

HUAI NAN TZU

Charles Le Blanc

PHILOSOPHICAL
SYNTHESIS IN
EARLY HAN
THOUGHT

淮

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The Idea of Resonance (*Kan-Ying* 感應)
With a Translation and Analysis of Chapter Six

Charles Le Blanc



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*A la mémoire de mes parents,
qui eurent compris tout naturellement
l'enseignement sans paroles du taoisme*

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C.L.B.

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'When the lute-tuner strikes the <i>kung</i> note [on one instrument], the <i>kung</i> note [on another instrument] responds; when he plucks the <i>chiao</i> note [on one instrument], the <i>chiao</i> note [on another instrument] vibrates. This results from having corresponding musical notes in mutual harmony.' (<i>Huai-nan Tzu</i> 6/6b.9 - .10) Atop the illustration, the three characters in the <i>chüan</i> style read (left to right): <i>Huai-nan Tzu</i> 淮南子.	
Endpapers	
Stone rubbings of the characters <i>kan</i> 感 (stimulus) in the <i>li</i> style by Chang Ch'ien 張連 of the Han dynasty (front), and <i>ying</i> 應 (response), also in the <i>li</i> style, by Cheng Tao-ch'ao 鄭道昭 of Bei Wei, v cent. (back).	
Chapter openings	
Six extracts from the re-rendered design on a bronze chariot ornament of the Western Han dynasty, excavated in 1965 at Ding-hsien, Hebei. Hunting scene amidst mountain-clouds.	

Foreword

'The world is common to all', or, more literally, 'All-under-Heaven constitutes a commonalty'. This is the rendition of the four Chinese words, *T'ien-hsia wei kung* 天下爲公, written by an anonymous Confucian thinker some two thousand years ago.

At first sight the saying seems an impressive expression of universality. On further thought, however, one realizes that the term *t'ien-hsia*, 'all-under-Heaven', was less than truly universalistic when it was used two thousand years ago. First of all, its connotations at that time were overwhelmingly human. *T'ien-hsia* then meant, for most Chinese, primarily the world of man, not that of nature and the cosmos. Moreover, even within this human sphere, *t'ien-hsia* primarily signified the world of known human beings: that of the people who spoke variations of a common Chinese language and possessed a common stock of Chinese cultural values. It scarcely extended to those outer shadowy regions inhabited by strange beings who could sometimes hardly be accounted human at all.

Later, of course, the Chinese gradually sharpened their awareness of this outer world. It came to them as the result of explorations by both Chinese and non-Chinese, wars, trade relations, religious penetrations, the gradual outward spread of the Chinese people and the more sudden inward thrust of the modern Western world. All this, however, was only beginning when the words we have been discussing were originally written.

Nevertheless, there had by then already been Chinese thinkers — notably the Taoists and the *Yin-Yang* and Five Elements cosmologists — who viewed the cosmos in broader terms. Such phrases as *t'ien-ti* 天地 (Heaven and Earth) evoked for them thoughts of a universe reaching far beyond the human world, in which man is only one of many significant components. Although these thinkers lacked the telescopes, microscopes and other instruments of modern science, they were able to conceive of things both as infinitely small and infinitely large. Tsou Yen, founder of the Cosmologists, thought of the terrestrial world as consisting of nine large

continents, each surrounded by seas and all encompassed by one vast embracing ocean. He believed that the Chinese cultural realm occupied only one-ninth of one of these nine continents. Some of his followers thought of space as extending hundreds of thousands of leagues (*li* 里) beyond the earth, and one of them proclaimed, 'Heaven, Earth and all things are like the body of a single man. This is called the Great Unity (*ta t'ung* 大同).'

The Taoist Chuang Tzu begins his book by describing the flight of the giant *P'eng* bird as it rises on a whirlwind to a height of ninety thousand leagues and then wings its way for six months toward the Southern Ocean. Later he describes two human kingdoms that are bitterly at war and yet so tiny that each occupies the horn of a snail.

This view of an integrated universe, in which the large and the small, the hard and the soft, the hot and the cold, and other complementaries all have their meaningful place and function, is basic to the key Chinese concept of *kan-ying* 感應. It is a concept that also forms the chief subject of the present book. Professor Le Blanc translates *kan-ying* as 'stimulus and response'; I think the words could also be rendered as 'action and reaction'. For the sake of convenience, he often describes this *kan-ying* doctrine as that of 'resonance'.

According to such a doctrine, the universe is an organismic whole consisting of things and phenomena that, despite their diversity, belong to certain common categories within which they stimulate and respond to one another. In other words, they resonate. Some may be as far apart as the celestial moon and terrestrial ocean, whose resonance consists of the ebb and flow of the tides. Others may be as close together as the organs of the human body or any other living organism, within which they spontaneously interact for the good of the total organism. Such, at least, was the manner of all things during the age of primordial harmony. If today less harmony exists, it is only because man has interposed his artifice into the workings of *Tao* or the Way. (Here it should be noted that *Tao*, for the Taoists, is simply their designation for the total cosmic process.)

These ideas are obviously of great importance as general principles, but I think it is also instructive to examine what I believe is a specific example of the *kan-ying* doctrine, as found in the way this book came to be written.

On the one side stands the figure of Liu An, a Chinese provincial king of the second century BC, uncle to one of China's most famous rulers, the Martial Emperor of the Han dynasty (Han Wu-ti). Unlike his militant nephew, Liu An himself was a gentle person who liked to surround himself

with Taoist-minded scholars. Out of the discussions and writings of these men and himself resulted the text known as *Huai-nan Tzu* or 'Huai-nan Master' (which could also be understood in the plural, 'Huai-nan Masters'). This text, with its exposition of the *kan-ying* doctrine, resulted in turn in the present book.

Twenty-one centuries later, on the other side of the world, a white-skinned 'man of the Western Ocean' (*hsi-yang jen* 西洋人) was born, a French Canadian, in one of Canada's maritime provinces. This man, Charles Le Blanc, became bilingual in French and English, then decided to become a Jesuit and accordingly acquired a solid grounding in the languages, religions and philosophies of the classical and Christian Mediterranean world. Later he went to Philadelphia for further study at the University of Pennsylvania, where he continued the study of Chinese he had begun in Taiwan. So enthralled did he become with China's language and civilization that he decided to make these his life's career. After finishing his studies, he very appropriately went to Montréal to direct the first East Asian programme in a French Canadian university. But some years later he was invited to Peking (Beijing) to become cultural attaché in the Canadian Embassy. There he worked hard to promote exchanges of culture between China and the Western world. And now, finally, he has returned to his academic post in Montréal just as his book on the *kan-ying* thinking of the Huai-nan Master is about to appear. Its publisher is the press of a university founded by Britain in a city which is both Chinese and a famous entrepôt for East and West.

Is this not an admirable example of East-West resonance? Does it not remind us of Charles Le Blanc's spiritual predecessors, the Jesuits (mostly French) of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Peking, who there brought European knowledge to Chinese scholars and at the same time transmitted their admiration of Chinese civilization to such European thinkers as Leibniz and Voltaire?

Not all human *kan-ying*, unfortunately, is as constructive as this. There is another negative kind, too prevalent to be ignored even though, being man-made, it would be rejected by the Taoists as a false *kan-ying*. This takes place when a person or group of persons initiates a harsh *kan* against another person or group, thinking (if he thinks about the matter at all) that if he only makes the *kan* harsh enough, the recipient will be too cowed to react with anything but a soft and submissive *ying*. This assumption has produced a history studded with man's efforts to exploit, oppress, conquer and destroy his fellow men. As applied by man to nature, the same

violent kind of *kan* denudes, pollutes and destroys the world in which man lives.

Lao Tzu, the 'Old Master', was supremely wise when he remarked that water, although the softest thing under Heaven, can in the end wear away the hardest stone. Here in my summer cottage on the rock-bound coast of Maine, I often think of this statement as I watch and hear the ocean's waves rolling the stones up and down the beach. Some of them have by now already become balls with surfaces of almost silky smoothness. Others will someday reach the same state. As I confirm the literal truth of Lao Tzu's statement by touching the stones, I also become keenly aware of its wider symbolic truth.

We humans, living such varied lives on this globe, have so much we could give to one another and gain from one another if we but chose. How all-important it is not merely to study the facts of nature's patterns and of man's historical experience but also to seek to know their philosophical implications. This book, I believe, is a significant example of such a quest.

Derk Bodde

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Written September 5, 1985, on the
Shores of Maine's Mount Desert Island

Introduction

The Nature of *Huai-nan Tzu* 淮南子

When Liu An 劉安, King of Huai-nan 淮南 (179?-122 BC), paid his state visit to Emperor Wu 武 (r. 141-87 BC), he presented him, as a token of esteem, with a book in twenty-one chapters that had 'just recently been completed'.¹ The Emperor treasured the work and had it placed in his private library. As far as we know, and notwithstanding the problems of authorship and transmission, it is this work which has come down to us under the title of *Huai-nan hung-lieh* 淮南鴻烈 (The Radiant Light of Huai-nan) or, more simply, *Huai-nan Tzu* 淮南子 (The [Book of] Master Huai-nan).

For the sake of clarity I would like to offer at the outset a preliminary description of *Huai-nan Tzu*. It encompasses a wide variety of subjects, from ancient myths to contemporary government, from didactic historical anecdotes to applied psychology, and from astronomy and topography to philosophy and mysticism. The diversity of content is compounded by the

¹ See *Han shu* 44/2145 (Biography of Liu An). The date is not mentioned therein, but may be determined from the parallel biography in *Shih chi* 118/3082 (Watson, II, 368).

many pre-Han schools of thought that find a voice in *Huai-nan Tzu*, a fact which is reflected by the large number of quotations sprinkled throughout the work.² Finally, the reader of *Huai-nan Tzu* cannot escape being struck by the lack of stylistic unity, not only from one chapter to the next, but also from one paragraph to the next within the same chapter.

It was apparently on the basis of this threefold lack of unity and consistency that *Huai-nan Tzu* was viewed by a large number of traditional Chinese scholars as a composite work, both in subject-matter and authorship, belonging to the category of the Eclectic School (*tsa-chia* 雜家).³ However, recent scholarship on *Huai-nan Tzu* has revealed the inadequacy of this assessment and has argued for the basic unity of the work.⁴ It is also my contention that despite the diversity of subject-matter, ideas and style, one overriding concern pervades *Huai-nan Tzu*, namely, the attempt to define the essential conditions for a perfect socio-political order. The perfect order is seen to derive primarily from the Perfect Ruler, conceived as the Taoist True Man (*chen-jen* 真人).

The basic content of *Huai-nan Tzu* may accordingly be described as Taoist-oriented political utopianism, and the work as a handbook for the instruction of an enlightened ruler and his court. As a philosophical foundation for this program *Huai-nan Tzu* argues that political rule is bound by the same patterns that rule the natural world. The universal patterns are conceived along the lines of Taoism and the School of Yin 陰-Yang 陽 and Five Elements. Government, in this light, appears as a particular case of the Taoist conception of the universe, and falls under the same binding principles. In the final analysis, *Huai-nan Tzu* may generally be characterized as a Taoist-oriented summa of Chinese philosophy of the Former Han period (206 BC-AD 8).

The twenty-one chapters of *Huai-nan Tzu* lend themselves to a threefold division, as follows:

² See Chapter IV.

³ We find a recent expression of the traditional view in *Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang t'ung-shih* 中國思想通史 (A General History of Chinese Thought), published in 1957 by Hou Wai-lu 侯外廬 *et al.*; we read in the second volume, p. 78:

Huai-nan Tzu is a work similar in nature to *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu*, and may be said to borrow left and right and be impure. The teachings of Yin-Yang, Confucianism, Taoism, Names [and Performance], and Legalism are collected together [in that work]. Therefore, the ideas show much confusion, and the text is protracted and repetitive.

The traditional view probably originated from the fact that *Han shu yi-wen chih* 漢書藝文志 classified *Huai-nan Tzu* next to *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* among the Eclectics (*tsa-chia*). The problem of the philosophical unity of *Huai-nan Tzu*, one of the main themes of this study, will be discussed in Chapters I, IV and VI.

⁴ See Chapter I.

1 Basic Principles (Chapters 1-8)

Huai-nan Tzu deals mainly here with Taoist and *Yin-Yang* principles that apply to all reality: Heaven, Earth and Man. These chapters may be characterized as cosmological and/or metaphysical. Some chapters reflect, as will be shown later, a development of traditional philosophy, combining in a new and systematic way the respective philosophies of *Lao Tzu* 老子 and *Chuang Tzu* 莊子 with the teachings of the Theory of *Yin-Yang*, derived mainly from Tsou Yen 鄒衍 (305-240 BC?).

2 Applications and Illustrations (Chapters 9-20)

This group of chapters is an attempt to apply the foregoing principles to practical matters of socio-political life: government, social reform, customs and institutions, the military, past history, education, self-culture and so on. The various aspects of socio-political life are examined from the standpoint of the Perfect Ruler. Chapters 9-20 incorporate a rich variety of materials issuing from pre-Han philosophies such as Confucianism, Legalism, Name and Performance (*hsing-ming* 形名), the Diplomats, the Dialecticians and others. In many cases *Huai-nan Tzu* seems to adopt their ideas and techniques of government, thus detracting from a consistent Taoist view-point. The chapters are therefore difficult to understand either as congruent parts of a systematic whole or even as coherent individual essays.

On account of this apparent lack of unity, many scholars have described *Huai-nan Tzu* as a syncretistic work rather than a synthesis. This problem will receive due attention later. Suffice it to say here that with respect to the various schools of thought mentioned above, *Huai-nan Tzu* generally adopts a flexible approach, which may be formulated as follows: the ideas of non-Taoist pre-Han philosophies (especially Confucianism and Legalism) are, by themselves, one-sided and fail to give a true representation of reality. However, some of these ideas (for example, the Confucian *ch'eng* 誠, genuineness and the Legalist *fa* 法, law) can be logically subsumed under more comprehensive Taoist ideas, thereby obtaining limited validity (both logical and practical). From the standpoint of the universal outlook of *Huai-nan Tzu*, non-Taoist ideas are necessary but insufficient for a perfect world order. Only Taoist ideas are both necessary and sufficient. This line of thought is brought out articulately in *Huai-nan Tzu* 8/4b-5b (*Pen-ching* 本經訓: the Fundamental Norm; Morgan, pp. 84-6). In a perfect society, the author argues, there would be one fundamental principle of government: *Tao-te* 道德 (the Way and its Virtue). But in a befallen world as

actually exists, in which *Tao-te* have become obscured and all kinds of evils have arisen, limited values such as *jen* 仁 (human-heartedness), *yi* 義 (sense of justice), *li* 禮 (social rites) and *yüeh* 樂 (music) have become indispensable means to overcome particular shortcomings. But the author insists: '*Jen, yi, li* and *yüeh* have the power to save men from shortcomings, but they are not the utmost perfection of government.' (*Huai-nan Tzu* 8/5a; Morgan, p. 85, tr. mod.) The long passage referred to, taken in its entirety, would be a fitting commentary to *Lao Tzu* 18, 19 and 38.

3 Summary and Outline (Chapter 21)

As was the case in a number of ancient Chinese works, the last chapter of *Huai-nan Tzu* plays the role of a general preface. Chapter 21 spells out the overall purpose of *Huai-nan Tzu*, summarizes the essential teaching of each chapter, and explains how the chapters follow one another logically, forming a coherent, systematic whole. The last part of the chapter describes the rise of the various pre-Han schools of philosophy as intellectual responses to particular historical problems, thereby showing the limited character of those schools. It is significant that neither Taoism nor the Theory of *Yin-Yang* are mentioned among the many schools. This would seem to be a strong indication that these two traditions were considered by Chapter Twenty-one as the essential philosophy of *Huai-nan Tzu*, precisely because they escaped the history-bound limitations of the other schools.

One significant conclusion for the correct methodology in the study of *Huai-nan Tzu* may be deduced from the foregoing presentation. If there is an underlying unity to it, the study of any aspect — chapter, ideas and style — cannot be considered complete unless one takes into account the work as a whole. This principle has guided the present study.

Historical and Cultural Background

The political orientation of *Huai-nan Tzu* requires that we pay close attention to the historical context in which the work was written. It is more imperative to do so for *Huai-nan Tzu* than, let us say, for *Chuang Tzu*. Fung Yu-lan 馮友蘭 remarked that *Huai-nan Tzu* transformed the formal concepts (beyond time and space) of classical Taoism into positive concepts (within time and space).⁵ The historical roots of *Huai-nan Tzu*

⁵ See Fung Yu-lan, *The Spirit of Chinese Philosophy* (tr. by E.R. Hughes), pp. 112-3.

have three main branches: the political, the philosophical and the cultural, in many ways entangled.

The fall of the mighty Ch'in empire in 206 BC, after only sixteen years of rule, had a profound and decisive impact both on the politics and the philosophy of Former Han. Chen Chi-yun comments,

It indicated that human constructs, even though they might be as powerful as the Ch'in empire, could not withstand the onslaught of history; that human reason, even though it might be as sophisticated as Legalism or as bold as the calculations of the cosmologists, could not comprehend the variability of change in history or cosmology.⁶

The Han dynasty had barely been established that Legalist and Confucian statesmen and advisors vied for power at the imperial court.⁷ It seems Taoism, in the guise of 'Huang-Lao 黃老 Learning' (about which, more later), profited from the incessant quarrels between the two rivals. We know that starting with the first Han emperor, Kao-tsu 高祖 (r. 206–195 BC), there was a strong and persistent Taoist influence at court. The first four Han emperors seemed to have readily accepted Taoist-inspired advice. This was especially true under the reign of Empress Dowager Lü 呂 (r. 187–180 BC) and the Emperors Wen 文 (r. 180–157 BC) and Ching 景 (r. 157–141 BC).⁸ With Emperor Wu (r. 141–87 BC), however, the situation took a new twist. Within months of his accession to the throne, non-Confucian statesmen, especially the Legalists, were officially expelled from court.⁹ The reign of Emperor Wu was to coincide with the decisive victory of Confucianism as the orthodox doctrine of the Han government.¹⁰ Taoism, which was never in the forefront and had kept a low profile at court, escaped censure. But, although the ideological battle was fought between the Confucian and Legalist factions, Taoism stood to lose the most, since Taoism had been the unofficial doctrine of state until Emperor Wu's reign.

⁶ Chen Chi-yun, *Hsün Yüeh and the Mind of Late Han China*, p. 13.

⁷ See Chen Chi-yun, op. cit. p. 14: 'The early Han court reacted to Legalism by favouring the Taoist teaching of non-action and quietism, moderation and restraint — a way of reckoning with the futility of excessive reason and action.' For a more detailed treatment of the question, see Tai Chün-jen 戴君仁, *Mei-yüan lun-hsüeh chi* 梅園論學集 (Collected Essays of Mei-yüan), pp. 239–44 [hereafter *Lun-hsüeh*]; Fung Yu-lan, *Chung-kuo che-hsüeh shih hsün pien* 中國哲學史新編 (A New Presentation of the History of Chinese Philosophy), II, 11–13 [hereafter *Hsin pien*].

⁸ The documentary evidence for the foregoing statements may be found collected in Chou Shao-hsien 周紹賢, *Liang Han che-hsüeh* 兩漢哲學 (The Philosophy of the Two Han), pp. 16–32.

⁹ See *Han shu* 6/155–6 (Annals of Emperor Wu; Dubs, II, 28).

¹⁰ See H. Dubs, 'The Victory of Han Confucianism', in *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, II, 341–8 [hereafter *The Former Han*].

In this light, *Huai-nan Tzu* may appear as a plea, based on philosophical reasons, to maintain Taoism as the fundamental doctrine of state. For Confucianism, as the orthodoxy of the ruling class, favoured a strong centralized power and justified the intervention of the central government in all particular aspects of Han society; whilst Taoism advocated non-intervention. If we understand the position of Liu An as the king of a small, semi-independent kingdom on the periphery of the Han China proper, it becomes clear that he would do the utmost to impress on his young nephew, Emperor Wu, the merit of a Taoist-inspired policy of government. We may suppose that the existence of such an external motivation for the writing of *Huai-nan Tzu* is quite plausible. While this would not preclude Liu An's (and many of his retainers') genuine belief in the truth of Taoism, it does help to understand the political intent of *Huai-nan Tzu* and the relevancy of many aspects of the work which would otherwise appear as contradictory or remain hanging in the air.

Now, the Taoism propounded by Former Han thinkers, particularly *Huai-nan Tzu*, differs significantly from classical pre-Han Taoism. It was a new Taoism, called 'Huang-Lao Learning' (*Huang Lao hsüeh* 黃老學), that is, the study of the teachings of Huang Ti 黃帝, the legendary first ruler of China, whose presumed works were current during Former Han, and his disciple, Lao Tzu.¹¹ A four-word maxim spelled out the essentials of Huang-Lao Learning: purity, tranquillity and non-action (*ch'ing ching wu-wei* 清靜無為). The first two terms referred to personal self-transformation through ritual

¹¹ A good study of the historical origin of the expression 'Huang-Lao' is A.K. Seidel, *La divinisation de Lao tseu dans le taoisme des Han*, pp. 20-6 [hereafter *La divinisation*]; see also Chou Shao-hsien, *Liang Han che-hsüeh*, pp. 12-15. New light has been shed on the Huang-Lao tradition by the discovery near Changsha in 1973 of the so-called 'Ma-wang-tui Silk Manuscripts'. These were partly published in 1975 by Wen-wu 文物 Press in 8 *ts'e* 冊 under the title *Ma-wang-tui Han mu po-shu* 馬王堆漢墓帛書 (The Silk Manuscripts of the Ma-wang-tui Han Tombs). The four untitled treatises that precede the *Lao Tzu Text B* on Scroll no. 2 have been tentatively identified by scholars as *Huang Ti ssu-ching* 黃帝四經 (The Four Classics of the Yellow Emperor), a work listed in *Han shu* 30/1730 (On the Taoists), but which became lost early. The kind of Taoist-Legalist political philosophy propounded by the four untitled treatises correspond closely to the Huang-Lao tradition at the beginning of the Han and would seem to provide a link between classical Taoism and the new Taoism of Former Han as we find it expressed in *Huai-nan Tzu*. We can only refer to the numerous articles on this subject published by Chinese scholars in *K'ao-ku* 考古 and *Wen-wu* since 1974. The best study of the formation of a new school of Taoism during the Ch'in and Former Han period is undoubtedly Hsiung T'ieh-chi's 雄鐵基 *Ch'in Han hsin tao-chia lüeh-lun kao* 秦漢新道家略論稿 (General Discussion of the New Taoism of Ch'in and Han), a work that deals with *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu*, *Huai-nan Tzu*, and the Huang-Lao teachings of the Ma-wang-tui 'Silk Manuscripts'.

exercises and mental techniques, whilst the last one, to a form of government where the ruler let things follow their own course without intervening from the outside: the charismatic or magical power of the ruler naturally and spontaneously led to the best possible course. There is ground to believe that the desintegration of Ch'in exerted much influence on Taoist concepts of history, government and self-cultivation, placing new emphasis at the same time on the relativity and arbitrariness of forceful action and discursive reason and on the creativity of non-action and the transforming power of participative contemplation of the cosmos.

In the Huang-Lao teaching the political impulse is basic and, to some extent, overshadows the self-transformative aspect. This becomes immediately clear when we compare *Lao Tzu* and *Chuang Tzu*. While studies on Huang-Lao Learning are just beginning and we lack a comprehensive treatment of the subject, it appears quite plainly that *Huai-nan Tzu* was a major expression of the 'new Taoism' of Former Han.

However, *Huai-nan Tzu* was written far from the intellectual and political centre of the empire, the capital city of Ch'ang-an, and we can expect its presentation of the ideas of Huang Ti and Lao Tzu to differ in some ways from other formulations of the said philosophy. Stressing this point is important because of a tendency among some scholars either to reduce *Huai-nan Tzu* to this or that well-defined philosophical school or, if this proves impossible, to deny any consistency to the work. In both cases one refuses a priori to consider a third alternative, namely, that the work may be an original creation.

Many of the original and idiosyncratic features of *Huai-nan Tzu*, ideas as well as style, reflect the peculiarities of Ch'u 楚 culture. The early commentaries of *Huai-nan Tzu* by Hsü Shen 許慎 (AD ca. 30 - ca. 124) and Kao Yu 高誘 (fl. AD 205-212) already felt the need to explain many expressions particular to the cultural area of Ch'u and unintelligible to Northerners. The many poetic passages of *Huai-nan Tzu* are couched in a language closely akin to some songs of *Ch'u tz'u* 楚辭 (The Songs of Ch'u).¹² Recent research by Chinese linguists has also revealed the similarity of the rhyme system of *Huai-nan Tzu* with that of other earlier or contemporary

¹² The similarities between *Huai-nan Tzu* and *Ch'u tz'u* are such that some Chinese scholars have attributed the authorship of *Li sao* to Liu An; see Chapter I, 'Writings Attributed to Liu An and His Retainers'.

Ch'u writings.¹³ The great importance given to the self-transformative aspect of Taoism in *Huai-nan Tzu*, especially the themes of 'mystical flight' and of 'return to the beginning', may at least in part be rooted in the shamanistic traditions of Ch'u. The close affinity on many essential points between *Huai-nan Tzu* and *Chuang Tzu* is best explained, it would seem, by their common indebtedness to the transcendental spirit of the poets of Ch'u.¹⁴

The major aspects of *Huai-nan Tzu* outlined above should dictate the method used in studying the work. Two methodological principles of a general character can be singled out. Firstly, as *Huai-nan Tzu* displays a basic unity, one should take into account the work as a whole, even when the study is restricted to a particular topic or chapter; secondly, on account of the political intent of *Huai-nan Tzu* one should understand and keep in mind the historical context of the work.

Object and Method of This Study

1 Object: Resonance as the Central Idea of *Huai-nan Tzu*

One topic stands out as pivotal in *Huai-nan Tzu*, namely, the idea of 'stimulus and response', or more simply, 'resonance'. The Chinese term used most often to express this idea is *kan-ying* 感應, but there are also many different terms with the same meaning. Furthermore, sometimes the idea denoted by *kan-ying* and its equivalents is present, at least implicitly, in passages where the foregoing terms are not used. For the sake of simplicity, I will use '*kan-ying*' or its translation 'resonance' when I refer to the main theme of the present study.

As a preliminary definition, the idea of resonance means all things in the universe are interrelated and influence each other according to pre-set patterns, so that interaction appears as spontaneous and not caused by an external agent. The idea of resonance thus plays the role of a cosmological principle, that is, a rational device whereby to understand the universe as a totality, man being part of that totality.

In China, if we except religious mythologies, cosmological

¹³ See the monumental study of Lo Ch'ang-p'ei 羅常培 and Chou Tsu-mo 周祖謨, *Han Wei Chin Nan-Pei ch'ao yün-pu yen-pien yen-chiu* 漢魏晉南北朝韻部演變研究 (A Study of the Development of the Rhyming System during the Han, Wei, Chin and North-South Dynasties), pp. 76-81 [hereafter *Yün-pu*].

¹⁴ J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, II, 281 and 498.

thinking first appeared with the Taoists, who took the natural regularities of the physical universe as normative for human behaviour, and was later developed in a different direction by the School of *Yin-Yang* and Five Elements — a systematic study of all the regularities and correspondences of the universe. The other great philosophical tradition, Confucianism, focused its attention on man as a social, political and ethical being. Seen from the standpoint of pre-Han intellectual history *Huai-nan Tzu* — especially Chapter Six — marked a significant development of cosmological ideas in the Chinese philosophical tradition. This advance was due in a large measure to the fact that 'resonance' functioned as a catalyst which blended together ideas originating from Taoism on the one hand and those from the School of *Yin-Yang* on the other, thus broadening the scope of each. We have reason to believe that resonance was a key notion of 'the Chinese philosophy of organism' whose roots can be traced back to the earlier strata of *Yi ching* 易經 (Book of Changes), which was formulated in a systematic way in *Huai-nan Tzu* and which found its perfect expression centuries later in the cosmological writings of the Neo-Confucianists of the Sung dynasty (960-1276). It is this 'philosophy of organism' which J. Needham describes as 'the key-word in Chinese thought' and 'characteristically Chinese'.

The idea of resonance occurs, at least implicitly, in all twenty-one chapters of *Huai-nan Tzu*. It is here assumed that it was around the idea of resonance that the philosophy of *Huai-nan Tzu* was elaborated. Chapter Six (*Lan-ming hsün* 覽冥訓: Peering into the Obscure), however, is devoted explicitly to the idea of resonance. It will therefore provide the primary materials for the study of resonance. A critical edition will serve as basis for an annotated translation of this chapter, followed by an explanation of its themes and an analysis of its structure. To be consistent with the first methodological principle formulated above, many texts from other chapters of *Huai-nan Tzu* will be used so as to elucidate the difficult passages of Chapter Six and to complement information which is there lacking. This procedure will in turn help demonstrate the overall unity of *Huai-nan Tzu*.

The last chapter will attempt to give a logical formulation of the philosophy of *Huai-nan Tzu*, to verify its congruence with the main themes of the various chapters, and finally to assess its significance in the history of Chinese thought.

2 Historical and Textual Problems: Authorship, Sources and Transmission

A number of historical and textual problems, which have

a direct impact on our understanding of the contents of *Huai-nan Tzu*, demand to be dealt with before we address questions of translation and interpretation.

Firstly, we are faced with the thorny problem of authorship. Although it is perhaps impossible to arrive at a definitive conclusion about who wrote *Huai-nan Tzu*, a careful examination of the available data throws much light on the milieu that produced such a work and, indirectly, on its meaning.

Secondly, the text of *Huai-nan Tzu* was transmitted over a period of more than two thousand years. The work, not being part of the corpus of ancient Chinese classical writings, was all the more subject to cumulative textual corruption. The history of transmission is therefore paramount to ascertain that we have in hand the same text as was written at the court of Huai-nan, in the middle of the second century BC.

Thirdly, major commentaries by Hsü Shen and Kao Yu are, to start with, indispensable instruments to elucidate many obscure terms or passages in *Huai-nan Tzu*. They also serve to illustrate how the work was interpreted a mere two centuries after its composition. However, the two commentaries, which had a different emphasis and were attached to different editions of *Huai-nan Tzu*, were combined in a confused way during the Sung dynasty. In various present-day editions, the mixed commentaries are attributed sometimes to Hsü Shen and sometimes to Kao Yu. Since Hsü Shen and Kao Yu wrote their commentaries on editions that differed textually, the establishment of a critical text requires that we sort out and identify as far as possible each of the two commentaries.

Fourthly, we have already mentioned the large number of pre-Han quotations in *Huai-nan Tzu*; their sheer number — more than 800 have been identified — would by itself justify a special chapter. But the problem of sources is made at the same time more difficult and more deserving of careful study because *Huai-nan Tzu* usually modifies the pre-Han texts it borrows. The textual modifications reveal, in a certain measure, its purpose and philosophical presuppositions, as well as its attitude toward the Chinese philosophical tradition. In this sense, the chapter on sources introduces the study of the ideas the work contains.

Finally, on the basis of a comparison of the ancient editions of *Huai-nan Tzu* and of quotations from it preserved in pre-Sung works, will be established a critical edition of Chapter Six and of all *Huai-nan Tzu* texts used in the course of the study. The critical Chinese text of Chapter Six is appended at the end of the book.

The proper exposition of 'resonance' in *Huai-nan Tzu* thus requires a lengthy examination of historical and textual problems that directly affect and condition our understanding of the texts where the idea of resonance is expressed.

The Field of *Huai-nan Tzu* Studies

A large corpus of secondary works devoted to various aspects of *Huai-nan Tzu* has taken form over the centuries as the result of studies by Chinese, Japanese and Western scholars. Their works can be grouped under three headings: textual studies, intellectual studies and translations. The 'complete listing is given in the Bibliography.

1 Textual Studies

The indispensable commentaries by Hsü Shen and Kao Yu were mentioned before. They are reproduced in most present-day editions of *Huai-nan Tzu*. While they must be read with a critical eye, they remain the most important aid to the understanding of the main text.

From the Han to the Sung *Huai-nan Tzu* was a well-quoted work, as is evidenced by the large number of excerpts preserved in T'ang anthologies and encyclopaedias. However, the only textual studies of *Huai-nan Tzu* to have come down to us from that long period were due to the scholar-scientist Su Sung 蘇頌 (1020-1101). In his *Chiao Huai-nan Tzu t'i-hsü* 校淮南子題序 (Introductory Remarks on Collating *Huai-nan Tzu*), he states that he compared seven editions as the basis for his own critical edition. According to some scholars, Su Sung's was the first printed edition — the 'Northern Sung Small-Character Edition' — to be still extant today. It was reprinted in *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊 (1920-22).

Ming scholars prepared finely printed editions of *Huai-nan Tzu*, but they unfortunately failed to leave us the notes which would justify their choice of readings in the case of variants. Their critical remarks are often limited to a short postface appended to their editions. Except for the above-mentioned Sung edition, all ancient printed editions come from Ming scholars, among others, Wang P'u 王浦 (edition of the Hung-chih period, 1488-1506) and Mao Yi-kuei 茅一桂 (edition of the Wan-li period, 1573-1620).

A serious attempt to establish a critical edition was attempted by the Ch'ing scholar Chuang K'uei-chi 莊述吉 (1760-1813). In spite of strenuous efforts, he lacked the broad

training required for his difficult endeavour, and his edition of 1789 left much to be desired.

The major breakthrough in *Huai-nan Tzu* studies came with Wang Nien-sun 王念孫 (1744-1832) and his son Wang Yin-chih 王引之 (1766-1834). Their masterpiece of textual criticism was published during 1812-32 in a series of note-books called *Tu-shu tsa-chih* 讀書雜誌 (Miscellaneous Notes on Readings). The long chapters of this work devoted to *Huai-nan Tzu* are a model of thorough research, flawless argumentation and consummate mastery of the art of higher criticism.

Wang Nien-sun's monumental contribution to Chinese scholarship, and to the study of *Huai-nan Tzu* in particular, was followed by the very refined research of T'ao Fang-ch'i 陶方琦 (1845-1884) on the commentaries of Hsü Shen and Kao Yu and the two distinct editions of *Huai-nan Tzu* to which they were attached. The results of T'ao's painstaking studies were published in 1882 under the title *Huai-nan Tzu Hsü chu yi-t'ung ku* 淮南子許注異同詁 (Explaining the Variants in Hsü Shen's Commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu*). He had also written other valuable essays comparing Hsü Shen's commentary with the definitions given in the latter's *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* 說文解字 (Etymological Dictionary).

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Japanese sinologists contributed in a significant way to textual studies of *Huai-nan Tzu*. Two names may be singled out among many others. The first and most important is the well-known scholar Shimada Kan 島田翰 (1879-1915), who published the fruits of many years of research in 1905 under the title *Kobun kyūsho kō* 古文舊書考 (Studies on Ancient Classical Chinese Writings). Shimada summed up in a clear and articulate language the important conclusions reached by the Chinese and Japanese scholars about the text of *Huai-nan Tzu*. With respect to the problems of textual transmission, Kuraishi Takeshiro's 倉石武四郎 articles published in 1923 in *Shinagaku* 支那學 are among the best presentations, and some recent writings on the same subject only repeat what he already said.

