the Chou Legalist philosophers, and Li Ssu (d. 208 B. C.), who was an able assistant of the First Emperor of China (Ch'in Shih Huang-ti).[61] Just as Hegel's dialectic affected Marx, Hsün Tzu's evil-human-nature theory influenced Han and Li to reshape the Chinese empire. In this respect he played an important role in Legalism.

Although both Mencius and Hsün Tzu were staunch supporters or molders of Confucianism, to use Homer Dubs' term, each had different opinions. It was Hsün Tzu's belief that human nature is basically evil, and therefore nurture and discipline are needed. People should be governed by law and punishment. This flatly contradicts Mencius' theory that man is originally good. Every man should do his best to cultivate his original good nature to the utmost.[62] This is indeed the most fundamental divergence of the two educators. As for minor disagreements and Hsün Tzu's criticism of Mencius, see Feng Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, I: 280-81.

There is a controversy that Mencius patterned after ancient kings, Hsün Tzu later kings, which may mean that Mencius looked backward and Hsün Tzu forward. Actually it is not true. The later kings here spoken of are the

60. Liang Ch'i-hsiung 梁啓雄, *Hsün Tzu chien-shih* 荀子柬釋 (*Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* edition, v. 31), ch. 6: 57-67; ch. 17: 235; ch. 21: 294-95. See also Wei Cheng-t'ung 韋政通, *Hsün Tzu yü ku-tai che-hsüeh* 荀子與古代哲學 (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1966) in *Jen-jen wen-k'u* series.

61. *Shih Chi*, ch. 74, Biographies of Meng Tzu and Hsün Ch'ing, 5-7 (Taipei: I-wen Yin-shu kuan reproduction of the Wu-ying tien ed.), and Homer Dubs, *Hsüntze* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1927), 24.25 *passim*.

62. *Hsün Tzu Chien-shih*, sect. 23: 329-35. For a good treatice see Homer H. Dubs, "Mencius and Sün-dz on Human Nature," *Philosophy East and West* 6.3 (Oct. 1956) 213-22.

kings of the early Chou dynasty, not of the remote antiquity. "There were so many sage-kings," said Hsün Tzu. "Which shall I follow? When rites are too ancient, their forms become obliterated. If you wish to see the footprints of the sage-kings, then look where they are most clear, that is to say, at the later Chou kings. If you wish to know the governance of the Chou dynasty, you should learn from the esteemed superior man [i. e. Confucius]."[63]

"Hsün Tzu, like Mencius, thus paid honor to Confucius and believed in the conservation of the Chou institutions, but where Mencius said that man should follow the examples of the early kings such as Yao and Shun, Hsün Tzu maintained that it is the later kings who should be followed. However, what they meant by these two terms was exactly the same," according to Feng Yu-lan.[64]

It seems that Hsün Tzu cast a little doubt on the reliability of legendary kings. If so, Hsün Tzu may be honored as a remote predecessor of Professor Ku Chieh-kang (1893-1980) who started a great "doubt-ancient-history movement" in the 1920s.[65]

Hsün Tzu also approved the people's right to revolt against evil kings. It is not Mencius but Hsün Tzu who said: "The ruler is the boat and the common people are the water. It is the water that bears the boat up, and the water that capsizes it."[66] The success of a government depends on the morality of a ruler who can command the support of the people, and then

63. Dubs, *Hsüntze*, sect. 5, 50-51.

64. *Cf.* Feng Yu-lan, *Chunk-kuo che-hsüeh-shih* (Hong Kong: T'ai-p'ing-yang tu-shu kung-ssu, 1959), 351; and Derk Bodde's translation of his *History of Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 1: 282.

65. Hsün Tzu thought that history did not clearly record what Yao, Shun, and Yü did. They were supposed to have reigned two thousand years before his time. Were these sage-kings really good? Did they really yield the throne to their successors, and for what reasons? (Homer Dubs, *Hsüntze*, 106-107, 282-84). Burton Watson also noticed that Hsün Tzu "vehemently refutes the legend that the ancient sage ruler Yao selected Shun from among the common people to be his successor, and ceded the throne to him. This legend is recorded in the *Book of Documents* [*Yao-tien*], the *Analects*, ch. 20, and the *Mencius* [5A:5], and was evidently widely accepted among the followers of the Confucian school. Scholars now believe that it is an invention of fairly late Chou times" (*Hsün Tzu*, 9-10). No wonder Hsün Tzu decided to honor King Wen (?-1157 B.C.), King Wu (1156-1116 B.C.), and Duke Chou (d. 1105 B.C.) who lived several hundred years before Hsün Tzu.

66. This famous simile has been ascribed wrongly to Mencius by some. But actually it is in the *Hsün Tzu*, ch. 9: 37, in Burton Watson's translation. For more original sources on Hsün Tzu's ideas of revolution and respect for public opinion, see Wei Cheng-t'ung 韋政通, (See n. 60), 97-106. For more internal evidence against the remote antiquity, see Lo Ken-tse 羅根澤, *Chu-tzu k'ao-so* 諸子考索 (Peking: Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1958), 63-77.

his state is secure.

The notorious behavior and maladministration of the last king of the Yin (or Shang) dynasty reportedly caused two-thirds of the Chinese tribes to switch their loyalty to the rebellious force. Wen Wang and Wu Wang received the mandate of heaven, which means "to succeed in possession of the kingdom" and established the Chou dynasty in 1122 B. C. The Duke of Chou, no doubt an able statesman, served as a kind of regent during the childhood of King Ch'eng. In consolidation of the conquest the heir of Yin was captured and placed under the guard of Chou Kung's brothers, Kuan and Ts'ai. Before long, these guards allied with their captive and the defeated soldiers of the Yin dynasty, in an attempt to retake the Yin capital.[67] In a power struggle Chou Kung suppressed the new rebels, executed his brother Kuan, and the Yin heir, and exiled Ts'ai. When King Ch'eng came to maturity, Chou Kung returned the administrative power to him and was thus praised highly by Hsün Tzu and other philosophers. This political transaction, called "*I-wei* 易位 dethrone or change positions," established a precedent to be followed in later Chinese history such as minister Yang Chien who deposed the emperor and set up a new regime called the Sui dynasty (589-618), and as the Regent Uncle Dorgon (1612-1650) did in early Manchu history. During the last two thousand years Hsün Tzu, according to T'an Ssu-t'ung and Liang Ch'i-chao, has been one of the most influential scholars on both Confucian and legal ideas.[68]

On the whole, however, Confucius advocated reverence toward the prince

67. Ch'en Meng-chia 陳夢家 collected some information from oracle bone and especially bronze inscriptions on the early Chou history in his chapter on "The Greatness of Chou (ca. 1027-ca. 221 B.C.)" in *China*, ed. by Harley F. MacNair (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), 54-71. Unfortunately MacNair did not use footnotes. See also Teng Ssu-yü, "Chou Kung shih-shuo yen-pien k'ao 周公史說演變考" (Evolution of Historical Stories About the Duke of Chou) in Huang Pei 黃培 and T'ao Chin-sheng 陶晉生, eds, *Teng Ssu-yü hsien-sheng hsüeh-shu lung-wen hsüan-chi* 鄧嗣禹先生學術論文選集 (Taipei: Shih-huo ch'u-pan she, 1980), 189-221.

68. *Hsün Tzu Ch'ien shih* (see n. 60), ch. 8: 78, "Ju-hsiao 儒效 (The Merit of Confucianism): 故以枝代主, 而非越也; 以弟誅兄, 而非暴也; 君臣易位, 而非不順也." (Hence for a branch to take the place of the head of the house is not overstepping the bounds of what is right; for a younger brother to kill his older brother is not oppression [violence]; for a prince and a minister to exchange positions is not improper), Dubs' translation, *Hsüntze Works*, 93. See also Chu Chien-chang 朱堅章, *Li-tai ts'uan-shih chih yen-chiu* 歷代簒弑之研究 (A Study of Usurpation and Assassination in All Dynasties) (Taipei: Wen-hua chi-chin-hui ts'ung-shu, 1964); and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啓超, *Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun* 清代學術概論 (*Jen-jen wu-k'u* edition), 95-96, trans. by Immanuel C. Y. Hsü with the title *Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 108.

and restraints upon subjects; he had gained the support of would-be absolute monarchs. Monarchism tried to build up an authoritarian political and ethical doctrine after the period of the Warring States. The Confucian emphasis on loyalty and considerateness suited the need of those kings whose avowed purpose was to be benevolent, at least at the time of enthronement.

Finally Hsün Tzu's objection to religious magical practices, his condemnation of prayers for rain and for the cure of illness, and his attacks on physiognomy, fortune telling and other superstitions were for the purpose of attacking heretics.[69] His systematic defense of Confucian ideas against the persistent attacks of varied opponents was a significant factor in the ultimate dominance of Confucian dogma in Chinese thought. Undoubtedly Mencius and Hsün Tzu are the two arch supporters of Confucianism. Nevertheless, Confucianism has been virtually divided into the Mencius and Hsün Tzu branches.

C. Antithetic schools of thought

Mo Ti 墨翟, Mo Tzu, or Master Mo (ca. 468-ca. 376 B.C.) was an early Confucian heretic.[70] In the 5th century B. C. Confucius and Master Mo were the two most popular and influential philosophers and politico-social reformers. Mo Tzu's ambition was "to promote what is beneficial to the world and to eliminate what is harmful" ("Universal Love," pt. 2, trans. by Watson). While Confucius has been compared to Socrates, Mo Tzu has been called in a general way the anticipator of Rousseau's *Social Contract* and J. S. Mills Utilitarianism. Confucianism and Mohism were the two rival philosophical schools in the technical sense. Both teachers, affected by the

69. *Hsün Tzu Ch'ien-shih*, Ch. 17: 231-34; H. H. Dubs, *Hsüntze, the Moulder of Ancient Confucianism* (London, 1927), ch. 5, "Speculative philosophy and superstition," 57-76; and B. Watson, *Hsün Tzu*, 8-9.

70. The dates of birth and death of many ancient Chinese are approximate, if we are lucky to find some information, and those of Mo Tzu are particularly perplexing. Ssu-ma Ch'ien in the first century B. C. could not furnish us with the desired biographic information. For some two thousand years Mo Tzu was little studied, until Sun I-jang 孫詒讓 (1848-1908) made a scholarly commentary on the book *Mo Tzu*, and a chronological chart of the author Mo Tzu. In the latter source Mo Tzu's dates are indicated as 468-376 B. C. This is modified to 480-390 B. C. by Ch'ien Mu 錢穆 who spent many years in the preparation of *Ch'ien Chin Chu-tzu hsi-nien* (see n. 49), p. 100. Needham gives 479-381 B. C., *Science and Civilization in China*, II, 165; Wm. Theodore de Bary *et al*, 470-391 B. C.?, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, 36; Wing-tsit Chan, fl. 479-438 B. C., *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 211. These are only a few examples. Because there is no consensus of opinion, it is safe for us to indicate Mo Tzu's dates tentatively as in the text.

social upheavals of the time, traveled about persuading feudal lords to adopt their ideas. Both believed that government should correspond to the desires of the common people. Both urged that the hereditary rulers should turn the administration over to persons of wisdom and talent.

These similarities may have been caused by the fact that Mo Tzu was probably a native of the state of Lu, as was Confucius, and received the same basic education as in the Confucian schools. But he broke away and became a dissident from Confucianism. He set up his own independent school of thought.[71]

There are two reasons for the establishment of Mohism or Moism. One is the different family and social backgrounds of Confucius and Mo Tzu, and the other is the organizational difference between Confucianism and Mohism. Confucius was a descendant of a Shang dynasty official, and he belonged to the hereditary bureaucratic class. Mo Tzu belonged to a lower class of artisans. Mo Tzu literally means "Master of the Ink Marking Line" (device for making a straight line on lumber; a long thread rolled up on a wheel to go through an ink pad). He said: "The will of Heaven to me is like the compass to the wheelwright and the square to the carpenter." Mo Tzu is also reported to be descended from displaced knights or wandering military adventurers.[72]

71. According to Liu An 劉安 (d. 122 B. C.), "Confucius and Mo Ti practiced the arts of the ancient sages and were learned in all the discourses on the Six Disciplines [decorum, music, archery, charioteering, writing, and mathematics]," *Huai-nan hung-lieh chi-chieh* 淮南鴻烈集解 (A Collected Commentary of Prince Huai-nan's Compendium), *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* ed., 9: 24. On another occasion the same author wrote, "Mo Tzu learned the professions from Confucians (*ju* 儒) and received the teaching metihod of Confucius. But he considered that the ceremones of the Confucian school were too numerous and displeased him; its stress on elaborate funerals was money-consuming and impoverished the people; and its observance of lengthy mourning periods was wasteful of the observer's life and harmful to his public service, Therefore he turned his back on the Chou dynasty and instead he prefered the Hsia customs" (ch. 21: 8). *Cf.* Derk Bodde's translation of Feng Yu-lan's *History of Chinese Philosophy* I: 77.

72. For Confucius' family and social background, see "K'ung-tzu shih-chia 孔子世家" in *Shih-chi*, ch. 47. For Mo Tzu's labor class background, see Y. P. Mei, *The Works of Motse*, 140, 255-59; Li Ying 黎嬰, *Chung-kuo ku-tai ta ssu-hsiang-chia* 中國古代大思想家 (Great Thinkers of Ancient China) (Hong Kong: Shanghai shu-chü, 1962), 20-21; Hsiao Kung-ch'üan, trans. by F. W. Mote, *A History of Chinese Political Thought*, 214-17; and Mote, *Intellectual Foundations of China*, 86-87. It is Feng Yu-lan who suggested that "the Mohist school was originated from the chivalrous group of the professional fighters [the knights-errant]"; "The Origin of Ju and Mo," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* 19.2 (Jul. 1935) 153-55.

Confucius, although poor, sought to maintain his traditional prestige and dignity. Since his youth he had been master of ceremonies, mourning observances, and decorum.[73] It is said that when a dinner table was not properly set, he would not sit (*Analects* 10. 10); when meat was improperly cut, he would not eat (*ibid.*, 10. 8). He traveled in a two-horse chariot loaded with books.[74] When he was in Ch'i, he heard Shao music, and for three months was not conscious of the taste of meat (*ibid.*, 7. 13). On one occasion he candidly told his students: "As a youth I was poor, hence I learned to do many things" (*ibid.*, 9.6). Confucius preferred charioteering to archery (*ibid.*, 19. 2); this may hint that he was a pacifist. Indeed, he admitted: "I have not learned military matters" (*ibid.*, 15. 1).

Mo Tzu, on the other hand as Ssu-ma Ch'ien informed us, "lived in a small house built of rough unworked timbers and with a thatched roof. He used none but earthenware utensils, and partook of the coarsest food. His clothing was of the simplest skin or hemp according to the season."[75] We can visualize this Mo Tzu from the lower social stratum, whose appearance and manner were quite different from those of Confucius. No wonder that a feudal lord of Ch'u refused to see him, on the pretext of old age—the real reason was that Mo Tzu was from a humble background (*chien-jen* 賤人).[76]

The teaching of simplicity in funeral ceremonies and brevity in the

73. Hsü T'ung-lai 許同萊, *K'ung Tzu nien-p'u* 孔子年譜 (Taipei: Chung-yang wen-hua kung-yin she, 1955), 24, 28, 34 *passim.*

74. Note that it was Mencius, not Confucius, who was questioned by his disciple, "Is it not an extravagant procedure to go from one prince to another and live upon them, followed by several tens of carriages, and attended by several hundred men?" *Mencius*, bk. III, pt. II, ch. 4.

75. *Shih-chi*, ch. 130: 5. *Cf.* also *Mo Tzu chien-ku*, p. 289.

76. Here *chien-jen* 賤人 may also mean a low-class man. I adopt Y. P. Mei's translation of *Motse*, ch. 47: 223. The antonym of *chien-jen* is *chün-tzu* 君子, princely or superior man. According to Chang Ch'un-i 張純一, Mo Tzu was proud of his skill with his "ink marking line (*shun-mo* 繩墨) and of his peasant background. He valued manual labor and stoic life as reasons for pride," *Tseng-ting Mo Tzü chien-ku ch'ien* 增訂墨子閒詁箋. (Notes on *Mo Tzu chien-ku*, revised and enlarged) (Taipei: I-wen Yin-shu kuan, 1975), 269. See also Hsü Wen-shan 徐文珊, *Hsien Ch'in chu-tzu tao-tu* 先秦諸子導讀 (An Introduction to Pre-Ch'in Philosophers) (Taichung: Yu-shih shu-t'ien, 1964), 121, in which the author believes that Mo Tzu spoke for the commoners. Then *chien-jen* may also mean a low commoner. On the class background of Mo Tzu and Mohists, see also the three essays written by Chao Fu-chieh 趙馥潔, Wang Ming 王明, and Sun Kuo-chen 孫國珍 in Che-hsüeh yen-chiu pien-chi pu 哲學研究編輯部 ed. *Chung-kuo che-hsüeh-shih wen-chi* 中國哲學史文集 (Chilin: Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1980), 88-127.

mourning period was made from the point of view of the lower class of society. Mo Tzu criticized Confucius and Confucianism for being extravagant, pompous, fatalistic, and for being over-fond of music, dancing and lavish funerals. The death of a common man exhausted the wealth of a family, and that of a feudal lord emptied the state treasury. As a radical reformer Mo Tzu would have liked to abolish the ways of the Chou dynasty with its art and luxury, its wars and moral blindness, and completely revive the primitive simplicity of the Hsia period.[77]

Mo Tzu, founder of the Mohist School, diagnosed the trouble in his society as the lack of "love," or better still, of "universal love." Here is his reasoning: because I do not like your children and your home, therefore I do not care if I kill your children and destroy your home; but if I love them both, I can not bear to do so. How could universal love, which seems to be more concrete than the Confucian kindness or benevolence (*jen*), be realized? Mo Tzu answered that mutual love and mutual benefit on a utilitarian basis were most essential to this realization. In addition, honoring the worthy (*shang-hsien* 尙賢), identifying with one's superior in ideology and aim (*shang-t'ung* 尙同), and determination to overcome destiny (*fei-ming* 非命) and to stop incessant wars could improve the chaotic situation and promote better human relationships.[78] This leads to the second point—the organizational difference between Confucianism and Mohism.

Mo Tzu seems to have organized a labor or carpenters' union, like Freemasonry, with skillful carpenters, architects, chivalrous adventurers, religious zealots, and a number of the *hish* 士 class, who were mostly educated military officers. Mo Tzu trained them to live a stoic life and to obey the iron rules of the leader.[79] On the contrary, Confucius made no attempt to organize his disciples.

77. *Mo Tzu chien-ku*, ch. 20-25; and H. R. Williamson, *Moti, a Chinese Heretic; a Short Sketch of His Life and Works* (Tsinan: Print at University Press, 1927), p. 5.
78. *Mo Tzu chien-ku*, ch. 14-16.
79. T'ao Hsi-sheng 陶希聖, *Chung-kuo cheng-chih ssu-hsiang-shih* 中國政治思想史 (A History of Chinese Political Thought) (Taipei: Ch'üan-min ch'u-pan she, 1954), I: 84-86, 90-91; Feng Yu-lan/Bodde, I, 81-84, and n. 71. Note that, in China, not until recent decades were there architects. Normally the chief carpenter served as architect for a house, temple, or monastery, especially in rural districts. A Japanese sinologist has capably covered the Mohist Union, its ideas and activities from beginning to end; see Takashi Watanabe 渡邊卓, "Bokuka no shūdan to sono shisō 墨家の集團とその思想" (The Mo Tzu Group and its Ideas), *Shigaku Zasshi* 70.10 (Oct. 1961) 1-34; 70.11 (Nov. 1961) 40-74.