Finally, textual studies have revived over the last decades, due to the works and influence of Wang Shu-min 王叔民, a remote follower of Wang Nien-sun who has largely applied the latter's method. One of Wang Shu-min's most important publications, *Chiao-ch'ou hsüeh* 斟讎學 (Textual Criticism), is actually an attempt to present in a systematic way the principles of higher criticism that can be deduced from the writings of Wang Nien-sun. He published his researches on *Huai-nan Tzu* in various scholarly periodicals from 1953 onwards, before collecting them as part of a volume entitled *Chu-tzu chiao-cheng* 諸子斟證 (Critical Emendations of the

Various Philosophers), published in 1964. We also owe to Wang Shu-min the publication of a T'ang fragment of *Huai-nan Tzu* 15 (*Ping-lüeh hsün* 兵略訓: On Military Strategy), preserved in Japan.

Through Wang Shu-min the tradition of late Ch'ing scholarship continued to the present time. Two of his students have produced studies on *Huai-nan Tzu* that go further than any before to establish not only a more authentic text, but also a more intelligible one. The first work, by Cheng Liang-shu 鄭良樹, was published in 1969 as *Huai-nan Tzu chiao-li* 淮南子輯理 (Critical Emendations of *Huai-nan Tzu*). Cheng also wrote an overall introduction, *Huai-nan Tzu t'ung-lun* 淮南子通論 (General Discussion of *Huai-nan Tzu*), which opens new avenues of research. But, the most important recent work on the textual aspects of *Huai-nan Tzu* is no doubt the monumental studies of Yü Ta-ch'eng 于大成, also published in 1969, under the title *Huai-nan Tzu chiao-shih* 淮南子校釋 (*Huai-nan Tzu*, Collated and Explained).

2 Intellectual Studies

While we find a large number of studies on particular topics of *Huai-nan Tzu*, such as cosmogony, education, government, human nature and destiny, the calendar, music and so on, we can only deplore the scarcity of careful research bearing on the fundamental aspects of the philosophy expressed in it. In my opinion, we cannot understand properly any single topic until we have grasped the directive ideas of *Huai-nan Tzu*. Only four authors appear to have tackled its basic philosophical concepts. Although they published around the same dates, their researches are independent and original.

The first is the Japanese historian of Chinese philosophy, Kanaya Osamu 金谷治, who has written three important studies bearing mainly or exclusively on *Huai-nan Tzu*: '*Kan-sho no Dōka shisō*' 漢初の道家思潮 (The Tide of Taoist Thought at the Beginning of the Han), published in *Tōhoku Daigaku Bungaku Kenkyū Nempō* 東北大學文學研究年報 (Annual Bulletin of Literary Research of Tōhoku University) of 1958; *Rōsō teki sekai, Enanji no shisō* 老莊的世界・淮南子の思想 (The World of Lao-Chuang. The Thought of *Huai-nan Tzu*), published in 1959, which expounds the basic thesis that *Huai-nan Tzu* is a synthesis of important aspects of the philosophies of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu; and finally, *Shin-Kan shisō shi kenkyū* 秦漢思想史研究 (Studies in the History of Thought during the Ch'in and Han) put out by Maruzen in 1961, which refines the foregoing thesis by taking into account the overall development of thought in the third and second centuries BC. This last

work is one of the most important contributions of Japanese sinology to the history of ancient Chinese thought.

To Tai Chün-jen 戴君仁 we owe a most perceptive, thoroughly researched and suggestive study on the logical consistency of the main ideas of *Huai-nan Tzu*. His essay, 'Tsa-chia yü *Huai-nan Tzu*' 雜家與淮南子 (The Eclectic School and *Huai-nan Tzu*), was published in 1970, in *Mei-yüan lun-hsüeh chi* 梅園論學集 (The Collected Essays of Mei-yüan), Mei-yüan being his pen-name.

Fung Yu-lan's *Chung-kuo che-hsüeh shih hsin pien* 中國哲學史新編 (New Presentation of the History of Chinese Philosophy), published in 1964, presents a significant attempt to define with accuracy the underlying ideas of *Huai-nan Tzu*. Fung argues for the logical consistency of its basic philosophy, and shows that important themes recur in a coherent manner throughout the work. On the strength of a detailed study of the concept of *ch'i* 氣 (matter-energy), which he regards as the fundamental idea, Fung concludes that *Huai-nan Tzu* propounds a materialistic philosophy, a thesis which startles at first blush, but which becomes convincing to the extent that it can be asserted that all things in the universe, man included, are different configurations and states of *ch'i*. Fung's explanations should be complemented by Fukunaga Mitsuji's 福永光司 masterly study of *ch'i* in early Taoism and in *Huai-nan Tzu* published in the collective work *Ki no shisō* 氣の思想 (The Philosophy of *Ch'i*) in 1978.

Finally, Hsü Fu-kuan 徐復觀, in his *Liang Han ssu-hsiang shih* 兩漢思想史 (History of Thought during the Two Han), published in 1976, has devoted a long chapter (pp. 175-284) to a solid philosophical interpretation of *Huai-nan Tzu*. Hsü's understanding of particular ideas may raise doubts, as in the case of *shen* 神 and *ching* 精, which he tends to interpret in too narrow a psychological and spiritual sense, but his theories are always intellectually stimulating and sometimes illuminating.

3 Translations

To translate is to understand in a certain way. Besides transposing a text into another language, translations are at the same time explanations and interpretations of the original text. This is all the more true for an ancient Chinese text such as *Huai-nan Tzu*, where the grammar and idioms are so different from our modern Western languages. Translation is thus an important element in *Huai-nan Tzu* studies.

There are as yet no translations of *Huai-nan Tzu* in modern Chinese, as we have for many ancient Chinese texts.

The Japanese, on the other hand, have produced several scholarly translations of the work as a whole. To name but two translators, with dates of their translations: Gotō Asatarō 後勝朝太郎 (1881-1945), in 1921; and Hattori Unokichi 服部宇之吉 (1867-1939), in 1925. The latter was based on a critical edition of *Huai-nan Tzu* prepared by Hattori, which incorporated the important Chinese commentaries, among others, those of Wang Nien-sun and Yü Yüeh 俞樾 (1821-1907). The translation has the advantage of reproducing the Chinese text *en vue* of the Japanese rendering. There are, however, two other up-to-date translations. The first was published in 1974 by three professors of Tokyo University (Tokawa Yoshiro 戸川芳郎, Kiyama Hideo 木山英雄, and Sawaya Harutsugu 沢谷昭次); the second, dated 1979, of which only the first volume has appeared (containing *Huai-nan Tzu* 1-8) is the work of Kusuyama Haruki 楠山春樹, a *Huai-nan Tzu* specialist from Waseda University, and far excels the 1974 translation.

We have as yet no complete translation of *Huai-nan Tzu* in a Western language. A list of the chapters and fragments that have been translated is given below.

Chapter	Title	Translators
1	<i>Yüan-tao hsün</i> 原道訓 (Searching out <i>Tao</i>)	Frederic H. Balfour (1880); Evan Morgan (1933), Eva Kraft (1957-8)
2	<i>Shu-chen hsün</i> 俶真訓 (The Beginning of Reality)	Morgan; Kraft
3	<i>T'ien-wen hsün</i> 天文訓 (The Patterns of Heaven)	Herbert Chatley, unpublished manuscript
4	<i>Ti-hsing hsün</i> 地形訓 (The Forms of Earth)	Eduard Erkes (1916-7); John S. Major (1973)
5	<i>Shih-tse hsün</i> 時則訓 (The Seasonal Regulations)	Not translated
6	<i>Lan-ming hsün</i> 覽冥訓 (Peering into the Obscure)	Charles Le Blanc, in the present volume
7	<i>Ching-shen hsün</i> 精神訓 (The Seminal Breath and Spirit)	Morgan; Claude Larre, partial translation (1982)
8	<i>Pen-ching hsün</i> 本經訓 (The Fundamental Norm)	Morgan

Chapter	Title	Translators
9	<i>Chu-shu hsün</i> 主術訓 (The Craft of the Ruler)	Roger T. Ames, (1983)
10	<i>Miu-ch'eng hsün</i> 繆稱訓 (On Erroneous Designations)	Donald Harper, unpublished dissertation (1978)
11	<i>Ch'i-su hsün</i> 齊俗訓 (Placing Customs on a Par)	Benjamin E. Wallacker (1962)
12	<i>Tao-ying hsün</i> 道應訓 (The Responses to <i>Tao</i>)	Morgan
13	<i>Fan-lun hsün</i> 汎論訓 (A Compendious Essay)	Morgan
14	<i>Ch'üan-yen hsün</i> 詮言訓 (An Explanatory Discourse)	Not translated
15	<i>Ping-lüeh hsün</i> 兵略訓 (On Military Strategy)	Morgan
16	<i>Shuo-shan hsün</i> 說山訓 (Discourse on Mountains)	Jay Sailey, unpublished manuscript (1972)
17	<i>Shuo-lin hsün</i> 說林訓 (Discourse on Forests)	Not translated
18	<i>Jen-chien hsün</i> 人間訓 (In the World of Man)	Not translated
19	<i>Hsiu-wu hsün</i> 修務訓 (The Necessity of Training)	Morgan
20	<i>T'ai-tsu hsün</i> 泰族訓 (The Grand Reunion)	Not translated
21	<i>Yao-lüeh</i> 要略 (Outline of the Essentials)	Not translated

E. Morgan's translation of eight chapters of *Huai-nan Tzu* is a praiseworthy pioneering effort. However, from the standpoint of scholarship, one must have serious reservations on both the literary and philosophical aspects of the translation. Morgan is overly free in rendering the Chinese original, sometimes merely paraphrasing, and sometimes translating

the commentary rather than the main text. Theistic presuppositions crop up in the terminology and interpretation, distorting what seems to be the directive ideas of the entire work. In brief, Morgan's translation is a useful instrument for a preliminary approach, but it must in most cases be corrected and revised on the basis of a critical and technical rendering of the Chinese text. The limitations of Morgan's translations become immediately obvious when we compare them with the superior rendering of the same first chapter by F.H. Balfour more than fifty years earlier.

Huai-nan Tzu 1 and 2 were translated into German by E. Kraft, who based her work on a solid philological and grammatical analysis of the text, as well as on a systematic comparison with parallel passages in *Wen Tzu* 文子. Kraft's translation is complemented by an extensive philosophical essay on the meaning of the two chapters which, while suggestive and stimulating, sometimes appear overly influenced by modern German philosophy and not sufficiently rooted in the text itself. The chapters are treated in isolation from the rest of *Huai-nan Tzu* — a serious limitation to understanding the way of thinking and the main concerns in the text in question.

Three among the best translations of *Huai-nan Tzu* we owe to American sinologists B.E. Wallacker, J.S. Major and Roger T. Ames. The value of Wallacker's work lies in the thoroughness of research and the accuracy of the terminology. Wallacker is well aware of the many textual problems of *Huai-nan Tzu* 11 and also well grounded in the philological commentaries of Chinese scholars. However, one may wonder whether the extreme literalness of the translation does not sometimes hinder the understanding of the text and subject-matter rather than enhance it.

J.S. Major's rendering of *Huai-nan Tzu* 4 improves on Wallacker's achievement. *Huai-nan Tzu* 4 deals with a mythological description of the geography and topography of China, and poses a different set of problems from *Huai-nan Tzu* 11, a philosophical treatise on the function, relativity and changeability of customs. In a brilliant introduction Major outlines the main features of religious or mythical cosmologies and shows how the same general aspects are exhibited in *Huai-nan Tzu*. Major's study thus reveals in *Huai-nan Tzu* 4 a structure which would not appear to the unwary reader. The original contribution of Major's work is to have incorporated a critical and fully annotated translation within an interpretive scheme, which brought out the full meaning of the chapter. Nor should one fail to mention the picture of the physical universe latent in this chapter which

Major makes explicit and whose consistency he tests against scientific methods.

R.T. Ames provides us with a model of accurate translation and interpretation of *Huai-nan Tzu* 9. The chapter, according to him, gravitates around five pivotal terms and ideas: *wu-wei* (non-action), *shih* 勢 (influence; political purchase), *fa* (law), *yung chung* 用衆 (utilizing the masses) and *li min* 利民 (benefiting the people). By comparing the chapter's stance on the foregoing topics with that of pre-Ch'in philosophers, Ames assesses the proportionate blend of Taoist, Confucian and Legalist elements therein. Despite a certain narrowness of approach, his work remains one of the most perceptive and logically compelling statements on any single chapter of *Huai-nan Tzu*.

Although C. Larre did not for methodological reasons give a complete translation of *Huai-nan Tzu* 7, he should be mentioned along with Wallacker, Major and Ames because of his general approach. His method is structuralist, and one of his main presuppositions is that any particular text should be studied as an integral part of the work as a whole. Larre thus underlines an aspect which was perhaps not sufficiently stressed by the three translators mentioned above. Larre's rendering brings out the meaning of *Huai-nan Tzu* 7 in an articulate way and captures the poetic and mystical flavour of the text. His structuralist approach reveals the coherence of the main themes of the chapter with relevant passages from other parts of the work.

In addition to the translation of complete chapters listed above, many Western sinologists have translated excerpts from various chapters of *Huai-nan Tzu*. Such translations present a double interest. Firstly, they were sometimes made by the ablest translators; secondly, the translators, who usually quote *Huai-nan Tzu* in topical studies, approach the text with a special viewpoint, bringing out its meaning and implications in a more articulate way than when the same text is immersed in a continuous translation. As the fragmentary translations are scattered in a large number of books, I will simply list the names of the more important translators, whose works can be found in the Bibliography. In English, we have D. Bodde, W.T. Chan, H.G. Creel, E.R. Hughes, J. Needham, M. Saso and B. Watson; in French, F. Cheng, M. Granet, J.C. de Harlez, M. Kaltenmark, H. Maspero, A. Seidel and L. Wieger; and in German, A. Forke, B. Kandel and R. Wilhelm.

Any serious student of *Huai-nan Tzu* must take into account the immense labour of the foregoing sinologists and, perhaps 'as dwarfs sitting on the shoulders of giants', hope to see a little further ahead.

Part One

Historical and Textual Studies

Chapter I



Liu An and the Authorship of *Huai-nan Tzu*

Chronological Sketch of the Life of Liu An

A full biography of Liu An would deserve an independent study of major proportions. Generally speaking, Han sources describe three aspects of Liu An's life and personality: firstly, the thinker, writer, and patron of learning; secondly, the political leader, who allegedly attempted rebellion against the central government in a bid for the imperial throne, and failed; and thirdly, the Taoist adept, who practiced the esoteric arts and became an immortal. The present chapter will deal primarily with the first point, which, from a purely historical viewpoint, is the most reliable and straightforward. The brief chronological sketch that follows is based on the two main sources for the events of Liu An's life, namely, the biographies of the Kings of Huai-nan in *Shih chi* 史記 118 (Watson, II, 359-87) and *Han shu* 漢書 44 (Pfizmaier, 575-618). The foregoing sources and other documents of lesser importance have been ably summarized and analyzed in the works of Kanaya Osamu, Cheng Liang-shu, B.E. Wallacker and B. Kandel, which are quoted in the course of this chapter.

179? BC Liu An was born 179? BC in Shou-ch'un 壽春, court capital of the Kingdom of Huai-nan, in present-day Anhui. He was the eldest of four sons. His father, Ch'ang 長, was the seventh son, by a concubine, of Kao-tsu (r. 206-195). Ch'ang was enfeoffed as King of Huai-nan in 196 BC.

172 BC When Liu An was about seven years old, his father, then twenty-six years of age, was accused of *lèse-majesté* against his brother Emperor Wen (r. 180-157) and was banished to Szechwan. He died on the way, from self-imposed hunger, say the official sources.
Emperor Wen gave the four sons of Ch'ang the title of marquis (*hou* 侯), Liu An being made Marquis of Fu-ling 阜陵侯, in present-day Anhui.
Liu An was described as an intellectually precocious child, fond of books and music and good at writing, but not interested in riding and hunting, the favourite pastimes of young Han nobles.

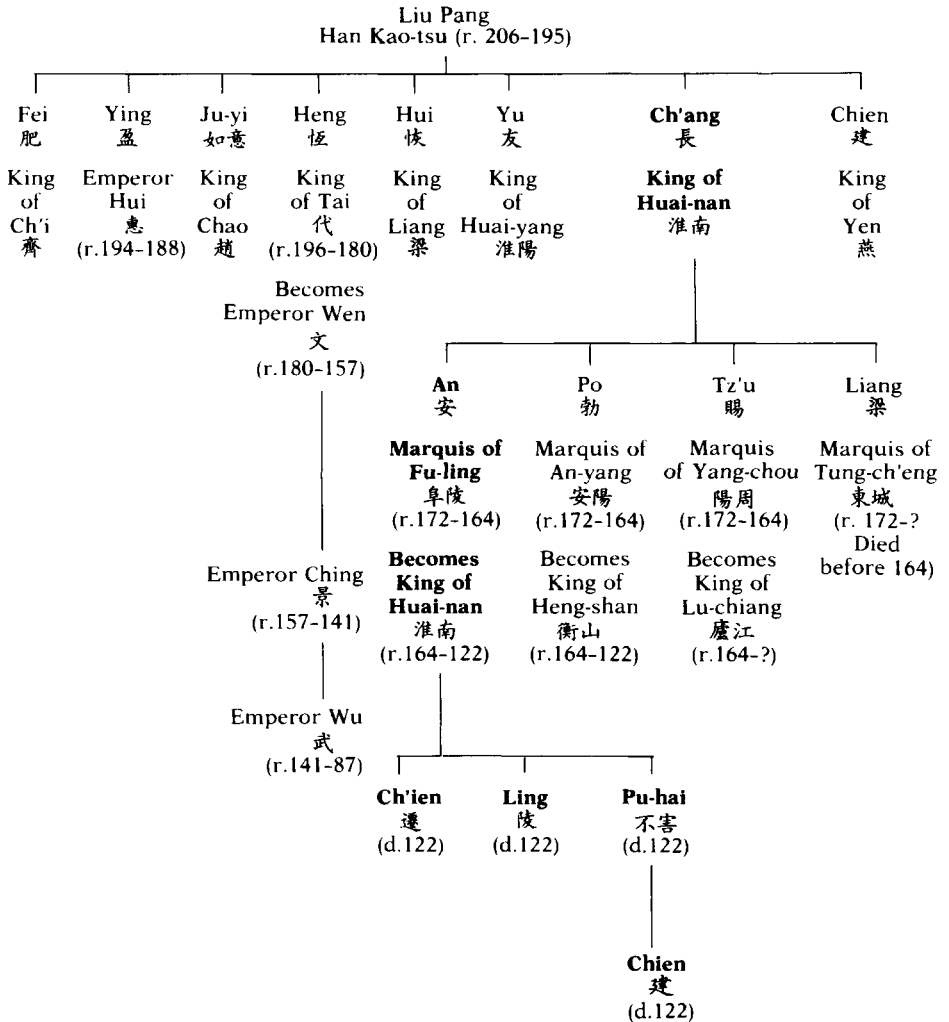
164 BC Emperor Wen divided the former Kingdom of Huai-nan into three smaller kingdoms, which he granted as fiefs to the three surviving sons of Ch'ang. Liu An, being the eldest, received the most important fief, that including the capital of Shou-ch'un, as well as his father's title, King of Huai-nan.

154 BC Uprising of the Seven Kingdoms against the Han government. For reasons that are unclear, Liu An did not participate in the rebellion.
Reports of literary activity at the court of Huai-nan.

139 BC The King of Huai-nan paid his state visit to the newly enthroned Emperor Wu (r. 141-87), his nephew.
On this occasion, Liu An presented *Huai-nan Tzu* to the Emperor, and at the latter's request wrote a brief commentary on *Li sao* (Encountering Sorrow). We know that by this time Liu An had a son named Ch'ien 遷 and a daughter named Ling 陵 by his consort Queen T'u 荼 and an older son named Pu-hai 不害 by a concubine.

- 135 BC Long letter of Liu An to Emperor Wu about the domestic troubles of the region of Min-Yüeh 閩越, on the south-east border of the Kingdom of Huai-nan. Liu An was alarmed at the threat of a military intervention by the imperial army, which would necessarily overrun Huai-nan.
- 131 BC Report of intrigues at the court of Ch'ang-an to promote the cause of the King of Huai-nan. Liu An's daughter, Ling, was supposedly involved. Reports of literary activity at the court of Shou-ch'un.
- 127 BC Emperor Wu granted the reverential emblems of the Stool and Cane, symbols of old age, to Liu An and excused him from paying court visits. Imperial Chancellor Chu-fu Yen 主父偃 proposed that at the death of feudal lords, such as the King of Huai-nan, their fief be divided among their sons and younger brothers. Such a proposal which in the long run spelled the end of all feudal kingdoms could only arouse the opposition of Liu An.
- 124 BC Two districts of the Kingdom of Huai-nan were confiscated by the Han government, under the pretext that Liu An kept a retainer from volunteering to fight the Hsiung-nu 匈奴.
- 123 BC Family trouble in Liu An's household between the two half-brothers Ch'ien and Pu-hai resulted in an imperial investigation of the affairs of Huai-nan. One of Liu An's most important retainers, Wu Pei 伍被, denounced the king to the imperial investigators, accusing him of planning armed rebellion against the Han government.
- 122 BC Mass arrest and execution at Shou-ch'un by the imperial army.
Suicide (or execution) of Liu An.
Execution of Liu An's family and retainers.
Confiscation of the writings of Liu An and his retainers by Imperial Controller Liu Te 劉德, father of the great Han scholar Liu Hsiang 劉向 (79-8 BC).
Integration of the Kingdom of Huai-nan into the Han administrative system, as the Commandery of Chiu-chiang 九江.

LIU AN AND THE IMPERIAL FAMILY OF LIU



The Authorship of *Huai-nan Tzu*

Regarding the authorship of *Huai-nan Tzu*, and more precisely, the relation between *Huai-nan Tzu* and Liu An, scholars have a wide range of opinions. For instance, R. Stein states quite bluntly that 'the sources depict him [Liu An] as far too preoccupied with politics for us to imagine him writing down mystical or technical essays. He is a Maecenas, who takes an interest in science and philosophy. His part in the

book [*Huai-nan Tzu*] is negligible, if not non-existent'.¹ At just about the same time, however, A. Forke was advocating a very different position: 'The author of *Hung-lieh chuan* [Liu An] speaks of his own work as the *Book of Liu*. He presented it to the emperor as his own text. He was so great a scholar and writer that he had no need to adorn himself with borrowed plumes.'²

Such statements are difficult to prove or disprove, because they are couched in too general terms and fail to reveal the arguments on which they rest. The very idea of 'authorship' is vague and elastic, and only becomes meaningful if we define the mode of composition of a work, and the precise role a presumed author — in this case Liu An — played in it. Furthermore, valid statements about the authorship of *Huai-nan Tzu* are, by the nature of the sources, restricted to three kinds of data:

- direct testimony of Han bibliographers, historians and writers;
- psychological plausibility that Liu An wrote such a book; and
- intrinsic nature of the work: unity or diversity in design, thought and style.

The failure to distinguish and evaluate these three kinds of source-materials has led some authors to reject the problem of authorship as untreatable, to blur the line between valid historical assertion and imaginative speculation, or, as in the case of Stein and Forke, to base their argument mainly on psychological factors, which are the weakest kind of evidence: *a posse ad esse non valet illatio*.

Generally speaking, we can distinguish three main periods in which scholars discussed the problem of the authorship of *Huai-nan Tzu*: the Han, the Sung and the late Ch'ing to the present. In this last period, non-Chinese scholars joined in the discussion.

1 Han Testimony

Han scholars were unanimous in ascribing the authorship of *Huai-nan Tzu* to Liu An. The attribution was based on the tradition of early witnesses and no effort was made to reconcile the presumed unity of authorship with the diversity of the work. Wang Ch'ung 王充 (AD 27-97), who offers the earliest recorded testimony, states that 'the King of Huai-nan

¹ 'Compte rendu de Evan Morgan, *Tao, The Great Luminant*', *Journal Asiatique*, 227 (1935), 315.

² *Geschichte der mittelalterlichen chinesischen Philosophie*, II, 24.

wrote (*tso* 作) a book on *Tao*'.³ Doubtlessly 'the book on *Tao*' signifies *Huai-nan Tzu*, which Wang Ch'ung quotes profusely, though most often to refute it. Furthermore, Wang Ch'ung implies that Liu An was personally the author, for he blames the latter's political failure and personal tragedy on the fact that he diverted all his energy, time and talent to the writing of books.

In his biography of Liu An, Pan Ku 班固 (AD 32-92) also regards him as the author of *Huai-nan Tzu*: 'An convened several thousand scholars and experts in the esoteric arts, and wrote (*tso wei* 作為) an Inner Book in twenty-one chapters.'⁴ Had Pan Ku intended to say that the book was written collectively or merely under the patronage of Liu An, it would have been easy for him to say so by adding one or two characters to the text. Whatever the case, Pan Ku's statement remains relatively general. Chinese historians and bibliographers have traditionally adopted a broad definition of authorship, which did not always entail that the alleged author personally wrote the work placed under his name.⁵

Fortunately, Kao Yu removes for us the generality and uncertainty of Pan Ku's statement. In his Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*, 1b-2a, Kao asserts explicitly that the work was composed (*chu* 著) by Liu An as the result of collective debates and discussions involving his eight close companions as well as the cultured disciples of two literary groups, the 'Greater Mountain' and the 'Lesser Mountain':

Many of the empire's experts in esoteric arts journeyed and brought their allegiance to him. At this, subsequently, together with the eight men Su Fei, Li Shang, Tso Wu, T'ien Yu, Lei Pei, Mao Pei, Wu Pei and Chin Ch'ang, as well as the several *Ju* [i.e. literati], followers of 'Greater Mountain' and 'Lesser Mountain', he discoursed and discussed the Way and the Virtue, collected and united [the threads of] Altruism and Propriety, and so composed this book.⁶

Kao's statement is all the more important because he also wrote a preface to *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 呂氏春秋, a work traditionally ascribed to Lü Pu-wei 呂不韋 (d. 235 BC), though he probably never wrote a word of it.⁷ Many scholars have

³ *Lun heng* 論衡, 71/275 (Forke, II, 235).

⁴ *Han shu* 44/2145 (Biography of the Kings of Huai-nan).

⁵ For further details on the traditional concept of authorship in China, see C.S. Gardner, *Chinese Traditional Historiography*, pp. 23-4 [hereafter *Historiography*]; and T.T. Tsien, *Written on Bamboo and Silk*, p. 10 [hereafter *Bamboo and Silk*].

⁶ Kao Yu, Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*, 1b-2a (Wallacker, p. 5).

⁷ See D. Bodde, *Statesman, Patriot, and General in Ancient China*, p. 11.

found a close similarity between *Huai-nan Tzu* and *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu*, as regards contents and the form of authorship.⁸ Now, when he discusses the composition of the latter work, Kao uses a language which differs markedly from that which he uses about *Huai-nan Tzu*. He says: 'Having collected the writings of the literati, Pu-wei ordered (*shih* 使) that their essential points be written down.'⁹ The use of the causative *shih* indicates clearly that Kao Yu did not look upon Lü Pu-wei as the true author of *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu*; he was aware it had been written by scholar-retainers at the request of their patron. The difference of language in the two prefaces leaves no doubt in anybody's mind that Kao thought *Huai-nan Tzu* and *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* to have been basically different in the way they were composed; in the case of the former, composition was attributed directly to Liu An, whilst in the latter, to the scholar-retainers of Lü Pu-wei. One could rightfully be called 'author', the other, a mere 'patron', or at most a 'supervisor'.

The only other important evidence which may possibly go back to Han times is recorded in *Hsi-ching tsa-chi* 西京雜記 (Miscellaneous Records of the Western Capital), 3/6a: 'An, King of Huai-nan, composed (*chu* 著) a *Hung-lieh* in twenty-one *p'ien* 篇 . . . He himself said the words covertly pointed to the hardships and vicissitudes of his life and times.' The last sentence, besides providing us with an important principle of interpretation for *Huai-nan Tzu* — mentioned nowhere else, it seems — confirms that in Han times or shortly thereafter, Liu An was considered to be the author of *Huai-nan Tzu* not merely as a matter of name, prestige or sponsorship, but in a direct and personal way.

Textual evidence from Han sources thus paves the way for B.E. Wallacker's statement that 'the essays of *Huai-nan Tzu*

⁸ For instance, Kanaya Osamu, *Shin Kan shisō shi kenkyū* (Study on the History of Thought during Ch'in and Han), pp. 429-30 [hereafter *Shin Kan shisō*]; Fung Yulan, *Hsin pien*, II, 144; Tai Chün-jen, *Lun hsüeh*, p. 278; Chou Shao-hsien, *Liang Han che-hsüeh*, p. 145. However, many scholars are now inclined to Cheng Liang-shu's opinion that there is no basis for likening the two works, neither from the standpoint of their contents, nor from the manner in which they were written; see Cheng's *Huai-nan Tzu t'ung-lun* (General Discussion of *Huai-nan Tzu*), pp. 7-8. Among the scholars who agree with Cheng's position, we may single out Akatsuka Kiyoshi 赤塚中, 'Dōka shisō no rekishi teki gaikan' 道家思想の歴史的概観 (An Outline of the History of Taoist Thought), in *Tōyō shisō* 東洋思想 (Far Eastern Thought), I, 64 [hereafter *Dōka shisō*] and Mori Mikisaburō 森三樹三郎, *Jōkō yori Kandai ni itaru seimeikan no tenkai* 上古より漢に至る性命觀の展開: 人性論と運命觀の歴史 (The Development of the Concepts of Human Nature and Destiny from Antiquity to the Beginning of the Han Dynasty), p. 128 [hereafter *Seimeikan*].

⁹ Preface to *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu*, p. 2.

present a faithful image, I submit, of Liu An's view of himself and his relationship with the world'.¹⁰

In addition to their direct testimony about the authorship of *Huai-nan Tzu*, Han scholars also portray Liu An in a way that lends great plausibility to the tradition that he wrote such a work. The intellectual and psychological aspects of his personality may be grouped under three headings:

- his superior mind and fondness for learning;
- his talent and prolificacy as a writer; and
- his role as an intellectual leader.

The earliest recognition of Liu An's exceptional intellectual endowment is offered by Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (*ca.* 145 - *ca.* 86 BC), who was surely innocent of any partiality toward him: 'Liu An, King of Huai-nan, was by nature fond of reading books and playing the lute; he had no interest in shooting, hunting, or dashing about with dogs and horses.'¹¹

Ying Shao 應劭 (*fl.* AD 189-194) asserts that 'An was naturally endowed with a broad and discriminating mind (*t'ien-tzu pien-po* 天資辨博) and was a master in literary composition (*shan wei wen-tz'u* 善為文辭).'¹² Ying Shao's words are especially reliable, since they occur in the section of his work entitled 'Rectifying Fallacies' (*Cheng shih* 正失), which purports to set the record straight about erroneous opinions, and are introduced by the expression '*chin an*' 謹按 (I respectfully submit). A similar statement comes from Kao Yu: 'From the beginning An was discriminating and thorough (*pien ta* 辨達) [in learning] and adept in composing literature (*shan shu wen* 善屬文).'¹³

If we may believe *Lieh hsien chuan* 列仙傳 (Biographies of

¹⁰ 'Liu An, Second King of Huai-nan (180?-122 B.C.)', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 92 (1972), 39a [hereafter 'Liu An']. Wallacker has performed a worthwhile task in summarizing all the relevant textual data regarding Liu An's life and personality, and presenting them in a clear and concise way. We find here the same thoroughness of research that characterized his translation of *Huai-nan Tzu*, *Book Eleven: Behavior, Culture and the Cosmos* [hereafter *Huai-nan Tzu Book Eleven*]. Three points of Wallacker's biographical essay are, in my opinion, questionable, and would require more research. Firstly, he uses most of his sources in an uncritical way. This is especially true for the *Shih chi* biography of Liu An, which presents serious problems. Secondly, he takes *Huai-nan Tzu* 15 (On Military Strategy) to be 'a self-portrait of Liu An', and interprets Liu An's personality and behaviour in the light of that chapter. This gives a one-sided assessment of Liu An, which is not corroborated by the other essays of *Huai-nan Tzu*, nor by other Han sources. Finally, his essay on Liu An may be criticized for leaning too much on psychological factors. B. Kandel has expressed this last criticism very articulately in her excellent 'Der Versuch einer politischen Restauration — Liu An, der König von Huai-nan', *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur-und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, 113 (1973), 34-5 [hereafter 'Der König'].

¹¹ *Shih chi* 118/3082 (Watson, II, 368).

¹² *Feng-su t'ung-yi* 風俗通義 2/13b.

¹³ Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*, 1b (Wallacker, p. 5).

Immortals), 1/5b, 'when he [Liu An] was still small (*shao* 少), he obtained and read *T'ien ti jen ching* 天地人經 '(Canon of Heaven, Earth and Man) [allegedly written] by Chüan Tzu 涓子 — which he failed to understand thoroughly'.¹⁴ Not only was Liu An a keen collector of books,¹⁵ he was also widely read in the writings of many traditions. The books he particularly treasured and studied were, among others, *Yi ching*, *Chuang Tzu*, *Lao Tzu*, *Ch'u tz'u*, and certain sections of *Mo Tzu* 墨子, for which he wrote comments and summaries.¹⁶

Liu An's stature and fecundity as a writer is amply substantiated by the great number of works belonging to a wide range of literary genres whose authorship was attributed to him.¹⁷ His literary virtuosity was brilliantly displayed when, on imperial request, he wrote a commentary on *Li sao* in the brief span of a morning session.¹⁸ Yang Hsiung 楊雄 (53 BC – AD 18) went so far as to compare the art and learning of Liu An with that of Ssu-ma Ch'ien.¹⁹ In his own lifetime Liu An was highly respected as a writer, as evidenced by the fact that Emperor Wu shied away from replying brush in hand to his uncle's (Liu An) letters and requested court poet Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如 (179?–117 BC) to compose the answers on his behalf.²⁰

Finally, it is well established that Liu An was considered an intellectual leader by the intelligentsia of the southern part of Han China. Besides his eight close companions and the disciples of the Greater and Lesser Mountains, all of whom played a part in the production of *Huai-nan Tzu*, thousands of scholars and experts, early sources tell us, flocked to his court in Shou-ch'un.²¹ Contemporary scholars have brought forth convincing evidence to the effect that he was one of the

¹⁴ Chüan Tzu was a legendary Taoist sage from the state of Ch'i, who is said to have advised Huang Ti. See *Pao-p'u Tzu* 抱樸子 13/57 (Ware, p. 216).

¹⁵ With the abrogation of the Ch'in law against the possession of books in 191 BC, and especially, with the establishment of a central imperial library by Emperor Wu, a fever-pitch search for books spread over China. As Tsien says in *Bamboo and Silk*, p. 15:

The collection of books was engaged in not only by government but by individuals as well. Royal princes, and noted scholars were all interested in book-collecting. Among them Liu Te (d. 132 BC), the prince of Ho-chien, and Liu An (d. 122 BC), the prince of Huai-nan, are said to have offered valuable gifts, together with a transcribed copy of the original, to the donor, to acquire whatever fragments of the pre-Ch'in period they could.

Reference is to *Han shu* 53/2410.

¹⁶ See below, pp. 45, 47–50.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ *Han shu* 44/2145; many other early sources relate that episode.

¹⁹ *Fa yen* 法言 (Model Sayings) 4/3a.

²⁰ *Han shu* 44/2145.

²¹ Ibid.; see also Kao Yu, Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*, 2a (Wallacker, p. 5).

leaders of the School of Southern Learning,²² which reflected mainly Ch'u culture²³ and focused, in Former Han times, on the School of Huang-Lao (the Yellow Emperor and Lao Tzu).²⁴

A brilliant and cultured mind, an accomplished and prolific writer, a champion of Ch'u culture and of the Huang-Lao School — such is the intellectual profile that emerges from the Han sources, providing a strong literary and psychological basis for the tradition that Liu An was the author of *Huai-nan Tzu*.

2 Sung Criticism

After the Han period, while we can follow a continuous tradition of interest in and study of *Huai-nan Tzu*, the level of

²² See Cheng, *Huai-nan Tzu t'ung-lun*, pp. 38-9. According to Cheng, Former Han learning remained divided into two groups, the Northern School, centring round the traditional states of Ch'i 齊, Lu 魯 and Han 韓, and the Southern School, comprising Ch'u, Wu 吳 and Huai-nan. The Northern School focused on the study of the Confucian classics, while the Southern School was more interested in a wide variety of philosophies (*pai chia* 百家, The Hundred Schools) and modes of literary expression. Cheng notes that the two traditions were inherited from the Warring States period (403-221 BC). Liu An was the most important advocate of the Southern School, but he was not the first, nor the only one: King P'i 濞 of Wu and King Hsiao 孝 of Liang 梁, contemporaries of Liu An, also patronized scores of scholars and promoted the Southern School.

²³ See Kanaya, *Shin Kan shisō*, pp. 437-41; and, by the same author, *Rōsō teki sekai, Enanji no shisō* (The World of Lao-Chuang: the Thought of *Huai-nan Tzu*), pp. 32-41 [hereafter *Enanji*]. Kanaya's thesis is that by Former Han times, Ch'u culture, as expressed especially in *Ch'u tz'u*, had spread northward and gained ascendancy in the region of Huai-nan. He shows the close affinity between Ch'u culture and Taoism, of which he finds many instances in *Huai-nan Tzu*. Given this context, Kanaya feels it was entirely appropriate for Emperor Wu to request Liu An to write a commentary on *Li sao*, and quite plausible that An would dash off his composition in a very short span of time.

²⁴ See Tai, *Lun-hsüeh*, p.84. While the main trend of thought in *Huai-nan Tzu* is Taoism, argues Tai, it is a 'new Taoism' in which classical Taoism (represented mainly by Lao Tzu) and Legalism meet, and which came to be known as the Huang-Lao School. In the same work, pp. 239-53, Tai describes the historical development of this school from Ch'in times, with special emphasis on the reigns of Emperor Wen and Emperor Ching, when it reached its apogee. Fu Le-ch'eng 傅樂成, *Chung-kuo t'ung-shih* 中國通史 (A General History of China), p. 122, minimizes the relation of the Huang-Lao School to Legalism, and insists that it centred primarily round the political philosophy of Lao Tzu, which it combined with the School of Yin-Yang. Fu notes that both originated in the state of Ch'i. In his detailed study of the Huang-Lao tradition, Chou, *Liang Han che-hsüeh*, pp. 12-15, corroborates Fu's interpretation, and shows that the expression 'Huang-Lao' was understood in Former Han texts as referring to the two principal proponents of political (H.G. Creel would say 'purposive') Taoism, namely, Huang Ti, the founding master, whose presumed writings were still extant during the Warring States period, and Lao Tzu, the faithful disciple who continued and renewed the teaching of Huang Ti. It would appear that the description of the Huang-Lao School given by the foregoing scholars would apply only with important qualifications to the contents of *Huai-nan Tzu*, which attempts to synthesize the 'purposive' and 'contemplative' aspects of Taoism, and cannot be interpreted one-sidedly.

scholarship on this particular work is rather low and sheds little light on the problem of authorship.

By Sung times, Chinese scholars were obviously better acquainted with the contents — a reflection of the general advance of scholarship and literary criticism that marked the period. It was inevitable that the close scrutiny to which the style and ideas of the different chapters of *Huai-nan Tzu* were subjected would cast serious doubts on the traditional attribution of the work to a single author, Liu An.

Thus, Chou Pi-ta 周必大 (1126-1204), the great Sung encyclopaedist, asserts that '*Huai-nan Tzu* borrows much from *Wen Tzu*,²⁵ sometimes agrees and at other times disagrees with the teachings of the Confucianists, Mohists, Names and Forms, and Legalists. It was not completed (*ch'eng* 成) by the hand of one man, and therefore, there are contradictory passages (*mao tun che* 矛盾者) in different parts of the work, as well as reckless statements (*luan-yen* 亂言) which depart from reality'.²⁶ Chou's logic is faultless. Yet few fellow-scholars followed his extreme and rigid stance. Chou after all fails to substantiate by any particular example the presumed contradictions of *Huai-nan Tzu*. A late Ming historian, Wang Shih-chen 王世貞 (1526-90), aptly synthesized the majority of opinions of Sung scholars regarding the authorship: 'While *Huai-nan Tzu* appears complicated and confused (*ts'o tsa* 錯雜), its spirit and style are

²⁵ Traditionally attributed to a writer by the same name, who was alleged to be a disciple of Lao Tzu and a contemporary of Confucius (551-479). If there was such a work, it was lost early. The *Wen Tzu* we have now is a forgery of the iv or v cent. AD. Far from *Huai-nan Tzu* borrowing from it, as Chou Pi-ta assumed, it is the other way around. See Wang Shu-min, *Chu-tzu chiao-cheng* (Textual Criticism of the [Ancient] Philosophers), p. 493 [hereafter Wang Shu-min]. Among the bamboo documents discovered in the Western Han tomb at Ting-hsien (Hopei) in 1973 were a large number of bamboo strips of *Wen Tzu*, the majority of which were parallels of six sections of the modern *Wen Tzu*, while a few strips had no counterpart therein, apparently being lost excerpts from an earlier *Wen Tzu*. The significant textual differences in the parallel sections would seem to confirm that the modern *Wen Tzu* is a post-Han revision of an earlier version. It would seem plausible that *Huai-nan Tzu* used the earlier *Wen Tzu* and that, in turn, the later *Wen Tzu* (our modern edition) used *Huai-nan Tzu*. See 'Ting-hsien 40 hao Han mu ch'u-t'u chu-chien chien-chieh' 定縣40號漢墓出土竹簡簡介 (A Brief Introduction to the Bamboo Strips Unearthed in Han Tomb no. 40 at Ting-hsien), *Wen-wu* 1981:8, 12. For a comprehensive discussion of the relationship of *Wen Tzu* to Huang-Lao Taoism and to *Huai-nan Tzu*, see Hsiung T'ieh-chi, *Ch'in Han hsün tao-chia lüeh-lun kao*, pp. 53-68.

²⁶ Quoted in the eighteenth-century encyclopaedia *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* 古今圖書集成 (Complete Collection of Illustrations and Writings of Ancient and Modern Times) 444/5a (On Bibliography). No scholar seems to have noticed that most of Chou Pi-ta's text has been reproduced verbatim by Sung Lien 宋濂 (1310-81) in his *Chu-tzu pien* 諸子辯 (Discussions on the [Authenticity of the Ancient] Philosophers), pp. 36-7, without the slightest hint he is quoting an earlier author.

as one (*ch'i fa ju yi* 氣法如一), thus indicating that it was tailored (*ts'ai* 裁) by the hand of Liu.²⁷

Surely, the most elaborate discussion of the authorship of *Huai-nan Tzu* during the Sung may be found in *Tzu-lüeh* 子略 (Essentials of the Masters) by Kao Ssu-sun 高似孫 (fl. ca. 1184). Kao admits the lack of unity (*po-jan pu yi* 駁然不一). But he holds so firmly to the conviction that Liu An was the principal author that he feels the need to remind his reader that 'the work was not produced by Huai-nan [i.e. Liu An] alone'.²⁸ Kao seeks to reconcile the singleness of author and the diversity of form and contents by distinguishing two phases in the composition. The first phase, he believes, was represented by a conference of discussions and planning (*pien mou* 辯謀) attended by a large number of scholars, who imprinted their own peculiar genius and wisdom (*ts'ai chih* 才智) to the topics that were debated and drafted. The second phase consisted in the formal composition of the book by Liu An. Even though this final redaction was the work of one man, it did not obliterate the initial diversity of style and ideas imparted to the materials by the many scholars who partook of the discussions and of the drafting. Thus the lack of unity. For Kao Ssu-sun, Liu An was responsible for convening scholars at Huai-nan and organizing the debates, and also for 'editing' the drafts that resulted from these debates. This was amply sufficient, in the eyes of Kao, to consider Liu An as the rightful author, no matter how diverse the style and ideas of the work might be.

3 Modern Scholarship

Modern scholars add nothing significantly new to the divergent approaches suggested by Chou Pi-ta and Kao Ssu-sun. Among the most radical followers of Chou's viewpoint are the French sinologists, L. Wieger,²⁹ H. Maspero³⁰ and R. Stein,³¹ who all agree, though for different reasons, that Liu An never wrote as much as a single line of *Huai-nan Tzu*. Wieger and Stein argue that the ideas therein are completely at odds with the life of Liu An, and therefore could not have been written or even inspired by him. Maspero, for his part, thinks that the essays of *Huai-nan Tzu* were originally opuscles composed as early as the fourth century BC and merely strung together by scholars at the court of Huai-nan.

²⁷ *Yi-yüan chih-yen* 藝苑卮言 (Flowing Comments on Treasures of Literature) 3/2b.

²⁸ *Tzu-lüeh* 子略 (Essentials of the [Ancient] Philosophers) 4/2a.

²⁹ *Textes philosophiques*, p. 293.

³⁰ 'Légendes mythologiques dans le Chou King', *Journal Asiatique*, 204 (1924), 12.

³¹ *Journal Asiatique*, 227 (1935), 314-6.

These sinologists choose quite arbitrarily to ignore the bibliographical and historical tradition about the authorship. Furthermore, they fail to build up any argument based on internal evidence. Rather, they select random passages from the very historical sources that assert Liu An's authorship to disprove it (Stein), or rely on general analogies with such works as *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* (Wieger) or with some pre-Ch'in texts (Maspero). Such arguments are by far too incomplete as regards the available sources, and too general and vague as regards the means of demonstration. It is undeniable that many Western scholars have been inclined to follow the conclusions of Maspero and Stein; they have usually done so in an uncritical way, without any attempt to substantiate or supplement the unsatisfactory scholarship of these authors on this particular point.

On the other hand, those scholars who have studied *Huai-nan Tzu* most carefully agree on the basis of both internal and external evidence that the work should be attributed to one author, Liu An. Such is the conclusion reached by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超,³² Hu Shih 胡適,³³ Tai Chün-jen,³⁴ Cheng Liang-shu,³⁵ Shimada Kan,³⁶ Kanaya Osamu,³⁷ Akatsuka Kiyoshi 赤塚中,³⁸ E.H. Parker,³⁹ B.E. Wallacker,⁴⁰ C. Larre,⁴¹ J.S. Major⁴² and B. Kandel.⁴³ These scholars present in a more elaborate and documented form the basic argument of Kao Ssu-sun, which can ultimately be traced back to Kao Yu's preface.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao presents a comprehensive statement of the foregoing position:

Liu An was a man of vast knowledge and an accomplished writer. Though his writings were arranged and compiled by Su Fei, one of Liu An's eight close companions, their main purpose and overall form must have been conceived in a definite way, and afterwards carried through and implemented. Whether An personally synthesized (*tsung* 總)

³² *Chu-tzu k'ao-shih* 諸子考釋 (A Critical Examination of the [Ancient] Philosophers), p. 105.

³³ *Huai-nan wang shu* 淮南王書 (The Book of the King of Huai-nan), p. 4.

³⁴ *Lun-hsüeh*, pp. 278-9.

³⁵ *Huai-nan Tzu t'ung-lun*, pp. 1-2 and 4; see also, by the same author, 'Liu An yü Huai-nan Tzu' 劉安與淮南子 (Liu An and Huai-nan Tzu), *Shu ho jen* 書和人, 101 (1962), 796; and 102 (1962), 801-8.

³⁶ *Kobun kyūsho kō* (Studies on the Chinese Classics and Ancient Books), III, 33-4.

³⁷ *Shin Kan shisō*, p. 435; see also *Enanji*, pp. 98-9.

³⁸ 'Dōka shisō', 64-5.

³⁹ 'Huai Nan Tzu, Philosopher and Prince', *The New China Review*, 1 (1919), 517-8.

⁴⁰ *Huai-nan Tzu Book Eleven*, p. 2; see also 'Liu An', 39a.

⁴¹ *Le traité VIIe du Houai nan tseu*, pp. 7-8 [hereafter *Houai nan tseu Traité VII*].

⁴² *Topography and Cosmology in Early Han Thought, Chapter Four of Huai-nan-tzu*, p. 1 [hereafter *Huai-nan Tzu Chapter Four*].

⁴³ 'Der König', pp. 38-42.

what had been written is impossible to ascertain. However, if we examine the principal topics outlined in *Huai-nan Tzu* as well as their disposition and sequence, we cannot but recognize that it is the work of a creative mind; it is highly organized, and is anything but a loose and endless collection of quotations and allusions from a large number of books.⁴⁴

The following points may be highlighted in this statement:

- Liang's discussion is based mainly on internal evidence.
- Seen in the light of Chapter Twenty-one, which is a synthesis of the whole work, *Huai-nan Tzu* is far from containing many inconsistencies and contradictions but is highly organized.
- The intrinsic unity entails one creative mind which conceived the overall plan and then carried the plan through. This creative mind is Liu An.
- Though Liu An played a part in the final redaction, it is impossible to ascertain the extent of his role.

The pivotal assertion on which Liang's argument hinges is that *Huai-nan Tzu* displays an overall plan and organization, and is not a maze of inconsistencies and unconnected quotations. Here Liang diverges from Chou Pi-ta's interpretation. Recent studies by Kanaya Osamu, Cheng Liang-shu, B. Kandel and C. Larre, based on a careful analysis of the main topics discussed in the work, go a long way to vindicate Liang's position. It is also significant that in his new edition of the *History of Chinese Philosophy*, Fung Yu-lan recognizes the philosophical unity of *Huai-nan Tzu*, a position which differs markedly from that expressed in the initial edition of 1934.⁴⁵

In addition to Taoist ideas in general that have been studied by a large group of scholars,⁴⁶ particular topics such

⁴⁴ *Chu-tzu k'ao-shih*, p. 105.

⁴⁵ In the 1934 edition of his *Chung-kuo che-hsüeh shih* 中國哲學史 (A History of Chinese Philosophy), p. 478, Fung writes of *Huai-nan Tzu*: 'This book, like *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu*, is a miscellaneous compilation of all schools of thought, and lacks unity' (wu chung-hsin ssu-hsiang 無中心思想; Fung/Bodde, I, 395). In the *Hsin pien* of 1964, Fung writes: 'The concrete (*chü-ti* 具體) teaching of the School of *Tao* and *Te* discussed by Ssu-ma T'an 司馬談 was exposed in a systematic way (*hsi-t'ung ti piao-hsien* 系統的表現) in the work that was directed (*chu-ch'ih* 主持) and edited (*pien-chi* 編輯) by the King of *Huai-nan*' (p. 143). It is obvious that Fung substantially changed his view not only regarding the authorship, but also the importance of *Huai-nan Tzu*. About the authorship, in the 1934 edition, he stated explicitly that it 'was written in the Former Han dynasty by the guests attached to the court of Liu An, Prince of *Huai-nan*' (Fung/Bodde, I, 395). As to the importance, the 1934 edition had little more than three pages of text concentrating on cosmology, while the 1964 edition runs to some thirty-four pages. The two works are otherwise about the same size.

⁴⁶ The best studies on this subject are the works of Kanaya Osamu, Cheng Liang-shu, Akatsuka Kiyoshi and Tai Chün-jen, mentioned before.

as cosmology,⁴⁷ the calendrical system,⁴⁸ destiny and human nature,⁴⁹ self-culture and education,⁵⁰ music,⁵¹ government⁵² and others have also been successfully and coherently analysed as they occur in the different chapters. The idea of 'resonance' (*kan-ying*), as will become clear as this study evolves, also appears as a consistent notion through the whole of *Huai-nan Tzu*.

Scholars have singled out two chapters as posing the most serious problems of consistency, namely, Chapter Nine: *Chu-shu hsün* (The Craft of the Ruler) and Chapter Nineteen: *Hsiu-wu hsün* (The Necessity of Training). The former is described as advocating a Legalistic form of government, the latter a Confucian type of ethics.⁵³ Both ideas are alien to Taoism and repudiated in other parts of the work, particularly in Chapter Six.⁵⁴ It is my contention that while Chapters Nine and Nineteen borrowed important terms and descriptions from Legalism and Confucianism, their main point is neither Legalistic nor Confucian, but rather derives from the fusion of Taoism with the Theory of *Yin-Yang* in Former Han times.

To start with, let us note that both chapters open with a long preamble on the meaning of *wu-wei* 無爲, which they interpret not as inertia or *laissez-faire*, but as the intense creativity of the Sage (*sheng-jen* 聖人) that springs from inner concentration, liberation from the multiplicity of thoughts and desires, and harmonious reponse to the flow of things and events. The unifying thread that runs through Chapters Nine and Nineteen and links them to the rest of *Huai-nan Tzu* is, precisely, the principle of resonance.

⁴⁷ T.L. Davis, 'The Dualistic Cosmogony of the *Huai-nan-tzu* and its relation to the background of Chinese and European alchemy', *Isis*, 25 (1936), 327-40. This has, of course, been superseded by the much more detailed analysis of J.S. Major, *Huai-nan Tzu Chapter Four* and C. Larre, *Houai nan tseu Traité VII*.

⁴⁸ Lo Shih-lin 羅士琳, '*Huai-nan ch'ao-hsi t'u-chieh*' 淮南朝夕圖解 (Graphic Explanation of the Daily Revolutions of the Sun, according to *Huai-nan*). Manuscript.

⁴⁹ Mori Mikisaburō, *Seimeikan*, pp. 128-45.

⁵⁰ Ch'en Ping-k'un 陳炳焜, '*Huai-nan Tzu chiao-yü hsüeh-shuo*' 淮南子教育學說 (The Theory of Education in *Huai-nan Tzu*), *Hsin shih-tai* 新時代, 4 (1933), 96-107.

⁵¹ Yang Mo-lei 楊沒累, '*Huai-nan Tzu chung ti yüeh-lü hsüeh*' 淮南子中的樂律學 (The Theory of Musical Tones in *Huai-nan Tzu*), *Min-tso tsa-chih* 民鐸雜誌, 8 (1926), 1-41.

⁵² Han Chüeh 韓燭, '*Huai-nan Tzu ti cheng-chih ssu-hsiang*' 淮南子的政治思想 (The Political Thought of *Huai-nan Tzu*). Manuscript. By far the most systematic treatment of this topic is R.T. Ames' *The Art of Rulership. A Study in Ancient Chinese Political Thought* [hereafter *The Art of Rulership*]. One can only regret that Ames did not relate in a more deliberate way his study of *Huai-nan Tzu* 9 to the other chapters of *Huai-nan Tzu*.

⁵³ See, for instance, Chang Yen 張嚴, '*Huai-nan Tzu erh-shih-yi chüan lun-tz'u te-shih p'ing-yi*' 淮南子二十一卷論次得失平議 (A Critical Discussion of the Qualities and Defects in the Arrangement of the Twenty-One Chapters of *Huai-nan Tzu*), *Ta-lu tsa-chih* 大陸雜誌, 6 (1965), 195a-b.

⁵⁴ *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/15b.

The main idea of Chapter Nine is that the ruler should be perfectly attuned to the situation and temper of his people so as to insure 'total resonance' between the two. It is best expressed in the following simile:

The government of the sage ruler may be compared to the charioteering of Tsao Fu 造父: he controlled the bridle from the point where it meets the bit, and pulled tight or slackened by feeling the corner of the lips. The correct measure came from within the breast, and its just application from within the palm of his hands. What he sensed within his innermost heart accorded outside with the horses' temper (*nei te yü hsin chung, wai ho yü ma chih* 內得于心, 外合於馬志).⁵⁵

The sage ruler 'drives' his people in the same way Tsao Fu drove his horses. The opening lines of Chapter Nine vindicate the essentially Taoist viewpoint of the author: 'The craft of the ruler of men consists of disposing of affairs without action (*wu-wei*) and issuing orders without speaking. The ruler remains still and pure (*ch'ing ching* 清靜) without moving, impartial without wavering.'⁵⁶ The expressions *wu-wei* and *ch'ing ching* derive from *Lao Tzu* 2 and 45, and were the essential terms of the Huang-Lao School. Far from advocating Legalism, Chapter Nine actually rejects it outright and understands government essentially as spiritual transformation: 'Punishments (*hsing-fa* 刑罰) are insufficient to change customs, executions (*sha-lu* 殺戮) insufficient to prevent disorder. Only spiritual transformation (*shen-hua* 神化) is influential, and only the finest essences (*chih-ching* 至精) are [of] spiritual [efficacy]. The desperate cry does not reach beyond a hundred paces, but the will's intent (*chih* 志) leaps a thousand miles.'⁵⁷

Chapter Nineteen is perhaps more difficult to fit into the overall philosophical framework. Its main idea is that human nature, as opposed to animal nature, is perfectible, and the means to perfectibility is training and education. It lays great stress on assimilating the great cultural accomplishments of the past, however painstaking the process. All this seems far removed from Taoism, indeed! Yet, one should pay full attention to the goal assigned to training and education in that

⁵⁵ *Huai-nan Tzu* 9/20b. The description of Tsao Fu is similar to that of *Lieh Tzu* 5/63 (Graham, p. 114). *Huai-nan Tzu* gives the story a political application that is absent in *Lieh Tzu*.

⁵⁶ *Huai-nan Tzu* 9/1a. I have slightly modified the translation given in *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, compiled by Th. de Bary and others, I, 158.

⁵⁷ *Huai-nan Tzu* 9/3b. Ames, *The Art of Rulership*, also rejects the interpretation of *Huai-nan Tzu* 9 as a Legalistic treatise; see p. xv.

chapter: it is not to accumulate a mass of factual knowledge, neither to acquire a constellation of virtues, nor to become proficient in any particular art or ritual; rather, it is to attain that inner concentration whereby one merges spontaneously with the flow of nature and history in a symbiosis of stimulus and response: 'Wu-wei does not mean absence of response (*ying* 應) to stimulus (*kan* 感)... *Yu wei* 有為 is to go against (lit. to turn one's back on) what is so of itself (*pei tzu-jan* 背自然).'⁵⁸ And again: 'When the heart is stirred intensely (*fen* 憤) inside, it exerts its influence (*ying* 應) on that which is outside.'⁵⁹ In both passages the Taoist idea of *wu-wei* is interpreted formally in the sense of *kan-ying*: non-interference means to respond spontaneously and harmoniously to stimulus.

It may perhaps seem difficult to reconcile such an understanding of *wu-wei* with basic Taoist concepts like 'emptiness' (*hsü* 虛), 'undifferentiated simplicity' (*p'u* 樸), and so on. However, there was latent in classical Taoism, as H.G. Creel shows,⁶⁰ a dual tendency — one purposive, the other contemplative. We find both tendencies in major Taoist works, though the former is more pronounced in *Lao Tzu*, and the latter, in *Chuang Tzu*. Kanaya Osamu, in two of the major studies of *Huai-nan Tzu*,⁶¹ concludes that it represents a synthesis of the ideas of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu. It may be argued that *Huai-nan Tzu* advocates and vindicates both aspects of Taoism, thus broadening the scope of that philosophical tradition. It does so, in a large part, by bringing together Taoism and the Theory of *Ying-Yang*, by interpreting, for instance, the idea of *wu-wei* in the light of that of *kan-ying*. From this angle, to qualify Chapters Nine and Nineteen as simply Legalistic and Confucian is grossly misleading. Rather, they represent the theory of government and education of the new brand of Taoism which flourished in Former Han, called the Huang-Lao School.

While it is not possible to examine all apparent or real discrepancies and inconsistencies in *Huai-nan Tzu*, there is reason to believe that the work has some broad overall unity. In this sense, we may agree with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's assessment.

When scholars criticize *Huai-nan Tzu* for its

⁵⁸ *Huai-nan Tzu* 19/4b-5a (Morgan, p. 224; tr. mod.)

⁵⁹ *Huai-nan Tzu* 19/6b (Morgan, p. 227; tr. mod.)

⁶⁰ H.G. Creel, 'What is Taoism', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 76 (1956), 141; reprinted in Creel, *What is Taoism?*, pp. 1-24; ref. pp. 4-5. As far as I know, this distinction was first proposed by Creel in a paper presented in 1952 at the Boston meeting of the American Oriental Society. It was developed in the author's *Chinese Thought from Confucius to Mao Tse-tung*, and more fully elaborated in 'What is Taoism?'

⁶¹ *Shin Kan shisō*, especially, pp. 541-50; Kanaya greatly expands his thesis in *Enanji*, pp. 121-259.

inconsistencies, they aim at the literary form as well as the ideological content. Style and phraseology vary markedly not only in different chapters, but what is more disquieting, sometimes within the same chapter. The use of prepositions, which is usually held as a criterion for establishing the authenticity of a given text, shows no uniformity or regularity. The same stories, images, figures of speech and other literary devices recur in many chapters as if they had been borrowed by different authors from a common stock of literature. Do these literary peculiarities not point to a plurality of authors? No scholar has ever dealt with this thorny problem in any systematic or satisfactory way.

In his excellent study of *Huai-nan Tzu*, J.S. Major contends that 'stylistic analysis and statistical analysis of word-use frequency . . . will provide our only means, at this distance in time, of dividing chapters in authorship groups'.⁶² One may doubt that the proposed method would yield the expected results. Firstly, the problem of diversity of style within the same chapter would make it all but impossible to reach any clear-cut distribution of chapters into 'authorship groups'. Secondly, the countless quotations from pre-Ch'in sources would render any kind of statistical method extremely difficult to manipulate, for the simple reason that such a method would fail to discriminate quotations from the original text. Finally, the statistical method would also be inoperative as regards literary genres or forms, which constitute the basic unit to study any aspect of the work. The statistical method would reach significant insights only if it were coupled with a thorough identification and classification of the topics (subject-matter), literary genres and pre-Ch'in quotations. There is no mechanical short-cut to understanding either the contents of *Huai-nan Tzu* or its mode of composition.

For instance, if we take Chapter Five, which deals with seasonal ordinances and rituals, we find that the style bears little, if any, resemblance with any part of Chapter Six. How could the style change so completely, one may ask, in two successive chapters? Is this not an indication that they were written by different authors? No simple answer will do. The diversity in style, in this case, is perhaps better explained by the subject-matter and the peculiar traditional style and format used to write about seasonal ordinances than by postulating two or more authors.⁶³

⁶² *Huai-nan Tzu Chapter Four*, p. 1.

⁶³ Even a brief comparison reveals that *Huai-nan Tzu* 5 (Seasonal Regulations) is closely related both in content and in format to *Li chi* 禮記 (Records on Ceremonial) 4 (*Yüeh ling* 月令: Monthly Ordinances) and *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 1-12 (*Shih-erh ch* 十二紀: Records for the Twelve Months of the Year).

The same problem occurs on a smaller scale in different parts of Chapter Six. For instance, the phraseology and terminology of the two long allegories of the Red and Green Dragons and of the Phoenix and Sparrows⁶⁴ may best be described as belonging to the *fu* 賦 style, which stand out sharply from the rest of the chapter. The narration of the great ages of the past, particularly the myth of Fu Hsi 伏羲 and Nü Kua 女媧,⁶⁵ also displays stylistic peculiarities not to be found in other sections of the chapter. The style changes with the subject-matter. It would be inconceivable to assign responsibility for each different style within the same chapter to a different author. On the other hand, if we assume unity of authorship for Chapter Six, we can only admire the versatility and creativity of the literary mind that fuses so artistically the treasures of classical literature with a host of new expressions, images and literary genres, all for the purpose of edifying one simple truth: the ultimate meaning of life is found within man himself, not without, and culminates in spontaneous harmony, not external imposition. Surely we cannot apply a priori to other chapters of *Huai-nan Tzu* what appears to be true for Chapter Six. The problem of unity 'must be attacked', as Wallacker argues, 'by one who has mastered the contents of all the essays in the book. Each essay must be controlled individually and then compared with each of the other essays'.⁶⁶ At any rate, it would be premature to conclude from the diversity of style that the work is the product of many authors.

The same is true generally of the use of prepositions. Illustrations of this point will be restricted to one case, namely, the prepositions used with the verb *fan* 反 (to return; to turn) in expressions referring to the Taoist doctrine of 'returning to one's original, undifferentiated nature', a theme which occurs more than ninety times in fifteen of the twenty-one chapters. The expression occurs in three different forms:

- *Fan* followed immediately by a noun-object, as in *fan chi* 反己 (to return to one's self),⁶⁷ *fan pen* 反本 (to return to one's root),⁶⁸ *fan hsing* 反性 (to return to one's nature),⁶⁹ *fan ch'i ch'u* 反其初 (to return to one's beginning);⁷⁰

⁶⁴ *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/7a-8b.

⁶⁵ *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/10a-12a.

⁶⁶ *Huai-nan Tzu Book Eleven*, p. 2.

⁶⁷ *Huai-nan Tzu* 1/6b; 10/17b; 11/7a; 14/3a.

⁶⁸ *Huai-nan Tzu* 1/17b; 7/15a; 10/12a.

⁶⁹ *Huai-nan Tzu* 10/18a; 11/7a, 17b; 14/3b.

⁷⁰ *Huai-nan Tzu* 8/5a.

- *Fan* followed by the preposition *yü* 於 (in; at; on; to; from; about), as in *fan yü ch'ing-ching* 反於清靜 (to return to purity and stillness),⁷¹ *fan yü hsü* 反於虛 (to return to emptiness),⁷² *fan yü p'u* 反於樸 (to return to undifferentiated simplicity);⁷³ and
- *Fan* followed by *chu* 諸 (contraction of *chih yü* 之於, meaning literally 'it in', but used here mostly in an emphatic way), as in *fan chu chi* 反諸己 (to return [it] to one's self),⁷⁴ *fan chu hsing* 反諸性 (to return [it] to one's nature),⁷⁵ and so on.

To argue that either the use of *yü* and *chu* after *fan* or their omission reflects the writing habits of different authors would lead nowhere, for the simple reason that all three forms occur in *Huai-nan Tzu* 1, a chapter which displays doctrinal and stylistic unity. In this case again, we are led to seek an explanation for diversity other than plurality of authors. Would it not be simpler to say that the author of *Huai-nan Tzu* delighted in using all available modes of expression and frowned on the narrow uniformity of classicism? Does this fondness for diversity, this exuberance of forms, after all, not reflect the spirit of Former Han, an age which witnessed the birth and development of *fu*?

4 Conclusion

On the basis of this brief survey of internal and external evidence, we may, to conclude, outline a provisory theory of composition of *Huai-nan Tzu*, and of its authorship.

- Liu An was a gifted and prolific writer who, from his youth, was interested in every aspect of learning and had tried his hand successfully at many styles.
- He conceived the general design and format for a work which came to be known as *Huai-nan Tzu*.
- For the purpose of implementing his projected book, he convened a 'literary symposium' at the court of Shouch'un, in which a large number of scholars participated. His role was 'more than mere literary patron . . . , he may have moderated discussions, suggested topics for essays, perhaps even submitted outlines'.⁷⁶

⁷¹ *Huai-nan Tzu* 1/12a.

⁷² *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/17b.

⁷³ *Huai-nan Tzu* 11/11b.

⁷⁴ *Huai-nan Tzu* 9/14a.

⁷⁵ *Huai-nan Tzu* 1/22a.

⁷⁶ Wallacker, *Huai-nan Tzu Book Eleven*, p. 2.

- The literary and philosophical debates resulted in rough drafts penned by the close collaborators of Liu An and marked by the particular genius and style of the redactors.
- Liu An revised these drafts both doctrinally and stylistically, but did not obliterate the idiosyncracies of the initial composition. He might well have selected lists here and there from the drafts and pieced them into his own essays rather than taking each draft in its totality as a basis for each finished essay.
- He presented the finished product to Emperor Wu in 139 BC.

This outline has the merit of explaining both the unity and diversity of *Huai-nan Tzu*. At the same time, it agrees with the early bibliographical tradition attributing the work to Liu An. On the strength of the available sources, he appears directly responsible for the conception of both form and content, for the composition of some parts thereof and for the overall editorship. In this sense, it would seem that Liu An may rightfully be called the author of *Huai-nan Tzu*.

Writings Attributed to Liu An and His Retainers

Closely connected with the authorship of *Huai-nan Tzu* are the many works which the Chinese bibliographic tradition, starting with Liu Hsiang (79-8 BC), has attributed to Liu An and the scholar-retainers he patronized at Shou-ch'un.

One point needs clarification here. In many of the titles listed below, the first two words are 'Huai-nan'. Does 'Huai-nan' simply refer in a general way to the large congregation of scholars and writers at the court of Shou-ch'un? It does not seem so. In most cases the expression refers to Liu An personally. There is indubitable evidence that in Former Han times and afterwards, scholars used 'Huai-nan' as a pen-name for Liu An. It should be thus understood when it is part of the title of works ascribed to Liu An by tradition. For instance, 'Huai-nan Tzu' should be properly translated as 'Master Huai-nan' if it refers to the person, and as 'The Book of Master Huai-nan' if it refers to the work. Two examples will testify to the use of Huai-nan as the pen-name of Liu An. In *Fa yen* (Model Sayings) 5/14, Yang Hsiung compares Liu An and Ssuma Ch'ien, and calls them Huai-nan and T'ai shih kung 太史公 (the Grand Historian) respectively. *Hsi-ching tsa-chi* (Miscellaneous Records of the Western Capital) 3/6a uses *Hung-lieh* 鴻烈 (The Great Light) as the title of the work, and

Huai-nan Tzu and Liu An Tzu 劉安子 as equivalent personal titles.

The following list of works attributed to Liu An and the Huai-nan group tries to be comprehensive. Most of the titles occur in *Han shu yi-wen chih* 漢書藝文志. However, later official and private bibliographies have also been surveyed.