Needham has noticed that Mohism seems from the beginning to have been better organized than Confucianism. In order to volunteer their knowledge and service to defensive war for an oppressed state, the Mohists practiced the techniques of fortification and defense leading them to take interest in the basic methods of science—mechanics, optics, and flying automation.[80]

The wooden kite or artificial flying bird which stayed aloft for three days is amazing. In the *Mo Tzu* the construction is attributed to Kung-shu Pan 公輸般, who is the same person as Lu Pan 魯班 (or 般), a famous mechanic of the Lu state. Lu Pan has been worshipped as a god of carpentry.[81] But in *Han Fei Tzu* it is mentioned twice that Mo Tzu made the wooden flying kite and that Mo Tzu was a very skilled man.[82] At any rate he and the god of carpentry had demonstrated their ingenuity.

Mo Tzu's proto-union organization

Now it behooves us to explore Mo Tzu's prototype craft or labor union and its stern rule. This organization was not simply an academic association, but rather a revolutionary secret seciety, like those formed in later ages.

First, Mo Tzu had his laborers so well organized that they could take prompt group action. In chapter 50 of the *Mo Tzu*, the Lord of Ch'u said: "Kung-shu Pan has already constructed scaling ladders for me, and I must capture Sung'" As countermeasures Mo Tzu untied his belt and laid out a model city with it, using small sticks to represent various military installations. Kung-shu Pan set up nine different means of attack; Mo Tzu repulsed him nine times. Kungshu Pan had exhausted his means of attack, yet Mo Tzu was far from being exhausted in defense. Moreover, continued the *Mo Tzu*, "My disciples Ch'in-ku Li 禽滑釐 and others numbering three hundred are already armed with my implements of defense waiting on the city wall

80. Needham, II, 54.

81. *Mo Tzu chien-ku*, ch. 49: 291-92; Y. P. Mei's translation, 257; *Huai-nan-tzu* (*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* ed.), ch. 19: 11a, 20; and Herbert A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary* (Taipei: Reprinted by Literature House, undated), 548, under Lu Pan 魯班 (or 般).

82. Wang Hsien-shen 王先愼, *Han Fei-tzu chi-chieh* 韓非子集解 (Collected Commentaries on *Han Fei-tzu*) (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1955), ch. 11: 199: "Mo Tzu made a wooden kite, taking three years to complete it." Fortunately there is a third source, which seems to have missed Needham's attention. It is *Huai-nan-tzu* (*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* ed.), which states: "Lu Pan and Mo Tzu used wood to make a kite which flew for three days," ch. 12: 12a. For further discussion, see Needham, VI, 137ff.

for the invaders from Ch'u." These three hundred men might have marched for days and nights to the scene of action, as Mo Tzu did himself (Y. P. Mei, 257). In the *Mo Tzu* there were twenty chapters discussing defensive warfare, although some of them have been lost. He was undoubtedly a military expert in addition to being a scholar and craftsman.[83]

Secondly, a Mohist must obey the union laws. These included fighting for defensive but not offensive war. A Mohist who killed a person must be killed; one who wounded someone was duly punished. A disciple, Sheng Ch'o 勝綽, who happened to take part in an offensive war, was immediately ordered to resign by Mo Tzu. He tried to systematize and rationalize the morality of contemporary chivalry.[84]

Thirdly, a union member must make a contribution to its leader. Mo Tzu had recommended his disciple Keng Chu 耕柱 to Ch'u for a job. Before long Keng Chu presented Mo Tzu with some money which he was delighted to accept.[85] This has been a general practice in underground circles.

Fourthly, the *Chü-tzu* 鉅子, the Great Master, wielded supreme power. As the commander-in-chief of the Mohist party, the *Chü-tzu*'s words, just as the will of heaven, must be obeyed. Obedience to heaven's will, in Mo's religion, was an absolute necessity, a basic requirement involving religious sanction for the maintenance of his hierarchy. He believed in the will of God and other spirits who had the power to reward goodness and punish evil. He invoked all kinds of sanctions to induce people to love one another. Ironically, however, he opposed belief in destiny; he encouraged people to struggle hard to improve their lot, which was not predetermined. This

83. Y. P. Mei, *Works of Motse*, 255-59, esp. 259. For Mo Tzu's union organization, see Chi Che 稽哲, *Hsien Ch'in chu-tzu hsüeh* 先秦諸子學 (Pre-Ch'in Philosophers) (Taipei: Lo-t'ien ch'u-pan she, 1970), 273-77; the famous textual critic, Ts'en Chung-mien's 岑仲勉 *Mo Tzu ch'eng-shou ko-p'ien chien-chu* 墨子城守各篇簡注 (Brief Notes on the Chapters Dealing With City Defense in the *Mo Tzu*) (Peking: Ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 1958); Chihara Masayoshi 千原勝美, "Bokushi heigokō-kō 墨子兵技巧考" (On Mo-tzu as a Practitioner of Military Tactics), *Shinshū daigaku kyōiku-gakubu kenkyū ronshū* 信州大學教育學部研究論集 (Bulletin of the School of Education, Shinshū University) 2 (Mar. 1952) 44-53. The *Huai Nan Tzu* says that the wisdom of Wu Ch'i 吳起 (d. 381 B.C.) and Chang I 張儀 (d. 310 B.C.) was inferior to Confucius and Mo Tzu, ch. 9: 21. Wu Ch'i was a famous general, Chang a clever politician and diplomat. This information may support Mo Tzu's military talent. See Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若, "Shu Wu Ch'i 述吳起" in *Ching-t'ung shih*-tai 青銅時代 (The Bronze Age) (Peking: Hsin-hua shu-tien, 1957), 202-30.

84. Y. P. Mei, p. 254. See also T'ao Hsi-sheng, *Chung-kuo cheng-chih ssu-hsiang shih*, pp. 100-101, where there is a section on Mohism, Religious organization and knights-errant.

85. Y. P. Mei, p. 214.

encouragement might have influenced peasant rebellion in the future.

A charismatic leader, Mo Tzu served as the first Great Master. He expected his successors to carry on the Mohist organization from generation to generation. The morality of absolute obedience to the *Chü-tzu* was practiced by the chivalrous group. According to the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu,* the son of Fu T'un 腹蕫, one of the later leaders of the Mohists, killed a man. This murderer was Fu T'un's only son. But Fu T'un explained that according to the rules of the Mohists his son must be executed. "Though the king has ordered the officers not to execute my son, I will execute him according to the Mohist rules.[86] This illustrates that the *Chü-tzu* had authority to execute a member who violated Mohist law. No wonder that Mo Tzu had one hundred and eighty men at his service, all ready to go through fire or water at his command.[87]

After Mo Tzu's death the much-coveted post of *Chü-tzu* was filled for a few generations. One of the Mohist Great Masters was Meng Sheng 孟勝 who was a friend of Prince Yang Cheng, and who was entrusted with guarding the Prince's fief. Because of complicated court intrigues Meng Sheng failed to keep his promise. This left him no other choice than to commit suicide. His disciple, Hsü Jo 徐弱, requested that he not die, but Meng insisted that his death would maintain the reputation of the Mohists and expand their influence. The disciple begged to die first, and thereupon cut his own throat. After sending two messengers to confer the *Chü-tzu* position on another worthy man, T'ien Hsiang Tzu 田襄子 in the state of Sung, Meng Sheng himself died for his faith, and the disciples who died

86. *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* 呂氏春秋 (Mr. Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals) attributed to Lü Pu-wei 呂不韋 (d. 239 B.C.) (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1958), ch. 15: 173; and Feng Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, I: 82-84. *Chü-tsu* may also be read as pope, boss, dragon head (*Ta lung-t'ou* 大龍頭 of the Ko-lao hui), etc. An interesting, similar case occurred about 1903 in Hunan where Ma Fu-i 馬福益 (d. 1905), a Dragon Head of the Elder-brother Society (Ko-lao hui) put a beloved brother to death. The victim, named Tai 戴, had violated a rule of the society. Ma summoned a court at night and sentenced him to commit suicide in Japanese *harakiri* style. Ma and a few others walked with Tai through narrow mountain passes to a riverside. The doomed man repeatedly urged Ma: "Elder brother, please walk carefully, lest you fall into the valley." Ma also sobbed and consoled Tai. At the execution ground Tai did as he was ordered, and his body was immediately thrown into the river. This shows that the Ko-lao hui also had strict rules with no regard for personal feelings. Liu K'uei-i 劉揆一, *Huang Hsing chuan-chi* 黃興傳記 (Peiping: 1929), 3.

87. *Huai-nan-tzu*, ch. 20: 10a; Feng, I: 82.

with him numbered one hundred eighty three.[88]

This tragedy, though well-documented, sounds dubious. But in ancient China there is a parallel tale, which has to be omitted for the sake of space. At any rate the conduct of the Mohists shows similarities to that of the knights-errant (*yu-hsia*), whose word must be kept, whose actions must be determined, and who considered their lives, light as feathers, as something easily tossed away.[89]

Schism and obscurity of the Mohists

In spite of such strong organization and rigid ethics the Mohists split into heretic groups. Chuang Tzu (ca. 365-ca. 290 B. C.) reported (ch. 33: 366-67, Watson) that, in his time, there were Mohists in the north: Hsiang-li-ch'in 相里勤, the followers of the Five Marquises; and Mohists in the south: K'u Huo 苦獲, Chi Ch'ih 已齒, Teng Ling-tzu 鄧陵子, and the like. Han Fei-tzu (d. 233 B. C.) recorded (ch. 50: 351) that there were Mohists of Hsiang-li, of Hsiang-fu 相夫, and Teng Ling; all read the Mohist canon, and yet they disagreed in their interpretations, calling each other Mohist factionalists.

Mohism declined in the second and first centuries B. C., and disappeared after Western Han. The famous book *Mo Tzu* was rarely mentioned except by Han Yü in the T'ang dynasty, and later it caught the attention of a few scholars near the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

Why did the Mohists disappear? Possible explanations are (1) Mo Tzu's

88. Yin Chung-jung 尹仲容, *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu chiao-shih*, chapter "Kao-i 高誼," 90. A scholar in Taiwan, Chang T'ai-hsiang 張泰祥 compares Mo Tzu's *Chü-tzu* with the Ko-lao hui's Ta-lung-t'ou, the disciple Hsü-Jo 徐弱 with the second rank *Chün-shih* 軍師 or *P'ai-shan* 白扇, and the two messengers with *Ts'ao-hsieh* 草鞋. See *Chung-hua Min-kuo wu-shih nien-lai min-chung t'uan-t'i* 中華民國五十年來民衆團體 (Mass organizations in the last fifty years of the Republic of China) by Chang T'ai-hsiang 張泰祥 (Taipei: Chung-hua min-kuo t'uan-t'i huo-tung chung-hsin, 1961), 49. See also Yang Hsiang-k'uei 楊向奎, *Mo Tzu ti ssu-hsiang yü Mo-che chi-t'uan* 墨子的思想與墨者集團 (Mo Tzu's Ideas and the Mohist Groups), *Wen Shih Che*, no. 67 (1958) 11-20; and Feng Yu-lan, "Yuan Ju Mo 原儒墨" (The Origin of the Confucians and Mohists), *Tsing-hua hsüeh-pao* 10.2 (May 1935) 279-310, esp. 304-10. Also Tatsuo Masubuchi 增淵龍夫, "The Yu Hsia 游俠 and the Social Order in the Han Period," *Annals of the Hitotsubashi Academy* 3.1 (Oct. 1952) 84-101; *Sima Qian: War-Lords*, trans. with twelve other stories from his *Historical Records* by William Dolby and John Scott (Edinburgh: Southside, 1974); T'ao Hsi-sheng 陶希聖, *Pien-shih yü yu-hsia* 辯士與游俠 (Debaters and Wandering Adventurers) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1930). On the academic and philosophic aspect, see A. C. Graham, *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics and Science* (Hong Kong: Chinese Univesrity of Hong Kong, 1978).

89. *Shih-chi*, ch. 124: lb; Kao Pao-kuang 高葆光, *Mo-hsüeh k'ai-lun* 墨學概論 (A general discussion of *Mo Tzu*) Taipei: Chung-yang wen-wu kung-ying-she, 1956), 128-30.

theory lacks cohesion and is "curiously heterogeneous"[90]; (2) Mohists were sharply criticized by Mencius and Hsün Tzu, the former condemning them as beasts; (3) Mohism was hard to follow and was behind the times; his pioneering spirit of primitive society was no longer welcomed by ambitious emperors and by luxury loving people who disliked hard labor but were fond of an easy life; and (4) Han rulers persecuted the Mohists. According to Ku Chieh-kang, many Mohists, who had become wandering knights, were killed by Han Wu-ti (r. 140-87 B. C.). They were driven underground, and some at least were absorbed by the religious Taoists.[91] A biography of Mo Tzu is even included in a Taoist biographical work, *Shen-hsien chuan* 神仙傳 (Lives of Divine *Hsien*) attributed to Ko Hung (283-343 A. D.).[92]

Thus Feng Yu-lan concludes: "Since the Han dynasty, Confucianism was upheld while Moism was suppressed. The reason is that the ruling class needed a philosophy that stands for the higher class of society. But, though Moism was suppressed, the chivalrous groups continued to exist, which we can find even today, if only we have a real contact with the lower part of our society." ("The Origin of Ju and Mo," in *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review* 19, 2 (July, 1935) 163.) In other words, Mohism is a proto-organization of a secret society like the Green and Red bands that prevailed in Shanghai in the early twentieth century. This conclusion is supported by H. R. Williamson, Liu Yung-chi, and especially by Wei Ch'ü-hsien 衞聚賢 or Wei Ta-fa-shih, and Chang Tai-hsiang, to mention a few.[93]

90. Vitaly A. Rubin, *Individual and State in Ancient China, Essays on Four Chinese Philosophers*, trans. by Steven I. Levine (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 54; and Arthur Waley, *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1939). Mo Tzu did not leave a good impression on Waley who says, "These doctrines strike us as curiously heterogeneous," 122. Likewise Kuo Mo-jo did not have a high opinion of Mo Tzu's ideas; he thought that many later Mohists changed sides to Confucianism and Taoism, and that some of the Mohists were too close to the aristocratic class and had lost their foundation in the mass of the people. As we know the early Mohists were close to Hsü Hsing's "digger type" of toiling primitive communism. Kuo Mo-jo, *Ch'ing-t'ung shih-t'ai*, 157-81.
91. Ku Chieh-kang, *Ch'in Han ti fang-shih yü ju-sheng* 秦漢的方士與儒生 (Magicians and Confucians in the Ch'in and Han Periods) (Shanghai: Jen-min Ch'u-pan she, 1957), 20-21.
92. Ko Hung 葛洪, *Shen-hsien chuan* 神仙傳 (Lives of Divine *hsien*), 8: 3-5 (*Lung-wei mi-shu* ed.).
93. Williamson, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Liu Yung-chi 劉永濟, "Kuei hsia pien 貴俠篇" (Honoring the Knights-errant), *Wen Che Hsüeh-pao* 文哲學報 (National Wuhan University) 7.3 (1943) 1-5; Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Chung-kuo chih wu-shih tao" (China's *bushido* or knighthood), *Yin-ping-chih wen-chi, ch'uan-ch'i, ts'e* 6; Wei Ta-fa-shih 衞大法師, *Chung-kuo pang-hui, ch'ing-pang, han liu* 中國幫會青幫漢留 (Chungking: Shuo-wen she, 1946), 1-8; and Wu Hsi-tse 吳錫澤, "The Spirit of Mohism," *Chung-kuo hsüeh-shu ssu-hsiang lun-ts'ung* 中國學術思想論叢 (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1967), 169; and Chang, T'ai-hsiang 張泰祥 et al, *Chung-hua min-kuo wu-shih nien-lai min-chung t'uan-t'i* 中華民國五十年來民衆團體 (Mass organizations in the last fifty years of the Republic of China) (Taipei: Chung-hua min-kuo t'uan-t'i huo-tung chung-hsin, 1961).

Philosophic Taoism

Another rival school of Confucianism is philosophical Taoism, as distinguished from religious Taoism. Taoism as a whole has been a protean movement. It began as a philosophy that ranks among the world's greatest non-systematic bodies of thought, and became the outstanding opponent of the right-wing tenets, and has managed to survive as a heterogeneous mixture of folk religions and superstitions.

The Taoist system of thought is a combination of philosophy, religion, proto-science and magic. It sprouted from two roots. The first is the early philosophers who followed the Tao (the Way) of nature rather than the way of human society. While Confucius advocated entering into society and cooperating with the government, the early Tao philosophers, who were speculative and theoretical, tried to return to nature where human artificialities and hypocrisies were unknown, and where they could maintain their original simplicity, self-supporting, personal freedom and independence.[94] In the Warring States period the doctrines current in the empire were those of the school of Yang Chu and the school of Mo Ti. Yang Chu (ca. 440-360 B. C.) is regarded by Feng Yu-lan as one of the founders of Taoism, and is known for his extreme egoism to the point of not plucking out a single hair for the benefit of the empire. Since Mo Ti and Yang Chu were rivals of Confucianism, Mencius criticized them sharply.[95] But *Lao Tzu* is not mentioned in Mencius, possibly because the book had not yet been completed.

The second root of Taoism was an incorporation of popular, indigenous elements. The ideas of Yin and Yang, natural magic, the Five Elements, occultism, and the practice of animism are some of the ingredients of

94. Confucianism advocates close association with man, hence humanism; Taoism with nature, hence naturalism. *Cf.* Needham, II, 33ff.; H. Dubs, "Taoism" in H. F. MacNair, ed., *China*, 266ff; and Fu Ch'in-chia 傅勤家, *Chung-kuo Tao-chiao shih* 中國道教史 (A History of Chinese Taoism) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1932), 14ff.

95. *The Work of Mencius*, III B: 9 and VII A: 26. The meager material on Yang Chu is well presented in Chi Che 嵇哲, *Hsien Ch'in chu-tzu hsüeh* 先秦諸子學 (A Study of Pre-Ch'in Philosophers) (Taipei: Lo-t'ien ch'u-pan she, 1970), 193-200; and Feng Yu-lan, "Hsien Ch'in Tao-chia che-hsüeh chu-yao ming-tz'u t'ung-shih 先秦道家哲學主要名辭通釋" (A General Explanation of the Major Terms of the Pre-Ch'in Taoist Philosophy), *Pei-ching ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao, Jen-wen k'o-hsüeh* 北京大學學報, 人文科學 4 (1959) 1-3. A. C. Graham offers a new interpretation; the true position of Yang Chu was that even if he could have gained the empire by losing one hair, he would have refused to do so; in "The Dialogue Between Yang Chu and Chyntzyy 莊子," [*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 22 (1959) 291-99.

religious Taoism. In addition to native shamanism, there were counterparts in the eastern and northern regions of China. Many shamans and magicians later concentrated from other areas in modern Hopei and the Shantung coast, where the foggy weather stimulated their imagination and speculation. They were known as wizards (*wu* 巫) and magicians (*fang-shih*). In the Han dynasty the Yellow Emperor and Lao Tzu were adopted as Taoist ancestors to enhance the prestige of religious Taoism, which will be dealt with in more detail.