Each title is quoted according to its form in the earliest source. Variations in titles are not indicated except when significant. Titles listed in official histories and encyclopaedias are given precedence over similar titles mentioned in private works. Separate sections or chapters of larger works are not entered independently, but grouped under the titles of the larger works in question. Titles have been classified according to appropriate genre under five main headings:

- 1 Philosophical Treatises
- 2 Esoteric Sciences and Techniques
- 3 Collections of Poems and Rhapsodies (*fu* 賦)
- 4 Commentaries
- 5 State Documents
- 6 Works of Doubtful Origin

Some works appear for the first time rather late, for instance, in the bibliographies of the Sung dynasty. Although such titles cannot be considered *ipso facto* forgeries, their origin and authenticity are highly doubtful and they have been listed under 'Works of Doubtful Origin'. This classification does not imply that all the other titles necessarily represent authentic works.

A word should be added about the use of *p'ien* 篇 and *chüan* 卷 in the various bibliographies. During the Han, *p'ien* still retained its older meaning of a literary unit made up of several bamboo strips. The bamboo strips taken individually were called *chien* 簡, and when bound together in varying numbers were called *ts'e* 冊. A *p'ien* (literary division) could be made of one or more *ts'e* (physical unit). Most pre-Han works, it would seem, were divided into *p'ien*. With the beginning of the Han dynasty, silk became more widely used to transcribe documents. Usually, more than one *p'ien* were transcribed on a single piece of silk. Silk documents, being rolled or sometimes folded, were called *chüan* (physical unit). *Chüan* was also used for paper documents which came into use during the second century AD. Thus, *chüan* was the larger physical unit, sometimes containing several literary units, *p'ien*. In ancient documents originally written on bamboo

strips, the number of *p'ien* is of paramount importance to ascertain the integrity of a given work. The same is true for documents originally written on silk (or paper), for the division of the text in *p'ien* was retained. Most Han and post-Han bibliographers usually mention the number of *p'ien* of the works they list.⁷⁷ Of the nine works attributed to Liu An in *Han shu yi-wen chih*, seven are given in *p'ien* and two in *chüan*.

1 Philosophical Treatises

Huai-nan nei 淮南內 (The Inner Huai-nan), 21 *p'ien*
Han shu yi-wen chih 30/1741 (Section on the Eclectic Masters)

This is *Huai-nan Tzu*. The problem of its historical transmission will be discussed in the next chapter.

Huai-nan wai 外 (The outer Huai-nan), 33 *p'ien*
Han shu yi-wen chih 30/1741

Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 (581-645) comments: 'While *Huai-nan nei* expounds *Tao*, *Huai-nan wai* discusses the theories of various schools.'⁷⁸ The opposition and complementarity between *nei* and *wai* was one between the Taoist School and the other schools of thought. Though syncretistic in many respects, *Huai-nan Tzu* as a whole adopts a distinctly Taoist standpoint on most problems. At the same time, the numerous references to non-Taoist thinkers in that work testify to a thorough familiarity on the part of Liu An and his group with the traditional schools of Chinese thought, which might very well have found its expression in a work like *Huai-nan wai*.

By the time Kao Yu wrote the Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*, *Huai-nan wai* contained only nineteen *p'ien*. The missing *p'ien* must have been lost early, since no quotations from them appear in Han or post-Han sources.

2 Esoteric Sciences and Techniques

Chung p'ien 中篇 (The Middle Section), 8 *chüan*
Han shu 44/2145 (Biography of Liu An)

Huai-nan nei, *Huai-nan wai* and *Chung p'ien* probably formed a kind of trilogy.

'It (*Chung p'ien*) discusses the techniques of the immortals and of the yellow and the white,' says Pan Ku, 'and contains more than two hundred thousand words.'⁷⁹

⁷⁷ See Gardner, *Historiography*, pp. 40-4; Tsien, *Bamboo and Silk*, pp. 109-10.

⁷⁸ *Han shu* 30/1742 (Eclectic Masters).

⁷⁹ The Chang Yen 張晏 (iii cent. AD) commentary on *Han shu* 44/2145 explains that 'yellow and white' mean yellow gold and white silver. The 'techniques of the yellow and white' refer to the alchemical techniques for transmuting base material substances into gold and silver. See *Pao-p'u Tzu* 16 (Ware, pp. 261-78).

By the sixth century the work was called *Huai-nan chung ching* 中經 (The Middle Classic of Huai-nan) and had only four *chüan*.⁸⁰ The remaining *chüan* of the original *Chung p'ien* were not necessarily lost at this early date, because starting with the Later Han dynasty parts of *Chung p'ien* gradually became detached from the main corpus and circulated as distinct units under new titles, perhaps the titles of the eight separate *chüan* originally constituting *Chung p'ien*.

The most important of these titles were *Hung pao* 鴻寶 (The Great Treasure), *Yüan pi* 苑祕 (The Garden of Secrets) and *Wan pi* 萬畢 (The Ten Thousand Infallibles).⁸¹ These titles were sometimes combined to form composite titles, or just stood by themselves. In some cases they were preceded or followed by the term *Chen chung* 枕中 (Confidential Pillow [Case]), which was not the name of a particular work, as some scholars sometimes assume, but rather a prestigious designation of the place or collection where these esoteric writings were supposedly preserved.⁸²

By the T'ang dynasty, of the three foregoing titles only *Wan pi* was still listed and quoted.⁸³ It was probably lost during the Sung, since it is no more quoted after that period. It has been partly reconstructed from fragments preserved mainly in T'ang and Sung encyclopaedias by the cooperative effort of Ch'ing scholars such as Sun Feng-yi 孫馮翼, Mao P'an-lin 茅泮林, Ting Yen 丁晏 and Yeh Te-hui 葉德輝. Most of these authors point out the numerous parallels between *Wan pi* and *Huai-nan Tzu*, many of them being illustrations of the principle of *kan-ying*.

Other titles, which we have reason to believe, belong to *Chung p'ien* are:

— *Chen chung wu-hsing chi* 枕中五行記 (Record of the Five Elements [Preserved] in the Confidential Pillow [Case]), one *chüan*

Pao-p'u Tzu 19/98 (Ware, pp. 316 and 379)

Ko Hung 葛洪 (AD 280?-340?) explains the title as follows: 'For the art of metamorphosis the only work of

⁸⁰ Listed in *Sui shu* 隋書 34/1038 (Treatise on Literature: On the Five Elements).

⁸¹ That *Hung-pao* and *Wan-pi* were part of *Chung p'ien* is stated explicitly by the iv cent. *Shen-hsien chuan* 神仙傳 (Biographies of the Immortals) 4/1a. Yen Shih-ku, *Han shu* 36/1928-1929 (Biography of Liu Hsiang), comments as follows on the composite title *Chen chung Hung-pao Yüan-pi shu*: 'Hung-pao and Yüan-pi were both the titles of *p'ien* on Taoist techniques preserved in *Chen chung*.' See also *Han shu* 25B/1250 (Treatise on State Sacrifice).

⁸² This comes out clearly from Yen Shih-ku's commentary in the preceding note. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* IV/2, 616, may be wrong in interpreting *Chen chung* as the title of a book or chapter.

⁸³ See *Chiu T'ang shu* 舊唐書 47/2043 (Treatise on Literature: On the Five Elements). The title reads: *Huai-nan wan-pi shu* 書.

significance is *Mo Tzu wu-hsing chi* 墨子五行記 (Record of the Five Elements by Mo Tzu) which was originally in five scrolls. Long ago, before becoming an immortal, Liu An reduced its essence to one *chüan*.' (Ware, p. 316; tr. mod.)

- *Huai-nan pien-hua shu* 變化術 (The Techniques of Transformations by Huai-nan), one *chüan*
Sui Shu 隋書 34/1038 (Treatise on Literature: 'On the Five Elements')
- *Pa kung huang-pai ching* 八公黃白經 (The Classic of the Yellow and White by the Eight Dukes), 15 *chüan*
Pao-p'u Tzu 19/96 (Ware, p.381)

The 'eight dukes' refer to the eight close collaborators of Liu An mentioned by Kao Yu in his Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*.

- *San-shih-liu shui fa* 三十六水法 (Directions for Producing Thirty-six Kinds of Aqueous Solutions)
T'ang pen-ts'ao 唐本草 (The T'ang Pharmacopoeia)

Ma Chih 馬志 (tenth century) also includes this title in his *K'ai-pao pen-ts'ao* 開寶本草 (The K'ai-pao [968-976] Pharmacopoeia) and comments: 'According to *San-shih-liu shui fa*, a canon of immortality, if one turns jade into an aqueous solution and takes it as an elixir, one can live long years without growing old.'

We find a *San-shih-liu shui fa* in one *chüan* preserved in *Tao tsang* 道藏 (Taoist Canon), part 3, section 6, vol. 600, tr. by Ts'ao, Ho and Needham, *Ambix*, 7 (1959), 122-158. The authors agree that 'we have here to deal with a corpus the beginnings of which may go back to Liu An in the second century, but which grew as time went on' (p. 124).

Huai-nan tsa-tzu hsing 雜子星 (The Stars according to the Various Masters of Huai-nan), 19 *chüan*

Han shu yi-wen chih 30/1763 (Section on Astronomy)

There is no comment on the title. However, *Han shu yi-wen chih wen-ta* 問答 (Questions and Answers on the Treatise on Literature of *Han shu*), p. 141, comments generally on similar titles in the section on Astronomy: 'By recording the movements of stars and planets, sun and moon, one may discern which among the changes observed in the human world are auspicious and which are baneful.'

3 Collections of Poems and Rhapsodies (*fu* 賦)

Huai-nan wang fu 王賦 (The Rhapsodies of the King of Huai-nan), 82 *p'ien*

Han shu yi-wen chih 30/1747 (Section on Poems and Rhapsodies)

From other sources we know the titles of two *fu* belonging to this voluminous collection: *Hsün lung fu* 薰籠賦 (*Fu* on the Brazier)⁸⁴ and *P'ing feng fu* 屏風賦 (*Fu* on the Movable Wind Screen).⁸⁵ According to *Han shu yi-wen chih wen-ta*, p. 131, two poetic pieces mentioned in *Han shu* 44/2145 (Biography of Liu An) also belonged to this collection: *Sung te* 頌德 (Eulogy on Virtue) and *Ch'ang-an kuo-tu sung* 長安國都頌 (Eulogy on the Capital Ch'ang-an).

If we believe the testimony of *Han shu yi-wen chih* — and we have no reason not to — Liu An would be the most prolific, if not the most important, writer of *fu* of the Han dynasty. Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, his contemporary, who is usually acknowledged as the foremost *fu* poet of the Han, wrote only twenty-nine *fu*.⁸⁶ In the commentary to the present translation of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6, we shall point out the long sections of the chapter written in the *fu* style. There are many other such sections in *Huai-nan Tzu*. They would be fully deserving of a special study.

Huai-nan wang ch'ün ch'en fu 群臣賦 (Rhapsodies Written by the Many Ministers of the King of Huai-nan), 44 *p'ien*
Han shu yi-wen chih 30/1747 (Section on Poems and Rhapsodies)

Wang Yi 王逸 (AD 89-158) states that two groups of writers wrote poems and *fu* at the court of Liu An, one called the Lesser Mountain (*hsiao shan* 小山), and the other, the Greater Mountain (*ta shan* 大山), and attributes to them the authorship of this collection of *fu*. Wang Yi adds that *Chao yin shih* 招隱士 (Summons for a Gentleman Who Became a Recluse), the only *fu* of this collection that seems to have been identified, was written by a poet belonging to the Lesser Mountain.⁸⁷ D. Hawkes has translated this *fu*, which he describes as 'a little gem of a poem which is yet characteristic of its period and could not have been produced by any pre-Han poet'.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 太平御覽 711/3b, quoting Liu Hsiang's *Pieh-lu* 別錄 (Separate Records).

⁸⁵ Quoted in extenso in *Yi-wen lei-chü* 藝文類聚 69/2b.

⁸⁶ See Y. Hervouet, *Un poète de cour sous les Han: Sseu-ma Siang-jou*, p. 172 [hereafter *Sseu-ma Siang-jou*].

⁸⁷ Wang Yi's remarks are found in his commentary on *Chao yin shih*. See *Ch'u tz'u ssu chung* 楚辭四種 (The Songs of Ch'u Presented in Four Parts) 12/141.

⁸⁸ Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u. The Songs of the South*, p. 119 [hereafter *The Songs of the South*]. There is also an English translation by E. Erkes, *Asia Major*, 1 (1924), 119-24.

Huai-nan ko shih 歌詩 (Songs and Poems of Huai-nan), 4 p'ien
Han shu yi-wen chih 30/1745 (Section on Songs and Poems)

It was a repertoire of popular songs and poems edited and increased by the poets at the court of Liu An. *Yüeh-fu shih chi* 樂府詩集 (Collection of Yüeh-fu and Poems) by the Sung literary critic Kuo Mao-ch'ien 郭茂倩 (fl. 1264-9) includes two compositions that were presumed to belong to this ancient repertoire: *Huai-nan wang p'ien* 篇 (Fu on the King of Huai-nan) by a poet of the Lesser Mountain, and *Pa kung ts'ao* 八公操 (Song in Praise of the Eight Dukes) attributed to Liu An.⁸⁹

4 Commentaries

Huai-nan tao hsün 道訓 (Huai-nan's Expositions on Tao), 2 p'ien
Han shu yi-wen chih 30/1703 (*Book of Changes*)

Pan Ku describes the work as 'queries and clarifications on the *Changes*'.⁹⁰ Liu Hsin 劉歆 (ca. 46 BC - AD 23) in his *Ch'i lüeh* 七略 (Seven Summaries),⁹¹ attributes it to Liu An, but states more clearly than Pan Ku that nine scholars (*chiu shih* 九師) contributed to it. The extant fragments of this commentary on the *Book of Changes* have been collected by Ma Kuo-han 馬國翰 (1794-1857) in his *Yü-han shan-fang chi-yi-shu* 玉函山房輯佚書 (Lost Books Restored from Fragments of the Jade Case Mountain Studio).⁹²

Huai-nan wang Chuang Tzu lüeh-yao 莊子略要 (Essential Outline of Chuang Tzu by the King of Huai-nan)

Listed and quoted by Li Shan 李善 (d. AD 689) in his commentary on *Wen hsüan* 文選 26/31b, 31/2b and 60/12a

The quotation is the same in all three references, being a commentary on the expression *chiang hai chih shih* 江海之士 (the scholars of the rivers and seas) from *Chuang Tzu* 15/96 (Watson, p. 167). The commentary by the King of Huai-nan reads: 'The scholars of rivers and seas, the men of mountains and valleys, treat all under heaven lightly, take the Ten Thousand Things in stride and go their own way.'⁹³

⁸⁹ See *Yüeh-fu shih chi* 54/409B and 58/435B.

⁹⁰ *Han shu* 30/1703.

⁹¹ Quoted in *Han shu yi-wen chih k'ao-cheng* 考證 (A Critical Study of *Han shu yi-wen chih*), in *Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien* 二十五史補篇 (Supplements to the Twenty-Five Dynastic Histories) 1388A-B.

⁹² Hu Chao-luan 胡兆鸞 has collated and explained all the passages of *Huai-nan Tzu* relating to *Yi ching* in his *Huai-nan Chou Yi ku-yi* 淮南周易古義 (The Ancient Meaning of the *Changes* of the Chou [Dynasty] according to Huai-nan), which was unfortunately never printed.

⁹³ *Wen hsüan* 文選 26/31b.

Huai-nan wang Chuang Tzu hou-chieh 莊子后解 (Explanatory Appendix to *Chuang Tzu* by the King of Huai-nan)

Listed and quoted by Li Shan in his commentary on *Wen hsüan* 35/17b

The *Chuang Tzu* text commented upon is not found in present-day editions of that work. It deals with 'the broken jade of Keng Shih Tzu 庚市子'. Huai-nan (Liu An) comments: 'Keng Shih Tzu was a sage devoid of covetousness. There were some people who were striving for wealth and fought against each other. Keng Shih Tzu broke his jade in their midst, and the fighting stopped.'

Chuang Tzu is the single most important influence on *Huai-nan Tzu*.⁹⁴ Besides numerous textual quotations interspersed throughout the whole work, *Chuang Tzu's* influence is also manifest in the terminology, literary genres and philosophical ideas. Liu An and his collaborators were deeply steeped in the work of Chuang Tzu, and in many ways may be said to be his continuators in the new intellectual environment of Han times. That Liu An wrote commentaries on *Chuang Tzu* comes as no surprise whatsoever. We can only regret that little but the titles have come down to us.

Huai-nan Li sao chuan 離騷傳 (The Huai-nan Commentary on *Li sao*)

This title is listed in six early works: *Han shu* 44/2145 (Biography of Liu An); Pan Ku's Preface to *Li sao*;⁹⁵ *Han chi* 漢記 (Chronicles of the Former Han Dynasty) 20/88b (Annals of Emperor Wu); Kao Yu's Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*, 1b (Wallacker, p. 5); *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* 文心雕龍 1/14a (The Literary Mind and Carvings of Dragons; Shih, pp. 26-7); and an unidentified quotation preserved in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 太平御覽 150/2b.

Pan Ku, both in *Han shu* and in the Preface to *Li sao*, writes the title as *Li sao chuan*, which Yen Shih-ku (*Han shu* 44/2145) explains as meaning 'commentary on *Li sao*'; Liu Hsieh 劉勰 (ca. 465-522), in *Wen-hsin tiao-lung*, follows Pan Ku. The other three sources cited above, however, all write *Li sao fu* 離騷賦 (*Fu* on Encountering Sorrow).

Wang Nien-sun thinks that *chuan* in *Han shu* is a mistaken character for *fu* 傳 (the error originating from the pictographic similarity of the two characters) and that the latter character was sometimes used in place of *fu* 賦.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ On this point, see Chou Chün-fu 周駿富, 'Huai-nan Tzu yü Chuang Tzu chih kuan-hsi' 淮南子與莊子之關係 (The Relationship between Huai-nan Tzu and Chuang Tzu), *Ta-lu ts'a-chih*, 14 (1957), 15-17; and Wang Shu-min, pp. 573-86.

⁹⁵ Quoted in Wang Yi's commentary on *Ch'u tz'u*; see *Ch'u tz'u ssu chung* 1/29.

⁹⁶ *Tu-shu ts'a-chih* 讀書雜誌 4/9. 6a-b [hereafter Wang Nien-sun]. For further discussion of this problem, see Hervouet, *Sseu-ma Siang-jou*, pp. 172-3.

Contemporary scholars, such as Ho T'ien-hsing 何天行⁹⁷ and Chu Tung-jun 朱東潤,⁹⁸ have argued on the basis of this emendation and other internal evidence that *Li sao*, traditionally attributed to Ch'ü Yüan 屈原 (343?-277?), was really the work of Liu An. While their arguments are not completely groundless, both authors overlook two indisputable facts, which make their bold hypothesis untenable and support the reading of *chuan* as against *fu*.

Firstly, four of the six sources listed above state that Liu An wrote his *Li sao* composition in a record time. He was paying Emperor Wu an official visit at the time (139 BC), and had just offered the Emperor his *Nei p'ien* 內篇, which the latter immediately treasured. The following morning Liu An received a request from the Emperor to write a 'composition' on *Li sao*. 'Having received the Emperor's request at dawn, he completed his writing in time for the morning meal.'⁹⁹ It is inconceivable that any writer could write *Li sao* as we have it in *Ch'u tzu* in a morning session. However, it would be entirely possible to write a commentary (*chuan*) — perhaps a kind of envoi — in that time span.

The second argument is even more weighty. Both Pan Ku (Preface to *Li sao*) and Liu Hsieh quote excerpts from *Li sao chuan* by Liu An. These quotations are precisely in the form of a commentary on Ch'ü Yüan's *Li sao*:

The Songs of the States are sensual without being licentious; the Lesser *Ya* poems are plaintive without being seditious. *Li sao* may be said to combine these two qualities. He (Ch'ü Yüan) sloughed off the impurities of life to soar away, out of reach of the dust and turmoil. Refusing to accept the foulness of this world he emerged shining and unspotted from its mud. Such a mind may without hyperbole be said to rival the sun and moon in brightness.¹⁰⁰

Now, the foregoing paragraph occurs almost word for word in the 'Biography of Ch'ü Yüan' in *Shih chi* (84/2482). Ssu-ma Ch'ien apparently used *Li sao chuan* by Liu An as one

⁹⁷ *Ch'u tzu tso yü Han-tai k'ao* 楚辭作於漢代考 (Evidence that *Ch'u tzu* was Written during the Han Dynasty), pp. 20-31.

⁹⁸ 'Li-sao ti tso che' 離騷的作者 (The Author of *Li sao*), in *Ch'u tzu yen-chiu lun-wen chi* 楚辭研究論文集 (Collected Studies on *Ch'u tzu*), pp. 368-71.

⁹⁹ *Han shu* 44/2145. There are slight variants in the parallel texts; see Wallacker, *Huai-nan Tzu Book Eleven*, p. 8, note 16.

¹⁰⁰ Pan Ku's Preface to *Li sao*, quoted by Wang Yi, *Ch'u tzu ssu-chung* 1/29. The translation is borrowed from Hawkes' rendering of the parallel passages in *Shih chi* 84/2482 (Biography of Ch'ü Yüan); see *The Songs of the South*, p. 12. *Shih chi* has a few more characters than the Pan Ku Preface.

of the unidentified sources for the 'Biography of Ch'ü Yüan'. D. Hawkes in *The Songs of the South*, p. 15, concludes his critical translation of this biography by stating:

One or two sentences in the biography are identifiable as quotations from this lost work of Liu An's [*Li sao chuan*] because they are quoted elsewhere under his name. But though they are all we can identify with certainty as Liu An's, the phraseology of the passages where they occur in the biography suggests that much of their surrounding context is also quotation from the same source.

This proves convincingly that Liu An was not the author of *Li sao* in *Ch'u tz'u*, but that he did write some kind of commentary on it, so that the title of his writing should be *Li sao chuan*, and not *Li sao fu*.

As for the suggestion that *chuan* be emended to *fu*, Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若 remarks that Wang Nien-sun's argument can work both ways: it was *chuan* that was mistakenly written as *fu*.¹⁰¹ Nor is there any basis to support Yü Ta-ch'eng's contention that Liu An probably wrote both a *Li sao fu* (different from the one in *Ch'u tz'u*) and a *Li sao chuan*.¹⁰²

5 State Documents

Huai-nan wang chien fa Min-Yüeh shu 諫伐閩越書 (Memorial by the King of Huai-nan Criticizing Military Intervention in Min-Yüeh)

Han shu 64A/2777-2785 (Biography of Yen Tsu 嚴助).

The events referred to in this memorial occurred in 135 BC. They are described both in *Han shu* 6/160 (Annals of Emperor Wu; Dubs, I, 34) and *Han shu* 64A/2776. Emperor Wu had ordered a punitive military expedition against the state of Min-Yüeh (present-day Fukien) for having attacked Nan-Yüeh 南越 (present-day Kuangtung). Part of the expeditionary force was ordered out of Yü-chang 豫章, which was at that time under the jurisdiction of Huai-nan. Liu An objected to the very principle of a military intervention by the central government in the sporadic wars of the unsettled south. He must have been keenly aware that any major thrust by the imperial armies would spell the end of his own kingdom, which bordered on the state of Min-Yüeh.

Liu An's memorial to Emperor Wu has been translated by B. Kandel, 'Der König', 89-96.

¹⁰¹ 'P'ing *Li sao ti tso che* 評離騷的作者 (Criticism of 'The Author of *Li sao*'), in *Ch'u tz'u yen-chiu lun-wen chi*, p. 400.

¹⁰² *Huai-nan hung-lieh chia'o-shih* (*Huai-nan Tzu*, Collated and Explained), I, 3b [hereafter Yü Ta-ch'eng].

6 Works of Doubtful Origin

Huai-nan wang Liu An t'ai-yang chen-ts'ui 太陽真粹 (Discussion of the True Radiance of the Great Light by Liu An, King of Huai-nan)

Sung shih 宋史 205/7a (Treatise on Literature: 'On the Taoists')

Huai-nan wang chien chi pa chai ching 見機八宅經 (The Classic on Scrutinizing the Eight [Inner] Dwellings by the King of Huai-nan), one *chüan*

Sung shih 206/11a (Treatise on Literature: 'On the Five Elements')

Huai-nan wang shih ching 食經 (The Classic on Foods by the King of Huai-nan), compiled by Chu-ko Ying 諸葛穎 (536-612). *Sui shu* 10/1048 (Treatise on Literature: 'On Techniques and Pharmacopoeia')

Huai-nan wang yang ts'an ching 養蠶經 (The Classic of the Culture of Silkworms by the King of Huai-nan), one *chüan*
Sung shih 205/12a (Treatise on Literature: 'On the Agriculturalists')

Huai-nan pa kung hsiang hu ching 八公相鵠經 (The Classic of Swan Prognostication by the Eight Dukes of Huai-nan)
Sui shu 34/1039 (Treatise on Literature: 'On the Calendar and Numbers')

Huai-nan wang lien sheng shih fa 鍊聖石法 (Directions for Fusing Sacred Stones by the King of Huai-nan), one *chüan*
Sung shih 205/8a (Treatise on Literature: 'On the Taoists')

Huai-nan wang chi 集 (Collected Writings of the King of Huai-nan), one *chüan*
Sui shu 35/1056 (Treatise on Literature: 'On the Five Elements')

Huai-nan wang chuan huan tan ko chüeh 撰還丹歌訣 (Song on Returning the Cinnabar, Composed by the King of Huai-nan), one *chüan*
Sung shih 205/7a (Treatise on Literature: 'On the Taoists')

We may draw two brief and tentative conclusions from the surprisingly large number of works attributed to Liu An and the scholar-retainers of Huai-nan.

Firstly, the early bibliographers, especially Liu Hsiang, Liu Hsin and Pan Ku seem to distinguish the works ascribed directly to Liu An and those attributed to the various writers and groups of writers patronized by the King of Huai-nan. If we accept the testimony of the early bibliographers, Liu An would appear to be one of the major writers of the Han

period. The reasons for his eclipse have been suggested above, but they would deserve an in-depth study.

Secondly, the works attributed directly to Liu An belong to a wide variety of literary genres: poetry, philosophy, commentary, esoterica, natural science, memorials, and so on. Could it be possible that the stylistic diversity of *Huai-nan Tzu*, even of individual chapters such as Chapter Six, stemmed at least in part from the literary versatility of Liu An?

Chapter II



The Transmission of *Huai-nan Tzu*

While admitting that a work called *Huai-nan Tzu* was effectively written by Liu An and his scholar-retainers in the mid-second century BC, do we have reasonable grounds to believe that it was transmitted faithfully over a period of more than two thousand years? Were there any significant textual interpolations, deletions or transformations? To follow the transmission of *Huai-nan Tzu* is to study the modalities and limits of its authenticity and integrity.

Han

Former Han

As we have seen, Liu An offered the twenty-one chapters (*p'ien*) of *Huai-nan Tzu* to Emperor Wu in 139 BC. From that date to about 26 BC no reference to the work appears in the extant writings of that period. Are we to assume that the text lay dormant and ignored in the Imperial Private Library for more than a century? Not necessarily. The scholars' silence in the decades that followed the death of Liu An in 122 BC may perhaps be best accounted for by the repressive nature of

Emperor Wu's regime, one of the most dictatorial in Chinese history. Non-compliance with the ideology and policies of the central government on the part of officials and scholars meant almost certain death.¹ Now the 'official line' on why Liu An was killed (or committed suicide),² why his family and a large number of his retainers and supporters were summarily executed, and why the kingdom of Huai-nan was obliterated was that he was a traitor who had rebelled (or intended to rebel) against the imperial throne.³ What greater crime could a man be guilty of in the eyes of Emperor Wu? For scholars who were on the state payroll and whose writings and opinions were closely scrutinized by the imperial censor, to present Liu An otherwise than as a traitor and a rebel would have been ill-advised if not foolhardy. Any reference to his literary talents and achievements or any quotation from his writings would have immediately aroused the Emperor's suspicions and resulted in summary punishment from the central authorities. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, for instance, was surely aware of Liu An's writings, but nowhere does he allude to them.⁴ He knew from the Li Ling 李陵 Affair (98 BC)

¹ Chu Tung-jun 朱東潤, after enumerating the outstanding aspects of the personality and reign of Emperor Wu emphasized by other scholars (megalomania, expansion of China's borders and pacification of the 'barbarians', belief in superstitions and immortality, and promotion of Confucianism), concludes: 'However, there was in him [Emperor Wu] an even darker side, namely, his basic inclination toward killing.' See 'Huai-nan wang An chi ch'i tso-p'in' 淮南王安及其作品 (An, King of Huai-nan, and his Literary Works) in *Ch'u tz'u yen-chiu lun-wen chi*, p. 372. Chu then gives a list of the incredible number of officials who were executed on the orders of Emperor Wu. H. Dubs, II, 8-13, also blames Emperor Wu for 'his subversion of the unwritten state constitution' and 'the undue severity of his rule'. On page 9, Dubs notes that 'from 121-88 B.C., a period of thirty-three years, during which there were seven Lieutenant Chancellors, only Shih Ch'ing 石慶 died a natural death; the others were all condemned for some crime or other'. H.G. Creel, *Chinese Thought*, pp. 138-40, stresses the essentially legalistic nature of Emperor Wu's regime. The Confucian trappings were just a put-on. All power rested with the Emperor himself. 'No longer was it lawful, as it had been under Emperor Wen, to criticize the emperor; such impertinence was punished severely' (p. 139).

² According to Wang Ch'ung, *Lun heng* 24/69 (Forke, I, 338), there were two traditions about the death of Liu An: one that he killed himself (*tsu sha* 自殺), the other that he was executed as punishment (*chu-ssu* 誅死). Wang comments cynically that in either case the result was the same (*t'ung-yi shih yeh* 同一實也).

³ The accusation of rebellion against Liu An stems from his biography in *Shih chi*. Scholars have shown beyond doubt that the section of Liu An's biography dealing with his alleged rebellion was essentially the transcripts of Wu Pei's (one of Liu An's retainers who participated in the writing of *Huai-nan Tzu*) deposition in the lawsuit that followed the destruction of Huai-nan in 122 BC. In *Han shu*, this section of Liu An's biography was transferred to the biography of Wu Pei (*Han shu* 45), where it properly belonged. Scholars believe that Wu Pei's deposition was self-serving and hardly qualified as biographical material. See Cheng, *Huai-nan Tzu t'ung-lun*, pp. 25-39. Cheng concludes that rebellion by Liu An was historically highly implausible and suspects that the accusation was a fabrication.

⁴ See Chin Te-chien 金德健, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien so chien shu k'ao* 司馬遷所見書考 (Study on the Books Seen by Ssu-ma Ch'ien), pp. 349-55.

the terrible cost of disagreeing with the 'official line' in state matters.⁵ This was but one reminder of the ruthlessness of Emperor Wu's government. The destruction of Huai-nan was undoubtedly, in the eyes of Emperor Wu, a more touchy situation than the loss of 5,000 soldiers to the Hsiung-nu. We can therefore understand that in the decades following the ruin of Huai-nan in 122 BC, silence about Liu An and his writings was for scholars the only viable alternative.

After almost a century the events of 122 BC had lost their socially explosive character and the question of the Emperor's motivation and justification in destroying Huai-nan had become devoid of any political significance. Liu Hsiang broke the long silence about *Huai-nan Tzu*. *Han shu* states that in 26 BC Liu Hsiang, on imperial order, began 'collating (*chiao* 校) the classics and their commentaries, the works of all schools of philosophy, poetry and rhapsodies. . . . As each work was finished [Liu] Hsiang immediately itemized its table of sections and prepared an abstract of its contents (*t'iao ch'i mu-p'ien, cho ch'i chih-yi* 條其目篇, 撮其指義). These were recorded and presented to the Emperor'.⁶ We know that Liu Hsiang's task was mainly to collate the important works preserved in the Imperial Private Library (*Chung pi shu* 中祕書).⁷ That he found *Huai-nan Tzu* among these works comes as no surprise.⁸ In his Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*, 2a, Kao Yu describes Liu Hsiang's edition in terms that agree perfectly well with the foregoing statement quoted from *Han shu*. Liu Hsiang probably wrote some kind of preface, which is now lost. The bibliographical records presented by him to Emperor Ch'eng 成 (r. 32-7 BC) were known as *Pieh-lu* 別錄 (Separate Records). They were summarized by Liu Hsin (46 BC - AD 23) at the request of Emperor Ai 哀 (r. 6-1 BC) under the title of *Ch'i-lüeh* (Seven Summaries). It is now well established that *Han shu yi-wen chih* 'was based directly on the Seven Summaries'.⁹ Thus, *Huai-nan Tzu* in twenty-one *p'ien*, listed in *Han shu yi-wen chih* 30/1741, can be traced back, through Liu Hsin, to the edition collated and catalogued by his father, Liu

⁵ A good account of the Li Ling Affair and of its political implications is given by Dubs, *The Former Han*, II, 13-16.

⁶ *Han shu yi-wen chih* 30/1701; tr. by Gardner, *Historiography*, p. 33.

⁷ *Han shu* 10/310 (Annals of Emperor Ch'eng 成), Dubs, II, 386; see also p. 365.

⁸ Pan Ku says that when Liu An presented his Inner Chapters (*Nei-p'ien*) to Emperor Wu in 139 BC the latter 'fondly treasured them' (*ai pi chih* 愛秘之), meaning that he placed them in his personal private library. See *Han shu* 44/2145.

⁹ Gardner, *Historiography*, p. 35. See also S.Y. Teng and K. Biggerstaff, *An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works*, p. 13 [hereafter *Chinese Reference Works*].

Hsiang. It would therefore appear that until well into the first century AD, *Huai-nan Tzu* was not freely circulated in private circles, but was studied mainly by scholars at the imperial court. Nor is Yang Hsiung's general comment in *Fa-yen* 4/3a a proof to the contrary. His biography (*Han shu* 87B/3583) states that from the time he was forty he occupied, as a scholar, various positions at court. He was also a close friend of Liu Hsin.

After Liu Hsiang, transmission is well attested by historical sources, which may be grouped into three categories:

- bibliographical listing and description;
- general comments on the literary and philosophical characteristics of the work; and
- quotations.

On the basis of these three kinds of data we can follow the transmission of the text from Han times until the earliest extant printed edition, the Northern Sung edition (printed between 1023 and 1064). The following is only a selection of the most important sources.

Later Han

During Later Han *Huai-nan Tzu* was no longer a rarity of the imperial collection, but was publicly available. Evidence for this statement is provided by the fact that besides Pan Ku's mention of the work both in *Han shu yi-wen chih* and in the biography of Liu An, we find the first recorded quotations in *Lun-heng* (Balanced Discussions, completed AD 82/83)¹⁰ and the first overall commentary by Hsü Shen. Hsü's commentary was followed consecutively by four more commentaries, by Ma Jung 馬融 (79-166), Yen Tu 延篤 (d. 167), Lu Chih 盧植 (d. 192) and Kao Yu. It has already been pointed out in the Introduction that the main text commented on by Hsü and Kao differed sufficiently so that one may speak of two distinct editions of *Huai-nan Tzu*. From Later Han to early Sung many factors combined to compound the process of differentiation of editions:

- the basic difficulty of the *Huai-nan Tzu* text due to

¹⁰ *Lun heng* quotes substantial passages from thirteen of the twenty-one chapters of *Huai-nan Tzu*. Wang Ch'ung nowhere identifies *Huai-nan Tzu* as the source of these excerpts, but textual identity or similarity leaves no doubt about their derivation. Wang Ch'ung discusses at length the life and death of Liu An (*Lun heng* 24/68-69; Forke, I, 335-8) and mentions *Huai-nan Tzu* by name (*Lun heng* 3/6 and 32/112; Forke, I, 148 and 271). Wang Ch'ung's general attitude toward *Huai-nan Tzu* is highly critical and negative.

- the use of rare characters and the new combinations of characters, which invited unjustified emendations and scribal errors;
- the use of interchangeable characters;
- the tradition of writing characters without the radical; and
- the scarcity of printed editions, which prevented the comparative study of the text.

The process of differentiation was cumulative until the block-printed editions of the Sung. On that premise scholars assume that the further back we go in tracing the text, the closer we are generally to the original. Differentiation, however, seems to be restricted to character variation. The number and order of chapters, as well as the paragraphs of each chapter, seem to have been remarkably well-preserved. The fact that the early commentaries on all twenty-one chapters by Hsü and Kao are for the most part still extant testifies strongly to the integrity of the main text and its faithful transmission.

Han-T'ang

Not one of the many bibliographies and book catalogues compiled between the Han and early T'ang has survived in its entirety.¹¹ We must rely for those five centuries mostly on private sources.

Wang Yi quoted *Huai-nan Tzu* extensively in his commentary on *Ch'u tz'u*. Early commentators on *Han shu* such as Chin Cho 晉灼 (third century) and Ju Shun 如淳 (ca. 189 – ca. 265) quoted it for historical allusions and definitions of terms.¹² This would seem to indicate that shortly after the Han dynasty the work was held as a reliable authority in interpreting the language and traditions of Former Han. Kuo P'u 郭璞 (267–324) also used it as an authority on geography in his commentary on *Shan-hai ching* 山海經 (The Classic of Mountains and Seas). Ko Hung, who was apparently in possession of various works attributed to Liu An, compared it with other works dealing with the art of transformation (*pien-hua chih shu* 變化之術).¹³

The most important witness to *Huai-nan Tzu* during the

¹¹ See Teng and Biggerstaff, *Chinese Reference Works*, pp. 13–15.

¹² See, for instance, *Han shu* 64A/2777 (Biography of Yen Tsu 嚴助) and 79/3297 (Biography of Feng Feng-shih 馮奉世).

¹³ *Pao-p'u Tzu* 19/98 (Ware, p. 317).

fourth century, however, was *Wen Tzu*. A work by that title was allegedly written by a disciple of Lao Tzu named Hsin Hsing 辛釗 (pen-name, Wen Tzu), who was a contemporary of Confucius (551–479 BC). The original *Wen Tzu* was lost during the Han period. Scholars have brought forth evidence tending to prove that the now extant edition is a forgery compiled in the fourth century AD, probably bearing little resemblance to the original except the name.¹⁴ It may be described as a compendium of philosophical Taoism, most of the text being a mosaic of quotations from *Chuang Tzu*, *Lao Tzu*, *Lieh Tzu* and *Huai-nan Tzu*. Most of the quotations are put in the mouth of Lao Tzu, even though they often derive from other Taoist classics. It is *Huai-nan Tzu* which is quoted most abundantly and the excerpts are generally faithful. Where the two versions differ we can usually discern the editing hand of the forger. However, it is beyond doubt that the edition used by the pseudo-*Wen Tzu* differed from the Hsü and Kao editions as well as from other editions used in early T'ang encyclopaedias. This has been proved brilliantly by Wang Shu-min on the basis of a T'ang edition of *Huai-nan Tzu* 15 (On Military Strategy) preserved in the form of a scroll in Japan.¹⁵ Wang has shown that the *Wen Tzu* parallels agree closely with it, whereas other early editions present textual variations. The T'ang scroll was therefore part of a complete edition, which existed as early as the fourth century AD, and which was plagiarized by the pseudo-*Wen Tzu*.

E. Kraft has compared the parallel passages of *Huai-nan Tzu* 1 and 2 on the one hand, and of *Wen Tzu* on the other.¹⁶ She concludes that the only significant variants are the use of

¹⁴ The iv cent. AD is the *terminus ad quem* of the composition of *Wen Tzu*. The strongest evidence for this date derives from the fact that Chang Chan 張湛 (fl. AD 370), the standard commentator of *Lieh Tzu* 列子, also wrote a commentary of *Wen Tzu*, which is quoted by Li Shan in *Wen hsüan* 36/21a and 40/2b. See Chiang Po-ch'ien 蔣伯璿, *Chu-tzu t'ung-k'ao* 諸子通考 (Studies on the Philosophers), p. 426. Wang shu-min, p. 493, generally agrees with Chiang on the date of *Wen Tzu*, stating that it was written during the Wei-Chin period (AD 220–419). See also note 25 to Chapter 1.

¹⁵ See Wang Shu-min, 'Pa Jih-pen ku ch'ao chüan-tzu pen *Huai-nan hung-lieh* Ping-lüeh chien-ku ti erh-shih' 跋日本古鈔卷子本淮南鴻烈兵略閒詰第二十 (Notes on an Ancient Japanese Traced Scroll Edition of Chapter Twenty of *Huai-nan hung-lieh* on Military Strategy, with the *Chien-ku* [Hsü Shen] Commentary), pp. 565–72; also published with photocopy of the original scroll in the reprint of the *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* ed. of *Huai-nan Tzu*, Taipei, Yi-wen Printing House, 1968. It should be noted that the T'ang edition contains only the first three-fifths of the present-day text, stopping with the words *kuo wu shou ch'eng yi* 國無守城矣, 'the country indeed does not [need to] defend the city' (*Huai-nan Tzu* 15/13a). Wang has collated the T'ang edition with other early editions as well as with the parallel passages in *Wen Tzu*.

¹⁶ 'Zum *Huai-nan Tzu*. Einführung, Übersetzung (Kapitel I und II) und Interpretation', *Monumenta Serica*, 16 (1957), 201–6.

certain prepositions: where *Huai-nan Tzu* writes *tse* 則 (then) and *yü* 於 or 于 (on; at; from; about), *Wen Tzu* writes *chi* 即 (indicating sequence, as *tse*) and *hu* 乎 (interchangeable with *yü*).

Wen Tzu contains many long excerpts from *Huai-nan Tzu* 6, amounting to about one-third of the text. In this case also we find that the variants are inconsequential as regards the transmission of the text, and may furthermore be attributed for the most part to the editing of the pseudo-*Wen Tzu* rather than to the original edition he utilized.

The first authoritative bibliography after the Han was *Ch'i-lu* 七錄 (Seven Records) by Juan Hsiao-hsü 阮孝緒 (479-536). It was incorporated in the 'Treatise on Literature' of *Sui shu*. We find there the first complete bibliographical description of *Huai-nan Tzu*. Two editions in twenty-one chapters (*chüan*) are listed, one commented by Hsü Shen and the other by Kao Yu.¹⁷ At this time it was considered a major work of Chinese literature, since it is described in laudatory terms by Liu Hsieh.¹⁸ P'ei Yin 裴駟 (fl. 465-472) quotes it several times to clarify obscure passages of *Shih chi*.¹⁹ We find more than twenty passages from *Huai-nan Tzu* reproduced by Li Tao-yüan 酈道元 (d. 527) in his celebrated commentary on *Shui ching* 水經 (Waterways Classic).

In his critical edition of *Liu Tzu* 劉子 (attributed to Liu Chou 劉周, ca. 516 - ca. 567), Wang Shu-min in *Liu Tzu chi-cheng* 劉子集證 (Collected Evidences on *Liu Tzu*) points out the numerous quotations from *Huai-nan Tzu* in that work. Some chapters appear to be little more than a mosaic of texts borrowed from *Huai-nan Tzu* and artistically woven together. This is especially true for the chapters of *Liu Tzu* that discuss the idea of *kan-ying*.

Lu Te-ming 陸德明 (556-627) in *Chuang Tzu yin-yi* 莊子音義 (Sound and Meaning of *Chuang Tzu*), often quoting *Huai-nan Tzu*, is considered an early witness and expositor of the *Huai-nan Tzu* text.

¹⁷ See *Sui shu* 34/1007 (Treatise on Literature: On the Eclectics). In *Han shu* 30 (Treatise on Literature) as well as in the Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu* by Kao Yu, the division is given in *p'ien* (sections, usually according to subject-matter), indicating that the work was written on bamboo or wooden tablets. In *Sui shu* (quoting *Ch'i-lu* 七錄), for the first time, the division is given in *chüan* (rolls; the dimensions of the roll and the size of the characters determined how much material could be copied on one roll), which means that the work was now written on silk or paper. Since the number of divisions is the same in both cases (twenty-one), the change of format from *p'ien* to *chüan* does not seem important.

¹⁸ *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* 4/11a (Shih, p. 99).

¹⁹ See *Shih chi* 43/1833, 69/2252, 117/3061 and 128/3237.

T'ang

By T'ang times the text of *Huai-nan Tzu* was firmly established. Whatever variants occur between T'ang quotations and modern editions are not overly important as far as transmission goes. This statement is proven by the numerous quotations from all twenty-one chapters found in T'ang encyclopaedias and commentaries, the more important being:

Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao 北堂書鈔 (Abstracts from Books in the Northern Hall) by Yü Shih-nan 虞世南 (558-638);

Yi-wen lei-chü 藝文類聚 (Classified Collection of Literature) by Ou-yang Hsün 歐陽詢 (557-641);

Ch'ün-shu chih-yao 群書至要 (Important Passages from Assembled Books) by Wei Cheng 魏徵 (580-643);

Ch'u hsüeh chi 初學記 (Records for Beginning Students) by Hsü Chien 徐堅 (659-729);

K'ai-yüan chan ching 開元占經 (The K'ai-yüan [713-756] Treatise on Astrology) by Ch'ü-t'an Hsi-ta 瞿曇悉達 (fl. 718);

Wen hsüan chu-shih 文選注釋 (Commentary on *Wen hsüan*) by Li Shan 李善 (d. 689);

T'ai-p'ing yü-lan (The T'ai-p'ing [976-984] Imperial Encyclopaedia), compiled by Li Fang 李昉 (925-996) *et al.* in 983. Even though this title properly belongs to the early Sung period, it may, for practical purposes, be grouped with T'ang encyclopaedias.

If all the quotations preserved in pre-Sung commentaries, encyclopaedias, including *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, and anthologies were culled and systematically organized, they would reproduce more than two-thirds of the present-day *Huai-nan Tzu*.²⁰ Full use of these sources to establish a critical text as well as other pre-Han and Han works only began in the nineteenth century with such masters of textual criticism as Wang Nien-sun and Yü Yüeh. However, the importance of these sources cannot be overstated. As S.Y. Teng and K. Biggerstaff say very pertinently:

Although encyclopaedias have never been in very high repute among Chinese scholars, both because of their nature as secondary sources and because most scholars

²⁰ I base this estimate on the pre-Sung quotations of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6. Out of a total of about 3034 characters for the whole chapter, about 2080 characters are quoted. Some of the other chapters are quoted even more often than Chapter Six.

have considered it degrading to resort to short cuts to knowledge, the quotations in them have often proved to be more correct than the corresponding passages in the modern editions of the original sources.²¹

Two reasons may be signaled for the greater faithfulness of T'ang encyclopaedias. Firstly, they were compiled under imperial auspices. Their compilation was based on the best extant editions of the original works preserved in the imperial book collection, most of which were subsequently lost in the debacle that marked the end of the Northern Sung in 1126; the best scholars of the age, highly trained in ancient literature and philology, supervised and cross-checked the compilation; the quotations were transcribed by professional scribes; and the printing was assumed by the most reliable presses. The whole rationale of imperial patronage was to insure high scholarship. By contrast, the printing in extenso of works such as *Huai-nan Tzu* — which was never considered a classic — was usually undertaken at the request of individual scholars as part of private collections. The resulting process of editing, transcribing and printing was severely limited as regards professional skills and financial resources, inviting a relatively large number of textual errors. The second reason is that encyclopaedias were constantly being used by a large number of scholars; it is highly improbable that textual errors would crop up undetected in new editions, for the scholars were perfectly acquainted with the older editions. The contrary was true of privately printed editions of *Huai-nan Tzu*, however. They were very scarce, and verification of obscure or dubious characters was often impossible, leading to cumulative textual corruption.

The two basic editions of *Huai-nan Tzu* used by T'ang encyclopaedists were those of Hsü and Kao. As has already been mentioned, they remained distinct and complete at least until the printing of *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* in 983. However, there must have been different versions of these editions, for when the same passages occur in two or more encyclopaedias, they often vary textually.

The Northern Sung Dynasty

The integrity of T'ang editions of *Huai-nan Tzu* is confirmed by the 'Treatise on Literature' of *Chiu T'ang shu* 舊唐書 (Old T'ang History), completed in 945 by Liu Hsü 劉昫

²¹ Teng and Biggerstaff, *Chinese Reference Works*, p. 107.

(897-946)²² and by *Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu* 崇文總目 (Comprehensive Catalogue of the Ch'ung-wen [Library]) compiled by Wang Yao-ch'en 王堯臣 (1001-1056) and others between 1034 and 1038.²³ Both works list two editions in twenty-one chapters, one commented by Hsü and the other by Kao.

Su Sung examined seven editions of *Huai-nan Tzu* which were current in his time. All were in twenty-one chapters. The only discrepancies were in the order of the chapters, the arbitrary attribution of the combined commentaries to Hsü or Kao and, of course, textual variations.²⁴ None of these inconsistencies affect the transmission of the text *per se*. Having collated the seven editions he had in his possession, Su Sung established a new critical text of *Huai-nan Tzu* and of the Hsü and Kao commentaries.²⁵ Some scholars believe that the Su Sung edition is none other than the Northern Sung edition, the earliest printed edition that is still extant. The latter edition was printed during the reign of Emperor Jen-tsung 仁宗 (r. 1023-63), so that at least the dates would seem to agree well with Su Sung's life span.

From this point on we can therefore focus on the transmission of printed editions.

The earliest description of the Northern Sung edition was given by Huang P'ei-lieh 黃丕烈 (1763-1825).²⁶ He obtained a copy of the edition from the famous book collection of Ts'ao Yin 曹寅 (1658-1712) of Yangchow in 1815. With some friends he set out to prepare a critical edition of *Huai-nan Tzu* on the basis of the Northern Sung edition and several other early editions he had collected. He realized that it would take many years to complete his task. Unfortunately his failing eyesight and the many affairs he had to attend to aborted Huang's project. Because of financial difficulties, he finally had to part with most of his rare editions, including the Northern Sung edition; these were purchased by his fellow-townsmen Wang Shih-chung 汪士鍾. Yang Yi-tseng 楊以增 (1787-1856) in turn purchased a large part of Wang's book collection, the *Huai-*

²² 47/2032 (Treatise on Literature: On the Eclectics).

²³ 3/142.

²⁴ See 'Chiao *Huai-nan-tzu* t'i-hsü' (Critical Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*) in *Su Wei-kung wen chi* 蘇魏公文集 (Collected Works of Su Wei-kung), 66/7a-8b.

²⁵ *Su Wei-kung wen-chi* 66/7b-8a.

²⁶ See *Shih-li chü ts'ang shu t'i pa chi-hsü* 士禮居藏書題跋記續 (More Notes and Colophons on the Book Collection of Shih-li chü), 1/17-18. Shih-li chü was one of the many pen-names of Huang P'ei-lieh. Of this particular collection, Fang Chao-ying says: 'This collectanea is prized by scholars for the rarity of its contents, for the faithfulness of its reproductions, and for the collation notes which Huang made when he compared his reprints with other editions' (A. W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Dynasty*, p. 340b).

nan Tzu edition being among the most valuable items of that collection.²⁷ Later the Northern Sung edition was acquired by the Library of the University of Dairen, at which point we lose trace of it.²⁸

Fortunately, traced copies (*ching-ch'ao* 鏡鈔) were made of the Northern Sung edition, compensating for the loss of the last extant specimen of the Sung edition. Ku Kuang-ch'i 顧廣圻 (1776-1835) owned such a traced copy and used it to collate the edition published by Chuang K'uei-chi in 1789.²⁹ Another traced copy was prepared by Chin Yu-mei 金友梅 on behalf of Wang Nien-sun. Finally, a facsimile of Chin's traced copy made by Liu Lü-fen 劉履芬 (1827-79) was printed in the first series of *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* by the Commercial Press, 1920-2.³⁰ This edition was reprinted photographically by the Yi-wen 藝文 Printing House in Taipei, in 1969. It is commonly called the '*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* edition of *Huai-nan Tzu*'. Even though it enjoys the prestige of having been first printed in early Sung, it is not the best edition.

Ming

According to the greatest of modern commentators on *Huai-nan Tzu*, Wang Nien-sun, the best edition in his day was the *Tao-tsang* (Taoist Canon) edition printed in 1445. Present-day scholars such as Wang Shu-min, Cheng Liang-shu and Yü Ta-ch'eng also use this edition as the *textus receptus* of their textual studies. Cheng believes that it derived basically from the Northern Sung edition.³¹ However, editors also used other early editions, now lost, to correct mistakes in the Northern Sung edition.

The *Tao-tsang* edition is in twenty-eight chapters rather than the traditional twenty-one. From the standpoint of transmission, the difference in format is quite irrelevant, since the twenty-eight chapters are obtained by dividing into two parts (=two chapters) each the text of Chapters 1-5, 8 and 13. The reason for such a division remains obscure, but may be linked to Taoist speculations on the twenty-eight lunar

²⁷ See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, p. 341a.

²⁸ See Yü Ta-ch'eng, 1, Preface, 17a.

²⁹ Ku Kuang-ch'i's collations were appended to Wang Nien-sun's *Tu-shu tsa-chih* by his son Wang Yin-chih. See *Tu-shu tsa-chih* 9 (Supplement), 1a-15a.

³⁰ Liu Lü-fen's 劉履芬 pen-name was Mao-sheng 茆生. Major, *Huai-nan Tzu Chapter Four*, p. 3, inadvertently described Liu as a 'Ming bibliophile'. He was rather a late Ch'ing poet and calligrapher.

³¹ See *Huai-nan Tzu chiao-li* (Critical Emendations of *Huai-nan-tzu*), p. 323 [hereafter Cheng Liang-shu].

mansions (*hsiu* 宿), which are mentioned in *Huai-nan Tzu* 3.

The *Tao-tsang* edition was by far the most authoritative and widely used during the Ming dynasty. The two other most important Ming editions, namely, that of Wang P'u (block-print of the Hung-chih period, 1488-1506)³² and that of Mao Yi-kuei (block-print of the Wan-li period, 1573-1620) were both based directly on the Taoist Canon edition. The Wang P'u edition, in turn, was the *textus receptus* for five subsequent editions, among which should be noted the Wang Ying 王榮 edition (block-print of the Chia-ching period, 1522-67) and the Chu Tung-kuang 朱東光 edition (block-print of the Wan-li period). The Mao Yi-kuei edition was the ancestor of four important editions, especially the Mao K'un 茂坤 edition (block-print of the Wan-li period) and the *Han Wei ts'ung-shu* 漢魏叢書 edition (printed during the Ch'ien-lung period, 1736-96). The textual differences between these and the Taoist Canon edition are easily explained if we remember that other early editions, unfortunately unidentified, were available to Ming scholars, but have since been lost.

Interest in *Huai-nan Tzu* studies in Ming times seems to have reached its peak during the Wan-li period, when no less than nine different editions were printed. Aside from their careful printing of editions, however, Ming scholars displayed little genuine insight and creativity in their comments and textual criticism. They had neither the perspicacity and logic of Sung scholars like Su Sung and Chou Pi-ta, nor the breadth of knowledge and scientific method of Ch'ing scholars like T'ao Fang-ch'i and Wang Nien-sun.

Ch'ing

During the Ch'ing dynasty two important editions appeared, both based directly or indirectly on the *Tao-tsang* edition of *Huai-nan Tzu*. They were the Chuang K'uei-chi edition of 1789 and that of *Tao-tsang chi-yao* 道藏輯要 (Selected Works from the Taoist Canon) printed during the Chia-ch'ing period (1796-1821). The latter, prepared by Chiang

³² The Wang P'u edition was based on a text prepared by Liu Chi 劉績 (*chin-shih*, 1488-1505; see W.A. Rickett, *Kuan Tzu*, p. 25). In a postscriptum to his collation of *Huai-nan Tzu*, Liu Chi says: '*Huai-nan Tzu* quotes the complete text of *Wen Tzu* [like all pre-Ch'ing scholars, Liu mistakenly assumed that *Huai-nan Tzu* borrowed from *Wen Tzu*, while it is in fact the other way around] and analyzed its words; it also borrowed indiscriminately from *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu*, *Chuang Tzu*, *Lieh Tzu*, *Teng Hsi Tzu* 鄧析子, *Shen Tzu* 申子, *Shan-hai ching* and *Erh-ya* 爾雅. In my leisure, on the basis of these works, I have supplemented a thousand characters, emended several hundred, deleted a hundred, while leaving the dubious untouched.'

Yüan-t'ing 蔣元廷 (1755–1819), was based directly on the *Tao-tsang* edition; textual variants, however, seem to imply that Chiang also used some other unidentified editions to establish his text. As for the Chuang K'uei-chi edition, it was based on an emended version of that edition collated by Ch'ien Tien 錢坫 (1744–1806).³³ Chuang never had the chance personally to examine either the Northern Sung edition or the *Tao-tsang* edition. The only other important editions collated by him were those of Mao Yi-kuei and Chu Tung-kuang. He used in a very limited way the quotations from T'ang and Sung encyclopaedias. Nor was Chuang specially trained for textual criticism.³⁴ His edition contained many mistaken characters. In 1875, T'ao Fang-ch'i *et al.* revised Chuang's edition, which has become the 'standard' Chuang edition. It has been made the basic text of almost all recent printings of *Huai-nan Tzu*, such as:

- the Liu Wen-tien 劉文典 edition (Commercial Press, 1923);
- the Liu Chia-li 劉家立 edition (Chung-hua Press, 1924);
- the *Ssu-pu pei-yao* 四部備要 edition (Chung-hua Press, 1927–35); and
- the *Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng* 諸子集成 edition (Peking, 1954; Taipei reprint, World Books, 1973).

The revised Chuang edition stands as one of the three best editions, the two others being the Northern Sung and *Tao-tsang* editions. Contemporary Chinese scholars choose the *Tao-tsang* edition as their *textus receptus* because they consider it the best *ancient* edition of *Huai-nan Tzu*. Although the revised Chuang edition cannot claim the prestige of ancienty, it was nevertheless corrected on the basis of the two foregoing editions and of pre-Sung quotations. In that sense, it is a more critical, albeit *modern*, edition than either the Northern Sung or *Tao-tsang* editions. The present study is accordingly based on the revised Chuang edition, as presented by Liu Wen-tien. Other reasons of a practical nature justify this choice: the foregoing edition contains all the major commentaries, the text is unpunctuated and beautifully printed, and the work is readily available.

The following table presents graphically a summary of the evidence for the continuous transmission of *Huai-nan Tzu* since Former Han. The editions are strictly classified on the basis of textual derivation and dependence, within a broad chronological framework.

³³ See Chuang K'uei-chi, Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*, la (in Liu Wen-tien's edition).

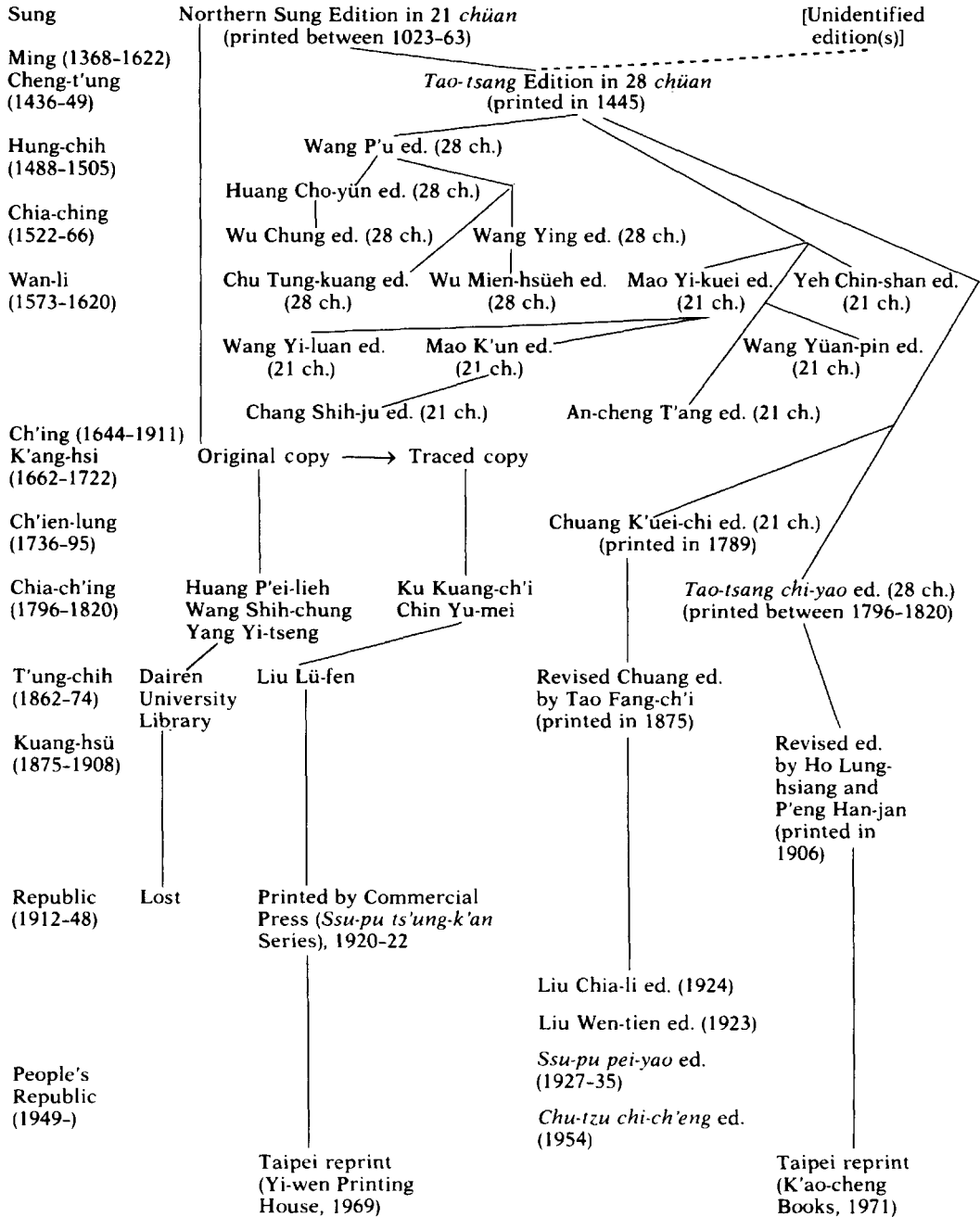
³⁴ See Yü Ta-ch'eng, 1, Preface, 18a.

AN OUTLINE OF THE TRANSMISSION OF *HUAI-NAN TZU*

A Pre-printed Editions

Period	Bibliographic Description of the Complete Work	Comments and Commentaries	Quotations
Former Han (206 BC-AD 24)	<i>Nei p'ien</i> presented to Emperor Wu by Liu An in 139 BC <i>Huai-nan hung-lieh</i> , edited and catalogued by Liu Hsiang (79-8 BC) around 26 BC	Yang Hsiung (53 BC-AD 18), <i>Fa yen</i>	
Later Han (AD 25-220)	<i>Huai-nan nei</i> in 21 <i>p'ien</i> listed in <i>Han shu yi-wen chih</i>	Wang Ch'ung (AD 27-ca. 100), <i>Lun heng</i> Complete commentaries by: Hsü Shen (ca. 30-124) Ma Jung (79-166) Yen Tu (d. 167) Lu Chih (d. 192) Kao Yu (fl. 195-212)	<i>Lun heng</i> , <i>passim</i>
Three Kingdoms to end of Sui (AD 221-618)		Ko Hung (ca. 280-ca. 340), <i>Pao-p'u Tzu</i>	Chin Cho (iii cent.) and Ju Shen (ca. 189-ca. 265), Commentaries on <i>Han shu</i> <i>Wen Tzu</i> (iv-v cent.)
	<i>Huai-nan Tzu</i> in 21 <i>chüan</i> ; two editions, one commented on by Hsü and the other by Kao. In <i>Sui shu</i> (Section on Literature), quoting <i>Ch'i-lu</i> of Juan Hsiao-hsu (vi cent.)	Liu Hsieh (ca. 465-522), <i>Wen-hsin tiaolung</i> <i>Hsi-ching tsa-chi</i> (iv-vi cent.)	P'ei Yin (fl. 465-472), Commentary on <i>Shih chi</i> Liu Chou? (ca. 516-ca. 567), <i>Liu Tzu</i> , <i>passim</i>
T'ang (618-960)	Tang edition of <i>Huai-nan Tzu</i> (preserved in Japan)		Lu Te-ming (556-627), Commentary on <i>Chuang Tzu</i> Yü Shih-nan (558-638), <i>Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao</i> Ou-yang Hsün (557-641), <i>Yi-wen lei-chü</i> Wei Cheng (580-643), <i>Ch'ün-shu chih-yao</i> Hsü chien (659-729), <i>Ch'u-hsüeh chi</i> Li Shan (d. 689), Commentary on <i>Wen-hsüan</i> Chü-t'an Hsi-ta (fl. 718), <i>K'ai-yüan chan-ching</i>
Sung (960-1279)	Su Sung (1020-1101) edition of <i>Huai-nan Tzu</i> in 21 <i>chüan</i> , based on seven earlier editions of <i>Huai-nan Tzu</i> in 21 <i>chüan</i>		Li Fang (925-996), <i>T'ai-p'ing yü-lan</i>

B Printed Editions



The Titles of *Huai-nan Tzu*

If we accept Pan Ku's biography of Liu An (*Han shu* 44/2145), there were initially two different titles for *Huai-nan Tzu*, namely, *Nei-shu* 內書 (Inner Book) in twenty-one *p'ien*, and *Nei-p'ien* (Inner Chapters). The context shows beyond doubt that Pan Ku used the two titles to refer to the same work. *Nei-p'ien* was the title of the work offered by Liu An to Emperor Wu in 139 BC.

Another title used in Former Han sources was *Huai-nan*. According to Kao Yu, Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*, 2a, it was Liu Hsiang who gave that name (*ming* 名) to his edition.

In many cases, it is difficult to determine whether the expression 'Huai-nan' denotes the author (Liu An) or his work. For instance, Yang Hsiung and Wang Ch'ung both use 'Huai-nan' as a pen-name for Liu An.³⁵ Wang Ch'ung refers to Liu An's work, which he quotes abundantly as *Huai-nan shu* 書 (The Book of Huai-nan, that is, of Liu An), a title seldom used afterwards. It may have originated from *Huai-nan Tzu* 21/9b-10a, which speaks of *Liu shih chih shu* 劉氏之書 (The Book of Mr Liu), an appellation that again stresses the author rather than the work.

Han shu 30/1741 (Treatise on Literature: On the Eclectics) lists a *Huai-nan nei* (The Inner Writings of Huai-nan) in twenty-one *p'ien*, an appellation probably going back to the bibliographic compilations of Liu Hsiang and his son Liu Hsin.

In the Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*, 2a, Kao Yu states that *Nei-p'ien* had an honorific title (*hao* 號), *Hung-lieh*. Kao explains the expression (his explanation is borrowed from Hsü Shen's commentary) as meaning 'the great light', that is, *Tao*. Although Kao says nothing about the origin of the title *Hung-lieh*, we may assume that it goes back to the time of Liu An, since we find the expression 'hung-lieh' in *Huai-nan Tzu* 21/5b. Hsü Shen comments: 'The twenty *p'ien* taken together are called *Hung-lieh*.' Hsü was obviously excluding *Huai-nan Tzu* 21, which is a summary of the work in question.

It is to Hsü Shen that we owe the combination of 'Huai-nan' and 'Hung-lieh' into one title. His commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu* was entitled *Huai-nan hung-lieh chien-ku* 問詁 (Interspersed Explanations on *Huai-nan hung-lieh*). Kao Yu, who knew and made use of Hsü's commentary, called his own *Huai-nan hung-lieh ching-chieh* 經解 (Classic Exposition of *Huai-nan hung-lieh*). The title *Huai-nan hung-lieh* has the

³⁵ Yang Hsiung, *Fa-yen* 5/14; Wang Ch'ung, *Lun heng* 84/286 (Forke, I, 75-6). See above, p. 41.

advantage of indicating clearly that the work in question is called *Hung-lieh*, while the author is called Huai-nan (pen-name of Liu An). The structure of the title is the same as *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* (The Springs and Autumns of Mr Lü). If we compare the titles *Huai-nan nei* and *Huai-nan hung-lieh*, we see that *hung-lieh* (*Tao*) is the equivalent of *nei*. This confirms that *nei* in the foregoing titles meant the fundamentally Taoist teaching of the work attributed to Liu An.

The earliest record of the title *Huai-nan Tzu* appears to be Ju Shun's commentary on *Han shu* 79/3297 (Biography of Feng Feng-shih). In the light of the foregoing explanations, there can be little doubt that in the title *Huai-nan Tzu*, Huai-nan stands for Liu An. To say Huai-nan Tzu is another way of saying Liu An Tzu and, as a matter of fact, we find both expressions used interchangeably in *Hsi-ching tsa-chi* 3/6a, as was said before.³⁶

Thus, by the third century AD at the latest, the work attributed to Liu An was considered a major philosophical work worthy of the prestigious title 'tzu' 子 (teacher; master; philosopher).

The 'Treatise on Literature' of *Sui shu* (34/1006), the first comprehensive bibliography after *Han shu yi-wen chih* to have been preserved, lists two editions of the work ascribed to Liu An, both under the title of *Huai-nan Tzu*. Almost all the official and private bibliographies and encyclopaedias of the T'ang and Sung dynasties followed the usage of *Sui shu*. So did most of the Ch'ing commentators. On the other hand, the great Ming editors usually preferred the title *Huai-nan hung-lieh*, perhaps because of its greater antiquity and their dependence on the *Tao-tsang* edition which went by that name.

We thus have ten different titles for the main work attributed to Liu An: *Liu shih chih shu*, *Hung-lieh*, *Nei-shu*, *Nei-p'ien*, *Huai-nan*, *Huai-nan nei*, *Huai-nan shu*, *Huai-nan hung-lieh*, *Huai-nan Tzu* and *Liu An Tzu*. I think it is safe to conclude that the editors, commentators and scholars who coined the foregoing titles considered *Huai-nan Tzu* to be a Taoist work and to have been authored by Liu An.