The mystic Lao-tzu and the Ma-wang-tui version

Concerning the prestigious book, *Lao Tzu* or *Tao-te Ching*, there are still unsolved problems which stem from a confusing biographic note on Lao Tzu in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih-chi*. Apparently the Grand Historian was in such a hurry or unable to make a decision because of the paucity of data, that he grouped six names together without judicious consideration. The first person, Lao Tzu, with the two alternate names: Lao Tan, and Li Erh, was a native of the K'u county of the Ch'u state in Honan, He was senior to and a teacher of decorum to Confucius. The second person, Lao Lai-tzu, also a man of Ch'u, who wrote fifteen chapters on the application of Taoism, was a peer of Confucius. The third person was the Historian Chan (T'ai-shih Chan 太史儋) of the Chou dynasty, who lived 129 years after the death of Confucius. "Some say that the Historian Chan was Lao Tzu, and others say he was not. No one of the world knows if it is correct or not," concluded Ssu-ma Ch'ien. He added that Lao Tzu lived more than 160 years; others say more than 200 years, because he cultivated the *Tao* and nurtured longevity.[96] This mixture of queer information in one biography of the *Shih-chi* created enigmas, and it may have served as a source of the Taoist legend of immortality. In any event, Ssu-ma Ch'ien's biography of Lao Tzu is far below the standard of his biographies of Confucius' disciples (ch. 67), which demonstrate a brilliant analysis and careful digestion of the reliable data from the *Confucian Analects*.

Because Ssu-ma Ch'ien in the first century B. C. could not decide who was the correct Lao Tzu, later scholars since the Sung dynasty have had doubts whether or not Lao Tzu was a teacher of Confucius, and whether he

96. *Shih-chi*, ch. 63, 1-2.

was a senior or a peer of Confucius. Also questioned was whether or not the book *Lao Tzu* (or *Tao-te ching*) was written by only one author, and more importantly, when it was written. A large amount of such material has been accumulated by Chang Hsin-cheng and Wing-tsit Chan.[97] Chan has added some new names and arranged the data chronologically from Chu Hsi (1130–1200) to 1965. It seems that there have not been many new translations and new studies of Lao Tzu since 1965. Examining most of the available primary and secondary sources, we cannot find a consensus on the pending questions mentioned above. We can only cast a negative vote on Confucius' studying decorum with Lao Tzu. We agree with the statement that "it is hard to believe that the two great philosophers ever met at all," and that "very few critical scholars any longer believe that Lao Tzu, if there was such a person, lived as early as Confucius..... there was no mention of Lao Tzu in any book until we come to a much later time."[98] We may add that Confucius paid punctilious attention to *li*, etiquette, and *te*, virtue; it seems unnecessary for him to learn etiquette from Lao Tzu, who, after all, even at their supposed meeting did not grant him a direct answer but uttered some irrelevant words. Hu Shih also remarked that K'ung Tzu had a reputation for erudition and mastery of *li*.[99] Obviously it must be later Taoists who fabricated the story in order to augment the prestige of Taoism above Confucianism. Chinese treasure antiques and revere the aged, the older the better. If the teacher-student relationship between Lao Tzu and Confucius is untenable, then Lao Tzu lived later than Confucious, and the book also had to have appeared later.

This question has been pondered by at least twenty famous scholars. Six of them, including Hu Shih, favored the idea that *Lao-Tzu* was written in the Ch'un-ch'iu period (722–480 B.C.); fourteen, including Ch'ien Mu and Feng Yu-lan, argued that it was written during the Warring States period

97. Chang Hsin-cheng 張心澂, *Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao* 僞書通考 (Apocryphal Books; a Comprehensive Study) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1939), II: 660-90; and Wing-tsit Chan 陳榮捷, "Chan-kuo Tao-chia 戰國道家" (Taotsis in the Warring States Period), *Shih-yü-so chi-k'an* 史語所集刊 44.3 (1972) 1-63, esp. 6-8.

98. Max Kaltenmark, *Lao Tzu and Taoism*, trans. from the French by Roger Greaves (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), 9; and H. G. Creel, *Chinese Thought* (New York: New American Library, 1960), 84.

99. "Shuo Ju 說儒" (An Exposition of Ju), *Hu Shih wen-ts'un* 胡適文存 (Taipei: Yüan-tung t'u-shu kung-ssu, 1968), IV: 1-103, esp. 27-35.

(480-221 B. C.).[100] We follow the majority.

Karlgren's linguistic and grammatical approach to this problem reached the conclusion: "That a work called the *Lao-tsi* existed in the IIId and IId centuries B. C. is absolutely certain."[101]

A Japanese bibliographer, Takeuchi Yoshio 武內義雄, reached a similar conclusion that *Lao Tzu* was composed near the end of the Warring States period and the beginning of Ch'in (221-206 B. C.) by some Legalists.[102] Ku Chieh-kang believed that *Lao Tzu* was completed between the writing of *Lü-shih Ch'un-ch'iu* and *Huai-nan Tzu* (ca. 240-140 B. C.). Liang Ch'i-ch'ao placed it at the end of the Warring States, probably after *Chuang Tzu*. Burton Watson, translator of *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, Fu Ssu-nien, Director of Academia Sinica, and Hsiao Kung-ch'üan seem to indicate that *Chuang Tzu* preceded *Lao Tzu* instead of the reverse order.[103]

New light has been shed by the copy of *Lao Tzu* unearthed from the third tomb at Ma-wang-tui, Changsha, Hunan, in 1973. The first version of *Lao Tzu* was written sometime between 206-195 B. C.; the second version in 179-157 B. C., based on the observance of taboo characters of the names of early Han emperors. In the excavated versions *Tao-te-ching* becomes *Te-tao ching;* that is, in the same order as Han Fei Tzu's commentary on *Lao Tzu*.

100. Li Chiu-jui 李九瑞, *Hsin-Ch'in shih-tzu ssu-hsiang k'ai-shu* 先秦十子思想概述 (A General Account of the Ideas of Ten Philosophers in the Pre-Ch'in Period) (Taipei: Tai-wan shu-chü, 1972), 63-64.

101. B. Karlgren, "The Poetical Parts in Lao-tsi," *Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrit* 38 (1932) 25. We would go along with Karlgren's proposal that *Lao Tzu* was composed in the third century B. C., but not much later, because *Lao Tzu* is quoted and/or commented on by Han Fei Tzu (d. 233 B.C.), and by *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* attributed to Lü Pu-wei 呂不韋 (d. 235 B.C.). The trouble is that an ancient work may have been recopied for decades or even centuries with each copyist or edtior making some intentional changes or inadvertent errors. To prevent this, Confucian classics were inscribed on huge stone tablets during the Hsi-p'ing period (172-177), but this was too expensive for other books.

102. Chiang Hsia-an 江俠菴, trans. and ed., *Hsien Ch'in ching-chi k'ao* 先秦經籍考 (A Bibliographic Study of Chinese Classics Before the Ch'in Dynasty) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1931), II: 197-322.

103. Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛, "*Ts'ung Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* t'ui-ts'e Lao-tzu ch'eng-shu chih nien-tai 從呂氏春秋推測老子成書之年代" (A Reconstruction of the Date for the Completion of *Lao Tzu* from its Quotations in the Lü's *Spring and Autumn Annals*), *Shih-hsüeh nien-pao* 史學年報 4 (June 1932) 11-46; Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in Chang Hsin-cheng, *Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao* (see n. 97) 674-75; *Fu Ssu-nien ch'üan-chi* 傅斯年全集 (A Complete Collection of Fu Ssu-nien's Writings) (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u-pan she, 1980), II: 127-38; and Hsiao Kung-ch'üan, *A History of Chinese Political Thought*, trans. by F. W. Mote, I, 76n; "The writing of *Lao Tzu* was later than the *Chuang Tzu*."

The wording of the two texts is frequently different.[104] Moreover, the Western Han manuscript of *Lao Tzu* fills a gap in bibliographical history and proves that a version by ghost writer Ho-shang Kung 河上公 (Riverside Gentleman), who is said to have lived in Han Wen-ti's time (179-157 B. C.), is probably spurious, or a later production.[105]

We are inclined to think that *Lao Tzu* could be an anthology of aphorisms accumulated in the third century B. C. or earlier, but revised and reedited repeatedly until the end of the first or second century A. D. when the book was divided into two parts: *Tao Ching* and *Te Ching*. The subdivision into some eighty stanzas or paragraphs was done probably by Ho Shang Kung, Liu Hsin 劉歆 (lst cent. B. C.), or Wang Pi 王弼 (226-249). The book may not have been written entirely by one person at one time. It may be attributed to Lao Tzu, the Old Master who lived in a war-weary society, but perhaps more properly to other anonymous contributors and editors as well.

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104. Kao Heng 高亨 and Ch'ih Hsi-chao 池曦朝, "Shih t'an Ma-wang-tui Han-mu chung ti Po-shu Lao Tzu 試談馬王堆漢墓中的帛書'老子'" (Notes on the Silk Manuscript Text of *Laotzu* Found in the Han Tomb, No. 3 at Ma-wang-tui, Changsha), *Wen-wu* (Cultural Relics) 11 (1974) 1-7; Ma-wang-tui Han-mu Po-shu Cheng-li Hsiao-tsu 馬王堆漢墓帛書整理小組 (Small Group for Han Silk Manucripts from Ma-wang tui), "Ma-wang-tui Han-mu ch'u-tu Lao Tzu shih-wen 馬王堆漢墓出土老子釋文" (Transcription of the Silk Manuscript Text of *Lao Tzu* Found in the Han Tomb, No. 3 at Ma-wang-tui, Changsha), *Wen-wu* 11 (1974) 8-20; *Lao Tzu: Ma-wang-tui Han-mu po-shu* 老子, 馬王堆漢墓帛書 (*Lao Tzu*, written on silk in a Han tomb at Ma-wang-tui), compiled by an *ad hoc* committee (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan she, 1976); Hatano Tarō 波多野太郎, "Tu Ma-wang-tui ch'u-t'u ti Lao-tzu 讀馬王堆出土的老子" (Notes on the *Lao Tzu* Unearthed from the Ma-wang-tui), trans. from Japanese into Chinese by Liang Kuo-hao 梁國豪, *Ming-pao* 明報 *Monthly* (Hong Kong) 10.4 (April 1975) 40-41; Hsü Fu-kuan 徐復觀, "Po-shu Lao Tzu so fan-ying ti jo-kan wen-t'i 帛書老子所反映的若干問題" (Some Problems Reflected from the Silk Version of *Lao Tzu*), *Ming-pao Monthly* 10.6 (June 1975) 96-99; and Robert G. Henricks, "A Note on the Question of Chapter Divisions in the Ma-wang-tui Manuscript of the *Lao Tzu*," *Early China* 4 (1978-79) 45-51. Using the silk manuscript, Cheng Liang-shu 鄭良書 has made a critical textual comparison with many other editions of the *Lao Tzu*, entitled *Lao Tzu Hsin-chiao* 老子新校 in *Ta-lu tsa-chih* 大陸雜誌 (Taipei) from 54.4 (Apr. 1977) 23-46 to 59.4 (Oct. 1979) 23-39.

105. *Lao Tzu Tao Te Ching* with Ho Shang Kung's 河上公 comments is in *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an, ts'e* 533. In this book *Tao Ching* and *Te Ching*, and the subdivisions, are the same as modern editions but quite different from the silk version. Ho Shang Kung is said to have flourished under Han Wen-ti (179-157 B.C.), H. A. Giles, *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, p. 265. From the variation in the two copies of *Lao Tzu*, and because Ho Shang Kung's lifetime cannot be documented, Giles' statement is probably incorrect. There is, however, a Hoshang Chang-jen 河上丈人, A Taoist of the 5th century B. C., whose seventh or sixth generation disciple, Hsiao Ho 蕭何 (d. 193 B.C.) was an adviser of Han Kao-tsu, *Shih-chi*, ch. 80: 8. Ho-shang Chang-jen and Ho-shang Kung 河上公 may be translated Riverside Gentleman and Sir Riverside respectively. Therefore I suspect that the two might be the same person, a Taoist hermit. This hermit, who lived near the end of the Warring States, could have been a contributor or editor of the *Lao Tzu*.

The contents of the *Tao Ching*'s 37 sections deal mainly with inscrutable nature and advocate that people return to nature; the contents of the *Te Ching*'s 44 sections largely concern human affairs and the knack of dealing with human problems in a complicated and rapidly changing society. The state of primeval origin is vacuous and tranquil. Vacuity and tranquility and characteristics of the Tao, which has created the myriad phenomena. All creatures under heaven are the products of Being. Being itself is the product of non-being.[106] Man should follow the natural course of Tao as a standard of human behavior. Nothing in the world is softer and weaker than water. But, for attacking the hard and strong, there is nothing like it because nothing can take its place. That the weak overcomes the strong and the soft overcomes the hard; this is something known by all, but practiced by none (sec. 78).[107]

Lao Tzu advances a philosophy of meekness and nonaggression as the surest path to survival. It emphasizes distinction between glory and disgrace, emptiness and actuality. "Because he does not contend, no one in the empire will contend against him" (sec. 66), for "the wise man's way is to do his work without contending" (sec. 81). "Those who know do not talk; the talkers do not know" (sec. 56). "Let us keep the simplicity of life, embrace unpretentious ways, reduce selfishness and restrain desires" (sec. 19). "The five colors darken the eye, the five sounds deafen the ear, the five flavors weary the taste" (sec. 12). Lao Tzu advocated small states with few people who would be isolated and have little communication with the rest of the world (sec. 80).

This glimpse of Lao Tzu's philosophy may lead us to think that he was a conservative, retiring pacifist. He was against the death penalty and against too much government. Nevertheless, paradoxically Lao Tzu was strong in military tactics.

What is to be shrunken
Is first stretched out;

106. *Lao Tzu*, sect. XL: "天下萬物生於有，有生於無." Here we adopt Arthur Waley's translation (*The Way and its Power* [New York: Grove Press, 1958], 192). Whether the term *Wu-sheng lao mu* 無生老母 (Eternal Venerable Mother) is derived from Lao Tzu's ideas will be discussed on a later occasion, when we deal with the White Lotus Society.

107. *Lao Tzu/Tao Te Ching*, trans. by John C. H. Wu (New York: St. John's University Press, 1961), p. 111.

What is to be weakened
Is first made strong;
What will be thrown over
Is first raised;
What will be withdrawn
Is first bestowed.

This indeed is
Subtle Light;
The gentle way
Will overcome
The hard and strong..... (sec. 36)

A good soldier is not violent;
An able fighter does not lose his temper;
A great conqueror does not fight (on small issues);
A skillful user of men acts as though he were their inferior.

You may call this pacific virtue
Or say that it is mastery of men. (sec. 68)

Military strategists have a maxim: "I dare not to be the aggressor, I would rather take the defensive. I dare not to advance one inch, but rather retreat one foot..... There is no disaster greater than underrating the enemy..... When opposing enemies meet in battle, victory belongs to the grieving side" (sec. 69).[108]

How could Lao Tzu have been versed in military strategy? Dubs thought that Lao Tzu probably belonged to a clan of hereditary generals.[109] In

108. In the above translations I have used the original text and checked and borrowed eclectically from: R. B. Blakney, *The Way of Life, Lao Tzu* (New York: Mental Books, 1955); Wing-tsit Chan, *The Way of Lao Tzu* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963); Chen Ku-ying, *Lao Tzu, Text, Notes, and Comments* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1977); Lin Yutang, *The Wisdom of China and India* (New York: Randon House, 1942); Arthur Waley, *The Way and its Power* (New York: Grove Press, 1958); and John C. H. Wu, *Lao Tzu/Tao Te Ching*.

109. H. Dubs, "Taoism," in H. F. MacNair, ed., *China*, 267. Dub's statement is not documented. We may add that Lao Tzu may have been influenced by the Mohists who worked hard for defensive warfare.

ancient times government posts were largely hereditary. The socio-political background provided Lao Tzu with a vantage point for observing prolonged warfare, in which he discerned a pattern: "After a great war, years of dearth invariably follow" (sec. 30). This refers not only to direct war destruction but also to the casualties of drafted peasants and farm animals, to the negligence of irrigation systems, and shortage of agricultural laborers. Therefore Lao Tzu's maxim seems to have been learned from the *Book of Changes*, on which more discussion will be given below.

Chuang Tzu and Robber Chih

Chuang Tzu (ca. 365-290 B.C.) was a native of Mencheng, Anhwei, and once served as an official in a lacquer garden but soon retired, from lack of interest in public service. The key word for Chuang Tzu's philosophy is freedom, as *jen* (kindness) is for Confucius, *Tao* (the Way) for Lao Tzu, and *chien-ai* (mutual love) for Mo Tzu. To Chuang Tzu, every creature in the world has its own nature and enjoys its life. The gigantic *P'eng* bird, which rises up 3,000 *li* and flies 9,000 *li* with wings spreading like clouds over the sky feels wonderful. Yet a small cicada is also happy singing all day long in autumn, as if laughing at the big bird. "The duck's legs are short, but to stretch them out would worry him; the crane's legs are long, but to cut them down would make him sad."[110] Chuang Tzu did not like the plight of man who is born free and yet everywhere is in chains. He might also have said, "give me liberty or death." While Lao Tzu could tolerate the existence of government provided that it was the least government, "doing nothing, yet there is nothing that is not done," Chuang Tzu believed in a kind of non-action club as the indispensable condition for liberty. He rejected all conventional values but lived a completely aimless life, caring not a whit whether he was rich or poor, alive or dead. He was exuberant and imaginative. Full of wit, wisdom, and humor, his writings, fables, and anecdotes are light and delightful reading yet provocative, though sometimes verbose and repetitious. His style sparkles and glistens, flowing spontaneously in perfect expression of himself.

110. *Chuang Tzu*, ch. 1: 1 and ch. 8: 54 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, *Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng* 諸子集成 ed.); Burton Watson's trans. of *Chuang Tzu*, 100; and Ts'ai Ming-t'ien 蔡明田, *Chuang Tzu ti cheng-chih ssu-hsiang* 莊子的政治思想 (Chuang Tzu's Political Ideas) (Taiwan: Commercial Press, 1970), 128-36.

In *Chuang Tzu* there is a chapter (29) devoted to an imaginary interview between Confucius and Robber Chih, a Robin Hood or Sung Chiang of ancient China. Robber Chih, with a band of nine thousand followers, rampaged back and forth across the empire, assaulting and terrorizing the feudal lords, tunneling into houses, wrenching doors, herding off men's horses and cattle, seizing their wives and daughters. He repeatedly murdered the innocent, ate human flesh, and gave full license to his violent passions.

It is said, so Chuang Tzu writes, that Confucius visited Robber Chih to persuade him to change his conduct. To Chih, who was enjoying a supper of minced human livers, he introduced himself as K'ung Ch'iu of the Lu state.

Upon hearing this, Robber Chih flew into a great rage. "This must be the crafty hypocrite K'ung Ch'iu from the state of Lu! You eat without ever plowing, clothe yourself without ever weaving. You invent any kind of 'right' or 'wrong' that suits you, capriciously setting up ideals of 'filial piety' and 'brotherliness' to curry favor with feudal lords. Your crimes are huge and your offenses grave!"

With bitter sarcasm, Confucius was made by Chuang Tzu to say, "Your only title is 'Robber Chih.' This is disgraceful. I should like to go as your commissioner to (the states of) Wu, Yüeh, Ch'i, Lu and Chin, Ch'u in the whole empire. I will arrange that a great walled city shall be built for you with hundreds of thousands of inhabitants to honor you. You shall be raised to the dignity of a feudal prince, and under your sway the whole world shall begin anew. You will lay down your arms, disband your followers, and cease from war. You will thus behave like a Sage or Hero." Robber Chih protested, "It is commonly said that those who are prone to praise men before their faces are quick to speak ill of them behind their backs. You talk about this great walled city to lead me on as a fool. I have heard that the Yellow Emperor fought with Chih Yu in the field of Cho-lu until the blood flowed for a hundred *li*. Yao and Shun set up a host of officials ..... and from this time on the strong oppressed the weak, the many abused the few. All are no more than a pack of rebels and wrongdoers..... There is no worse robber than you! I don't know why, if the world calls me Robber Chih, it doesn't call you Robber Ch'iu!" Confuicus bowed twice and scurried

away.[111]

After this humiliating interview Robber Chih attacked Confucianism in another place. An apprentice asked Robber Chih, "Does the thief (盜 *tao*) also have *tao* (道 principles)?"

Chih replied, "How could he get ahead without principles? To make a shrewd guess to locate the booty in a house is sageness; to go in first is bravery; to come out last is righteousness or brotherliness[112]; to predict the success is wisdom; and to divide the spoil equally is justice or benevolence. If these five principles are not fully observed, there is not yet a case in the world of a thief becoming a great thief."

Chuang Tzu knew that sageness (*sheng* 聖), bravery (*yung* 勇), righteousness (*I* 義), wisdom, and benevolence had been key words of Confucianism, but through Robber Chih's mouth different definitions of the terms were given as a counter doctrine. Robber Chih went further to attack the sage (*sheng-jen*), who had devised many defensive measures against thieves, who in turn had discovered their own countermeasures. Thus Chih said, "Until the Sage is dead, great robbers will never cease to appear." He proceeded to vilify the injustice of the legal system: "One man steals a hook, he may be executed; another steals a state, he becomes a feudal lord.[113] Therefore a Chinese Communist scholar regarded Robber Chih as China's earliest peasant

111. Quotations are made from the whole story of Robber Chih (Tao Chih 盜跖) in *Chuang Tzu*, ch. 29, trans. into English by Arthur Waley, *Three Ways of Thought*, 20ff., and Burton Watson, *op. cit.*, 323-38. This chapter may not have been written by Chuang Tzu but by one of his followers in a later period before Ssu-ma Ch'ien. This conclusion is reached by the textual critic Chang Hsin-cheng, author of *Wei-shu t'ung k'ao* in a special essay, "Chuang Tzu, Tao-chih p'ien t'an-so 莊子盜跖篇探索" (An Investigation of the Chapter, Robber Chih, in *Chuang Tzu*), in *Kuang-ming jih-pao* 光明日報 Che-hsüeh 哲學 20 (Dec. 15, 1961) 4. Robber Chih's vilification of Confucius is actually a criticism of K'ung Tzu by the Chuang Tzu school through the mouth of Robber Chih. This is perhaps the earliest attack of K'ung Ch'iu, repeated subsequently on many occsions, such as during the Taiping Rebellion in the 1850s and the Great Cultural Revolution in the 1960s. See Tien K'ai 田凱, *Chung-kuo li-tai fan K'ung ho tsun K'ung ti tou-cheng* 中國歷代反孔和尊孔的斗爭 (Anti-Confucius and Pro-Confucius Struggles in Chinese History) (Hong Kong: San Lien shu-tien, 1974), 1-32. It is to be noted that the Robber Chih folklore is not only described in *Chuang Tzu* but also in *Meng Tzu*, *Hsün Tzu*, *Han Fei Tzu*, *Shang-chün shu* 商君書, *Yen-t'ieh lun* 鹽鐵論, *Huai-nan Tzu*, *Shih-chi*, and others.

112. *I* 義, righteousness or justice, is often used by robbers and secret societies in the sense of brotherliness, such as the famous "Sworn brotherhood in the peach garden 桃園三結義," or "I hsiung-ti 義兄弟," sworn brothers.

113. *Chuang Tzu*, ch. 10. The translation is largely my own, but I have compared with Herbert A. Giles, *Chuang Tzu* (London: 1889), 112-14; Lin Yutang, *The Wisdom of China and India*, 672-73; and Watson, 108-110.

revolutionary thinker.[114]

No wonder the followers of Mo Tzu and Chuang Tzu were "accused of being fomenters of disorder."[115] A Russian sinologist, Rubin, also writes, "Throughout China's history, Taoist teaching has often been adopted as the rallying point of revolutionary peasants."[116] There is some truth in Rubin's conclusion.

The Legalists' antitheses to Confucianism

Fa-chia, Legalists, or "Realists" (as Arthur Waley preferred to call them), or Statescraftsmen (as an alternative translation) believed in law, as opposed to Confucian *li* (ritual, etiquette, mores), in government by law rather than by men, and in rewards and punishments replacing benevolence (*jen*) and righteousness (*i*). The Legalists treated socio-political problems with penology, epistemology, law, and statecraft and did not wish rulers to imitate remote sages and legendary emperors such as Yao and Shun. Of the "Five Vermin" that destroy the state, the first was considered to be Confucian and Mohist scholars who praised the sage kings.[117]

Of several eminent Legalists we can only mention a few, leaving more space for the leading exponent. Shang Yang 商鞅 (d. 338 B.C.) served as chief minister of the Ch'in state and authored some of the *Shang-chun shu* (*Book of Lord Shang*). Lord Shang was one of the earliest Chinese reformers and was credited with initiating a reward and punishment system, and mandatory agricultural work and military service. He set up a system of mutual responsibility among the people. This preventive method proved quite useful in Chinese history against lawbreakers inhabiting or infiltrating a community. He also attempted to replace the old hereditary aristocracy by a new elite based on military achievement. Both the large family system and the "Well

114. Hung Chia-i 洪家義, "Chung-kuo tsui-tsao ti nung-min ko-ming ssu-hsiang chia—Chih 中國最早的農民革命思想家——跖" (Chih—China's Earliest Peasant Revolutionary Thinker), *Kuang-ming Jih-pao*, "Che-hsüeh," no. 308 (Sept. 22, 1961) 4.

115. Needham, II: 7.

116. Vitaly A. Rubin, *Individual and State* (see n. 90), 119.

117. The remaining four vermin consist of the clever talkers (sophists?), the soldiers of fortune recruiting adherents (knights-errant or wandering adventurers?), the merchants and craftsmen amassing wealth, and the selfish and avaricious officials surrounding the ruler. See *Han Fei Tzu*, ch. 49: 50. We use Wang Hsien-shen 王先愼, *Han Fei Tzu chi-shih* (see n. 82). Based on this edition, the *Han Fei Tzu yin-te* 韓非子引得 (A Concordance to *Han-fei Tzu*) was compiled by Wallace Johnson (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1975). This edition is the basis for the following citations.

field" (*ching-t'ien*) system were abolished. Law was especially emphasized by Lord Shang, who insisted that the law must be applied to all people, from crown prince to commoner. Thus he modernized the traditional Confucian practice that *li* does not reach down to the ordinary people; *hsing* (punishments) do not reach up to great officials.[118] After his two decades (359-338 B. C.) of service as chief minister, it is said that people would not pick up articles found lying in the road, and no robbers and bandits hid in the mountains. In spite of his meritorious service, no sooner had his patron Duke Hsiao of Ch'in died, than the successor accused him of planning a rebellion, slew him, and had his body torn to pieces.[119]

Shen Pu-hai 申不害 (d. 337 B. C.), a political philosopher and the first major theorist in the field of public administration, was chancellor of the Han state (present western Honan) for fifteen years. He cultivated *shu* 術 (technique or statecraft) and practiced *tao* (the proper Way of government), so that the state was well governed. The key term for Shen Pu-hai's philosophy is *hsing ming* 刑名 (form and name), which may mean actual performance (*hsing*) according to the official title (*ming*). A public servant should neither under nor over perform his duties. He should never transgress other functionaries' spheres of responsibility. If he does, he might create confusion in the government machinery and be subject to punishment. Thus the duties to be performed and his official title must be clearly understood by the candidate, who may be examined at the time of recruitment, and whose performance may be periodically checked as a basis for promotion and demotion. I believe *Hsing-ming* may be included under the *shu* category. *Hsing-ming* lets the ruler overtly live as a do-nothing (*wu-wei*) Taoist, while covertly controlling the life and death of all below him.[120]

118. "禮不下庶人，刑不上大夫," chapter "Chü-li" in *Li Chi* 禮記 (Record of Rites), ch. 1: 35a, Legge's translation of *The Chinese Classics*, v. 1: 90.

119. *Shih-chi*, ch. 68: 1-10; and Wang, *Han Fei Tzu chi-chieh*, ch. 49: 341-43.

120. *Shih-chi*, ch. 68: 5-12, Shang Chün's biography; Kao Heng 高亨, *Shang-chün-shu chu-shih* 商君書注釋 (Notes and Commentaries on the *Book of Lord Shang*) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974), 1-11; Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien 陳啓天, *Shang-chün-shu chiao-shih* 商君書校釋 (The *Book of Lord Shang* with Textual Criticism and Commentaries) (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1974); Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien, *Shang Yang p'ing-chuan* 評傳 (A Critical Biography of Shang Yang) (same publisher, 1977); Ch'i Ssu-ho 齊思和, "Shang Yang pien-fa k'ao 商鞅變法考" (On Shang Yang's Reform), *Chung-kuo shih t'an-yen* 中國史探研 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1981), 128-43; *The Book of Lord Shang*, English trans. by J. J. L. Duyvendak (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1928), 1-40 *Passim;* Hsiao/Mote, I: 371; and H. G. Creel, "The Fa-chia 法家 'Legalists' or Administrators'" reprinted from *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*, Academia Sinica, Extra vol. 4 (1961) 607-36. Note, *Hsing ming* 刑名 in modern times means criminal law or an expert on criminal law.

Another closely related form of Shen Pu-hai's administrative technique is also under the *shu* category. Shen specifies that the ruler must have discriminating methods along with correct and definite principles, in order to organize and supervise his ministers. Since Shen Pu-hai's work is no longer extant except for fragments quoted in old encyclopedias and other works, Han Fei-tzu's interpretation of Shen's *shu* is quoted as follows:

> To bestow office according to capacity of the candidate, to demand actual performance in accordance with the title of the office held, to hold fast the handles of the power of life and death, to examine into the abilities of all his ministers; these are the things 〔techniques〕 that the ruler keeps in his own hand.[121]

Now a few words must be said about Shen Tao 愼到 (ca. 350–275 B. C.), a native of the state of Chao in Shansi. He advocated that knowledge be discarded, though a ruler must have power or authority (*shih* 勢). Thus Lord Shang stressed *fa* (law); Shen Pu-hai, *shu* (statecraft); Shen Tao, *shih* (power); and Han Fei absorbed the three into his political philosophy.

All these Legalists may have also been influenced by Mo Tzu's "economy in expenditure," and "agreement with the superior," as well as the Taoist contempt for conventional ethics and pedantic learning. These legalist ideas found fullest exposition in the *Han Fei Tzu.*

Han Fei Tzu, and Machiavellian intrigues

Regarded as the first Chinese political scientist, Han Fei (d. 233 B. C.), prince of the state of Han in present Honan, was also unique as a nobleman among ancient philosophers. The Legalists were the only pre-Ch'in school which dealt with socio-political problems from the ruler's point of view. Other philosophers spoke from that of the elite or from that of commoners. The Legalists were so called from their belief that severe laws and harsh punishments were the only means of bringing order and security for the administrators.

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121. Wang, *Han Fei Tzu chi-chieh*, ch. 17: 7b; Liao, *Han Fei Tzu*, II: 212. In dealing with Shen Pu-hai, our main referneces are Herrlee G. Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 4-6; and *Shen Pu-hai, a Chinese Political Philosopher of the Fourth Century B. C.* (same publisher, 1974), 21-44, 119-34; Wang Hsiao-po 王曉波, "Shen Pu-hai ti chung shu ssu-hsiang yen-chiu 申不害的重術思想研究" (A Study of Shen Pu-hai's ideas with emphasis on *shu*), *Tai-lu tsa-chih* 51.4 (Oct. 1975) 33-46; Arthur Waley, *Three Ways of Thought*, 181ff; Feng Yu-lan/Bodde, I: 318ff; Kung-ch'üan Hsiao Mote, I: 370ff.

Han Fei, Han Fei Tzu, or Master Han Fei had a lifelong interest in jurisprudence, names, law, and statecraft. In his writings he frequently mentioned Lord Shang, Shen Tao, and Shen Pu-hai, all of whom were affiliated with the informal academy near the Chi gate of Lin-tzu 臨淄, the capital of the Ch'i state in Shantung.[122]

Other sources of Han Fei's knowledge were the legends of the Yellow Emperor (Huang Ti), Lao Tzu, as well as Confucianism. Together with Li Ssu 李斯 (280?-208 B.C.) he studied under Hsün Tzu, an Aristotle of the Confucian school. Although he spoke with a stammer, he was a brilliant writer. The collection of 55 essays entitled *Han Fei Tzu* reveals his erudition and understanding of historical and current problems. Well-informed and with keen observation of men and institutions, he could analyze human feelings, as in Chapter 12, "The Difficulties in Persuasion." In Chapter 15 he enumerated forty-seven causes which could portend a kingdom's decline and fall. These pages alone demonstrate his deep thinking and prophetic insight. Nevertheless, as an envoy from Han to the state of Ch'in he was thrown into prison, where he committed suicide. His former schoolmate, Li Ssu, may have engineered Han's death because of jealousy of his influence on the king of Ch'in, who later became the First Emperor of China. It is said that the king was attracted by the *Han Fei Tzu*, the ideas of which helped in the construction of the Chinese Empire.[123]

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122. As we have mentioned above, Chi-hsia was a center of many scholars coming from other parts of the empire. See Chin Shou-shen 金受申, *Chi-hsia p'ai chih yen-chiu* 稷下派之研究 (A study of the Chi-hsia School of Philosophers) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1933). See also Ono Seiichi 宇野精一, ed., *Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang chih yen-chiu* 中國思想之研究 (A Study of the History of Chinese Thought), trans. by Lin Mou-sung 林茂松 (Taipei: Yu-shih ch'u pan she, 1970), III: 90; and Fujikawa Masakazu 藤川正數, "Kampi no gakusetsu to sono tokushoku 韓非の學說とその特色" (Han Fei's Theory and its Characteristics), *Kagawa daigaku gakugei-gakubu kenkyū hōkoku* 香川大學藝學部研究報告 (Bulletin of the School of Education and Liberal Arts, Kagawa University) 1.2 (1951) 1-17.

123. *Shih-chi*, ch. 63: 5-12; Derk Bodde, *China's First Unifier* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938), 10-11; and Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若, "Han Fei Tzu ti p'i-p'an 韓非子的批判" (Comments on Han Fei Tzu) in *Shih p'i-p'an shu* 十批判書 (Peking: Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1954), 340-86. Sources on Han Fei Tzu may include Wang Hsien-shen, *Han Fei Tzu chi-shih* (see n. 117); Ch'en ch'i-t'ien 陳啓天, *Han Fei Tzu chiao-shih* 校釋 (with textual criticisms and annotations) (Taipei: *Chung-hua ts'ung-shu* ed., 1958), punctuated, and with an informative appendix; Burton Watson's trans. of the twelve chapters of *Han Fei Tzu* in the *Basic Writings of Mo Tzu, Hsün Tzu, and Han Fei Tzu*; W. K. Liao's, *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu*, 2 vols. Concerning authenticity of the 55 chapters, see Chang Hsin-cheng *Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao*. But there seems to be a tendency to accept more chapters as genuine or of equal value to those written by Han. That only 10-20% of *Han Fei Tzu* is authentic, is an underestimate; and that chapters 20-21 concerning Lao Tzu are unreliable, may need revision (see Hu Shih, *Chung-kuo ku-tai che-hsüeh-shih*, III: 82). Chang Su-chen 張素貞, *Han Fei Chieh Lao, Yü Lao yen-chiu* 韓非解老喻老研究 (Taipei: Chang-ho ch'u-pan she, 1976) accepts the two chapters as reliable. That the "Te-ching" precedes "Tao-ching" agrees with the coeval silk copy of *Lao Tzu* discovered at Ma-wang-tui, Changsha.

It is hard to sum up Han Fei Tzu's political philosophy briefly. He visualized a universal state under one sovereign, one regime, and one supreme law—a universal state which would put an end to the age of war and confusion. Han Fei advocated authoritarianism. "The state affairs may be scattered in the four quarters, but the key (to the administration) lies in the center" (ch. 8: 30). He believed in the necessity for the absolute and uncompromising obedience of all people to one centralized authority. The relation between the king and people in the new age was impersonal and purely political. The ancient ideal ruler was a moralist, the medieval, a philosopher; and the modern a strong man, who must have force or sovereignty in his hand. The highest aim of a state was power and wealth. To achieve this goal the state must regiment all people to become soldiers and peasants, who had no freedom to select a trade or pursue studies of anything other than the arts of war and agriculture. It was a government through force rather than suasion.[124]

Han Fei also campaigned for the supremacy of law. Law should be universally known and understood, set forth in documents, supplied to every government office and distributed among the people. The average man could not control himself without restraint by law. Officials and people should be supervised through vigilant watching by the ruler. His subjects were held strictly responsible for any delinquencies that occurred. Those who would like to study law could do so under a law official of the government, so as to avoid misinterpretation and misunderstanding of the rules.

It is to be noted that the good points which Han Fei inherited from Lord Shang are that the laws, being impersonal and impartial, must be applied to all, high and low, so that all would be equal before the law, and that the laws must change with the times.[125]

This is in line with Han Fei's conception of progressive history, which

124. Wang, *Han Fei Tzu chi-chieh*, ch. 19: 342-43; ch. 20: 362; ch. 47: 326-27. *Cf.* W. K. Liao; and James Russell Landers, *The Political Thoughts of Han Fei*, Indiana University Ph. D. thesis, 1972, a solid piece of research.

125. *Han Fei Tzu chi-chieh*, ch. 38: 290; ch. 43: 304-305; ch. 55. 366; Waley, *Three Ways*, 160-61; and Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien, *Han Fei Tzu chiao-shih*, appendix, 953-56. It goes without saying that Han Fei Tzu's firm belief in the supremacy of law was influenced by Lord Shang. His theory of sovereignty anticipated that of Jean Bodin. *Cf.* Ts'ao Ch'ien 曹謙, *Han Fei fa-chih lun* 韓非法治論 (Han Fei's Government by Law) (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1948), 54-88. See also Ellen Marie Chen, "The Dialectic of *Chih* (Reason) and *Tao* (Nature) in *Han Fei Tzu*," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 3 (1975) 1-21.

he likens to a stream continually flowing forward. He formed a theory of historical materialism. Circumstances change with time and will never be the same. The ways of dealing with circumstances and environment must change accordingly. The ancient and modern periods necessitated different measures.[126]

He also believed that human nature is evil. Man is born with certain likes and dislikes. He likes to be free and lazy, and dislikes toil. He likes to be safe, dislikes danger. Being selfish, he likes to receive and dislikes to give. Therefore, to counter human nature, the ruler must reward those who render him good service and punish those who act against him.