³⁶ See pp. 41/42.

Chapter III



Han Commentaries on *Huai-nan Tzu*

Studies on *Huai-nan Tzu* appear to have started remarkably early, with Liu Hsiang, and to have continued in an unbroken line till the end of the Han dynasty, with Kao Yu.

In his Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*, 2a, Kao informs us that 'the text was collated and established' (*chiao-ting chuan chü* 校定撰具) by Liu Hsiang. The latter's son, Liu Hsin, presumably transmitted this first critical edition to his follower, Chia K'uei 賈逵 (AD 30-101),¹ whose students and fellow-scholars, Hsü Shen and Ma Jung, each wrote a commentary.² Two disciples of Ma Jung, Yen Tu and Lu Chih,

¹ On Chia K'uei's relationship to Liu Hsin, see *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han Dynasty) 36/1237 (Biography of Chia K'uei).

² H.A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, no. 323 (p. 128), states that 'Hsü Shen studied under Chia K'uei' and that Chia K'uei and Ma Jung were known as 'the universal scholars' (*t'ung ju* 通儒). *T'ung-ju* in Han times meant those Confucians who were not restricted to one official school of learning on one of the Classics, but had a comprehensive knowledge of several Classics; in Later Han times, the expression referred more specifically to scholars who bridged the gap between the Modern Text and the Ancient Text traditions. See *Hou Han shu* 36/1240 and 60A/1972, respectively mentioning Chia K'uei and Ma Jung. For Hsü Shen, see *Hou Han Shu* 79B/2588. Ma Jung's biography states explicitly that he wrote a commentary (*chu* 注) on *Huai-nan Tzu* (*Hou Han shu* 60A/1972).

were also credited with written commentaries³. It was under the tutorship of Lu Chih that Kao Yu, the last great commentator of Han times, 'as a youth learned to punctuate and chant the text (*shou ch'i chü tu yung* 受其句讀誦) and thereby grasped its great significance'.⁴

Hsü Shen and Kao Yu, the only two commentators whose works have survived, thus inherited a long and rich tradition which reached its apogee with the famous school of textual criticism of Ma Jung. However much we may regret the loss of three of the five Han commentaries on *Huai-nan Tzu* recorded by history, we have reason to believe that the finer results achieved by the Ma Jung school were incorporated and transmitted by Hsü Shen and Kao Yu.

Some Ch'ing scholars have argued that Ying Shao⁵ and Ssu-ma Piao 司馬彪 (d. AD 306) also wrote commentaries on *Huai-nan Tzu*. However, contemporary research has proved their evidence to be spurious.

³ The biographies of Yen Tu and Lu Chih (*Hou Han shu* 64/2103 and 2113) describe these two scholars as student-retainers of Ma Jung. Evidence for Yen Tu's *Huai-nan Tzu* commentary stems from a quotation from it preserved in Li Shan's annotations on *Yang-sheng lun* 養生論 (Essay on the Nourishing of Life) by Hsi K'ang 嵇康 (223-262), *Wen hsüan* 53/5B. As for Lu Chih, since he was Ma Jung's student and Kao Yu's tutor in the study of *Huai-nan Tzu*, we may assume that he wrote at least some personal notes on that work. His biography (*Hou Han shu* 64/2309) lists only the general categories of his works, giving no individual titles; one category, *chi* 記, is interpreted by the commentary as meaning notes and records. Kao Yu, in his Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*, 2b, says that 'he reflected deeply on the instructions of his former teacher' [Lu Chih] (*shen ssu hsien shih chih hsün* 深思先師之訓). This would seem to imply that he had in his possession some kind of notes in written form by Lu Chih. For *hsün* 訓 (instructions) is the very expression used by Kao Yu as the title of his commentary on individual chapters.

⁴ Kao Yu, Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*, 2a (Wallacker, p. 6).

⁵ The Li Shan commentary on Yang Hsiung's *Ch'ang-yang fu* 長楊賦 (*Fu* on Ch'ang-yang Palace), *Wen hsüan* 9/3b, says: 'The Ying Shao commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu* says . . . ' ('Ying Shao *Huai-nan Tzu* chu yün 注云'). Wang Shih-han 王師韓 (b. 1707), *Wen hsüan li-hsüeh ch'üan-yü shu-mu* 文選理學權輿書目 2a/36 (Principles, Sources and Bibliography of *Wen hsüan*), has argued on that basis that Ying Shao wrote a commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu*. The same argument was advanced in Hou K'ang's 侯康 'Pu *Hou Han Shu* yi-wen chih' 補後漢書藝文志 (Supplementary Treatise on Literature of *Hou Han shu*) in *Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien* 2/29c (Supplements to the Twenty-Five Dynastic Histories). However, Li Shan's quotation is corrupt. It was originally a comment by Ying Shao on the biography of Yang Hsiung (*Han shu* 87B/3560) and read: 'Ying Shao says: "*Huai-nan Tzu* says . . . "' ('Ying Shao yüeh, *Huai-nan Tzu* yün . . .'). Proof that the latter reading is correct is that the sentence following *yün* in both places is the original text of *Huai nan Tzu* 8/7a-b, and not a commentary. For more details, see Yü Ta-cheng, I, Preface, 12a. Wallacker, *Huai-nan Tzu Book Eleven*, pp. 3-4, and Larre, *Houai nan tseu Traité VII*, p. 14 both followed Li Shan's misquotation and mistakenly attributed a *Huai-nan Tzu* commentary to Ying Shao.

⁶ The attribution of a commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu* to Ssu-ma Piao was based on a similar kind of misinterpretation as in the case of Ying Shao, again due to a misquotation by Li Shan (or most probably by some later editor of *Wen hsüan*). Li Shan's comment on T'ao Ch'ien's 陶潛 (365-427) *Kuei ch'ü lai tz'u* 歸去來辭 (Song of the Return), *Wen hsüan* 45/20b, quotes *Huai-nan Tzu yao-lüeh* (title of

Hsü Shen's and Kao Yu's commentaries present one major problem: pre-Sung official and private bibliographies list two complete and distinct commentaries on the twenty-one chapters of *Huai-nan Tzu*, one by Hsü and the other by Kao.⁷ On the other hand, if we examine early printed editions of Sung and Ming times, we find only one basic edition and commentary, which we may call — following Ch'ing scholars — 'the modern edition' (*chin pen* 今本) and 'the modern commentary' (*chin chu* 今注). What is more disquieting, this unique commentary, both in the overall title of the book and in the individual title of each chapter, is sometimes attributed to Hsü, and sometimes to Kao.⁸ Some scholars were thereby led to doubt the veracity of early bibliographers. One scholar even went so far as to deny that Hsü Shen ever wrote a commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu*.⁹

The merit for having unraveled the complex history of the

Huai-nan Tzu 21); the quotation is immediately followed by a comment by Ssu-ma Piao. This led scholars like Wen T'ing-shih 文廷式 (1856-1904) to ascribe a commentary to Ssu-ma. See Wen T'ing-shih, 'Pu Chin shu yi-wen chih' 補晉書藝文志 (Supplementary Treatise on Literature of *Chin shu*), in *Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien*, 3753c. In this case Li Shan misquoted the title of the work: instead of *Huai-nan Tzu yao-lüeh*, the title should read *Huai-nan wang Chuang Tzu lüeh-yao* (Essential Outline of *Chuang Tzu* by the King of *Huai-nan*). Thus, the sentence quoted from this work is a comment on *Chuang Tzu* 15/95, and is found neither in *Huai-nan Tzu* 21 nor in any chapter of the work. Ssu-ma Piao's quotation was also a commentary on *Chuang Tzu* and was placed after Liu An's commentary in the traditional chronological order. Positive proof that this interpretation is correct is provided by Li Shan's commentary on *Wen hsüan* 26/31b, 31/2b and 60/12a, where the same cited text is quoted and the title of Liu An's work is correctly given as *Huai-nan wang Chuang Tzu lüeh-yao*. There is therefore no textual basis for claiming that Ssu-ma Piao wrote a commentary. This note depends closely on Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, Preface, 12a-b.

⁷ See the bibliographic sections of *Sui shu* 34/1006, *Chiu T'ang shu* 47/2032 (the Hsü Shen commentary is mistakenly titled *shang ku* 商詒; *shang* should be emended to *chien* 間), *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書 59/1533-1534, *T'ung-chih* 通志 (Comprehensive Collection of Treatises) 68/797b, and *Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu* 3/142.

⁸ For instance, the Northern Sung edition is attributed to Kao, yet the title of each chapter ascribes the commentary to Hsü. The *Tao-ssang* edition only mentions Hsü's commentary. Most Ming editions only mention Kao's commentary.

⁹ See Chang Yen, 'Huai-nan Tzu chu-chia yi-ssu chi pan-pen ti shih p'ing-yi' 淮南子注家疑似及版本得失平議 (Textual Critique of Doubtful Passages in the Commentaries on *Huai-nan Tzu* and of the Characteristics of Various Editions), *Ta-lu tsa-chih*, 38 (1965), 244-5. Chang argues that Hsü Shen was an outstanding commentator of the Classics; it would have been unfitting for him to write a commentary on an 'unorthodox' work like *Huai-nan Tzu*. He finds confirmation for this view in the absence of any mention of such a commentary in the biography of Hsü Shen (*Hou Han shu* 79B). Such arguments *ex convenientia* and *ex silentio* (the biography only mentions two works by Hsü; we know he wrote many more) are much too light to overthrow the long bibliographic tradition, which is supported by the numerous parallel texts between the commentary attributed to Hsü and *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* (Etymological Dictionary). On this last point see T'ao Fang-ch'i, *Hsü chün Shuo-wen to ts'ai-yung Huai-nan shuo* 許君說文多採用淮南說 (On the Many Borrowings from *Huai-nan Tzu* in Hsü's *Shuo-wen*), in *Huang Ch'ing ching-chieh* 皇清經解.

Hsü and Kao commentaries belongs to Chinese and Japanese scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, T'ao Fang-ch'i, Yeh Te-hui (1864-1927), Wu Ch'eng-shih 吳承仕 (1886-1940) and Shimada Kan (1879-1915), to name but a few.¹⁰

The patient labour of the foregoing scholars would probably never have achieved such worthwhile results, had they not been set on the right path by the recovery during the Tao-kuang period (1821-50) of an all-important critical introduction to *Huai-nan Tzu* by Su Sung.¹¹

Su's perceptive remarks were based, as we have seen, on the collation of seven different editions. His main conclusion was that incomplete versions of the Hsü and Kao commentaries had been combined in a rather confused manner and attached to one single edition, and that the same overall commentary was then indiscriminately attributed to Hsü or Kao in the printed editions he examined.

The Ch'ing scholars took Su Sung's conclusions as their premise, for they realized that his description applied equally to all modern printed editions. Their second step was to comb thoroughly pre-Sung anthologies and encyclopaedias such as *Wen hsüan*, *Yi-wen lei-chü*, *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* and *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* in which the numerous quotations from the Hsü and Kao commentaries were always distinctly identified. This provided them with proof that when these works were compiled, the two commentaries existed as separate entities; they became partially lost and were then combined only after the printing of *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* in 983.¹²

The following conclusions may be deduced from the research of the scholars mentioned above:

1 Hsü Shen and Kao Yu both wrote distinct commentaries on *Huai-nan Tzu*. Whereas Hsü's commentary covered all twenty-one chapters, some scholars have argued that Kao

¹⁰ T'ao Fang-ch'i, *Huai-nan Tzu Hsü Shen chu yi-t'ung ku* (Explaining the Variants in Hsü's Commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu*) [hereafter T'ao Fang-ch'i]; Yeh Te-hui, *Huai-nan hung-lieh chien-ku* 淮南鴻烈閒詁 (The Hsü Commentary on *Huai-nan hung-lieh*); Wu Ch'eng-shih, *Huai-nan chiu-chu chiao-li* 淮南舊注校理 (Critical Emendations on the Ancient Commentaries on *Huai-nan Tzu*) [hereafter Wu Ch'eng-shih]; Shimada Kan, *Kobun kyūsho kō*. T'ao Fang-ch'i's work is by far the most complete and useful. To the above should be added: the bibliographic reconstruction of the 'Treatise on Literature' of *Hou Han shu* by Hou K'ang, Ku Huai-san 顧懷三, Yao Cheng-tsung 姚振宗 and Tseng P'u 曾樸, in *Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien*; and Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, Preface, 4b-13b.

¹¹ 'Chiao *Huai-nan Tzu* t'i-hsü', in *Su Wei-kung wen-chi* 66/7a-8b. Su Sung's text is integrally reproduced in the studies of T'ao Fang-ch'i, Yao Chen-tsung and Yü Ta-ch'eng, listed in the preceding note.

¹² Since *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* always identifies its quotations from the Hsü and Kao commentaries, scholars believe that at the time it was compiled, the two commentaries still existed separately. See Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, Preface, 9b.

commented only thirteen chapters, namely, 1-9, 13, 16, 17 and 19. This is based on Kao's statement in his Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*, 2b. 3-7 (Wallacker, p. 6) that long before he completed his commentary, a government official named Pien Yi 弁揖 borrowed eight chapters (*chüan*), which became lost when the latter died. However, internal evidence fails to confirm the absence of a commentary by Kao for the foregoing chapters.¹³

2 The main text of *Huai-nan Tzu* to which the two commentaries were originally attached differed slightly, so that we can speak of a Hsü edition and a Kao edition. Hsü's edition was lost sometime in early Sung (presumably, early eleventh century) and exists only in the form of pre-Sung quotations. All modern printed editions basically reproduce the Kao edition.

3 The Hsü and Kao commentaries may be identified by the following criteria:¹⁴

¹³ No scholar has questioned the integrity of Kao's edition of *Huai-nan Tzu*. Not so for the Hsü edition, however. Wu Tse-yü 吳則虞, 'Huai-nan Tzu shu-lu' 淮南子書錄 (Book List on *Huai-nan Tzu*), *Wen shih hsüeh-pao* 文史學報, I (1963), 291-315, questioned the integrity both of Hsü Shen's edition of *Huai-nan Tzu* and of Kao Yu's commentary. Hsü's edition, according to Wu, was simply a series of detached phrases, each followed by Hsü's annotations. The text that was not commented upon was not reproduced. We find that format in many modern commentaries, for instance, Wang Nien-sun's *Tu-shu ts'a-chih*. Wu's explanation rests mainly on his understanding of the title of Hsü's commentary, *chien-ku* 間語 (he interprets *chien* as *chien-hsi* 間隙, 'interval', 'gap'). However plausible Wu's theory may sound, one must recognize that it hinges on one of two possible definitions of *chien*. The expression *chien-ku*, however, could also mean 'commentary inserted in the main text'. This interpretation has the merit of agreeing very well with the new format for commentaries introduced by Ma Jung, namely, 'inserting the commentary in the body of the page, using for that purpose smaller characters cut in double columns' (Giles, *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, no. 1475, pp. 567-8). Hsü Shen was closely related to the Ma Jung school, as we have seen.

Regarding the second point, Wu argued that Kao only commented on thirteen chapters; for chapters 10-12, 14, 15, 18, 20 and 21 he simply used Hsü's commentary. The foregoing thesis, presumably based on Kao Yu's preface and Su Sung's critical introduction, was first formulated by Tao Fang-ch'i (*Huai-nan Tzu Hsü Shen chu yi-t'ung ku, pu-yi* 補遺, *hsü pu* 續補, pp. 5-8) and Shimada Kan (*Kobun kyūsho kō*, 4/24a-27b, pp. 545-58). However, Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, Preface, 8a-9b, has shown convincingly that T'ao Fang-ch'i misinterpreted key passages of Kao Yu; in this he was followed by Ch'ing scholars and Shimada Kan. Yü Ta-ch'eng further quotes no less than fifteen excerpts from the Kao commentary on the eight debated chapters, proving that Kao did originally write a commentary on all twenty-one chapters.

The fact remains that in modern printed editions of *Huai-nan Tzu*, Hsü's commentary is reproduced for the eight foregoing chapters, and not Kao's. The reason for this preference is not clear.

¹⁴ These criteria are all defined by Su Sung in his critical introduction to *Huai-nan Tzu*.

Hsü Commentary	Kao Commentary
Title of the Complete Commentary	
<i>Huai-nan hung-lieh chien-ku</i> , Hsü Shen <i>chi-shang</i> 記上 (Interspersed Explanations on <i>Huai-nan hung-lieh</i> , recorded by Hsü Shen)	<i>Huai-nan hung-lieh</i> <i>ching-chieh</i> , Kao Yu chu 注 (Classic Exposition of <i>Huai-nan hung-lieh</i> , recorded by Kao Yu)
Title of Individual Chapters	
Gives only the original (two- character) title.	Adds <i>hsün</i> 訓 (instruction) to the original title.
Explanation of Chapter Titles	
Concludes explanation by <i>ku</i> <i>yüeh</i> 故曰 (therefore it is called), followed by the title of the chapter.	Concludes explanation by <i>ku</i> <i>yüeh</i> 故曰 . . . <i>yi t'i p'ien</i> 以題篇 (therefore it is given the name . . . as the title of the chapter).
Nature of the Commentary	
Emphasizes borrowed characters; rather sketchy, sometimes unclear.	Emphasizes correct pronunciation; elaborate and clear.

Early in the eleventh century the two commentaries were combined and attached to Kao's edition. Chapters 1-9, 13, 16, 17 and 19 reproduce mainly the Kao commentary. However, many excerpts from Hsü's commentary have also been preserved, usually as alternate or supplementary explanations to Kao Yu introduced by *huo yüeh* 或曰 (someone says) or *yi yüeh* 一曰 (another says). Most of these excerpts have been identified as Hsü's original commentary on the basis of parallel quotations in pre-Sung sources. Chapters 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 20 and 21 reproduce mainly the Hsü commentary. However, these eight chapters also quote many excerpts from the Kao commentary to cover passages not explained by Hsü Shen.¹⁵ Though the two commentaries overlap throughout the text, the manner in which they overlap is different in the chapters attributed to Kao and those attributed to Hsü. It is

¹⁵ See Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, Preface, 8a-9b.

inexact to ascribe any number of chapters exclusively to Hsü or Kao. In any given chapter both commentaries are used — though the proportion varies, thus proving that each scholar originally wrote a commentary covering all twenty-one chapters.

4 *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 fulfills perfectly the external and internal criteria defined by Su Sung to identify the Kao edition and commentary. It also confirms the explanation given above regarding the combination of the two commentaries. T'ao Fang-ch'i, on the basis of pre-Sung sources, has recovered Hsü's commentary on twenty-three phrases of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6.¹⁶ Hsü's annotations are all paralleled, except in one case, by a corresponding comment by Kao Yu in the printed editions. A comparison of the two parallel commentaries reveals that Kao must have seen Hsü's commentary, for he sometimes merely improves on it, preserving the same basic explanation. As might be expected, Kao's commentary is usually longer and clearer and indicates the pronunciation of rare characters. We can understand why the Sung editor who combined the two commentators preferred Kao to Hsü when both explained the same passage.

As for differences in the Hsü and Kao editions of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6, T'ao Fang-ch'i points out seven variants. These will be discussed in the notes accompanying the translation.

¹⁶ T'ao Fang-ch'i, 3/105-122.

Chapter IV



The Sources of *Huai-nan Tzu*

Problems and Assumptions

A close study of the composition of *Huai-nan Tzu* reveals massive borrowing from earlier sources. Approximately one-third of the text derives directly from more than twenty pre-Han works belonging to a wide variety of philosophical schools and literary genres.

We are faced here with a double set of problems.

Firstly, the pervasiveness of the quotations and the diversity of their sources would seem to prejudice the unity and integrity of *Huai-nan Tzu*. Do we not find in this dissemination of pre-Han texts throughout the work documentary justification for H. Maspero's claim that it was nothing but a collection of independent and unconnected essays or opuscles, some written as early as the fourth century BC, which were arbitrarily strung together by plagiarists at the court of Huai-nan?¹

¹ See H. Maspero, 'Légendes mythologiques dans le Chou King', *Journal Asiatique*, 204 (1924), 12. In the same vein, see R. Stein, 'Compte rendu de Evan Morgan, *Tao, the Great Luminant*', *Journal Asiatique*, 227 (1935), 314-6.

The second set of problems is even more serious. If *Huai-nan Tzu* is nothing but a mosaic of pre-Han quotations, it would seem to be devoid of any significant originality, being a mere remouthing of earlier utterances. Instead of reflecting major trends of thought of the early Han period, and being a product of the Ch'u culture, it would in reality amount to no more than a compendium, an anthology, or an encyclopaedia of pre-Han philosophy and literature. To read the contents or even the style as representative of Han thought and writing would be grossly misleading, and to use *Huai-nan Tzu*, as some historians of Chinese philosophy do, as marking a stage in the development of Chinese thought would simply reveal the arbitrariness and vanity of such attempts at periodization.²

It is the object of this chapter to show that, notwithstanding the large number of quotations, *Huai-nan Tzu* on the one hand reveals a basic unity of ideas and style, and on the other does provide us with an authentic representation of some of the major intellectual and literary movements of Former Han.

To demonstrate this point, we may examine the way passages from earlier sources are quoted in the light of the following hypotheses:

- very few texts are quoted word for word;
- the editorial modifications of the original texts follow certain common patterns throughout; and
- in a significant number of cases the editorial modifications bring about a change or shift of meaning, which corresponds to what appears to be the fundamental philosophical outlook and orientation of *Huai-nan Tzu*.

Because of the detailed analysis involved in such an examination, only four texts will be compared with their original counterparts. The textual modifications entail a shift in meaning which, as will be shown, amounts to a significant reinterpretation and a common orientation in all cases. But before we engage in this comparative work, it would seem helpful to clarify the notion of 'quotation' as it applies to *Huai-nan Tzu*, as well as the criteria and methods used here to uncover and sort out the vestiges of pre-Han writings imbedded in it.

² See Fung Yu-Lan, *Hsin pien*, p. 145; also Fung, *The Spirit of Chinese Philosophy*, pp. 112-7; Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, p. 305; and Tai Chün-jen, *Lun-hsüeh*, p. 286.

Some Principles of Source Study

The task of tracing down so many parallel passages and comparing the wording, content and context of each is a delicate operation which must follow specified principles.

Firstly, let us clarify a cluster of terms sometimes used interchangeably by scholars, but which, in the theory of textual criticism and source-study, have a technical meaning, to wit: parallel (passage), analogue, allusion, borrowing, and the term used heretofore, quotation.

According to the general terminology of literary criticism, a 'parallel' is a broad term which applies indistinctly to any noticeable ideological or literary similarity between an earlier and later text. It does not by itself imply derivation. The similarity may even, conceivably but rarely, be due to independent invention. The same features would also apply to the notion of an 'analogue'. Only those parallel passages of *Huai-nan Tzu* which we have reasonable ground to think derive directly from earlier sources are taken into account here; that is, the author of the latter text had at some time direct knowledge of the earlier text and used it, whether consciously or not, while writing his own text. This kind of parallel may be called 'direct borrowing'. It goes without saying that the perfect form of direct borrowing is the 'full quotation'; that is, a complete sentence or group of sentences lifted word for word from an earlier work and acknowledged as such by the borrower. However, besides these, there is a wide variety of 'less perfect' direct borrowings: fragments of sentences, short idiosyncratic expressions, 'edited' quotations, and so on. For simplicity's sake, let us agree to call them 'incomplete quotations'. 'Allusions' would obviously fall under this last category. It should be noted that as far as *Huai-nan Tzu* is concerned, incomplete quotations far outnumber full quotations.

The problem here is to formulate a 'minimum definition' of a direct borrowing — incomplete and full quotations — which will embrace all noticeable cases. To obtain such a definition, we must analyze the variable elements of a given text that is found to derive from an earlier one. We find here four basic variable elements: vocabulary, syntactic structure, the immediate idea expressed by a text (denotation) and the overall meaning intended by the author in using a text (connotation). This last distinction will be explained and illustrated below. The first two elements obviously refer to the literary form, and constitute the necessary and sufficient criterion to establish direct borrowing from an earlier source.

In other words, no matter how similar the ideas or objects described in an earlier and later text might be, no definite relation of dependence can be established unless there is, to start with, literary (i.e. lexical and syntactic) similarity. Thus, the literary element provides the formal criterion in the minimum definition of a direct borrowing. We may, therefore, state the first principle of source-study as follows: certain literary elements in text B (later) are found elsewhere and at an earlier date (as far as we know) only in the antecedent text A and consequently, barring independent invention, must have derived from A or from an earlier source common to A and B.

On the strength of this principle and definition, the compilation on p. 83 leaves out all those cases where there was a similarity of content, but no distinctive literary features. Still, well over eight hundred cases of direct borrowing have been identified in *Huai-nan Tzu* as a whole.

This tabulation indicates the direct borrowings for each chapter and identifies the earlier works from which they reasonably seem to derive on the basis of the foregoing principles. We obviously have no direct or physical evidence to validate the conclusions: they are valid only within the framework presented here. As the aim of this study is not mere quantitative analysis, but better understanding of the mode of composition of *Huai-nan Tzu* and its reinterpretation of pre-Han ideas, the source-works and the authors are grouped into the traditional 'schools' to which they are ascribed in *Han shu yi-wen chih*. One may thus, at one glance, perceive the overall influence of each school as well as particular works on individual chapters and on the work as a unity.³

³ The authors of textual commentaries on *Huai-nan Tzu*, such as Wang Nien-sun, T'ao Fang-ch'i, Yü Yüeh, Yang Shu-ta, Wang Shu-min, Cheng Liang-shu, Yü Ta-ch'eng and others identify a great many pre-Han parallels. The following works have also been indispensable in tracing down the quotations of pre-Han works in *Huai-nan Tzu*: Juan T'ing-chuo 阮廷燁, 'Lun *Huai-nan Tzu* yü hsien-Ch'in chu-tzu yi-shu chih kuan-hsi' 論淮南子與先秦諸子佚書之關係 (Essay on the Relation of *Huai-nan Tzu* to Lost Philosophical Works of the Pre-Ch'in Period), in *Jao Tsung-yi chiao-shou nan yü tseng-pieh lun-wen chi* 饒宗頤教授南遊贈別論文集 (Essays in Chinese Studies Presented to Professor Jao Tsung-yi on His Departure for the South), pp. 67-84; Lung Hui 龍晦, 'Ma-wang-tui ch'u-t'u *Lao Tzu* yi-pen ch'ien ku yi-shu t'an-yüan' 馬王堆出土老子乙本前古佚書探原 (A Philological Study of the Ancient Lost Book Found at the Head of the Manuscript of the *Lao Tzu* Text B, Unearthed at Ma-wang-tui), *K'uo-ku*, 43 (1975), 23-32; Mai Wen-yü 麥文郁, *Huai-nan Tzu yin-yung hsien-Ch'in chu-tzu k'ao* 淮南子引用先秦諸子考 (A Study of the Quotations from pre-Ch'in Philosophers in *Huai-nan Tzu*); T'ang Lan 唐蘭, '*Lao Tzu* yi-pen ch'ien ku yi-shu yin-wen piao' 老子乙本卷前古佚書引文表 (A List of the Quotations from the Ancient Lost Books Found at the Head of the Manuscript of the *Lao Tzu* Text B), *K'uo-ku hsüeh-pao* 考古學報, (1975), 17-27; B. Kandel, *Wen tzu. Ein Beitrag zur Problematik und zum Verständnis eines taoistischen Textes*.

SOURCES OF HUAI-NAN TZU

Works Quoted	Chapters of <i>Huai-nan Tzu</i>																					Total	
Title	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	Total	
Classics																							
<i>Yi ching</i> 易經										6	1		1	1				1		1		11	
<i>Shih ching</i> 詩經		1							1	1	3		1	1				1		1		10	
<i>Chou shu</i> 周書							1						1									2	
Confucianists																							
<i>Lun yü</i> 論語										1												1	
<i>Tzu-ssu</i> 子思										11												11	
<i>Meng Tzu</i> 孟子							1		2	2						1	1		1	3		11	
<i>Hsün Tzu</i> 荀子	1						3		4		3	3	1	1	9	3	2		4	1		35	
<i>Kung-sun Ni</i> 公孫尼							1	1									1					3	
<i>Yen Tzu ch'un-ch'iu</i> 晏子春秋	1							1	1	1	1	1	2	1								9	
<i>Chia Yi</i> 賈誼						1																1	
Taoists																							
<i>Huang Ti ssu-ching</i> 黃帝四經	10				1			2	3	2	1			3	1		2			1		26	
<i>T'ai Kung</i> 太公																	1					1	
<i>Lao Tzu</i> 老子	15	1	1				1	4	1	5	1	5	57	1	1		2	2	2			99	
<i>Chuang Tzu</i> 莊子	28	55	1				22	43	9	7	6	17	14	7	13	3	11	15	7	5	6	269	
<i>Kuan Tzu</i> 管子	5		1		5	2	3		2	1	1	1			4			1		2		28	
<i>Sun Tzu</i> 孫子	1														13				1	1		16	
Mohists																							
<i>Mo Tzu</i> 墨子	1						1				1		1						2		1	7	
<i>Hu Fei Tzu</i> 胡非子																	1		1			2	
<i>Sui Ch'ao Tzu</i> 隨巢子									2													2	
Legalists																							
<i>Shen Pu-hai</i> 申不害										1	1				1							3	
<i>Shen Tao</i> 慎到	1									2			1							1		5	
<i>Teng Hsi Tzu</i> 鄧析子										1												1	
<i>Han Fei Tzu</i> 韓非子	2						2	4		6	4	4	8	2	1	1	11	1	15	4	5	2	72
Syncretists																							
<i>Tsou Yen</i> 鄒衍					1																	1	
<i>Shih Tzu</i> 尸子		1		2			1	1	3	2		2		3	2		3		1	4	1	1	27
<i>Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu</i> 呂氏春秋	4	7	3	2	54	3	3	2	8	8	13	24	12	1	7	9	5	12	6	7		190	

Nature of Quotations

Of the more than twenty works often quoted in *Huai-nan Tzu*, only four are always quoted word for word and explicitly acknowledged as the source of the quotation: *Shih ching* (Book of Poetry), *Yi ching* (Book of Changes), *Chou shu* (Historical Records of Chou) and *Lao Tzu*. The special status and treatment granted these works can only be explained by their being considered as canonical and authoritative by *Huai-nan Tzu*.

The first three works were traditionally ascribed to the Confucian corpus. Quotations from them in *Huai-nan Tzu* are really more ornamental than functional. They play no role as directive ideas or argumentative principles. They usually confirm a point made on the strength of some other evidence. They could be dropped from the text at no loss to understanding. One would not err in viewing them as a conventional expression of respect — a tip-of-the-hat — to a time-honoured tradition. Whatever meaningful and effective Confucian tenets there are in *Huai-nan Tzu* do not issue from these sources, but from later Confucian thinkers such as Tzu-ssu (d. 402? BC), Meng Tzu (372?-289 BC), and especially Hsün Tzu (ca. 298 - ca. 238 BC), and these are never quoted word for word, nor are they acknowledged as the source of the quotations.

The case is quite different with the full quotations from *Lao Tzu*. Lao Tzu here stands for the authoritative spokesman of traditional Taoism. Literal quotations acknowledged as such occur in fifteen of the twenty-one chapters of *Huai-nan Tzu*, concentrating mostly in Chapters One and Twelve. The whole of Chapter Twelve may best be understood as a commentary, by means of historical paradigms, on excerpts from more than fifty chapters of *Lao Tzu*. Ideas from *Lao Tzu* here play a decisive role in the selection of these paradigms as well as in their interpretation. As for Chapter One, it is nothing but a poetic and metaphysical treatise on the *Tao* of *Lao Tzu*.

The influence of *Lao Tzu* is surely not limited to full quotations. Many other chapters, especially Chapters 2, 6, 7, 8 and 11, while containing but a few direct borrowings from *Lao Tzu*, expound basic ideas found in the Taoist classic. However, my point here is simply to indicate, on the basis of full quotations, the special status *Lao Tzu* enjoys in *Huai-nan Tzu* as the canonical repository of the Taoist tradition.

We know that the influence of *Chuang Tzu* on *Huai-nan Tzu* is even more pervasive and decisive than that of *Lao Tzu*.

Yet *Chuang Tzu* is never treated as an authority. Quotations are constantly tampered with; nor are such incomplete quotations acknowledged as deriving from it. The difference in the treatment of the two Taoist works reflects faithfully the intellectual mood of the cultured society of Former Han.⁴

Mention should be made here of two works that exerted a deep influence on *Huai-nan Tzu*, while leaving very little literary evidence, if any. These are the writings of Tsou Yen and *Li sao*. In the measure that *Huai-nan Tzu* expounds ideas deriving from the School of Yin-Yang and Five Elements, we may assume that it was incorporating the ideas and perhaps the texts of Tsou Yen. But, to quote J.S. Major, *Huai-nan Tzu Chapter Four*, p. 16: 'As almost all the writings attributed to Tsou Yen have been lost, it is impossible to cite specific examples of influence [on *Huai-nan Tzu*].' With respect to *Li sao*, the similarity of content and vocabulary is such that some authors have tried to prove that the two works were written by the same author, Liu An.⁵ Nonetheless, one finds no direct borrowing, even incomplete, from *Li sao* that would fit the definition given in this chapter.

As has already been stated, incomplete quotations constitute the vast majority of direct borrowings in *Huai-nan Tzu*. Furthermore, because they represent modifications of original texts, they reveal the specific standpoint of *Huai-nan Tzu* with respect to earlier works and thinkers and, more importantly, adumbrate the very ways of thinking of the entire work. A systematic study of the manner in which earlier sources and ideas are modified to fit in with its viewpoint would be a contribution of the first order to understanding not only its originality, but especially the intellectual presuppositions and world-views of Former Han thinkers.

The four texts chosen here all centre around political power and order in society. In each case the *Huai-nan Tzu* text is an incomplete quotation from an earlier source, modified to accord better with the views of *Huai-nan Tzu*. Only the first text will be analyzed in detail; the three others will illustrate further and justify the interpretation of the first text. All four parallels are accompanied by their respective Chinese texts.

⁴ See P. Demiéville, 'Tchouang-tseu et ses interprétations dans l'exégèse chinoise', *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 46 (1946), 140; reprinted in P. Demiéville, *Choix d'études sinologiques* (1921-70), I, 45.

⁵ Ho T'ien-hsing, *Ch'u tz'u tso yü Han-tai k'ao*, pp. 21-71, gives fourteen kinds of proof that the same person (Liu An) wrote *Huai-nan Tzu* and *Li Sao*; see also Chu Tung-jun, 'Li Sao ti tso-che', pp. 368-71.