The ruler must eschew all impulses toward mercy and affection and be guided solely by self-interest. Charity is an evil because it robs the industrious and pampers prodigal sons toward mercy. "Children of a kindly mother often turn out badly," said Han Fei. "From this I know that only power and authority can prevent violence, but kindness and generosity are insufficient to put an end to disorder."[127]

After reading Machiavelli's *Prince* and the *Han Fei Tzu,* one may be struck with some similarities. To Machiavelli (1469-1527) human nature is essentially selfish and egoistic; this engenders the desire for security in the people, and the desire for power in the ruler. Machiavelli wrote almost wholly of the mechanics of the government and of the means by which a state may be made strong. The purpose of politics is to preserve and increase political power.[128]

A similar geo-political situation must account for the nearly identical thinking. Italy, in the 15th and 16th centuries, like China of the 3rd century B. C., was a disunited and unsteady society, and Machiavelli was convinced that in such circumstances no effective government was possible except

126. This summary is based on *Han Fei Tzu chi-chieh,* ch. 49: 339-42. *Cf.* B. Watson's trans.; Derk Bodde, *China's First Unifier,* 214-15; and Chao Chin-hai 趙金海, *Han Fei Tzu yen-chiu* 韓非子研究 (Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1967), 51-54. It occurs to me that Wang Fu-chih must have been influenced by Han Fei Tzu; see S. Y. Teng, "Wang Fu-chih's View on History and Historical Writing," *Journal of Asian Studies* 28.1 (Nov. 1968) 111-23.

127. See *Han Fei Tzu chi-chieh,* ch. 46: 320; ch. 49: 342; and Watson, 125.

128. George H. Sabine, *A History of Political Philosophy,* 339-42; Machiavelli, *The Prince and other Works,* trans. by Allan H. Gilbert (New York: Hendricks House Inc., 1964), 104, 125 n.7, 148; H. Butterfield, *The Statecraft of Machiavelli* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1960), 56, "the prince must imitate the fox and the lion," 72; Wang, Tsan-yuan 王讚原, "Han Fei yü Ma-chi-wei-li pi-chiao yen-chiu 韓非與馬基維利比較研究" (A Comparative Study of Han Fei and Machiavelli), *Yu-shih hsüeh-chih* 幼獅學誌 10.4 (Dec. 1972) 1-91.

absolute monarchy.[129] Thus both Han Fei and Machiavelli taught the science and art of power politics.

As in Italy, where the prince had to protect himself with an aura of authority and majesty, in China the ruler had to defend himself against the aggression of the ruled. He should never give too much authority or enter into intimate relations with any minister, or ennoble anybody. "Make the powerful wane and the powerless wax." He should never trust anybody, even his own wife and children, friends and relatives, and never reveal his innermost thoughts and feelings to them. The ruler must not burden himself with any administrative details. He must "do nothing." He must rest in quiescence so that he may watch the business of the ministers. He must grasp the fundamental in order to supervise the execution of the details. He must appear passive and soft, but in reality he must be active and tough. He must always be mysterious and inscrutable, so that he may inspire awe and reverence in his ministers. He should exercise his sovereign powers "with the speed of lightning and with the dignity of thunder."[130]

Regarding the people, the ruler should prohibit all subversive and reactionary literature and suppress all divergent schools of thought. This, of course, includes the heterodoxies and "the knights who with their military prowess violate the prohibitions."[131] The absolute state permits no freedom of thought and expression. Most of the Legalist ideas, including the condemnation of intelligentsia, seem to have been accepted by Chinese rulers from the

129. An attempt was made to see whether Machiavelli had some indirect connection with China through Jesuits or other informants who offered data for Max Weber; Machiavelli may have been born too early to learn some ideas from China. In the *Prince* there are references to Asia, referring to Turkey in Asia Minor. For the time being we believe that the similar ideas seem to have been generated by similar geographic situations and sociopolitical circumstances. See Sabine, *op. cit.*, 343.

130. Lin Mou-sheng, *Men and Ideas; an Informal History of Chinese Political Thought* (New York: John Day, 1942), 117 *passim.* This book, though undocumented and unbalanced, is quite informative and readable, and, in addition, the author "reveals most interesting and significant parallels to western philosophical thinking" as pointed out by Pearl S. Buck in the introduction. *Cf. Han Fei Tzu chi-chieh*, ch. 17: 82; ch. 38: 290; Waley, 178-79; and Watson, 17-18.

131. Burton Watson, in a footnote to his partial translation of *Han Fei Tzu*, spells out the activities of the knights or cavaliers. They were "noted for their daring and strict code of honor, often acted as local 'bosses' in defiance of the government authorities, guaranteeing protection to people who sought their aid or hiring out their services in the conduct of private vendettas" (p. 105n). This is a succinct description of the knights (*hsia* 俠) in the third century B. C. Queerly enough this picture resembles the Shanghai gangsters in the 1930s. Cf. Jumes J. Y. Liu, *The Chinese Knight Errant.* (Chicago, 1966).

First Emperor of Ch'in to the last of Ch'ing, as well as by leaders in contemporary China. One may say that Han Fei Tzu's influence still exists.

Lawmakers of crime-ridden countries may like to read the unpalatable reasoning of Chinese ancient Legalists: "If the law were strong, the country would be strong, and punishment should be deterrent in the highest degree; even the lightest crimes should be severely punished, for where small offences do not occur, great crimes will not follow."[132]

In addition the Legalists believed that generous rewards would encourage what was beneficial to the strength and well-being of the state. They rejected ethical values and model emperors of the past, and thus they represented the exact antithesis of Confucian ideas.

D. Eclectic trend and dual functions of the I Ching

About the third century B. C. the so-called "hundred schools of thought" were gradually thinned out due to lack of public recognition and lasting intellectual value. Only a few schools continued to "blossom and contend" in vigorous action, mutually influencing, criticizing, and borrowing freely from each other. Many folkore traditions and academic ideas were slowly combined and rationalized within a more dignified and rational framework. This eclectic trend can be seen in the *Book of Changes* and in Tsou Yen's use of the Five Elements.

The *Book of Changes* (*I, Chou I* or *I Ching*) is one of the world's oldest books and also one of the most enigmatic. For more than two thousand years it has been used in the East as a book of divination. Even the famous psychologist, C. G. Jung was convinced of the *I Ching*'s extraordinary power to foretell the future.[133] The *I Ching* is the earliest of the *Five Classics* even though its divinatory ideas were incompatible with early Confucian thought.[134] But this marriage of convenience for spreading political and Confucian

132. *Han Fei Tzu chi-chieh*, ch. 6: 21; ch. 30: 167; W. K. Liao, I, 36, 295; and Needham, II, 206-207.

133. See Jung's Foreward to the *I Ching* or *Book of Changes*, the Richard Wilhelm translation rendered into English by Cary F. Baynes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961). We trust that Jungs conviction must be correct.

134. The Five Classics are *I* 易, *Shih* 詩, *Shu* 書, *Li* 禮, and *Ch'un-ch'iu* 春秋, or the *Canons of Changes*, *Poetry*, *History* (or *Documents*), *Rites*, and *Spring and Autumn Annals*. As we have noted before, Confucius, Mencius, and Hsün Tzu repudiated belief in spirits, superstitions and divination.

influence took a long time to materialize. The book's complicated and mysterious nature has caused students tremendous trouble ever since its establishment. It merits a careful investigation.

Originally the *I* (easiness or simplicity) was an arbitrary amalgam of divinations and folk interpretations of omens. Because ancient people in many parts of the world were afraid of meteorological or natural phenomena, they imagined that there might be gods in charge of such things, and they desired to discover auspicious omens by occult means.[135] We are inclined to think that divination by stalks of plants (milfoil, yarrow, iris, etc.) might have preceded divination with characters on the carapaces of tortoises and animal shoulder blades which were heated by a sharp pointed instrument. The former method is so simple and so common that many children, especially of minority peoples in southwestern China, are still doing it for fortune telling or simply for fun.[136] The early diviners might use a finger to draw one or two short lines, such as–or––, on the ground, or take a sharp stone to make such lines on another stone. These undivided and divided (i. e., odd and even) lines might signify numbers 1 and 2, sun and shadow, or Yang and Yin. Stemming from this a series of binary terms, such as heaven and earth, thunder and lightning, fire and water, day and night, male and female, good luck and misfortune, were derived. Long practice created so many correlated ideas that the Chou dynasty adopted divination by plants as the main method to replace the oracle bones of the Yin dynasty. The Official Diviners (*Pu-kuan* 卜官) called the divided and undivided lines *Yao* 爻, which etymologically pictures a few short lines placed together irregularly. Three *yao* arranged horizontally made a trigram, and two trigrams placed vertically became a hexagram. Through permutations the eight basic trigrams, which symbolize heaven, earth, thunder, water, mountain, wind, fire, and lake, formed sixty-

135. Arthur Waley, "The Book of Changes," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 5 (1933) 121-42, wherein he explains that peasant omens, derived from ancient Chinese farmers, were like those to be found wherever civilization is at the same stage of development. The omens involved inexplicable sensations, involuntary movements, unusual phenomena oberved in nature, animals, plants, meteorological and astronomical events. These were then overlaid with divinations.

136. Wang Ning-sheng 汪宁生, "Pa-kua ch'i-yüan 八卦起源" (The Beginning of the Eight Trigrams), *Kao-Ku* 考古 4 (1976) 242-45; and Ch'en Tao-sheng 陳道生, "Ch'ung-lun pa-kua ti ch'i-yüan 重論八卦的起源" (A Review of the Origins of the Eight Trigrams), *K'ung Meng hsüeh-pao* 孔孟學報 12 (Sept. 1955) 207-34.

four hexagrams. Both trigrams and hexagrams were known as *kua*.[137]

The composition of the *Book of Changes* consists of these hexagrams with terse descriptions of their proposed symbolic meaning. Perhaps the text is intentionally ambiguous in order to permit the individual diviner's own interpretation. But it is too difficult for a layman to understand. Therefore later on commentaries appeared. Each *kua* is followed by a short paragraph of explanation, which is called *t'uan chuan* (judgement or decision). Thereafter are given analyses and exposition of the symbols and lines (*yao*) called *hsiang-chuan*. Eventually a total of seven commentaries (three being further divided each into two parts) were produced; some of them were incorporated in the text, and others became appendices. They are collectively known as the Ten Wings.[138]

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137. That *I* derives from Yin-Yang is supported but explained in a different way by Kao Huai-min 高懷民, *Liang Han I-hsüeh shih* 兩漢易學史 (A History of the *I* Studies in the two Han Periods) (Taiwan: Commercial Press, 1970), 64-67. Yu Yüeh 俞樾 (1821-1907) said," 古人之筮，必畫地以識爻 In ancient people's divination, they must draw signs on the ground to show the lines like yao 爻," *Erh-chan lu* 兒笘錄 (Elementary Divination Records), 8-9, in *Ch'un-tsai t'ang ts'ung-shu* 春在堂叢書. But this is not the only method. Both Arthur Waley and Joseph Needham have mentioned four different forms of divination in the *Book of Changes:* (1) What is called by anthropologists peasant interpretation, the use of natural phenomena as omens. (2) Divination by plant-stalks, short and long, which give the lines of the symbols. (3) Divination by marks on the heated carapace of the tortoise and animal bones. The vocabulary in the interpolated clauses in the *I Ching* is largely based on tortoise divination as we know it from the Oracle Records of the Yin Ruins in Honan. (4) Divination by tablets of some form (dice, dominoes), since the character *kua* originally meant a tablet. Waley, "The Book of Changes," 121-42, esp. 140; and Needham, II, 309n. Dice is a later invention, and are probably too recent to have been involved in the *I Ching*. Yen Ling-feng 嚴靈峯 has made a comparison of the vocabulary in the Oracle Records and in the *I Ching*. He was surprised that many important characters in Oracle scripts are not included in the *Changes*. He does not explain the reason. It may be surmised that because of its extremely terse style, the *I Ching* vocabulary consists of only 4157 characters, according to Cheng Yen-t'ung 鄭衍通, *Chou I t'an-yüan* 周易探原 (A Fundamental Approach to the *Chou I*) (Singapore: Nanyang University Press, 1972), 17.

138. A student of *I* is likely to get lost in a sea of analogous commentary glosses. For example, the so-called Ten Wings, commentaries and appendices, are actually seven, because three wings have two parts:
    1-2) *T'uan-chuan* 彖傳 (Commentary on the text; on decision or judgement) in two parts given under each *kua* in the text.
    3-4) *Hsiang-chuan* 象傳 (Line by line commentary called symbols) given under each *kua* in two parts.
    5-6) *Hsi-tz'u-chuan* 繫辭傳 (Appended judgements) or *Ta-chuan* 大傳 (Great treatise) in two parts in the appendix.
    7) *Shuo-kua-chuan* 說卦傳 (Explanations of the Trigrams).
    8) *Hsü-kua-chuan* 序卦傳 (Sequence of the Hexagrams).
    9) Tsa-kua-chuan 雜卦傳 (Miscellaneous notes).
    10) Wen-yen-chuan 文言傳 (Commentary on the words of the text, or glosses).

The text and commentaries were supposedly written during the Chou dynasty; hence *Chou I* is an alternative title of the *I Ching*. Some of the additional information was moral, some metaphysical, and some cosmological. Simultaneously the book is a divinatory and a philosophical treasury. It tries to explain the operation of the universe, the development of human society, and the harmony between cosmic forces and human beings.

Unfortunately the aphorisms with little solid organization are not easy to digest. Even though the text and appendices contain less than 30,000 characters, they are so difficult to understand that James Legge, after translating the whole book into English in 1854–55, acknowledged, "When the manuscript was completed, I knew very little about the scope and the method of the book!"[139]

Other translations of the book into English, German, Russian, Japanese, and modern Chinese, cannot help a reader to understand it either.[140] A popular English version is the Richard Wilhelm/Cary F. Baynes translation, written with the cooperation of his son Hellmut Wilhelm; it raised the *I Ching* to the status of world literature. Nevertheless Maspero said, "There are several translations of the *Yi Ching*, all bad."[141] For the Wilhelm/Baynes

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This commentary is also incorporated in the text.

Many interpretative works on the *I* are largely based on the *Hsi-tz'u chuan* or *Ta-chuan* on which a Ph. D. thesis with a long introduction and a new translation was done by Gerald William Swanson, "The Great Treatise: Commentatory Tradition to the *Book of Change*," University of Washington, 1974, under the direction of Hellmut Wilhelm. There are many other articles on the Ten Wings, such as that by Chang Tai-nien 張岱年 in *Chung-kuo che-hsüeh*, No. 1 (1979) 121-43, in which he dated most of the commentaries produced in the late Warring States period (484-221 B.C.); and Liu Ta-chün's 劉大鈞 essay expressing his point of view about the "Chou I Ta chuan" in *Chung-kuo che-hsüeh-shih yen-chiu* (Tien-tsin) No. 2 (1982) 34-40, in which he reviewed the contents and tried to arrange the sequence in which the Ten Wings appeared.

139. Legge's preface to the *Yi King or Book of Changes* in the *Sacred Books of the East*, ed. by F. Max Muller (Oxford, 1982), vol. 16: xiv.

140. For the Russian translation by Ju. K. Scutskii, *Kitaiskaja klassiceskaja "Kniga Peremen"* (Moscow: Izadel'stvo vostocnoi literatury, 1960), see Paul Demiéville's review in *T'oung Pao* 50, 1-3 (1963) 266-78; and Iulian K. Shchutskii, *Researches on the I Ching*, trans. by William L. MacDonald *et al.*, with an introduction by Gerald W. Swanson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979). The same press also published *The I Ching*, Wilhelm/Baynes. The *I Ching*, trans. and ed. by John Blofeld (Dutton Paperback, 1965) seems to be simple, clear and readable. Z. D. Sung's translation of *I Ching* (Shanghai: 1935) is largely the same as Legge's translation, but unlike Legge's it follows the order of, and furnishes, the Chinese text for the convenience of the reader. For translations into modern Chinese, see Kao Heng 高亨, *Chou I ku-ching ching-chu* 周易古經今注 (Taipei: Lo-t'ien, 1972); and Nan Huai-chin 南懷瑾, and Hsü Ch'in-t'ing 徐芹庭, *Chou I chin-chu chin-i* 周易今註今譯 (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1974).

141. Henri Maspero, *China in Antiquity*, trans. by F. A. Kierman (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1978), 447, n. 36.

edition, please read a candid review by Derk Bodde.[142] A good sinologist can enjoy making an interpretative English version of the *Lao Tzu*, but no such good luck with the *I Ching*, which is almost untranslatable. One wonders why?

Its inscrutability is due to the unusual length of time involved in the evolution of the book, and to its galaxy of alleged authors. Traditionally it is said that the sage king Fu Hsi (2953–2838 B. C.) first drew the eight trigrams, King Wen of the 12th century B. C. developed them into sixty-four hexagrams in a total of 384 lines (*yao*), and Confucius added commentaries and appendices to them. These three authors, Fu Hsi, King Wen, and Confucius, were respected as the Three Sages and endowed the book with invulnerable prestige. Later on the Duke of Chou was included, and was said to have composed the *yao* or line explanations. This authorship seems to have been arbitrarily assigned by scholars of the Western Han dynasty (206 B. C. – 9 A. D.).

The legendary King Fu Hsi lived nearly 5000 years ago! Supposedly, after some 1800 years, King Wen worked on the sixty-four hexagrams; another 600 years later Confucius contributed the Ten Wings. This supposed evolution of the text is inconceivable.

Because the *Chou I*, an occult handbook, was not burned in the great book proscription of 213 B. C., Confucians, Legalists, Taoists, and others collected the old and new studies on this book as appendices, and made it a Confucian classic in the second century B. C. Under the aegis of orthodoxy, its authority was rarely doubted by students until Ou-yang Hsiu (1007–72) courageously answered "Questions of a youth about the *I*" and doubted the authenticity of the appendixes supposedly penned by Confucius.[143] After a long time, another brave scholar, Ts'ui Shu 崔述 (1740–1816), vehemently argued against the supposed authorship of King Wen and others.[144] He was reinforced by K'ang Yu-wei (1858–1927), Ku Chieh-kang (1893–1980), Ch'ien

142. In the *Journal of American Oriental Society* 70 (1950) 326-29. The edition under review was published in New York by Pantheon Books, 1950.

143. *I tung-tzu wen* 易童子問, 3 *chüan* in *Ou-yang Wen-chung kung chi* 歐陽文忠公集, 1926 ed. Especially in the last *chüan* in which he questioned Confucius' role in a few appendices—a courageous start. See also Liu Tzu-chien 劉子健, *Ou-yang Hsiu ti chih-hsüeh yü ts'ung-cheng* 歐陽修的治學與從政 (Ou-yang Hsiu's Scholarship and Politics) (Hong Kong: Hsin-ya yen-chiu so, 1963), 28-30.

144. Ts'ui's statement is reproduced in Chang Hsin-cheng, *Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao*, I: 32-34.

Mu, Li Ching-ch'ih, and others.

As a result the traditional view of authorship has been shattered. "Now no one would maintain that either King Wen or the Duke of Chou had anything to do with the book," observed Needham (II, 306), let alone the legendary king Fu Hsi, whose own existence is uncertain. Confucius' role in this classic was espoused by P'i Hsi-jui 皮錫瑞 (1850-1908) but completely denied by Chang T'ai-yen (1868-1936), Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung (1887-1939), Ch'ien Mu, and Honda Seichi本田成之.[145] However, Chang Hsin-cheng, after presenting the viewpoints of many other critics, argued for Confucius' part in the *I Ching*. We are also inclined to believe that Confucius, who is known as a lecturer rather than an author, might have done some editing or at least had some indirect connection with the *I* by mentioning its importance in one way or another, influencing his followers in the periods of the Warring States and Ch'in Han (5th-2nd cent. B. C.) to Confucianize the *Chou I*.

As for the date of compilation, there is undoubtedly some old material in the *I Ching*. The trigrams and hexagrams are said to have been compiled by Court Diviners in the 7th or 8th centuries B. C. and to have been repeatedly revised in the following ages. The silk version (ca. 206-195 B. C.) of the *I* discovered at Ma-wang-tui, Changsha, is quite different from the current editions. For example, the canon was not divided into two parts, and the order of the 64 hexagrams was arranged according to the Yin and Yang principles. There were only the *I* canon and the Great Treatise, which was not divided into two parts. The rest, called *I-shuo* 易說 (Commentaries on *I*), contained about 7000 characters.[146]

145. *Ibid.*, I, 35-71; and P'i Hsi-jui 皮錫瑞, *Ching-hsüeh t'ung-lun* 經學通論 (A General Review of Classics), *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* ed., 8-10. P'i admitted that he could not find evidence for the attribution of authorship to King Wen and the Duke of Chou, but he believed that the hexagram and *Yao* commentaries were written by Confucius.

146. Because the traditional authors like Fu Hsi, King Wen and Duke of Chou are in remote antiquity, a few scholars tried to establish new time frames during which the *kua* and *yao* commentaries were compiled. Toward this goal Yü Yung-liang 余永梁 advanced the idea that the *I* was composed by official diviners (Pu-kuan 卜官 or T'ai-pu 太卜) at the time of Chou Ch'eng-wang 周成王 (ca. 1115-1078 B.C.). Yü's article is reproduced in *Ku-shih Pien*, III: 143-69, see esp. 162-63. Ch'ü Wan-li 屈萬里 (1907-1979) with his excellent scholarship carefully tried to prove that the *kua-tz'u* and *yao-tz'u* were created by one person, not by many hands, and in one time during the reign of Wu-wang 武王 (ca. 1122 B.C.), father of Ch'eng Wang. Ch'ü did not investigate authorship of the text. See "Chou I kua-yao tz'u ch'eng yü Wu-wang shih k'ao 周易卦爻辭成於武王時考" in Ch'ü's Shu-yung lun-hsüeh chi 書傭論學集 (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1969), 7-28. Ch'ü's thesis and guidance have been closely followed by Li Han-san 李漢三, *Chou I kua yao tz'u shih-i* 周易卦爻辭釋義 (Commentary on

The Ten Wings were produced in the period from the middle of the Warring States to the middle of Western Han (4th-2nd cent. B. C.). These commentaries and appendices based on different schools, were written at different times, and they convey opinions of various authors. A relatively recent study reaches a more drastic conclusion, that the "Ching" was compiled before 672 B. C., and that the "Chuan" commentaries were compiled at divergent occasions as follows: "Hsi-tz'u" (the great appendix) completed before the time of Emperor Kao of the Han dynasty (206-195 B. C.); "Wen-yen" (commentary on the words) before Emperor Ching (156-141 B. C.); "Tsa-kua" (miscellaneous notes) in the period of Emperor Hsüan (73-49 B. C.). Even though we may not fully agree with the author, this idea has reference value.[147]

Therefore, with so many hands decorating the *I Ching* in so many centuries, the book has become a varied and complex document.[148] One of the best ways to study it is perhaps to take off its wings one by one, study it layer by layer, then we may be able to glimpse the real profundity.[149] But

Trigrams and Hexagrams of the *Chou I*) (Taipei: *Chung-hua ts'ung-shu*, 1969). Since so much effort has been made to find a time of compilation so close to King Wen, it might be better to restore the traditional ascribed authorship. The thesis of Kao Huai-min's 高懷民, *Hsien Ch'in I hsüeh shih* 先秦易學史 (The Evolution of I Before the Ch'in Period) (Taiwan: Commercial Press, 1975), is exactly to defend Fu Hsi, King Wen, Duke of Chou, and Confucius. The author, a graduate of Taiwan Teachers University, writes in a scholarly, analytical and informative manner. The book seems to be persuasive, but the author anticipates different responses from varied readers. At any rate there is no consensus about the authors of the *I Ching*.

As for the date of compilation in the eighth century B. C., Li Ching-ch'ih 李鏡池 reconfirmed his conviction that "the *I Ching* from origin to compilation was approximately from the 12th to 8th centuries B.C." (see his essay in *Kuang-ming jih-pao*, July 21, 1961, *Che-hsüeh* No. 299); Cheng Yen-t'ung believes that *I*'s compilation was in the early Ch'un-ch'iu period, i.e. 8th ceutury (*Chou I t'an-yüan*, 18); also Needham, II, 307, and Scutskii, *Researches on the I Ching*, xxviii, 186 *passim*. See also *K'ao Ku* 考古 No. 136 (Jan. 1975) 50-51; and Ch'en Tao-sheng 陳道生, "San I ho 'po-shu' kua-hsü piao-wei kao 三易和帛書卦序表微稿" (A Preliminary Note on the *San I* and the Silk Version About the Order of Hexagrams and Other Small Points), *Che-hsüeh yü wen-hua* 哲學與文化 8.3 (Mar. 1981) 185-89.

147. Scutskii (see n. 140), 116; and Meng Chuan-ming, "A Study on the Dating of the Compilation of *Chou I*," *Journal of Chinese University of Hong Kong* 3.1 (Dec. 1975) 49, with text in Chinese and an English summary.

148. "It might have taken close to a thousand years of work to formulate our present texts of the *I-ching*," concludes Hellmut Wilhelm, "I-ching oracles in the *Tso-chuan* and *Kuo-yü*," *Journal of American Oriental Society* 79 (1959) 275-78.

149. Chao Nan-hung 趙南鴻, "I ti fen-hsi yen-chiu 易的分析研究" (An Analytical Study of the *I*), *Wen Hsing* 文星 *magazine*, 84 (1964) 2-7; and Ch'eng Shih-ch'üan 程石泉, "Chou I ch'eng kua chi ch'i Ch'un-ch'iu shih-fa 周易成卦及其春秋筮法" (Completion of Hexagrams of the *Book of Changes*, and Ways of Divination in the Ch'un-ch'iu Times [722-480 B.C.]), *K'ung Meng hsüeh-pao* 29 (Apr. 1975) 27-49.

the layers have been piled up for so many centuries that it is hard to separate all of them. The researcher may have to read a huge amount of writings on the *I Ching*, employ various methods of approach, and allow a generous budget of time.[150] Some day when the *Book of Changes* is really and thoroughly understood, we may find that "when all in the world recognizes beauty as beauty, it may be no longer beautiful" (*Lao Tzu*, 2).

The first mention of revolution in Chinese literature

Revolution is our main interest, particularly when it occurs for the first time in the *I Ching*, the most ancient Chinese classic. As an illustration we attempt a little translation of the 49th hexagram *Ko* as follows:

Ko 

(To start a) revolution on a *ssu* day,[151] then it will be lucky,

150. An incomplete collection by Yen Ling-feng 嚴靈峯, *I Ching chi-ch'eng* 易經集成 (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen, 1976) contains 362 titles, 195 vols. not including periodical articles and studies in foreign languages. As for different approaches to the *I Ching*, see Liu Pai-min 劉百閔, *I shih-li-hsüeh hsü-lun* 易事理學序論 (An Introduction to the "Eventology" of *I Ching*) (Hong Kong: Lung-men, 1965); Hellmut Wilhelm, *Heaven, Earth, and Man in the Book of Changes* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977); Paul K. K. Tong, "A Cross-cultural Study of the *I-ching*," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 3 (1975) 73-84; Daniel S. Goldenberg, "The Algebra of the *I Ching* and Its Philosophical Implications," 2 (1975) 149-79; Martin Gardner, "The Combinational Basis of the "I-ching,'" *Scientific American* (Jan. 1974) 108-13; and Hsü Ch'in-t'ing 徐芹庭, "Liu-shih nien-lai chih I-hsüeh 六十年來之易學" (Studies of the *I* during the Last Sixty Years [1912-1972]) in Ch'eng Fa-jen 程發軔 ed., *Liu-shih nien-lai chih kuo-hsüeh* 六十年來之國學 (Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1972), 1-209, a bibliography with comments.

151. My translation is different from those of James Legge, Richard Wilhelm, and John Blofeld, because I want to show a little of the divinatory nature of the *Book of Changes*. The characters, *chi* 已, meaning self; *I* 已, already; and *ssu* 巳, one of the twelve branches of Earth, are easily confused. The sentence 革, 巳日乃孚, is translated by Legge as "*Ko* is believed in only after it had been accomplished" (p. 167), using the "already" sense. Wilhelm gives, "Revolution, On your own day" (p. 189); he preferred the "self" sense. Blofeld's version is, "Revolution-not before the day of its completion" (p. 181); he modified the "already" meaning. But I translated it, "To start a revolution on a *ssu* day." This may imply that the action has neither started nor already been accomplished, nor has the date been completely decided by the leader himself; it is open for divine guidance. The proposed *ssu* day, like our Saturday, could be understood by the participants who, if they failed to get together, might try again on the next *ssu* day twelve days later. The basis for this interpretation are: (1) Wang Fu-chih's 王夫之 (1612-1692) succinct annotation, "Read *ssu* as in ch'en ssu 巳讀如辰巳之巳" (*Chou I nei-chuan* 周易內傳 [Commentary on the *Chou I Text*] I: 1 in *Ch'uan-shan ch'üan-chi* 船山全集 [Taipei: Hua-wen, 1965] III); (2) intrinsic evidence in Hexagram 18, *Ku*, "Hsien *chia* san-jih, hou chia san-jih 先甲三日, 後甲三日" (Three days before and three after the *chia* day) (Li Tao-p'ing 李道平, *Chou I chi-chieh tsuan-shu* 周易集解纂疏 [Collected Commentaries and Annotations on *Chou I*] preface dated 1842, in *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng*, p. 135); and (3) "Ch'en-jih pu-k'u 辰日不哭" (On a *ch'en* day, one must not

supreme success. The gain must come from the right cause. Regret none.

The *T'uan* (commentary on the text) says: *Ko* (revolution) resembles water and fire which can extinguish each other, or two girls who live together but whose purposes conflict. Such is called revolution.

That revolution on a *ssu* day will be lucky means that the revolution will gain public confidence, and the lettered and enlightened people will be pleased; hence supreme success is justified. When a revolution is carried on properly, there will be no regret; as heaven and earth revolve, the four seasons form. The "Ko-ming" (revolution) of T'ang and Wu[152] was in accordance with heaven's will and in response to the people's desire.[153] Thus the (propitious) time for a revolution is of great importance! Symbol (*Hsiang yüeh*): Fire in a pool is the image of REVOLUTION. Thus the superior man sets the almanac in order and makes the time (for activities) clear.

The Lines: Nine at the beginning[154]: shows that (the revolutionary emblem) is made of yellow cowhide. It symbolizes a durable plan, and (the leader) should not take (hasty) action.

Six in the second divided line from the bottom: On a *ssu* day, revolt; the expedition will be lucky. No blame.

Nine in the third place: Your starting will meet misfortune, and persistence will fare even worse. (But) when the revolutionary deliberations have taken three rounds, then act, you will have confidence.....

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weep) (Yen Chih-t'ui 顏之推 〔531-591〕, *Yen-shih chia-hsün* 顏氏家訓 〔Family Instructions for the Yen clan〕 an annotated translation by Teng Ssu-yü 〔Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968〕, p. 35): here *ch'en-jih* is following the old usage as *ssu-jih*, both of which belong to the twelve branches.

152. The leader T'ang 湯 and King Wu 武王 separately overthrew the Hsia and Shang dynasty in the eighteenth and twelfth century B. C. *Shih-chi*, ch. 3:1; and ch. 4:4-5.

153. A simple explanation of the numbering system, like *ch'u-chiu* 初九 and *liu-erh* 六三, is that traditionally a hexagram is drawn from the bottom to the top. The first undivided line symbolizes heaven, and its number begins with nine. The divided line signifies earth; its number begins with six. Thus if there are two or three undivided and divided lines, they are referred to in the text as nine-two (九二) and nine-three (九三), or six-two (六二) six-three (六三), etc., Wang Han-sheng 王寒生, *I Ching ch'ien-chü* 易經淺注 (A Simple Commentary on the *I Ching*) (Taipei: Hsin shih-ming, 1970), 2. *Cf.* Li Tao-p'ing, *Chou I chi-chieh tsuan-shu* (see n. 151), 1-4. Here, "Wrapped in the hide of a yellow cow," is Wilhelm/Baynes translation, but it has no subject, and the meaning is obscure. Therefore "revolutionary emblem" as the subject implied in the text, is our interpretation.

154. A *ssu* day symbolizes that the Yang element comes to an end in the tenday cycle, and is replaced by the Yin, according to *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu ku-lin*, 6576; Chang Ch'i-yün *et al.*, eds., *Chung-wen ta-tz'u-tien* (Taipei: 1962-68), Vol. 11: 188, entry 巳日.

Regret will vanish.....A change of government will bring good fortune.[155]

Now a little interpretation of the translator may be in order. The preceding hexagram, no. 48, metaphysically signifies that a well needs cleaning from time to time when it becomes clogged with dirt. In this hexagram, no. 49, the Chinese character *ko* etymologically means "animal's hide" or "pelt" and is carried over to apply to the moltings in political life. Thus from the very beginning Chinese revolution has meant a superficial change of government; it has not intended a fundamental overhauling of the sociopolitical system. Even this kind of revolution should include prior proof of its necessity and firm correctness in its conduct. It should not be made too hastily and violently. When the good effects began to be evident, occasions for regret would be none. The sage revolutionary must take T'ang and Wu as his models of legitimacy and win the confidence of the people. In short, revolution in the *I Ching* has been Confucianized and is tantamount to Hsün Tzu's "*I-wei* 易位," a change of position. To my understanding, one of the fundamental principles of the *I* is that when the function of a person or system reaches the end of its effectiveness, a change is needed; through periodic alternation continuity is achieved. Thus as Heaven moves, the superior man should unceasingly make himself strong. The *I* is everchanging; it is also never-changing. This idea perhaps is the key to understanding the secret of China's longevity.

155. The above translation has been compared with the four previous academic renderings readily available, and they are different from one another. Legge and Wilhelm are based on the *Yü-tsuan Chou I che-chung* 御纂周易折中 (Eclectic Annotations on the *Chou I*), which separate the text and commentaries in two parts. This arrangement differs from the most common editions included in such standard and popular collections as *Shih-san ching chu-shu* 十三經注疏, *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*, and *Ssu-pu pei-yao*, in which the text and commentaries are put together, and followed by the appendices. Z. T. Sung's *I Ching* furnished the original Chinese with Legge's translation, taken from the two parts for the convenience of checking. John Blofeld's *I Ching* (228 pp.) also follows the most common edition, making it simple and clear. He was trained in Cambridge University in Chinese and East Asian religions but has been serving in diplomatic assignments in Chungking, Thailand, and elsewhere. See Nathan Sivin's review of Blofeld's translation, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* or *HJAS* 26 (1966) 290-98. Wilhelm/Baynes, 740 pp., summarize the annotations in their own words, which are innumerably more than in the original text. Therefore Wilhelm may be regarded as the greatest contributor to the *Book of Changes*. A student, however, may occasionally like to know whether the ideas come from the Chinese commentators or from the translator or both. Therefore we indicate our interpretation of the Hexagram on revolution separately. Compare also Joseph S. Wu, "Philosophy and Revolution, Confucianism and Pragmatism," *Philosophy East and West* 23 (1973) 323-32.

Tsou Yen and the Yin-Yang school

The augural function of the *I* has been augmented by the Appendices based on the Yin-Yang school. This school and the *I* are both eclectic in nature.

The Yin-Yang and Wu-hsing concepts are usually mentioned together, but, in my investigation, their appearances in ancient China seem far apart.[156] As to when they began and which came first, there is no absolute certainty.[157] I believe that the Yin-Yang preceded the Five Elements because of its two different origins. One was astronomical and folkloristic; the other one was documentary and philosophical. The former has been mentioned before, but we add here the geographical influence of the Ch'i state, a center of early Chinese civilization. Ch'i was located east of the sacred Tai Mountain near the coast of modern Shantung province. The people, who were relatively rich, had learned many exotic tales from seafarers and retold them locally with exaggeration.[158] Thus Mencius said, "These are the sayings of uncultivated people in the east of Ch'i," and Chuang Tzu stated, "*The Ch'i Amusement* is 〔a collection〕 of records of strange occurrences."[159] These remarks were strengthened by Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Historical Memoir*, which noted that traditionally the Ch'i people had worshipped eight gods: heaven, earth, sun, moon, Yin, Yang, war, and the four seasons.[160] Now there are still many temples on the Tai mountain preserving some of the old traditions. Elsewhere Ssu-ma T'an, father of the Grand Historian, placed the Yin-Yang school before Confucianism, Mohism, and others.[161] No doubt, as a hereditary imperial astrologer and historian, he would maintain that Yin-Yang appeared before Wu-hsing: metal, wood, water, fire, and earth which have been used daily to

156. *Wu-hsing* 五行 has had several different translations, such as five elements, activities, agents, powers, or virtues, but the first one, although imperfect, is well-established and easy to understand without further explanation.

157. Fu Ssu-nien 傅斯年 said: "The origin of the Five Elements and Yin-Yang are no longer traceable"; see his *Ch'üan-chi*, II: 112. Li Han-san 李漢三 also said, "The Five Elements theory is relatively earlier"; see his *Hsien-Ch'in liang Han...*, 1: 103.

158. Kuo Chan-po 郭湛波 *Chung-kuo chung-ku ssu-hsiang-shih* 中國中古思想史 (A History of Chinese Medieval Thought) (Hong Kong: Lung-men, 1978), 14-15.

159. *Mencius*, Bk. V-A, ch. 4, basically Legge's translation with modification of the romanization system; and *Chuang Tzu*, ch. 1: 1, "*Ch'i Hsieh* che, chih kuai che yeh 齊諧者, 志怪者也." The translation is mine.

160. *Shih-chi*, ch. 28: 9-10.

161. *Ibid.*, ch. 130: 3b-4.

meet people's needs without any philosophical conception attached to them.