Study of Four Quotations

1 The Laws of Hui Tzu and the Tune of the Loggers

Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu 18:5/228⁶ *Huai-nan Tzu* 12/2b-3a

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 Hui Tzu drew up laws on behalf of King Hui of Wei.
惠子為魏惠王為法</p> | <p>Hui Tzu drew up state laws on behalf of King Hui.
惠子為惠王為國法</p> |
| <p>2 When the laws were completed, he (Hui Tzu) showed them to the people,
法已成以示諸民人</p> | <p>When they were completed, he showed them to the elders,
已成而示諸先生</p> |
| <p>3 and the people unanimously praised them.
民人皆善之</p> | <p>and the elders unanimously praised them.
先生皆善之</p> |
| <p>4 He presented them to King Hui, and King Hui praised them.
獻之惠王惠王善之</p> | <p>He submitted them to King Hui, and King Hui was greatly pleased with them.
奏之惠王惠王甚說之</p> |
| <p>5 He (King Hui) showed them to Chai Chien. Chai Chien said, 'They are excellent.'
以示翟煎翟煎曰善也</p> | <p>He (King Hui) showed them to Chai Chien, who said, 'Excellent.'

以示翟煎曰善</p> |
| <p>6 King Hui asked, 'Can they be applied?'

惠王曰可行邪</p> | <p>King Hui asked, 'Since they are excellent, can they not be applied?'
惠王曰善可行乎</p> |
| <p>7 Chai Chien answered, 'They cannot.'
翟煎曰不可</p> | <p>Chai Chien answered, 'They cannot.'
翟煎曰不可</p> |
| <p>8 King Hui said, 'Why is it that although they are excellent, still they cannot be applied?'
惠王曰善而不可行何故</p> | <p>King Hui said, 'Why is it that although they are excellent, still they cannot be applied?'
惠王曰善而不可行何也</p> |
| <p>9 Chai Chien replied, 'Now, take those [loggers] who lift and carry heavy logs:
翟煎對曰今舉大木者</p> | <p>Chai Chien replied, 'Now, take those [loggers] who lift and carry heavy logs:
翟煎曰今舉大木者</p> |

⁶ For a German translation, see R. Wilhelm, *Frühling und Herbst des Lu Bu We*, p. 306.

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|--|---|
| <p>10 those in front sing the <i>yü-hsü</i> [tune] and those behind respond (<i>ying</i>).
前乎與謬後亦應之</p> <p>11 This is because the tune is excellent for those who lift and carry heavy logs.
此其於舉大木者善矣</p> <p>12 How could it be that they do not know the melodies of Cheng and Wei?
豈無鄭衛之音哉</p> <p>13 Although they know such melodies, these melodies do not fit the circumstances as well as it [the <i>yü-hsü</i> tune] does.

然不若此其宜也</p> <p>14 Now the state is undoubtedly the heaviest of logs.'
夫國亦木之大者也</p> <p>15</p> | <p>those in front sing the <i>yeh-hsü</i> [tune] and those behind respond (<i>ying</i>).
前呼邪許後亦應之</p> <p>This is a song to sustain and encourage those who carry heavy loads.
此舉重勸力之歌也</p> <p>How could it be that they do not know the melodies of Cheng and Wei and of the "Whirling Ch'u"?
豈無鄭衛激楚之音哉</p> <p>Although they know such melodies, the fact that they do not use them is because they do not fit the circumstances as well as it [the <i>yeh-hsü</i> tune] does.
然而不用者不若此其宜也</p> <p>To govern a state lies in rites (<i>li</i>), and not in bookish argumentations (<i>wen-pien</i>).'
治國有[在]禮不在文辯</p> <p>Therefore, Lao Tzu says, 'The more laws and orders are made prominent, the more thieves and robbers there are.' [<i>Lao Tzu</i> 57] This expresses it.
故老子曰法令滋彰盜賊多有此之謂也</p> |
|--|---|

HISTORICAL REMARKS According to Ch'ien Mu 錢穆, Hui Tzu (fourth century BC) went to the state of Wei 魏 (or Liang 梁) around 343.⁷ *Chuang Tzu*, *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* and *Huai-nan Tzu* all agree that he served as minister of King Hui (r. 370-318 BC). His position must have been of some weight, since *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* adds that Hui Tzu was instrumental in preserving peace between the states of Wei and Ch'i 齊 and was responsible for the important meeting at Hsü-chou 徐州 in 334, where the feudal lords for the first time addressed each

⁷ See Ch'ien Mu, 'Hui Shih nien-piao' 惠施年表 (Chronology of Hui Shih), *Ku shih pien*, VI, 256.

other as 'king' (*wang* 王).⁸ While we have no other evidence that he wrote a set of laws except in the foregoing texts, the event is not entirely implausible.

As for Chai Chien, we can only assume that he was another minister of King Hui. Attempts to identify him with Chai Huang 翟璜, the famous minister of Marquis Wen 文 of Wei (r. 403–386 BC), are dismissed by most scholars because of the long time span between Marquis Wen and the coming of Hui Tzu to the state of Wei.⁹

TEXTUAL REMARKS There are more than twenty character variants in the *Huai-nan Tzu* parallel: six cases of 'added characters', five of 'omitted characters', ten of 'synonymous characters', and three of 'different characters'. Most of the character variants have no bearing on the overall meaning of the text. There are, however, significant changes in the phraseology: addition, ll. 15–16; substitution, l.14; transformation, l.11

INTERPRETATION The problem discussed by both texts is whether written laws that are excellent *per se* can be applied effectively to the state of Wei. The answer is given in the form of a simile: the songs of Cheng and Wei are excellent *per se*, but for the particular purpose of lifting and carrying heavy logs, the simple *yeh-hsü* tune of the loggers is superior — more effective, because it is better suited to the concrete situation. Just in the same way the laws drafted by Hui Tzu may be theoretically perfect, but as regards the state of Wei, the existing laws and institutions are superior because they are better suited to the particular conditions obtaining in Wei.

As already stated, single character variants do not affect the meaning of the texts we are studying. Comments will therefore be restricted to phraseological variations.

The first significant variant in *Huai-nan Tzu* regards the function and purpose of the *yeh-hsü* tune. *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* simply describes the tune as 'excellent for those who carry heavy logs' (l.11). *Huai-nan Tzu* states more explicitly that 'it is a song to encourage and sustain those who carry heavy loads' (l.11). Since the point of the story hinges on the suitability of song and laws (or rites) to given situations, the articulateness of *Huai-nan Tzu* strengthens the logic of the argument. The same thing may be said of the addition of *erh pu yung che* 而不用者 (l.13). *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* is difficult here, and the development of the argument is rather abrupt.

⁸ See Ch'ien Mu, 'Hui Shih chuan-lüeh' 惠施傳略 (A Biographical Sketch of Hui Shih), *Ku shih pien*, VI, 260.

⁹ *Ku shih pien*, VI, 259, note 11; see also Yü Ta-ch'eng, II, 348a-b.

Huai-nan Tzu clarifies and spells out the meaning by the smooth insertion of four characters. But the meaning is still basically the same.

In the last part of the parallel text (l.14), however, *Huai-nan Tzu* changes completely the wording and the meaning of its source, but keeps the same number of characters as the corresponding text in *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu*, indicating that it is still following the latter. *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* concludes the argument of the story by an *fortiori*: 'Now, as far as logs go, the state is *the* heavy one.' (l.14) In other words, the point made about tunes and songs applies even more to laws, inasmuch as the task of governing a state outweighs that of carrying logs. There is no such conclusion in *Huai-nan Tzu*. Rather than stating a conclusion which appears to be implicit in the premises, it discloses what it considers to be the fundamental principle of the whole argument: '[For] to rule a state consists in rites (*li*) and not in bookish argumentations (*wen-pien*). Therefore, Lao Tzu says: "The more laws and order are made prominent, the more thieves and robbers there are."' (ll.14-15)

Huai-nan Tzu's conclusion may seem problematic, if not contradictory. It quotes a text from *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu*, which is of Legalistic inspiration; it further introduces the distinctly Confucian notion of *li*; and to top it all, it sees this strange combination as an illustration of *Lao Tzu* 57. A closer examination of the text will reveal, however, that there is no contradiction here, but rather a reinterpretation of some Legalist and Confucian ideas in the light of the basic philosophy of *Huai-nan Tzu* which is a synthesis of Taoism and the Theory of Yin-Yang.

LI 禮 (RITE) AS SPONTANEOUS RESPONSE The distinction between *li* and *wen-pien* is absent from *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu*. Why did *Huai-nan Tzu* introduce it at this point and change the conclusion of *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu*? The answer lies in the former's conception of political power, which is neither Legalist nor Confucian. This political conception is itself rooted in a world-view embracing in a single system not only man and society, but the whole universe.

Let us observe first that the use of the term *li* has some basis in the text itself. The lifting and carrying of heavy logs to the accompaniment of the *yeh-hsü* tune, where 'the one in front calls out and the one behind responds' (l.10) is understood by *Huai-nan Tzu* as containing the essential elements of *li*, that is, a form of behaviour which emerges of itself out of the shared will to perform a common task, in accordance with the nature of the task. The shared will may

be further qualified as connoting the sense of seriousness and quasi-magical efficacy which is usually associated with *li*. The two lumbermen carrying the heavy logs are a miniature image of the more complex *li* in which the ruler ('the one in front') and the ruled ('the one behind') also respond to each other in a harmony of wills in the common task of bringing order to the state.

In the *Huai-nan Tzu* parallel, as well as in its other passages, *li* stands not for a formal code of etiquette or behaviour that has intrinsic moral value and to which one must conform out of a sense of obligation, but rather for a form which emerges as the spontaneous mutual response of people who participate in the same project. Although *Huai-nan Tzu* appropriates an expression which appears to belong to the Confucian school, it would be misleading to read this text as reflecting the Confucian orthodoxy of early Han as we find it in the various books of rites compiled during that period.

The distinction between *li* and *wen-pien* indicates that *Huai-nan Tzu* also departs from a Legalist conception of government. This corresponds to its overall anti-Legalist stance. Time and again the theories of Shen Pu-hai (d. ca. 337 BC), Shang Yang 商鞅 (d. 338 BC) and Han Fei Tzu (d. 223 BC) are exposed and attacked. The brunt of the criticism is precisely that the written laws devised by the Legalists do not emerge spontaneously from human interaction in given situations (*li*), but are abstract rules conceived by detached minds for the benefit of the powers that be, and imposed from above or outside by rulers who are out of touch and out of tune with the ruled. *Li*, as opposed to *fa* 法 (law), is seen as a medium of spontaneous and harmonious stimulus and response, or resonance (*kan-ying*).

In brief, the reason why *Huai-nan Tzu* changed the *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* text and introduced the notion of *li* was it denied that social order could be brought about by the imposition of external controls such as laws and regulations, and rather conceived the order of society as deriving primarily from inside, from the harmony of wills which expresses itself in concrete situations in the form of a rite (*li*), and where the ruler and the ruled are full participants.

2 The Charioteering of Tsao Fu

The symbiotic interrelationship between the ruler and the ruled is again expressed in a simile borrowed from earlier sources in *Huai-nan Tzu* 9 (*Chu-shu hsün*: The Craft of the Ruler):

Lieh Tzu 5/63¹⁰*Huai-nan Tzu* 9/20b

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 T'ai Tou said to Tsao Fu,
秦豆對造父曰</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4 'You control the bridle
from the point where it
meets the bit,
齊輯乎轡銜之際</p> <p>5 and pull tight or slacken by
feeling the corner of the
lips.
而急緩乎脣吻之和</p> <p>6 The correct measure comes
from within the breast,
正度乎胃臆之中</p> <p>7 and its just application
from within the palms of
your hands.
而執節乎掌握之間</p> <p>8 What you sense within your
innermost heart
內得於心中</p> <p>9 accords outside with the
horses' temper.'
而外合於馬志</p> | <p>The governing of the sage
ruler
聖主之治也</p> <p>may be compared to the
charioteering of Tsao Fu.
其猶造父之御</p> <p>He controlled the bridle
from the point where it
meets the bit,
齊輯之于轡銜之際</p> <p>and pulled tight or slackened
by feeling the corner of the
lips.
而急緩之于脣吻之和</p> <p>The correct measure came
from within the breast,
正度于胃臆之中</p> <p>and its just application
from within the palms of
his hands.
而執節于掌握之間</p> <p>What he sensed within his
innermost heart
內得於心中</p> <p>accorded outside with the
horses' temper.
外合於馬志</p> |
|---|--|

¹⁰ A.C. Graham, *The Book of Lieh-tzu*, p. 114; tr. mod. Graham has shown convincingly, on the basis of both external and internal evidence, that *Lieh Tzu* could not have attained its final form before the iii or iv cent. AD. However, he admits that the work contains much earlier material, some going back to the iii and iv cent. BC. It would seem that the parallel text under consideration is similar in style and content to stories in *Chuang Tzu*, and probably derived from the work or from a source common to it and *Lieh Tzu*. In either case it may reasonably be assumed that in the parallel texts being discussed here, it is *Huai-nan Tzu* which is quoting *Lieh Tzu* (i.e. pre-Han material that was later incorporated into the latter), and not the other way round. One indication of this is that in *Lieh Tzu* the story is a complete unit in dialogue form (like similar stories in *Chuang Tzu*), while in *Huai-nan Tzu* only a part of the complete story is used, and is used as a simile. Graham's views are presented in 'The Date and Composition of the *Liehtzyy*', *Asia Major*, 8 (1961), 139-98.

There are no significant textual discrepancies in the two parallels. The point that deserves to be stressed is the different connotation or intentionality. The *Lieh Tzu* text is devoid of any political implication: it is one of several 'tall stories' intended, like the rest of Chapter Five, to shake the unenlightened man out of his prosaic, commonsensical awareness and awaken him to some aspects of the marvellous infinity of the real world. The aim of the story is clearly epistemological. The *Huai-nan Tzu* parallel gives the text an exclusively political orientation. The ruler must be perfectly attuned to the situation and temper of his people so that there is between them 'total resonance', just as there was total resonance between Tsao Fu and his horses. This resonance takes place at the level of the mind (*hsin* 心) and will (*chih* 志).

We find here the same idea of spontaneous and harmonious response between the ruler and the ruled as between the lumbermen carrying their heavy logs.

3 The Winter Sun at its Warmest and the Summer Sun at its Coolest

Let us go one step further in understanding the essence and efficacy of political power. The text is again taken from Chapter Nine:

<i>Teng Hsi Tzu</i> 1/6 ¹¹	<i>Huai-nan Tzu</i> 9/3b
1 What you perceive with clarity 夫自見之明	Punishments are insufficient to change customs; 刑罰不足以移風
2 appears obscure when others look at it; 借人見之闇也	executions are insufficient to prevent disorder. 殺戮不足以禁姦
3 what you hear with acuity 自聞之聰	Only spiritual transformation is influential, 唯神化為貴

¹¹ That the work which has come down to us under the title *Teng Hsi Tzu* was not written by Teng Hsi (d. 501 BC), all scholars agree; as to when the work was written, we find two widely diverging positions. One group of scholars (among others, Ch'ien Mu, Lo Ken-tse 羅根澤 and Sun Tz'u-ch'ou 孫次舟) would put the composition of the work as late as the iii or iv cent. AD, while another group (among others, Chiang Po-ch'ien, A. Forke and H. Wilhelm) opt for the iii or iv cent. BC. The discussion is complicated by the fact that the former admits that much early, pre-Han material entered the work, while the latter acknowledges late, post-Han interpolations. Following H. Wilhelm, who had the advantage of writing last on this problem, I have chosen the early date — at least for the text being discussed here. Further discussion of this complex problem would lie beyond the scope of this study.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>4 sounds muffled when
others listen to it.
借人聽之聾也</p> <p>5 If the enlightened ruler
understands this,

明君知之</p> <p>6 then the distinction
between 'dismissing' and
'promoting' is firmly
established.
則去就之分定矣</p> <p>7 In being a ruler one must
be like the winter days
when things tend to
go toward (i.e. seek
out) the warmth of <i>Yang</i>
and summer days when
things tend to go toward
the coolness of <i>Yin</i>;
為君當若冬日之陽夏日之陰</p> <p>8 things go thus, and
yet nothing causes them
to do so.
萬物自歸莫使之然</p> <p>9</p> <p>10</p> <p>11</p> | <p>and [only] the finest essences
are [of] spiritual [efficacy].
至精為神</p> <p>The desperate cry does not
reach beyond a hundred
paces,
夫疾呼不過聞百步</p> <p>but the will's intent leaps a
thousand miles.

志之所在踰于千里</p> <p>In winter days, things tend
to go toward (i.e. seek out)
the warmth of <i>Yang</i>; in
summer days, things tend to
go toward the coolness of
<i>Yin</i>;
冬日之陽夏日之陰</p> <p>things go thus, and yet
nothing causes them to do
so.
萬物歸之而莫使之然</p> <p>Therefore, the likenesses of
the finest essences
故至精之像</p> <p>come by themselves without
being summoned,
弗招而自來</p> <p>and go their way without
being waved on.
不麾而自往</p> |
|---|---|

Teng Hsi Tzu belongs to the Hsing-ming (Title and Performance) corpus of writings, a sub-group of the Legalist School which dealt primarily with the selection, assessment, promotion and demotion of officials.¹² One of the main ideas

¹² On the doctrine of *hsing-ming*, see H.G. Creel, *Shen Pu-hai*, pp. 119-24; Creel was the first scholar, to my knowledge, to translate *hsing-ming* by 'title and performance'; see his 'The Meaning of 刑名 Hsing-ming', in *Studia Sinica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata*, pp. 199-211; reprinted in *What is Taoism?*, pp. 79-91.

of the Hsing-ming School was that if officials fulfilled perfectly the functions attached to their titles, the government of the state would work by itself, automatically, without further intervention from the ruler. The ruler, for his part, had to be extremely attentive to the proper implementation by his subordinates of their respective tasks and promote or demote them accordingly. This theory is stated briefly in the first six lines of the *Teng Hsi Tzu* text quoted here.

Furthermore, the ruler must also be completely impartial and dispassionate, never letting his feelings of kinship, friendship or partisanship interfere with his judgment of personnel: toward those he is naturally close and warm to, he adopts an attitude of mild reserve, expressed by the image of 'summer days when things tend to go toward the coolness of *Yin*'; toward those he is removed from, he adopts an attitude of amity, expressed by the corresponding image of 'winter days when things tend to go toward the warmth of *Yang*'. In this way a balance is established, the tasks of government are accomplished, and society is in order, as naturally as all things seek the state of perfect equilibrium and balance expressed by *Yin-Yang*.

The *Huai-nan Tzu* parallel has nothing to do with personnel control. It forcefully rejects Legalistic government (ll.1-2) and asserts the spiritual nature (*shen*) of political power (ll.3-8). More importantly, it shows that the principles of political power, 'the subtle essences' (*chih-ching*), apply not only in the political sphere, but also pervade the universe. The sentence 'In winter days, things tend to go toward the warmth of *Yang*; in summer days, things tend to go toward the coolness of *Yin*; things go thus, and yet nothing causes them to do so' is not used as a simile or as a figure of speech, as in *Teng Hsi Tzu*, but as an exemplification of the same principles at work in nature as operating in human society. The short saying about the sun is the only part of the two texts to be parallel. However, *Huai-nan Tzu* seems to have replaced the six preceding lines of *Teng Hsi Tzu* by a corresponding number of characters expressing a radically different political philosophy, imparting to the parallel text a different connotation.

Can we define more closely what these principles are that 'come by themselves without being summoned, and go their way without being waved on'? It is these principles which explain the spontaneous and harmonious response of things to one another, as was illustrated in the stories about the loggers and Tsao Fu.

Huai-nan Tzu calls these principles 'the most subtle essences' (*chih-ching*) and qualifies them as 'spiritual' (*shen*).

Here we touch the underlying set of notions which define the distinctive philosophical world-view of *Huai-nan Tzu*. This will be discussed in the two following chapters. Suffice it to say here that *chih-ching* and *kan-ying* are interrelated notions deriving from the Theory of *Yin-Yang*. The following parallel texts will show how such notions are combined with distinctly Taoist ideas.

4 The Lute-tuner and the True Man

Chuang Tzu 24/363¹³

Huai-nan Tzu 6/6b-7a

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <p>1 Lu Chü said,
魯遽曰</p> <p>2 'This (making fire in the winter and ice in the summer) is simply using <i>Yang</i> to attract <i>Yang</i> and <i>Yin</i> to attract <i>Yin</i>.
是直以陽召陽以陰召陰</p> <p>3 It is not what I call the way.
非吾所謂道也</p> <p>4 I will show you my way.
吾示子乎吾道</p> | <p>5 Thereupon he tuned [two] lutes,
於是為之調瑟</p> <p>6 placed one in the hall, and the other in an inner room.
廢一於堂廢一於室</p> <p>7 When he struck the <i>kung</i> note [on one lute], the <i>kung</i> note [on the other lute] vibrated; when he struck the <i>chiao</i> note [on one lute], the <i>chiao</i> note [on the other lute] vibrated.
鼓宮宮動鼓角角動</p> | <p>When the lute-tuner
今夫調弦[瑟]者</p> <p>strikes the <i>kung</i> note [on one instrument], the <i>kung</i> note [on the other instrument] responds; when he plucks the <i>chiao</i> note [on one instrument], the <i>chiao</i> note [on the other instrument] vibrates.
叩宮宮應彈角角動</p> |
|---|---|--|

¹³ B. Watson, *The Works of Chuang Tzu*, pp. 267-8; I have substantially modified Watson's translation for textual uniformity.

- 8 [This was because] the
sound pitch [of the two
lutes] was in perfect
accord.
音之同矣
- 9 Now, [let us assume that]
someone changed the
tuning of one string
夫或改調一弦
- 10 in such a way that it did
not match any of the five
notes,
於五音无當也
- 11 and by striking it, set all
twenty-five strings
vibrating:
鼓之二十五弦皆動
- 12 [here] there had as yet been
no differentiation as
regards sound.
未始異於聲
- 13 It just happened that the
[sound] which governs all
musical notes was there.
而音之君已
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17
- 18
- This results from having
corresponding musical
notes in mutual
harmony.
此同聲[音]相和者也
- Now [let us assume that]
someone changes the
tuning of one string
夫有改調一弦
- in such a way that it
does not match any of
the five notes,
其於五音無所比
- and by striking it, sets
all twenty-five strings
responding:
鼓之而二十五弦皆應
- in this case there has as
yet been no differentiation
as regards sound.
此未始異於聲
- It just happens that
that [sound] which
governs all musical notes
has been evoked.
而音之君已形也
- Thus, he who merges with
Supreme Harmony
故通於太和者
- is beclouded as if dead-
drunk,
惛若純醉
- and drifts about in its
midst in sweet contentment,
而甘臥以游其中
- unaware whence he came;
而不知其所由至也
- engulfed in pure delight as
he sinks to the depths,
benumbed as he reaches
the end,
純溫以淪鈍悶以終

- 19 he is as if he had not yet begun to emerge from his Origin.
若未始出其宗
- 20 This is called the Great Merging.
是謂大通

The many textual modifications introduced by *Huai-nan Tzu* do not change the immediate meaning of the *Chuang Tzu* original, but simply clarify it on a few points, such as the transformation of l.6 and addition of *chün yeh* 君也 in l.13. Otherwise the variants reflect mostly stylistic preferences.

The immediate meaning of the story revolves around the distinction between 'relative resonance' (ll. 5-8) and 'total resonance' (ll. 9-13).

When notes of the same pitch cause each other to vibrate in unison, we have relative resonance based on the Theory of *Yin-Yang*. The phenomenon of relative resonance is experimentally verifiable.

When an untuned note causes all twenty-five strings of a lute to resound simultaneously, we have total resonance. This phenomenon is beyond experimentation. It is used by both *Chuang Tzu* and *Huai-nan Tzu* as a simile to point to a realm beyond *Yin-Yang*.

Chuang Tzu used this story in order to explain to Hui Tzu that while the four predominant philosophical schools debate with and respond to each other according to *Yin-Yang*, like the four notes, only Taoism at the same time contains all the good points of these schools and transcends them, just like the untuned note that set all twenty-five strings resounding. The intentionality of the story in *Chuang Tzu* is to reveal the doctrinal superiority of Taoism over all other schools of thought, a superiority of kind, not of degree.

In *Huai-nan Tzu* the same story is used as an image of the True Man who has attained *Tao* in some kind of mystical experience. Like the untuned note which 'has not yet begun to differentiate itself as regards sound' (l.12), so the True Man 'has not yet begun to emerge from his Origin' (l.19). And in the same way that the untuned note is in a relation of sympathetic response with all sounds, so the True Man resounds harmoniously with all things.

Thus, although the *Chuang Tzu* and *Huai-nan Tzu* texts are very similar in vocabulary, phraseology and immediate meaning, their overall intention (connotation) is different.¹⁴

¹⁴ For additional explanations of the foregoing text, see *infra* pp. 138-44.

The study of the four parallel passages from *Huai-nan Tzu* has substantiated the two main assumptions of this chapter: *Huai-nan Tzu* modifies the texts it borrows from earlier sources, and the textual modifications change the meaning of the earlier text so that it agrees with its basic philosophy. That philosophy would appear to be a combination of ideas borrowed from Taoism and the Theory of *Yin-Yang*. In all four texts the unifying concept through which the two foregoing schools of thought were combined and which brought about the shift of meaning was none other than the principle of *kan-ying* as mutual and spontaneous response or resonance. We have noted how this principle was given in the *Huai-nan Tzu* parallels a political orientation which was absent from the source-texts. Politically oriented *kan-ying* philosophy, combining Taoism and the Theory of *Yin-Yang* — such seems to be the underlying world-view of the four texts already analyzed.

Only the study of a much larger number of texts than space allows here would justify extending the foregoing conclusion to *Huai-nan Tzu* as a whole. However, the study of Chapter Six, the pivotal chapter of *Huai-nan Tzu* to which we now turn, offers an alternative and more systematic means to understand in what sense *kan-ying* is the key notion of the *Huai-nan Tzu* philosophy.

Part Two

Translation and Interpretation

Chapter V



Translation of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 and Commentary

The present translation is based on the Chuang K'uei-chi edition of 1789 (revised by T'ao Fang-ch'i *et al* in 1875), as it is reproduced in Liu Wen-tien's *Huai-nan hung-lieh chi-chieh* 集解 (Collected Commentaries on *Huai-nan hung-lieh*), published in 1923.

The numbers in the margin of the translation correspond to the page and column of the Liu Wen-tien edition. The Chinese text of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6, with critical emendations, is appended at the end of the present study (pp. 211-5).

The notes to the translation deal mainly with the Kao Yu commentary, textual criticism and factual information. The structure, ideas and interpretation are discussed primarily in the commentaries that follow each of the nine sections into which the text of the chapter has been divided.

Huai-nan Tzu 6: Peering into the Obscure¹

SECTION I

- 1a .4 In ancient times, when Master K'uang 曠² played
the White Snow melody,³ wonderful creatures⁴
.5 because of this descended, rain and wind broke
loose, Duke P'ing 平⁵ became afflicted with
infirmity, and the land of the state of Chin 晉 was
scorched red.

¹ Kao Yu explains *lan* 覽 in the title by *lan-kuan* 覽觀 (to peer into; to examine [both the details and the overall design]), and *ming* 冥 by *yu-ming* 幽冥 (obscure; mysterious; impenetrable). He justifies the title of the chapter by saying that the principles or beginnings of change are very subtle, moving Heaven and penetrating the Infinite.

² Master K'uang was court musician of Duke P'ing 平 of Chin 晉, during the vi cent. BC. He was traditionally considered the most famous musician in Chinese history. Anecdotes illustrating his wisdom and musical genius abound in pre-Han literature and occur in several other passages of *Huai-nan Tzu*. The Chapter Six anecdote forms but one episode in the long story about Master K'uang contained in *Han Fei Tzu* 10/43-5 (Liao, I, 76). The long version is fully reproduced in *Lun heng* 63/213-4 (Forke, I, 220-2) and in abridged form in *Shih chi* 24/1236 (Chavannes, III, 288-90) and *Lun heng* 19/51 (Forke, II, 180).

³ The Kao commentary explains that the 'White Snow' (白雪之音) was a melody played on a fifty-stringed lute in honour of T'ai-yi 太乙 (supreme deity of the Han pantheon). *Lun heng* 19/51 (Forke, II, 180) suggests that 'White Snow' was perhaps only a different name for a better known melody called 'Ch'ing-chih' 清微.

⁴ During Han times the expression *shen-wu* 神物 was used to refer to three kinds of objects: divine beings, immortals (see *Shih chi* 28/1388; Watson, II, 42; Chavannes, III, 470); numinous things, such as those used in divination: the holy tortoise, milfoil and so on (see *Yi ching* 3A/102; Wilhelm/Baynes, p. 318); marvellous, unpredictable events or transformations, miracles (see *Han shu* 46/2196). In the *Huai-nan Tzu* text *shen-wu* seems to borrow from the second and third meanings. According to Kao, *shen-wu* is simply 'a thing that has undergone a miraculous transformation, like the black cranes'. By this last expression Kao is referring to the longer version of the story in question in *Han Fei Tzu*, where it is related that when Master K'uang played the Ch'ing-chih melody, 'two flocks of eight black cranes flew in from the south and alighted on top of the outside gate. When he played again they formed themselves into rows, and when he played for a third time they crowed and stretched their necks, flapped their wings and danced'. Kao's description of the black cranes, a detail not in *Han Fei Tzu* or *Lun heng*, further emphasizes their unnatural behaviour: 'They were headless, like ghosts, brandishing swords as they danced.' Kao's allusion to the black cranes may explain why some early quotations of the *Huai-nan Tzu* text write *shen-ch'in* 神禽 (marvellous birds) instead of *shen-wu*; see *Wen hsüan* 18/16a and *Yü hai* 玉海 (Ocean of Jade Encyclopaedia) 110/9b.

⁵ Duke P'ing reigned from 557 to 532 BC. In the longer version of *Han Fei Tzu*, Duke P'ing asked Master K'uang to play forbidden melodies that stimulated all kinds of strange phenomena, and that only sage rulers could withstand and ward off. Kao's remarks indicate that he was aware of the longer version. Because Duke P'ing was a man of small virtue, he could stave off neither the personal nor the national ruin, which he provoked by presumptuously ordering Master K'uang to perform the music of doomed states. *Shih chi* 39/1684 (Chavannes, IV, 331-2) confirms that in his old age Duke P'ing turned to greed, recklessness and eccentricities.

- .6 When the commoner's daughter⁶ declared herself⁷
to Heaven,⁸ thunder and lightning struck down, the
.7 towered pavilion of Duke Ching 景⁹ collapsed, his
limbs and body were cut and broken, and the
waters of the sea gushed forth in a great flood.
1b .1 Now, take this blind music master and
commoner's daughter: their rank was lower than

⁶ The story Kao narrates here allegedly alluded to:

There was a widow of Ch'i 齊 who was childless and did not remarry. She took care of her mother-in-law with diligence and respect. The mother-in-law had no son but a daughter. The daughter desired her mother's wealth. She kept pushing her mother to marry off the widow, but the widow refused obstinately. The daughter [then] killed her mother and falsely accused the widow [of the crime]. The widow could not clear herself. In her deep anguish she cried out to Heaven. Heaven struck down with thunder and lightning. Duke Ching's 景 towered-pavilion crumbled in ruins, inflicting injuries to his limbs and body. The waters of the sea on this account gushed out in a great flood.

Hsü Shen has a shorter version of this story (see the commentary on *Wen hsüan* 39/19a), which agrees with Kao's version on all important points, even though many characters are different. According to T'ao Fang-ch'i, pp. 105-6, Kao certainly used Hsü's commentary, improving on it for clarity's sake. Another early version of this story may be found in *Shih-lei fu* 事類賦 3/13b.

⁷ Modern editions read *chiao* 叫 (to implore; to cry out) instead of *kao* 告 (to tell; to declare; to announce). Nonetheless, *kao* would seem to be the correct reading. Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 194b-195a, has conclusively shown on the basis of twelve pre-Sung quotations of this text (four read *chiao*; eight read *kao*) that the *kao* reading represents the Hsü Shen edition, while the *chiao* reading belongs to the Kao Yu recension. The Hsü reading should be adopted for the following reasons. The *kao* reading fits in much better with the idea of 'spontaneous correspondance' based on sincerity (not interested supplication), which is the main theme of this section. The *chiao* reading is too strong; the poor widow did not have to 'implore' Heaven, to draw Heaven to her side by her cries; she simply had 'to let Heaven know'. It is significant that the earliest quotation we have of this passage (a lost fragment of *Shih chi* preserved in *T'ien-chung chi* 天中記 [The T'ien-chung Encyclopaedia] 2/36a-b) effectively reads *kao*. Furthermore, the compound *chiao t'ien* (to implore Heaven) does not seem to occur anywhere else in Han literature; however, there are several instances of the expression *kao t'ien* (to declare to Heaven).

⁸ Modern editions omit *erh* 而 after *kao t'ien* 告天. I agree with Liu Wen-tien, 6/1a that we should add *erh* on the basis of *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* 152/8a, *Yi-wen lei-chü* 2/12a, and *Ch'ün-shu chih-yao* 1/27b, as well as for the sake of symmetry with the preceding passage about Master K'uang.

⁹ Duke Ching of Ch'i reigned from 547 to 490 BC. *Shih chi* 32/1504 (Chavannes, IV, 76-7) sketches briefly the last years of his long reign, which was marred by his quest for pleasure and glory (erecting high terraces and towered-pavilions) and his oppression of the people. The connection between the commoner's daughter (or the poor widow) and Duke Ching is not clear besides the fact that they were both from the state of Ch'i. Perhaps the idea of the ruler's universal responsibility for all moral iniquity and natural calamities in his state is here assumed.

- that of the Director of Hemp,¹⁰ their authority lighter than floating feathers. Yet by concentrating
- .4 their essences (*ching* 精) and disciplining their thoughts, discarding all concerns and gathering
- .5 together their spirits (*shen* 神), they merged above with the Nine Heavens¹¹ and stimulated their most subtle essences (*chih-ching* 至精).
- .6 Viewed from these instances, it is clear indeed that even if one dwells in empty and dark wastelands, remote and secluded abodes, multi-walled rock shelters, or inaccessible and dangerous mountains, there is nowhere to escape the punishment of Heaven above.¹²
- .7 When King Wu 武, on his expedition against Chou 紂,¹³ ferried across the Meng 孟 ford,¹⁴ the waves of Marquis Yang 陽¹⁵ reversed their course and rushed against him. In the midst of a raging storm and deep obscurity, men and horses could not see each

¹⁰ Kao interprets *shang* 尚 as *chu* 主 (to be in charge of; to direct; to supervise; to manage). This use of *shang* was not uncommon in Han times. Kao explains that *hsi* 箕 means *hsi-erh* 箕耳 (cocklebur). He makes the point that while the office of supervising the cocklebur was a most lowly one, the rank and authority of the music-master and the commoner's daughter were still lower. Wang Yin-chih, *Tu-shu tsu-chih* 9/6.1a, argues that *hsi* means *ma-hsi* 麻菜 (hemp). He then identifies *shang-hsi* 尚箕 with *tien-hsi* 典泉 (Director of Hemp; 箕 and 泉 were interchangeable characters), which was a lowly office in the administration of the Chou dynasty (see *Chou li* 周禮 [Institutions of Chou] 7/4a; Biot, I, 163). Hung Yi-hsüan 洪頤煊 (quoted in Liu Wen-tien, 6/1b) accepts Wang Yin-chih's explanation and suggests that *shu-nü* 蓍女 was a title for women who worked at sorting hemp under the Director of Hemp. He does not supply any evidence for his opinion, however. I have followed Wang Yin-chih's explanation in my translation.