Documentarily and philosophically speaking, a long period of evolution in divination and explanation of mysterious phenomena by means of Yin-Yang and Wu-hsing was required. As Wing-tsit Chan well explained, "The two concepts of the Yin-Yang and the Five Agents go far back to antiquity and to quite independent origins..... Both may be regarded as early Chinese attempts in the direction of working out a metaphysics and a cosmology."[162] The earliest written record of the five elements is in the "Hung-fan (Grand Norm)," a chapter of the *Book of Historical Documents* (*Shu Ching*). Then in the "Great Treatise," an appedix to the *Book of Changes*, the principles of the Yin-Yang, the Five Elements and the Eight Trigrams are blended together.[163] The Grand Norm and the Great Treatise are generally believed to have been produced in the third century B. C., "not earlier than Tsou Yen."[164]

Tsou Yen (ca. 345-275 B. C.), a native of Ch'i and a member of the Ch'i-hsia academic association, was originally a Confucian, but later he seems to have become a proto-Taoist. A widely learned scholar of history, geography, astronomy, cosmogony, and calendrical sciences, and an eloquent speaker, he earned the sobriquet of T'an-t'ien Yen 談天衍, Bragger Yen of the Universe.[165] He may be lauded as a master of the Yin-Yang school, a predecessor of occultism, *fang-shih* (magicians), and Taoists who sought longevity or immortality from recipes. To Needham he was a naturalist philosopher. Like a Greek sophist, or a modern economic counselor, he was courted and well-

162. *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 244-45.

163. The chapter "Hung-fan 鴻範" of *Shu-ching* 書經 and the "Hsi-tz'u 繫辭" appended to the *I Ching* are believed to have been written in the middle or late Warring States period or the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C. See Tai Chün-jen 戴君仁, "Yin-Yang, Wu-hsing hsüeh-shuo chiu-yüan 陰陽五行學說究原" (An Investigation of the Origin of Yin-Yang add Wu-hsing), *Ta-lu tsa-chih* 37.8 (Oct. 1968) 233-40; and *Ku-shih pien*, V: 641-48 *passim*. In this volume several articles on this subject are reproduced. In the bronze inscriptions (*Chin-wen* 金文) Ch'en Meng-chia 陳夢家 located evidence describing the principles of the Five Elements; the time falls approximately between 425 and 376 B. C.; "Wu-hsing chih ch'i-yüan 五行之起源," *Yen-ching hsüeh-pao* 24 (1938) 29-47. The same title is discussed by Ch'i Ssu-ho 齊思和 in his *Chung-kuo-shih t'an-yen* 探研 (Researchers in Chinese History) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1981), 193-200.

164. Needham, II: 142. "It is the 'Great Treatise' that imitated or copied from Master Tsou, not vice versa" according to Tu Kuo-hsiang 杜國庠, "Yin Yang Wu-hsing ssu-hsiang ho *I-chuan* ssu-hsiang" A comparative study of the "Yin-Yang Wu-hsing ideas ho I Chuan ssu-hsiang 陰陽五行思想和易傳思想" (The Ideas of Yin Yang, Wu-hsing and that of the *I* Appendices) in *Tu Kuo-hsiang wen-chi* (Peking: Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1962), 244-56.

165. Ch'ien Mu, "Tsou Yen k'ao," in *Hsien Ch'in chu-tzu hsi-nien*, II: 401-406.

treated by feudal lords as their adviser, traveling from one state to another. Instead of a business cycle theory, he vended his history cycle theory. known as the Five Power Cycle (*Wu-te chung-shih*).[166] He philosophized and elaborated this theory based upon a doctrine of the Five Elements. Each element was equated with one of the five colors, the five virtues, the five planets, and the five ancient rulers. Each element was supposed to overcome the preceding and to preside over one period of history in endless succession. When the power of the element ended, the dynasty fell. For example, the element for the Hsia dynasty was wood; for the Shang, metal; for the Chou, fire; etc. Consequently Chou overcame Shang; Shang overcame Hsia.[167]

Tsou Yen is reported to have been a systematic worker using observation, allegories, inductive method, and precedent cases to reach a conclusion.[168] He also made a contribution to geography by figuring out that China is only one of nine continents and occupies one part of eighty-one of the space on earth.[169] Possibly he heard something indirectly from members of Alexander the Great's expedition to Sogdiana in Turkestan in 329-28 B. C.,[170] and more likely he got some information from seafarers along the Shantung coast as he took an interest in geography.

Through his contacts with state rulers, he observed that they were dissolute and profligate. Disappointed, he made examinations of the ups and downs of the Yin-Yang principles with emphasis on the dominating cosmic influences (*chu-yün* 主運). He wrote weird and fantastic theories in more than 100,000 words, most of which were not handed down. His disciples, called *fang-shih*, literally "magical-technique scholars," or occultists, could not get along very well with the feudal lords, or even among themselves, because

166. Tsou Yen's 騶 or 鄒衍 biography is in *Shih-chi*, ch. 74, between Mencius and Hsün Tzu, because he lived in the interval of the two Confucians. The treatise of the "Wu-te chung-shih shuo 五德終始說," or *Tsou Tzu chung-shih* 騶子始終 (Master Tsou's Book on Coming into Being or Passing Away), is listed in the Bibliographic section of the *Han-shu*, ch. 30: 21b, but not in subsequent dynastic histories, indicating its disappearance long ago.

167. The most extensive study of the political and historical cycle of the Five Powers was made by Ku Chieh-kang, "Wu-te chung-shih hsia ti cheng-chih ho li-shih 五德終始下的政治和歷史," in *Ku-shih pien*, V: 404-597. This volume is a treasury of primary and secondary sources on the subject.

168. Wei T'ing-sheng 衞挺生, *Tsou Yen Tzu chin-k'ao* 騶衍子今考 (A Modern Study of Tsou Yen's Works) (Taipei: Hua Kang Press, 1974), 1-2, 93, 103-105; and Kuo Wei 郭爲, *Yin Yang ssu-hsiang chih shu-p'ing* 陰陽思想之述評 (A Critical Account of the Yin-Yang, Wu-hsing Ideas) (Kaohsiung, Taiwan: Hsing-kuo, 1979), 12-14.

169. *Shih-chi*, ch. 74: 2. Cf. Needham, II: 236.

170. John W. Snyder, *Alexander the Great* (New York: Twayne, 1966), 115, 140-43.

of self-interest.[171] Some of the lords, influenced by the *fang-shih,* began searching for the "islands of the immortals" and trying to concoct a drug which could prevent death; both attempts were of course unsuccessful.[172] Tsou Yen's reputation was like cherry blossoms, charming for a short time but soon fading away. His ignominious death in prison about 278 B. C. probably made further researchers in occult arts feel ashamed or unsafe to mention his name.[173] Indeed many *fang-shih* met disastrous deaths in the Ch'in dynasty. Yet, his cycle theory of history was promoted by Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang of the Han dynasty.[174] Since then, the Yin-Yang Wu-hsing theory has become complicated and its influences extensive.

In short Tsou Yen was one of the greatest Chinese thinkers. He had the courage to put China not at the center of the world. we cannot agree with Dr. Needham that he "may be considered the real founder of all Chinese scientific thought." On the contrary, some Chinese scholars have blamed Tsou for detrimental effects on history and science over the last two thousand years.[175] There are some exaggerations in both viewpoints.

Occult practices

Occultism was given a philosophic foundation by Tsou Yen, whose doctrine

171. *Fang-shih* 方士, literally a magical technique scholar, has been variously translated as magician, necromancer, magician and adept, Taoist magician, and occultist; among these, magician seems to be most popular. But *fang-shih* and *ju-sheng* 儒生 were similar and not easy to distinguish, for both were students; only the *fang-shih* knew some magic techniques. In later ages some magicians may have been illiterate. Hence here occultist, as translated by Derk Bodde, is accurate.

172. *Shih-chi*, ch. 28: 10-11. *Cf.* Ssu-ma Ch'ien/B. Watson, II: 25.

173. Tsou Yen, a native of Ch'i, was attracted by excellent treatment to serve the king of Yen in Hopei. Soon the two states were at war. Suspicion, political intrigue, and slander caused Tsou Yen's new patron, King Hui of Yen 燕惠王, to put him in prison where he died. His followers, most of whom were *fang-shih* or magic technique scholars, did not get along well with the rulers who had not been benefitted from what thay advocated. Wang Meng-ou painstakingly pieced the primary and secondary sources together to clarify Tsou's life history in *Tsou Yen I-shuo k'ao* 鄒衍遺說考 (A collection of remnants about Tsou Yen) (Taiwan: Commercial Press, 1966), 16-34.

174. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Yin Yang, Wu-hsing shuo chih lai-li 陰陽五行說之來歷" (Sources of the Yin-Yang Wu-hsing Theory), *Tung-fang tsa-chih* 20.10 (May 25, 1923) 62-71. It is reproduced in *Ku-shih pien*, V, and other collections.

175. Needham, II: 232. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, 71; and Nieh Ch'ung-ch'i, "Erh-ch'ien nien lai mi-hsin chi-t'uan chih pien-luan 二千年來迷信集團之變亂" (Rebellions inspired by superstitions during the last two millenia), *Ta Chung* 大中 1.3 (Mar. 1946) 19-26. Nieh maintained that China has suffered from "the poisonous influence" of Tsou Yen and occultism for the last two thousand years.

quickly became popular and received much elaboration. After his death some of the prognosticator's arts were carried on quietly by his followers. Down to the Han dynasty, the Yin-Yang was reviewed first before the other five schools, such as Confucianism, Legalism and Mohism because of its importance and influence on people's lives, and because both Ssu-ma T'an and his son were Taoists who liked to discuss Yin-Yang principles.[176] In the Bibliographic section of the *History of the Former Han,* chapter 30, six classes of occult practices are listed.

The first is astrology. "Astrology," states the Bibliographic section, "serves to arrange in order the twenty-eight constellations, and note the progressions of the five planets and of the sun and moon, so as to record thereby the manifestations of fortune and misfortune."[177] Observation of celestial phenomena interested many people in the early civilizations of the world.

The second deals with almanacs. Solar and lunar influences led agricultural communities to see a connection between the heavens and events on earth. This interest in astronomy and astrology gradually produced an almanac, which gave not only climatological information for agriculture but also magical guidance for the activities of daily life.

The third is about the Five Elements, including the cycle of the five powers or virtues (*Wu-te chung-shih*). Included in this sub-section are thirty-one books, such as *Huang-ti chu tzu lun Yin-Yang* (Discussions of Yin-Yang by Huang-ti and Other Masters) and *Ssu-shih Wu-hsing ching* (A Classic of the Four Seasons and Five Elements). Most of such works are no longer extant.

The fourth is divination by milfoil plant and by tortoise shell and animal bones. In the Bibliographic section of the *History of the Former Han,* there are four books dealing with the divinatory functions of the *Chou I,* and many more books of the same nature have been made available by facsimile reproductions from the imperial manuscript collection, known as Rare Editions from the Imperial Library in Four Classifications.[178]

176. The other five were Confucianism, Mohism, Logicians (Ming-chia), Legalism, and Taoism. *Shih-chi*, ch. 130: 2b.

177. Translated by D. Bodde with a slight modification, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, 129.

178. For example, Wang Hung 王宏 (fl. 1670s), *Chou I shih-shu* 周易筮述 (An Account of Divination by Stalks of Plants in the *Chou I*) in *Ssu-ku ch'üan-shu chen-pen* 四庫全書珍本 (Taipei: Commercial Press), ser. 3: 20-21. There are many popular books in Chines and English on the *I*'s fortune telling methods, but we have no room to list them. For a scholarly treatment, see the classical article by Jung Chao-tsu 容肇祖, "Chan-pu ti yüan-liu 占卜的源流" (On the Evolution of Divination), *Academia Sinica: Shih-yü so chi-k'an* 史語所集刊 1 (1928) 47-94.

The fifth group is miscellaneous divinations affiliated with the *I*, dealing with human affairs on earth:

(1) Geomancy or *Feng-shui* (lit. wind and water) deals with the selection of propitious locations for houses, tombs, and cities, from the configuration of such natural objects as rivers, hills, and trees, to ensure the prosperity of any family and community. This practice began in the fourth century B. C.[179] If such a location were not selected by a geomancer, evil effects might result. A magnetic compass, which was allegedly invented by the Duke of Chou, but actually by anonymous persons in the third century B. C., was an indispensable instrument for a geomancer, who must also be versed in the principles of Yin-Yang, Wu-hsing, and the Eight Trigrams in order to decide a site.[180] The *Feng-shui* custom has continued in China until recent times.

(2) Physiognomy and palmistry were both pretended arts of China and elsewhere in the ancient world. China's cheiromancy made another contribution the earliest discovery of fingerprints as a means of identification.

(3) Oneiromancy (*chan-meng* 占夢), fortune telling from dreams, was another traditional method of divination.

(4) Glyphomancy (*ch'ai-tzu* 拆字), predicting the future from dissecting and analyzing written characters was an additional trick.[181]

Finally, the sixth class is magic calculation (*shu-shu* 術數), based on previous astronomical records and on the "mutual producing and mutual overcoming" hypothesis of the Five Elements and the Yin and Yang principles. The literati (*ju*), like Tsou Yen originally, had to make expert astronomical observations and calculations that required the keeping of detailed and accurate records. From the office of the astronomer emerged that of the historian, like Ssu-ma T'an, father of the Grand Historian. "The literate men of the courts commanded historical data, knowledge of precedents," and served as advisers and technical experts on government.[182] Several names of such functionaries are given by Pan Ku in the same Bibliographic section.

179. Needham, II: 359, 364.
180. The magnetic compass was used as a niavgation guide in 1119. Near the end of the century the Arabs made wider use of the "sailor's friend"—an example of a scientific tool improved from a pseudo-science compass, Thomas F. Carter, *Tne Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward*, rev. by L. C. Goodrich (New York: 1955), 125-26.
181. We are indebted to Needham, II: 363-64, for these technical terms.
182. F. W. Mote, *Intellectual Foundations*, 32.

Needham offers us a detailed analysis of the *shu-shu* technique.[183]

From this outline we can see that occultism or magic itself is based on superstition and obscurity. Whether it is closer to art or to science is debatable. Some of these practices may have had potential scientific value such as the magnetic compass, which was improved and developed into a mariner's compass in the twelfth century A. D. By and large the occult practices were not easily advanced to the status of science. Notwithstanding, they have had far-reaching influence in China, especially in the Han dynasty, on religious Taoism, folk-religion, and superstitions which often assisted law breakers and hesitant rebels to cast their lot with a rebellious group. A notable example was Chu Yuan-chang whose divinations helped him to decide to join the revolution and eventually overthrow the Yuan dynasty.[184] From this point of view, occultism, in all these forms, is heterodoxy.

E. The Ch'in Han Empire and Confucian orthodoxy

The demarcation between ancient and medieval history is 221 B. C., when China was united by the First Emperor, Ch'in Shih Huang-ti (259-210 B. C.), an energetic adventurer. He may also be called the first Chinese revolutionary, if revolution is defined as an attempt to make a radical change in political and economic systems.[185] In the area of culture he successfully unified the written language. He also endeavored to control people's thought, without much achievement. As an ancient proverb states, "Stopping the mouth of the people is more difficult than stopping a river." Advised by his chief counselor, Li Ssu, he started a literary inquisition in 213 B. C. by burning most of the divergent literature, which was a hindrance to his new policies; spared were useful works dealing with agriculture, medicine, and divination. Nevertheless critics persisted, and so the following year he reportedly put to death

183. Needham, II: 253ff. There is a good introductory remark in the *Ssu-ku chuan-shu tsung-mu* 四庫全書總目, 108: 1, part of which is adapted here. A great reservoir of such data on divination is of course in the *Ku-chih t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* 古今圖書集成, XVII: 541-64; XXI: 95-110.

184. Chu Yuan-chang's biography in L. C. Goodrich *et al.*, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, I: 383.

185. Ch'in Shih Huang-ti destroyed the feudal kingdoms, abolished the feudal system, and established a centralized empire which lasted until 1912. He standardized the currency, weights, measurements and law codes. He authorized private land ownership, reduced taxes, etc. He may be compared with many revolutionaries in the modern world. *Shih-chi*, ch. 6: 1ff.; and D. Bodde, *China's First Unifier*, 11-12, 23-24, 116-18.

460 literati and banished many others to the frontiers.[186] No doubt Ch'in Shih-huang and Li Ssu should be held responsible for the tragedy. But we can detect two schisms among some of the provocative victims.

1 . *A Schism between Magicians.* They competed with each other to gain the emperor's favor for commissions to seek the "Isles of the Blest" and to discover the elixir of immortality. Some of them, under the leadership of Hsü Fu 徐市 or Hsü Fu (福), were natives of the Ch'i state; others, headed by Lu Sheng 盧生, were born in the Yen state. They promised a great deal, but achieved nothing. The two factions were joined by other scholars who, motivated by the desire to get a share of the great profit, were blind to their wisdom and conscience. In conference with the emperor or his chief adviser the participants were sycophantic; outside they slandered each other and criticized everything, basing their arguments on this book or that document.[187] Having learned many lessons, and with patience exhausted, the emperor ordered the burying of more than four hundred literati alive; if true, this is another revolutionary method of the First Emperor.

2. *A Schism between Confucians.* They were followers of Mencius and Hsün Tzu, who had had their differences, as did also Hsün Tzu's two disciples, Han Fei and Li Ssu. The latter engineered the death of the former in 233 B. C. Han Fei's legalism was esteemed by the First Emperor and his crown prince. At the same time Mencius' adherents also mingled with the popular school of Yin-Yang and Wu-hsing. Like their master they advocated following the pattern of the ancient kings: the old model was right; the current system wrong. Taking this opportunity Li Ssu got rid of his traditional academic rivals. The earliest authority on Mencius, Chao Ch'i (d. A. D. 201), said, "After Shih-huang burned the books and buried the scholars, Mencius' followers were wiped out."[188] Then Li Ssu's Legalism dominated the Ch'in dynasty without challenge.

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186. The literati (*chu-sheng* 諸生) should include Confucians, fang-shih, and erudites (*po-shih* 博士), *Shih-chi*, ch. 6 "Shih-huang pen-chi," and ch. 28 "Feng-shan-shu."

187. *Shih-chi*, ch. 6; 15: 2; 24:2; 63: 6, 11b; 74: 1-7. "Tsou Yen's connection with Mencius,; ch. 83: 10; ch. 120: 1-3; and Hsia Tseng-yu, *Chung-kuo ku-tai shih*, 232-34.

188. Chao Ch'i 趙岐, "Meng Tzu t'i-tz'u 孟子題辭," at the beginning of Chiao Hsun 焦循, *Meng Tzu cheng-i* 正義 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1956); Fan Wen-lan 范文瀾, "Ching-hsüeh-shih chiang-yen lu 經學史講演錄" (A Lecture on the History of Chinese Classics), *Li-shih-hsüeh* 歷史學 (quarterly) 1 (1979) 7-8. Fan authored a larger work, *Ch'ün-ching k'ai lun* 羣經概論 (A General Discussion of All Classics) (Peiping: P'u-she, 1933), and thus he was a well-qualified speaker on this subject.

Ch'in Shih-huang was labelled a tyrant and a public enemy. In his early career there were three unsuccessful attempts to assassinate him. The first occurred in 227 B. C. by Ching K'o, the second in 218 B. C. by an assassin sent by Chang Liang; and the third in 216 B. C. when Ch'in Shih-huang traveled incognito near the capital and encountered brigands at Lan-ch'ih, Shensi, where his life was endangered. The emperor was so affected by an anxiety neurosis for the rest of his life that he dared not travel openly, but only through a tunnel in the capital or incognito. On his last trip he died in 210 B. C.[189]

Thereafter the Legalist Li Ssu occupied a dominant position by playing politics with the eunuchs. Before long he was also mercilessly slaughtered in 208 B. C. Because of the irreplaceable loss of books and intelligentsia "a great break resulted between pre-Ch'in and post-Ch'in philosophy, and the vigor and richness of Chou thought was seldom if ever again matched in Chinese history," observed John Fairbank and Edwin Reischauer.[190]

The Ch'in dynasty lasted only fifteen years (221-206 B. C.), but the succeeding Han era survived more than four centuries. Since the founder of the new regime, Liu Pang, was of rustic origin, he was awarded the title of "successful plebian revolutionary" by later historians, even though he made little change in the Ch'in system of government. He even reemployed many Ch'in bureaucrats, such as Shu-sun T'ung (叔孫通), who was to restore ceremonies and music for the Han court, and Hsiao Ho 蕭何 (d. 193 B. C.), who was to arrange Statutes in Nine Sections for the Han code, based on the laws of Ch'in. The drastic Legalist measures against rebellious princes were also followed in the Han dynasty.[191] Thus the Ch'in-Han dynasties have been often taught and treated as a unit.

189. The Chinese names of the assassins are: 荆軻, and 張良. *Shih-chi*, ch. 6: 8b, 18b; Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光, *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 7: 227, 240-41 (the punctuated edition, Peking). See also Arthur Cotterell, *The First Emperor of China* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1981), 144 *passim;* Sima Quian, *War-lords*, trans. by William Dolby and John Scott (Edinburgh: Southside, 1974), 142-55; and Bodde, 87, 119.

190. John K. Fairbank and Edwin O. Reischauer, *China, Tradition and Trans-formation* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1973), 57.

191. For biographies of Shu-sun T'ung 叔孫通 and Hsiao Ho 蕭何, see *Shih-chi*, ch. 99 and 53 respectively. See also A. F. P. Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955) I, 333. For more examples of commoners and rebellious princes, see Chao I 趙翼, "Han-ch'u pu-i chiang-hsiang chih chü 漢初布衣將相之局" (The Condition of the Commoners Who Became Generals and Ministers in the Early Han), *Erh-shih-erh shih cha-chi* 廿二史劄記 (Notes on the Twenty-two Dynastic Histories), *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* ed., ch. 2: 31-32.

The Huang Lao Taoism

It means Taoism of Huang-ti and Lao Tzu. The Yellow Emperor was legendary; Lao Tzu was mythical. This Taoist syncretic school of political theory might be more prestigious than Confucianism. Indeed its emphasis on noninterference and nonaction was timely at the beginning of Han. Many members of the ruling clique were rustic or rascals.

Liu Pang had no respect for scholars. It was Li I-ch'i and Lu Chia, two of Kao-tsu's paladins, who influenced him to be more courteous to the intelligentsia.[192] It was perhaps Chang Liang, a Taoist hermit, and Ts'ao Ts'an (d. 190 B. C.) who made the early Han rulers at least outwardly Taoist, but inwardly Legalistic. Chang Liang was Liu Pang's trusted confidant and comrade in military activities. Ts'ao Ts'an was his chief chancellor, who was a bona-fide Huang Lao Taoist and conscientiously practiced the political philosophy of *laissez-faire*. He tried to avoid all trouble and believed that the emperor had only to sit quietly on the throne. An interesting story relates that he made a petitioner so intoxicated that he forgot to talk about his proposals. Indeed during his three years of service as chief chancellor under the first and second Han emperors he gave himself up to drinking every day.[193] However, he is one of the proponents of the Huang Lao Taoism.[194] This Taoism had existed in the Warring States period, but the term "Huang-Lao" was first used in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Historical Records* (*Shih-chi*). In the biography of Shen Pu-hai 申不害 (4th cent., B. C.) there is a statement that Shen Tzu's knowledge is based on "Huang-Lao."[195] Perhaps the Legalist and Lao Tzu shared the method (*shu*) of noncommitment or flexibility in dealing with human affairs. This is a cohesive force holding Taoism and Legalism together. As for the legendary Yellow Emperor (Huang-ti), he was merely created to strengthen the prestige and mysticism of Taoism.

192. *Shih-chi*, ch. 97; the biographies of Li I-chi 酈食其 and Lu Chia 陸賈 give a vivid description of Liu Pang's manner. It is translated by Watson, I: 269-80.
193. *Shih-chi*, ch. 54: 6b-8.
194. For the biographies of 曹參 and 張良 see *Shih-chi*, ch. 54 and 55 respecitvely. See also *Ch'ien Han-shu*, 69; Hok-lam Chan, "The Rise of Ming T'ai-tsu," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95.4 (1975) 694, n. 47; Chiang Hsi-ch'ang 蔣錫昌, "Huang Lao k'ao 黃老攷" in *Lao Tzu chiao-ku* 老子校詁 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937?), 469-74; Chang Wei-hua 張維華, "Shih Huang Lao chih ch'en 釋黃老之稱" (Notes on the Title of Huang Lao), *Wen Shih Che* 145.4 (1981) 13-24; H. G. Creel, *What is Taoism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 9-10 *passim*; and H. G. Creel, *Shen Pu-hai* (1974), 22, 163.
195. *Shih-chi*, ch. 63: 5b.

Huang Lao Taoism and its *laissez-faire* government met the needs of the time when, after many years of destructive civil war, people longed for a chance to recuperate. During the twenty-three years of Wen-ti (179-157 B. C.) not a single government building was constructed. Wen-ti abolished corporal punishment and promoted agriculture by working on his own farm as an example. Taxation was reduced every year, and the land-tax was completely abolished in 167 B. C.[196] Thus Han won the loyalty of the people.

Regarding the new economic policies and the Taoist influence, we often overlook the importance of the Empress Dowager T'ou 竇太后 who was Wen-ti's (r. 179-157B. C.) empress; she was empress dowager during the reign of Ching-ti, and grand empress dowager during Wu-ti's reign. She was powerful for 45 years and may be compared to Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi in the Ch'ing dynasty.[197] Empress Dowager T'ou was a Taoist devotee who detested Confucianism. She required the study of *Lao Tzu* by all her children and grandchildren. She and her son were very frugal, and during her reign the empire became affluent. A Confucian scholar Chia I 賈誼 (d. 168 B. C.) began to criticize the Taoist nonaction policy without effect.[198] For more than seventy years after the beginning of Han the Huang-Lao Taoism maintained its supreme position. Not until the death of the Empress Dowager T'ou (in 135 B. C.) was Emperor Wu-ti (r. 141-87 B. C.) free to encourage the revitalization of Confucianism.

But two prerequisites had to be met: books and scholars. In 191 B. C. the former Ch'in law against private ownership of books was formally res-

196. *Han-shu*, ch. 4, "The Annals of Wen-ti." *Cf.* Hu Shih, "Establishment of Confucianism as a State Religion During the Han Dynasty," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch* 60 (1929) 25-26.

197. For Empress T'ou, see *Shih-chi*, ch. 49, and *Han-shu*, ch. 4:6, and ch. 6: 1. For Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi, mother of T'ung-chih, empress dowager of Kuang-hsü, and grand empress dowager of Hsüan-t'ung, who wielded state power from 1862 to 1908, see Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, II: 295-300.

198. Chia I 賈誼 criticized the non-action policy in his long essay, "Chih-an tse 治安策" (Plan for Peace), quoted *in toto* in his biog aphy, in *Han-shu*, ch. 48: 9ff. See also Hu Shih, *Chung-kuo chung-ku ssu-hsiang hsiao-shih* 中國中古思想小史 (A Short History of Chinese Medieval Thought), facsimile reproduction of his *Ms* (Taipei: Academic Sinica, 1969), 32. For other Confucians, see Hu Shih, "Establishment of Confucianism," 1-41 (n. 196).

cinded. High officials and old scholars were encouraged to present books to the government. Response to this appeal was rather slow until some years later when Liu Te 劉德 (ca. 173-130 B. C.), Prince Hsien of Ho-chien 河間獻王, a bibliophile, treated scholars with courtesy; as a result many book owners donated works which had survived the proscription. He presented several classics and a copy of *Lao Tzu* to the throne.[199] About the same time Prince Huai-nan 淮南王 also offered books to the court to help make up for the book shortage.[200]

Then there arose a controversy over the old text versus the new text. Some books, which were said to have been hidden in the double walls of the Confucian temple in Shantung during the Ch'in proscription, were removed during the Han. These works were written in the old script used before Li Ssu's standardization of written Chinese, and hence they were called the old text. Some senior erudites, who had learned the classics by heart, were requested to dictate some parts of the classics to government scribes, who wrote them in the current written style. Books produced in this way written in the Han script were known as modern text. The old text school accused the modern one of incompleteness and errors. The modern text school attacked the old one for being spurious and unreliable. The accusations of the two schools have continued to modern times.[201]

As for the shortage of scholars, Han Kao-tsu as early as 196 B. C. had issued a decree calling for scholars to work in the capital. With the accession of Emperor Wen a small number of Confucian scholars began to be employed in government service. His empress, Empress Dowager Tou, as mentioned above, was an advocate of the teachings of the Yellow Emperor and of Lao Tzu and offered little prospect for advancement for the Confucian functionaries. But the emperor persisted in searching for men of high quality. In the imperial examination of 165 B. C. Ch'ao Ts'o took first place and then

199. Ho-chien Hsien-wang Liu Te's 河間獻王劉德 biography is in *Han-shu*, 53: 1-4, and Teng Ssu-yü, "Ho-chien hsien-wang sheng-tsu nien-tai k'ao chi c'hi yü Chung-kuo wen-hua chih kuan-hsi 河間獻王生卒年代考及其與中國文化之關係" (On the Dates of Prince Hsien of Ho-chien and His Contribution to Chinese Chlture) in Teng, *Lun-chu chi-yao*, 223-59.

200. See Huai-nan wang Liu An's 淮南王劉安 biography in *Han-shu*, ch. 44.

201. For this complicated controversy, see K'ang Yu-wei, *Hsin-hsüeh wei-ching k'ao* 新學僞經考 (Study of the Classics Forged in the Hsin [Wang Mang] Period) (1891); and Ch'iang Pai-chien 蔣伯潛, *Ching yü ching-hsüeh* 經與經學 (Classics and Classical Studies) (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1956), 167-240.

served as tutor to the heir apparent.[202] When Wu-ti was enthroned at the age of sixteen, there were a number of enlightened Confucian scholars at the court. The energetic emperor was attracted by their ideas and accordingly sent out summons for scholars of moral worth and literary ability (*Hsien-liang wen-hsüeh* 賢良文學) to serve the government. From this time on, several authorities on the *Book of Odes*, *Book of Changes*, and *Spring and Autumn Annals*, including Tung Chung-shu, emerged. After the death of Empress Dowager Tou, the marquis of Wu-an, T'ien Fen became chancellor. He rejected the doctrines of the Taoists and the Legalists, as well as of the "hundred" other philosophical schools, and invited several hundred Confucian scholars to take positions in the administration.[203] This was an important event. The Han dynasty had existed seventy-one years when the Huang-Lao Taoit influence subsided, and Confucianism came to the fore.

Tung Chung-shu and Confucian orthodoxy

Tung Chung-shu (ca. 179-ca. 104 B. C.), a native of modern Hopei, was regarded by Pan Ku as the foremost Confucian scholar of the Han dynasty. He is considered to have been an outstanding political thinker and a builder of Confucian orthodoxy.[204] He was, moreover, the pioneer of the "modern text school" of Confucianism, and he started the trend of using the theories of Yin-Yang and Wu-hsing to interpret the Confucian classics.[205] A specialist in the classic of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, he was so devoted to his study that for three years he did not even take a look at his garden. He was a scholar of exemplary character, noted for his honesty, sincerity and integrity. His major was work the *Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu* or *Luxuriant Dew of the*

202. "This is the beginning of court examination in the Han dynasty," Teng Ssu-yü 鄧嗣禹, *Chung-kuo k'ao-shih chih-tu shih* 中國考試制度史 (A History of Chinese Examination System) (Nanking: Examination Yüan, 1936; republished, Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chü, 1966). See also Homer Dubs, "The Victory of Han Confucianism," *Journal of American Oriental Society* 58 (1938) 437; and Ch'i Chao-nan 齊召南, *Li-ta ti-wang nien-piao* 歷代帝王年表 (Annals [with important events] of Emperors of Subsequent Dynasties) (Taiwan: Commercial Press, 1968) 51, the 15th year of Wen-ti.

203. *Shih-chi*, 121, "Ju-lin chuan." *Cf.* Watson's translation, II 397-98.

204. *Ch'ien Han-shu*, ch. 56: 21; and Hsü Fu-kuan 徐復觀, *Liang Han ssu-hsiang-shih* 兩漢思想史 (History of Thought of the Two Han Dynasties) (Hong Kong: Chung-wen ta-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, 1975), II: 180-81. In this source the author devoted pages 180-302 to Tung Chung-shu.

205. Yao Shan-yu, "The Cosmological and Anthropological Philosophy of Tung Chung-shu," *Journal of North China Branch of Royal Asiatic Society* 73 (1948) 40-68.

Spring and Autumn Annals. The gist of this book seems to have been largely summarized in his three examination essays dealing with heaven, earth, and man, which are included in his biography, in the *Han-shu*. He often quoted the portents and anomalies from the *Luxuriant Dew* to support his later writing.

The main contribution of Tung Chung-shu to Chinese history was his campaign calling for the elevation of Confucianism and the suppression of other schools. The Confucian College was established, consisting of five faculties, each of which specialized in one classic and was headed by one Erudite (*Po-shih*, a professor). In 125 B. C. the chief chancellor, Kung-sun Hung suggested that each Erudite should have ten students selected from the whole empire. The student body soon grew from fifty to three thousand. The students apparently received government stipends, because there is no record of tuition and board payments. The Confucian classics were the principal textbooks, and constituted the subject on which the applicants for government service were examined. This arrangement helped to prolong the supremacy of orthodox Confucianism. Hundreds of scholars had entered government service as magistrates and ministers.[206] They could participate in state conferences and offer opinions for making policy decisions.

Tung Chung-shu is, however, not an ingenious creator but rather a blender. Like Tsou Yen, Tung also succeeded in making an amalgamation of Yin-Yang, Wu-hsing, and Confucianism. More political minded than Tsou Yen, Tung incorporated the Five Elements theories into Han political thinking. Many natural phenomena, such as eclipses, comets, droughts, earthquakes, and fires, were seen as warnings or reprimands sent down by heaven to the emperor. When the warnings were unheeded, heaven would cause the appearance of more anomalies to terrify the Son of Heaven into repentance.[207] Taking this opportunity his ministers would have reason to chide him or cause the dismissal of some unpopular officials as scapegoats. Therefore, the

206. Note that the Han dynasty did not establish a permanent regular examination system. The examinations were irregular and sometimes with oral and sometimes written questions, Teng Ssu-yü, *Chung-kuo k'ao-shih chih-tu shih*, 28-33, 357-58. See also Li Wei-hsiung 李威熊, "Han-ch'u hsüeh-shu ti hsin chü-mien 漢初學術的新局面" (The New Phase of Academic Conditions at the Beginning of the Han), *Chung-hua hsüeh-yüan* 中華學苑 22 (March 1979) 79-98.

207. Yao Shan-yu (see n. 205), 62 *passim;* and Tain Tzey-yueh, "Tung Chung-shu's System of Thought, Its Sources and Its Influences on Han Scholars," Ph.D. thesis in Oriental Languages, University of California, Los Angeles, 1974.

most urgent business of the emperor was to administer the state in accordance with "nature." But even if he did not pay much attention to the natural warning, the counselor would still be well-protected in offering him strong advice; and hence Tung enjoyed a natural death, escaping the sad ends of Lord Shang, Han Fei, and Li Ssu.

Though basically an orthodox Confucian leaning toward Hsün Tzu's faction, Tung Chung-shu's praying for rain (or cessation of rain) shows Taoist influence.[208] Popular beliefs and occult superstition flourished under the Confucian state.

Emperor Han Wu took part in these activities, just as Ch'in Shih-huang had done. He also led military expeditions against the Hsiung-nu, increased taxes and enforced strict punishments against the increasing sociopolitical crimes. He conducted sacrifices on Mount T'ai, and was involved in ceremonial controversies for the *Feng* and *Shan* sacrifices.[209]

Emperor Hsüan (73-49 B. C.) had a Confucian education and increased the number of Erudites. But he considered Confucian principles to be impractical for government, and so he checked their influence with Legalist principles.[210]

The ambitious Wang Mang, who tried to usurp the throne, searched for classical examples to justify his action. Later when he attempted to become a social reformer, he also needed classical models to follow. He ordered Liu Hsiang, a Taoist and alchemist, to promote the old text classics to replace the modern texts. About the same time the apocryphal and prophetic (*ch'an-wei*) interpretations of the Six Classics also appeared. Such matters near the commencement of the Christian era should better be dealt with separately.

Concluding remarks for this scrutiny of the evolution of Chinese thought during two thousand years should be very simple. All of us have been en-

208. *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* 春秋繁露 (Taipei *Chung-kuo Tzu-hsüeh ming-chu chi-ch'eng* ed.), ch. 74-75: 371-78.

209. The *Feng* and *Shan* 封禪 sacrifices were performed by the emperor in honor of the high heaven at Mt. T'ai and the broad earth represented by a small hill called *Liang-fu* 梁父 at the foot of Mt. T'ai. In 110 B. C. Emperor Wu had summoned some fifty scholars to discuss the proper ceremonies and utencils for the sacrifices, but they could not reach an agreement. Then the emperor fixed the rites for these occasions by himself. See *Shih-chi*, ch. 8: 25; ch. 28: 32ff ("Feng-Shan Shu"); Watson's translation, II: 55ff; and H. H. Dubs, "The Victory of Han Confucianism," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 58.3 (Sept. 1938), 443-49.

210. Hu Shih, *Chung-kuo chung-ku ssu-hsiang hsiao-shih*, 48-50.

chanted with "the hundred flowers blossom" and are aware that the Warring States period (5th-3rd centuries B. C.) was heavily endowed with many new ideas. To that era the Hegelian formula of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis can well be applied. Down to the third century B. C. there were only three major schools of thought, Confucianism, Taoism and Legalism, contending with each other, but also adopting from each other. Each school had its own schism, because each lacked intellectual coherence, and each could not generate permanent truth. There was no pure Confucianism, Taoism, or Legalism in the Ch'in-Han era. Nor was there any real synthesis, but rather a broad eclecticism. This may be one reason, *inter alia*, that China has not been very successful in developing distinct and well-defined sciences throughout history.

From the 140s B. C. onward Confucianism was the predominant philosophy of the government. There were four reasons for its supremacy. (1) The Confucian doctrine of a benevolent ruler and loyal subjects, and the reciprocal familylike relationship between ruler and ruled, suited the needs of an agricultural society. (2) Confucian classics were the primary textbooks of education. Constituting the first step in learning to read and write, they were the universal foundation of literati. (3) The Chinese examination system from 165 B. C. to 1905 A. D. was mainly based on Confucian literature. (4) Confucianism has served as a base for cultural unification and has functioned as a Chinese nationalism.

Demerit should not be overshadowed by merit. The triumphant Confucianism hampered the freedom of thinking that was characteristic in ancient China. Making Confucian classics the only legitimate discipline of scholarship was to some extent responsible for the sterility of socio-political speculation in medieval times.