¹¹ According to Kao, the Nine Heavens refer to the eight cardinal directions, plus the central axis.

¹² This theistic conclusion goes beyond what we could logically deduce from the premises. It binds together the power of perfect sincerity and the inescapability of moral sanction. For related ideas expressed in similar language, see *Chuang Tzu* 23/150 (Watson, p. 255).

¹³ According to the traditional Chinese chronology, King Wu reigned from 1156 to 1122 BC. The event here referred to is precisely the battle in which King Wu overthrew Chou-hsin 紂辛 (r. 1154-22). The event is narrated, but without any supernatural elements, in *Shu ching* 書經 (Classic of Documents) 4/19 (Legge, pp. 314-5; Couvreur, pp. 189-90).

¹⁴ On the Yellow River, in Meng-hsien, northwest Honan.

¹⁵ According to Kao, Marquis Yang was the ruler of the state of Ling-yang 陵陽, on the Yellow River. The Marquis drowned himself in the river. His spirit could cause large and destructive waves, hence the expression 'waves of Marquis Yang'. Yü Yüeh 于鬲, 30/135, has attempted to identify the state of Ling-yang with a kingdom established in Han time, and Marquis Yang with an official mentioned in *Shih chi*. Yü's argument has been refuted unwittingly by scholars who have proved beyond doubt that the character *ling* in the expression Ling-yang was spurious. See Yü Chao, *Hsiang-ts'ao hsü chiao-shu* 香草續校書 (Further collations by Hsiang-ts'ao) [hereafter Yü Chao], p. 534; Wu Ch'eng-shih, 2/10a; Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 195b.

- .11 other. Thereupon, King Wu grasped¹⁶ the yellow battle-axe in his left hand, and the white standard
 2a .1 in his right, and with flashing eyes waved them saying, 'I am here. Who under Heaven will dare thwart my purpose?'¹⁷ Then the wind abated and the waves calmed down.
 .6 The Duke of Lu-yang 魯陽¹⁸ was locked in battle with Han 韓.¹⁹ As the fighting became the fiercest, the sun began to set. He (the Duke) raised his spear and waved at the sun,²⁰ and the sun reverted three

¹⁶ Modern editions write *ping* 秉 (to hold; to grasp) instead of *chih* 執 (same meaning). I follow Wang Nien-sun, 9/6, 1b in emending *ping* to *chih* on the basis of *Lun heng* 19/48 (Forke, II, 173) and *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 6/3b, 71/6b, 84/9a, and 680/6a. Wang argues that later scholars mistakenly changed the original text of *Huai-nan Tzu* on the strength of *Shu ching*, unaware of the spurious nature of much of that work. Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 195b-196a, produces further evidence from *Shih-lei fu* 6/13a to confirm Wang's emendation.

¹⁷ Modern editions write *jen* 任 (to be responsible for; to hold the office of; to be in charge of). On the authority of the same sources as those quoted in the preceding note, Wang Nien-sun emends *jen* to *tsai* 在 (to be present; to exist). I follow Wang's emendation. I also accept Wang's punctuation of the text, with *yü tsai* 余在 forming one sentence and *t'ien-hsia shui kan hai wu yi che* 天下誰敢害吾意者 forming another sentence.

¹⁸ Kao tells us that the Duke of Lu-yang was the grandson of King P'ing 平 of Ch'u (r. 528-515 BC). Lu-yang was a prefecture in the state of Ch'u (present-day Lu-shan hsien, in central Honan). Kao also notes that in the state of Ch'u, high officials as well as administrators of prefectures and commanderies received the title of duke, *kung* 公. We find two parallels to this passage in *Lun heng* 19/48 (Forke, II, 173-4) and 83/282 (Forke, I, 89). In the former parallel the text, apparently mistaken, speaks of Duke Hsiang 襄 of Lu (r. 572-541 BC) in place of the Duke of Lu-yang.

¹⁹ This battle seems to be recorded neither in *Ch'un-ch'iu Tso chuan* 春秋左傳 (The Spring and Autumn Annals with the Tso Commentary) nor in *Shih chi*.

²⁰ There is some ambiguity as to the antecedent of *chih* 之 in the sentence *yüan ko erh hui chih* 援戈而搗之; it may be *ko* (spear), meaning that the Duke of Lu-yang waved his spear; or it may be *jih* 日 (sun) in the preceding sentence, meaning that the Duke waved [his spear] at the sun. Kao follows the latter interpretation, and so does *Lun heng* 83/282 (Forke, I, 89), where it is said explicitly that 'Lu-yang seized his spear and waved at the sun' (*hui jih* 麾日). The other passage of *Lun heng*, 19/48 (Forke, II, 173), follows the text of *Huai-nan Tzu* and presents the same ambiguity. Forke translates both passages of *Lun heng* in the same way: 'beckoned to the sun'. On the other hand, Japanese translators have usually translated the passage of *Huai-nan Tzu* to mean that the Duke seized his spear and waved it. For instance, Hattori Unokichi, *Enanji*, p. 177, writes: '*hoko wo hikite kore wo sashimanekeba* 戈を抜きてこれを搗けは'; and Kusuyama Haruki, *Enanji*, p. 113, translates: '*hoko wo torite kore wo sashimanekeba* 戈を援りてえを搗ぐ'. I have followed the first interpretation mainly on the strength of Kao's commentary.

mansions²¹ on his behalf.

- 2a .10 These [two men] had kept their nature intact,
 .11 preserved their genuineness and avoided injury to
 their person. When they met with crises and were
 pressed by difficulties, their essences (*ching*)
 merged with Heaven, as if they had not yet begun to
 emerge from their origin (*tsung* 宗).²² How could
 they not succeed then in all their undertakings!
- 2b .1 Now, death and life share a common territory.²³ It
 is therefore impossible to intimidate a valorous
 soldier and deter him from becoming the hero of the
 .3 Three Armies.²⁴ Such a man merely seeks fame, and
 yet can bring himself to ignore death. How much
 more possible, then, for him who makes Heaven and
 .4 Earth his palace,²⁵ treasures in his heart the Ten
 Thousand Things, befriends the creative
 transformations of *Yin-Yang*, cherishes perfect
 .5 harmony, merely lodges [temporarily] in the human
 form,²⁶ scrutinizes the nine [the many] and thus

²¹ Kao explains that *she* 舍 means 'successive solar (or celestial) mansions' (*tz'u hsü* 次宿). Hsü Shen's commentary (preserved in the commentary on *Wen hsüan* 21/25a) states that the text refers to the twenty-eight mansions (*hsü*), and that one *she* is one mansion. *Lun heng* 19/48-9 (Forke, II, 174) agrees that *she* is equivalent to *hsü* and adds that *hsü* are divided into *tu* 度 (degrees), but it is at a loss in assigning definite mathematical values (equatorial extension) to *hsü*, simply opining that it may be either ten degrees or one degree; each of the twenty-eight *hsü* had a different equatorial extension, varying from two degrees for the smallest *hsü* (Tsui 鶻, Turtle) to thirty degrees for the largest one (Ching 井, Well). For further details, see Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, III, 233-9. Since we do not know which *she* or *hsü* the sun allegedly reverted to in the *Huai-nan Tzu* story, it is impossible to suppose with *Lun heng* that the sun travelled back either three degrees or thirty.

²² Non-differentiation from the origin is related to the idea of pure nature. It is a central idea in *Huai-nan Tzu*, and is well developed in *Huai-nan Tzu* 14/1b.

²³ The following lines are parallel to *Chuang Tzu* 5/23 (Watson, p. 69). While grammatical structure and main idea are the same in both texts, there are many character variants, and the *Huai-nan Tzu* version contains four more characters.

²⁴ According to *Chou li* 42/1 (Biot, II, 142), an army (*chün* 軍) contained 12,500 men. The king was entitled to six armies, a large kingdom to three, a second-class kingdom to two, and a third-class kingdom to one. The parallel text in *Chuang Tzu* reads 'nine armies', which is explained in the commentary to be a combination of the six royal armies and the three armies of a feudal lord. In *Chuang Tzu* the hero 'plunges alone in the midst of the Nine Armies' (Watson, p. 69), while in *Huai-nan Tzu* 'he becomes the hero of the Three Armies [to which he belongs]'.

²⁵ The *Chuang Tzu* parallel reads *kuan* 管 (to be in charge; to rule; to govern) in place of *kung* 宮 (palace). The two characters are easily mistaken because of their shape. Both fit well in their context and make good sense; there is no need to change either.

²⁶ Kao comments: 'The Sage in his external appearance is like any other man, but inside he has the great *Tao*.' Yü Yüeh, p. 351, disagrees with this interpretation. He suggests that *yü* 偶 (paired; to resemble; semblance) should be changed to *yü* 寓 (to lodge in; to dwell in), the two characters being anciently interchangeable. The sentence would then read: 'The Sage takes his human form to be a mere dwelling.' Both readings are possible. The *Chuang Tzu* parallel writes 寓, a fact Yü Yüeh fails to mention. There is no other textual evidence. I have followed Yü Yüeh's emendation, although his argument is not overly decisive. It has the merit, however, of agreeing with the way Taoist authors usually describe the indwelling of *Tao*.

- .8 penetrates to the one,²⁷ thereby coming to know the unknown,²⁸ in his mind never to undergo death!
- In ancient times, the Master of Yung-men 雍門²⁹
- .9 through his wailing brought himself to the attention³⁰
- .10 of Lord Meng-ch'ang 孟嘗.³¹ Having done this, he presented his statement and communicated his ideas, laid his hands on his heart and cried out. Lord Meng-ch'ang was so moved that he lost his voice from
- .11 wailing; nor could he stop his tears from flowing down abundantly.
- 3a .1 When Pure Sincerity (*ching-ch'eng* 精誠)³² takes shape within, grief is made outwardly manifest to

²⁷ Kao comments: 'Nine (*ch'iu*) means the Nine Heavens, one (*yi*) the tortoise shell. By observing the movements of the Nine Heavens and boring the tortoise shell [two traditional ways of divining in China], one can foretell affairs one had no previous knowledge of.' The first part of this commentary probably stems from Hsü Shen and the last part from the hand of Kao Yu. Yü Yüeh, p. 351, rejects the Hsü-Kao explanation and asserts that *ch'iu* and *yi* mean the many and the one. He reads the sentence to mean: 'What are observed are many, but what [through such observation] are penetrated are few.' He theorizes that ancient writers, such as Mencius, expressed the many by the number nine, and the few by the number one. Again, the textual evidence brought forth by Yü is rather weak, but his explanation improves on the divinatory interpretation of Hsü-Kao and appears to be the simplest way to make sense out of the text.

²⁸ Kao pursues his divinatory interpretation 'to obtain through divination knowledge of things one knew nothing about.' Wang Shu-min, p. 356, proposes to emend the text on the basis of the *Chuang Tzu* parallel, so that it reads *yi chih chih so pu chih* 一知之所不知. Wang would in turn emend the *Chuang Tzu* text on the basis of *Huai-nan Tzu* by adding *pu* 不 before the last *chih* 知; see Wang Shu-min, *Chuang Tzu chiao-shih* 莊子校釋 (Textual Criticism of the *Chuang Tzu*, I, 44a). While both interpretations present difficulties for the understanding, I have followed Wang's emendation, again for simplicity's sake.

²⁹ According to Kao, the Master of Yung-men was a man from Ch'u, whose name was Chou 周. Yung-men was the name of a western gate of that state (in present-day Tung-shan hsien, Kiangsu). The Master of Yung-men had a reputation for playing the lute and singing plaintive songs. He is mentioned in that capacity in *San-kuo chih* 三國志 (The History of the Three Kingdoms) 12/1038; a long conversation with Lord Meng-ch'ang is narrated in *Shuo-yüan* 說苑 (Garden of Sayings) 11/52b-c.

³⁰ I read the character 見 as *hsien* (to become visible) and not as *chien* (to see).

³¹ Lord Meng-ch'ang (d. 279? BC) was a native of Ch'i. He was enfeoffed as Lord of Hsüeh 薛 (in present-day Teng-hsien, Shantung) and patronized a large number of retainers. He was a major statesman about whom many picturesque traditions gathered. His biography is in *Shih chi* 75.

³² Modern editions read *ching-shen* 精神 (the most subtle spirits). However, I follow Cheng Liang-shu, p. 97, in emending *shen* to *ch'eng* 誠 (sincerity). Cheng argues that the first section of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 centres round the idea of sincerity, *ch'eng*. Would it not be inconsistent if the author, in the conclusion of this section, spoke of spirits rather than sincerity? Cheng also produces evidence of a textual nature: the Kao commentary in its paraphrase of the main text writes *ching-ch'eng* (the purest sincerity), not *ching-shen*. This is the reading of all editions, except that of Chuang K'uei-chi; he erroneously emended the Kao commentary to read *shen* so as to conform to the main text. In their respective editions of *Huai-nan Tzu*, Liu Wen-tien and Liu Chia-li have reproduced Chuang's mistake. Finally, a parallel text in *Huai-nan Tzu* 20/1b reads *ching-ch'eng*, not *ching-shen*. Cheng thinks the mistake was due to an association of thought, the compound *ching-shen* being much more common than *ching-ch'eng*. Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 198a, agrees with Cheng and adduces further evidence from the parallel in *Wen Tzu* 2/9a.

- .2 the mind of others. The ability to do this is the *Tao* that cannot be transmitted.³³ If a common man fails to obtain the subtle essences which rule the body³⁴ and yet puts on the outward appearance of grief, he surely becomes the laughing-stock of his fellowmen!
- 3a .3 That Po Chü-tzu 蒲且子³⁵ could connect with birds flying a thousand feet above, and Chan Ho 詹何³⁶ cause the fish to dart [toward his hook] from the depths of the great pool, resided in their having
- .4 obtained the pure and unsullied *Tao* and the all-pervading Harmony.

COMMENTARY

General Structure and Meaning

Chapter Six opens with seven pseudo-historical stories describing the marvellous exploits (*mirabilia*) of people who were possessed of *Tao*.

The subject-matter and heroes of the narratives can all be found, except in the case of the commoner's daughter, in the writings of pre-Han authors. *Huai-nan Tzu* modified the early versions, usually by retelling in a new phraseology only one part of the complete story, and used each story to demonstrate a point which was absent from the original text.

The seven stories follow the same pattern:

- presentation of the hero in a difficult and challenging position;
- marvellous solution of the difficulty: the hero obtained the optimal result, not by any arduous effort, complicated activity or learned skill, but spontaneously and immediately; and
- the author's explanation: the marvellous result was due to the fact that the hero in each case was united with

³³ Kao paraphrases: 'The ability to affect other people's heart by means of purely sincere grief cannot be obtained by study.'

³⁴ The expression *chün hsing che* 君形者 is difficult to translate in the context. Kao takes it to mean that 'what is purest and most subtle has taken shape'. According to Tseng Kuo-fan 曾國藩, *Ch'iu-ch'üeh chai tu-shu-lu* 求闕齋讀書錄 (Notes on Readings of the Ch'iu-ch'üeh Studio) 5/5a, it means 'the power that controls or governs the physical body'. The two interpretations are complementary.

³⁵ Po Chü Tzu was a renowned archer from the state of Ch'u. He is mentioned in *Lieh Tzu* 5/94 (Graham, p. 105) and *Huai-nan Tzu* 18/22a.

³⁶ Chan Ho was also a man from Ch'u during the Warring States. He was a famous angler. Kao mentions that he was also perfectly initiated in *Tao*. In *Lieh Tzu* 5/94 (Graham, pp. 105-6), Chan Ho tells the King of Ch'u how he applied to angling what he had heard about Po Chü Tzu's art of archery, and describes how he baits and hooks fish.

Tao and was therefore, to use a paraphrase, in a state of mutual resonance (*kan-ying*) with the universe as a whole. The union with *Tao* is described in a different way, sometimes in non-Taoist terminology, in each case.

The very structure of the seven stories reveals the purpose of showing the interconnectedness of the ideas of *Tao* and mutual resonance (*kan-ying*).

The seven stories illustrate the operation of resonance in different spheres of the universe:

Heaven:	Master K'uang The Commoner's Daughter
Earth:	King Wu The Duke of Lu-yang
Human Society:	The Master of Yung-men and Lord Meng-ch'ang
Arts and Skills:	Po Chü-tzu Chan Ho

Human Society and Arts and Skills could be collapsed into a single category, 'Man'. We would then have the triad of Heaven, Earth and Man, which was from early times the Chinese way of looking at the universe.

As the foregoing outline shows plainly, the stories, except for the fifth one, are grouped in pairs. Each pair forms an inseparable literary unit. The structural unity is indicated by the single theme about which each pair revolves; it is made explicit by the fact that each pair is followed by a substantial explanation on the part of the author, which takes into account the two related stories at the same time, without distinction.

Now, why did the author choose to combine his stories in pairs? Furthermore, why does the story about the Master of Yung-men stand alone? Such a deliberate construction must have a reason. Nothing in the text or commentaries is very helpful as to the questions asked here. The following is my own interpretation.

The pair of stories in each literary unit represent *Yin* and *Yang*. Master K'uang and the commoner's daughter in the opening literary unit can obviously represent *Yang* and *Yin* respectively. So can Po Chü-tzu, who shoots birds in the sky (*Yang*), and Chan Ho, who angles in the deep pools (*Yin*). The representational function of King Wu and the Duke of Lu-yang is less clear, but could still be explained if we remember that the former calmed the waters (*Yin*), while the latter controlled the sun (*Yang*).

What about the single story relating the meeting of the

Master of Yung-men with Lord Meng-ch'ang? Let us notice, to start with, that the story is the only one dealing with human relations. The other stories relate the hero to Heaven, Earth and the Arts, as we have seen. In the case of the Master of Yung-men, he is related to Lord Meng-ch'ang, and vice versa. The two personages, taken in their mutual interrelationship, respectively represent *Yin* and *Yang*. This hypothesis also explains why this story stands alone: *Yin* and *Yang* are both contained in that single story.

Basic Themes and Ideas

This brings us to the essentially philosophical purport of the stories. They are not narrated to provide primarily historical information, nor moral edification or just entertainment. Their purpose is plainly philosophical: to understand the basic patterns and principles of the universe. The author intends, by means of the seven stories, to illustrate two ideas.

Firstly, historical events do not happen haphazardly, but have 'rhyme and reason'. They are the result and manifestation of mutual resonance between different parts of the universe. For the ordinary, narrow-minded person, the misfortunes visited on Duke Ching of Ch'i might have been attributed to 'ill luck' or to a series of particular causes. However, for him who can relate historical events to a global view of the universe — *sub specie aeternitatis* — such misfortunes have a deeper source: they are the response of the universe to the disorder caused by Duke Ching's recklessness. The response is 'evoked' by a very distant and apparently unconnected event, namely, the imploration of Heaven by a simple girl of Ch'i for the wrong done to her. The reason why the commoner's daughter could evoke the 'response of Heaven' was that she was one with *Tao*. The argument, *mutatis mutandis*, is fundamentally the same in all seven stories.

The second idea, a mere corollary of the first, is that human beings, inasmuch as they are one with *Tao*, are 'agents' of mutual resonance, and 'make things happen'. They participate fully in the creative transformations of *Tao*. The manner in which each pair of heroes is united with *Tao* is described in different ways from one literary unit to another. It is in these descriptions, however, that we find the main ideas the stories serve to exemplify. It would therefore be enlightening to focus on the descriptions of 'the union with *Tao*' in the different units.

1 Master K'uang and the Commoner's Daughter: the Subtle Essences and Nine Heavens

By concentrating their essences (*chuan ching* 專精) and disciplining their thoughts, discarding all concerns and gathering their spirits (*chi shen* 積神), they merged above with the Nine Heavens (*shang t'ung chiu t'ien* 上通九天) and stimulated their most subtle essences (*chih-ching* 至精).

To begin, we may note the threefold movement of the description:

- inner concentration and unification;
- detachment from all [external] concerns; and
- union with the ultimate (Nine Heavens) and intense creativity.

This generally corresponds to the three stages of the mystical life, as we find them described in different philosophies and religions.

Only recently have scholars such as Fung Yu-lan (1967), Hsü Fu-kuan (1976), Fukunaga Mitsuji (1978) and C. Larre (1982) paid due attention to the key role played by the expression *ching* 精 — here translated as 'subtle essences' — in the world-view of Former Han thinkers, and foremost in *Huai-nan Tzu*.

Ching refers to the 'light and clear' (*ch'ing-yang* 清陽) elements of the original substance (or matter-energy) of the universe (*yüan-ch'i* 元氣), as opposed to the 'heavy and turbid' (*chung-cho* 重濁) elements. Fire, the sun and stars, and man are composed mainly of *ching-ch'i* 精氣, that is, the most subtle essences of the substance (matter-energy) of the universe.

Even among the subtle essences (*ching*) we find a gradation, the supreme grade being called *chih-ching* 至精, the most subtle essences, an expression that occurs not only in Chapter Six, but in many places in *Huai-nan Tzu*. In *Huai-nan Tzu* 9/3b (already quoted) we read a long passage on the most subtle essences, which concludes as follows:

In winter days, things tend to go toward (i.e. seek out) the warmth of *Yang*; in summer days, things tend to go toward the coolness of *Yin*; things go thus, and yet nothing causes them to do so. Therefore, the likenesses of the most subtle essences (*chih-ching*) come by themselves without being summoned and go their way without being waved on.

The most subtle essences are here characterized as having their own inner dynamism and as spontaneously forming harmonious patterns, such as the perfect balance of *Yin* and *Yang* during the winter and summer solstice.

In many instances in *Huai-nan Tzu*, the expression *ching*

has the same function and meaning as *chih-ching*, the context making it clear that the author intends to speak of the most subtle essences. A case in point is the author's comment on Master K'uang and the commoner's daughter quoted above, where the author first uses *ching*, and in the next sentence, *chih-ching*.

Now the use of *ching* as a technical term occurs in all the chapters, especially Chapters Six and Seven. As a matter of fact, *Huai-nan Tzu* 21/2b defines Chapter Six as 'that wherein is explained that the most subtle essences (*chih-ching*) merge above with the Nine Heavens', a statement which sums up neatly the passage about Master K'uang and the commoner's daughter.

The idea of *ching* as defined above derived from the philosophical tradition of *Yi ching*, but even more, as Fung Yu-lan has shown (see *infra*), from the materialist wing of the Chi-hsia 稷下 Academy, under the leadership of Tsou Yen. The members of this group were called materialists because their studies centred round *ch'i* 氣, which they considered as the substance (matter-energy) of the universe.

The important point, with respect to the use of *ching* in the first two stories of Chapter Six, is that the author borrows a terminology belonging to the Theory of *Yin-Yang* to signify that Master K'uang and the commoner's daughter were united with *Tao*. This is not clear immediately from reading the two stories. But, if we take the seven stories as a larger literary unit, it becomes obvious that all and each of them intend to show that the heroes achieved marvellous results because they were at one with *Tao*, the union being understood in a Taoist sense, such as we find it in *Lao Tzu*, *Chuang Tzu* and *Lieh Tzu*.

The use of *ching* to describe the union with *Tao* establishes an equivalence between the main ideas of the Theory of *Yin-Yang* on the one hand, and of Taoism on the other. The most subtle essences are, from an objective viewpoint, similar to *Tao*; like *Tao*, they have their own inner dynamism and spontaneously bring about orderly and harmonious patterns. The rapprochement between the Theory of *Yin-Yang* and Taoism in *Huai-nan Tzu*, one of the main themes of the present study, will be further developed later. It is, however, of significance that the opening lines of Chapter Six already intimate, although in an implicit way, what appears to be the essential thrust of *Huai-nan Tzu's* attempt at synthesis.

Finally, a word should be said about the expression *chiu t'ien* (the Nine Heavens). It would seem to be derived from the opening section of *Li sao*, where it displays mythical

connotations. According to the Wang Yi commentary, *chiu t'ien* referred to the division of the sky on the basis of the eight cardinal points, plus the centre. Former Han writers emphasized the cosmological significance of the expression. Such is generally the case in *Huai-nan Tzu*. For instance, *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/5b lists the names, orientations and astronomical correspondences of the Nine Heavens, which it calls *chiu yeh* 九野 (the Nine Fields), as the counterpart of *chiu chou* 九州 (the Nine Continents) described in *Huai-nan Tzu* 4/1b (Major, p. 36). However, in Chapter Six the religious overtones are emphasized, and the Nine Heavens appear as the supreme reality, as another word for *t'ien* 天 understood in a transcendental sense. This usage of *t'ien* was the common heritage of all the schools of Chinese philosophy, and we should not be surprised to find it under the pen of a Taoist-oriented thinker. What remains indisputable is that the expression *shang t'ung chiu t'ien* is a description in non-Taoist language of union with *Tao*. This will become obvious in the following section.

2 King Wu and the Duke of Lu-yang: the Subtle Essences and the Return to the Origin

They [King Wu and the Duke of Lu-yang] had kept their nature intact, preserved their genuineness (*ch'üan hsing pao chen* 全性保真) and avoided injury to their person (*pu k'uei ch'i shen* 不虧其身). When they met with crises and were pressed by difficulties, their essences, merged with Heaven (*ching t'ung yü t'ien* 精通於天) as if they had not yet begun to emerge from their origin (*jo nai wei shih ch'u ch'i tsung che* 若乃未始出其宗者). How could they not succeed, then, in all their undertakings!

The first sentence is quoted, with a few variant characters in the last clause, in *Huai-nan Tzu* 13/10b. It is there presented as the central doctrine of Yang Tzu 楊子 (Yang Chu 楊朱), the Taoist (?) philosopher of the fourth century bc. The *Huai-nan Tzu* formulation seems original, for we do not find the combined expression *ch'üan hsing pao chen* in earlier sources; nor does it appear in the 'Yang Chu' chapter of *Lieh Tzu*. However, commentator Kao, on *Huai-nan Tzu* 13/10b, says that the foregoing expression refers to the statement attributed to Yang Chu, namely, that 'he would not pluck one hair from his limbs to benefit the world' (see *Lieh Tzu* 7/83; Graham, p. 148). Whatever the case, the ideas of naturalness, wholesomeness and genuineness are typically Taoist, and are found in many passages of *Lao Tzu* and *Chuang Tzu*. As will become clear in a moment, *Huai-nan Tzu* interprets the

personalities and prodigies of King Wu and the Duke of Lu-yang as if they were unwittingly full-blooded Taoists.

In the second sentence, we meet again with the expression *ching* (subtle essences), in a clause which is a close parallel to the description of Master K'uang and the commoner's daughter we analyzed before. But here, the Taoist significance is made explicit by what follows immediately: *jo nai wei shih ch'u ch'i tsung che* (as if they had not yet begun to emerge from their origin). This is a most important text. It expresses the idea of the Taoist True Man's (*chen-jen* 真人) ability to return to the origin — the state of primordial undifferentiation, the perfect beginning before things appeared as distinct and separate. This theme recurs more than ninety times in fifteen chapters of *Huai-nan Tzu*. We will meet it again, in a phraseology essentially similar to that of the present text, in the 'Essay on the Lute-tuner and the True Man', perhaps the most important passage of Chapter Six. It is, however, in *Huai-nan Tzu* 14/1b that we find the *locus classicus* about the True Man's ability to return to the origin:

He who can return to that which produced [him] as if he had not yet acquired [physical] form, we call him a True Man. The True Man is he who has not yet begun to differentiate himself from the Great Unity (*wei shih fen yü t'ai-yi che* 未始分於太一者).

It is this Taoist capacity to return to the origin that is attributed to King Wu and the Duke of Lu-yang. We know the centrality of the idea of the origin in *Lao Tzu*: no other theme, perhaps, is more important in order to understand the underlying notions of classical Taoism. The interesting point in the *Huai-nan Tzu* text is that the Taoist theme of 'the return to the origin' is given as an equivalent to 'the merging of the subtle essences with Heaven'. We have here, once more, the combining of the idea of mutual resonance and of the most subtle essences deriving from the Theory of *Yin-Yang*, with the purely Taoist idea of returning to the origin. The combination or synthesis is here made direct and explicit and justifies the explanation of the same, but implicit, combination, in the case of Master K'uang and the commoner's daughter.

3 The Master of Yung-men and Lord Meng-ch'ang: the Mysterious Communication

When pure [subtle and essential] sincerity (*ching-ch'eng* 精誠) takes shape within (*nei* 內), grief is made outwardly (*wai* 外) manifest to the minds of others. [The ability to do] this is the *Tao* that cannot be transmitted.

We know from the preceding analysis how the expression *ching* was used to express basically Taoist ideas. Here we go one step further, combining *ching* with what appears to be a typically Confucian idea, namely, *ch'eng* (sincerity; genuineness; truthfulness). We find traces of the influence of the school of Tzu-ssu in *Huai-nan Tzu*. This might be an instance of such influence. However, if we read works that supposedly represent the thought of Tzu-ssu, such as *Chung-yung* 中庸 (The Doctrine of the Mean), the few sections (especially 20-26) that expound the idea of *ch'eng* and that show a pale resemblance to *Huai-nan Tzu* are precisely those sections that are thought to be Ch'in and Former Han interpolations. They therefore do not represent classical Confucianism, but are contaminated by the cosmological speculations that marked the philosophy of Former Han.

But, there is more. The use of *ching* as a qualifier is significant. It indicates that the author looked on sincerity as *ch'i* and, more specifically, as *ching-ch'i*, a subtle and essential substance that could be communicated in an invisible and mysterious way. What moved Lord Meng-ch'ang were not primarily the outward, perceptible gestures of the Master of Yung-men, but the direct communication from mind to mind, which is effective only if the pure, inner reality (*nei*) manifests itself as sincerity when it operates within the realm of human relations. This interpretation is confirmed by a similar idea found in *Huai-nan Tzu* 9/20b, which deals with the relation between the famous charioteer Tsao Fu and his horses: 'What he sensed in his innermost heart (*nei te yü hsin chung* 內得於心中) accorded outside with the horses' temper (*wai ho yü ma chih* 外合於馬志).'

In this way the idea of sincerity was brought forth within the complex of ideas that form the fundamental philosophy of *Huai-nan Tzu*, namely, the combination of Taoist ideas with the ideas of the Theory of Yin-Yang. In other words, the Master of Yung-men moved Lord Meng-ch'ang in the same way as Master K'uang and the commoner's daughter moved Heaven, or as King Wu and the Duke of Lu-yang moved the sea and the sun: through the resonance of their most subtle essences emanating from their union with *Tao*.

4 Po Chü-tzu and Chan Ho: *Tao* and Harmony

Po Chü-tzu . . . and Chan Ho . . . had obtained the pure and unsullied *Tao* (*ch'ing ching chih tao* 清淨之道) and the all-pervasive harmony (*t'ai hao chih ho* 太浩之和).

The brevity of the last two stories and of the author's comment indicates clearly enough that they play the role of

conclusion to the first section of Chapter Six. Is it not fitting then for the author to state in a simple and direct way the main theme of the whole section? As we have seen, the most subtle essences spontaneously create orderly patterns and bring about, through human agency, the reign of harmony (*ho*). *Tao* and *ho* are often combined in *Huai-nan Tzu*. *Tao* presents two major aspects: that of power, expressed by the word *te* 德, and that of order, expressed by the word *ho*. *Ho* being a manifestation and a result of *Tao* often stands, by metonymy, for *Tao*.

To conclude, we may call attention to the appropriateness of the historical or anecdotal mode of expression adopted by the author in the opening section to convey a content that is essentially philosophical. Such a mode of expression was not only a well-adapted pedagogical device to capture the attention and interest of a cultured and history-bound Chinese audience, but more importantly, it could serve to instruct the reader, from the first lines of the chapter, of the broad goals pursued by the writer, namely, to illustrate the immanence of *Tao* in human affairs and the creative role of man in the historical development.

SECTION II

- 3a .5 The mutual response of things belonging to the same category is darkly mysterious and extremely
 .8 subtle.³⁷ Knowledge cannot explain it, nor discussion unravel it. Thus when the eastern wind arises, clear wine³⁸ overflows.³⁹ When the silkworm exudes fresh

³⁷ A similar passage occurs in *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 13:127 (Wilhelm, p. 161).

³⁸ Kao explains *chiu-chan* 酒湛 as meaning 'the pure, clear part of wine'. The Hsü commentary preserved in *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 太平廣記 (Miscellaneous Records of the T'ai-p'ing [AD 977-984] Era) 161/1155 basically agrees with Kao. However, Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.2a-b rejects Kao's explanation; he was apparently unaware of this passage of Hsü's commentary, and proposed to read *chan-yi* 湛溢 as a compound having the same meaning as *yen-yi* 衍溢 (to overflow). His argument is based on the interchangeability of *chan* 湛 with *shen* 沈 and *yin* 淫 on the one hand, and of *yin* 淫 with *yen* 衍 on the other. Cheng Liang-shu, pp. 97-8, agrees with Wang's reading, and adduces evidence from *Chi-tsu'an yüan-hai* 記纂淵海 (Vast Compilation of Records) 2/9a and *T'ien-chung chi* 2/42b, where *chan* is replaced by *shen*. I do not agree with Wang's and Cheng's reading and explanation, but retain Hsü Shen's and Kao Yu's recensions. The very fact that the latters' respective commentaries concur independently is strong reason to follow their interpretation. Wang's ignorance of the existence of Hsü's commentary in various ancient collections (see Tao Fang-ch'i, pp. 108-9 and Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 198b-199b) weakens his whole argument. Nor is his demonstration of the interchangeability of characters really convincing; it shows that the interchange was theoretically possible, but, as regards the passage from *Huai-nan Tzu*, there is no textual evidence that it actually took place. The two authorities quoted by Cheng are late witnesses (xiii and xvi cent. respectively); their value lies mainly in confirming earlier sources. Finally, one feature of this passage should be noted: the four sentences are all constructed in the same way — a compound subject and a single character verb. If we followed Wang and Cheng, we would destroy the grammatical symmetry of the text.

- 3b .5 silk, the string of the *shang* 商 note snaps.⁴⁰ Some-
 .6 thing has stirred them. When a drawing [of the
 .7 moon] is traced in ashes, the moon's halo⁴¹ becomes
 incomplete [in accordance with the drawing].⁴² When

³⁹ The commentary on this text blends together the explanations of Hsü and Kao; both attempt to justify the connection between the east wind and the wine's overflowing by the Theory of Five Elements. 'The east wind,' says the commentary, 'is the wind of wood . . . The flavour associated with wood is bitterness. When the wind of bitterness (i.e., the east wind) penetrates wine, the wine ferments and thickens, and finally bubbles and flows over. This is the mutual influence of things that belong to the same category.' The elements of the correlation are: east — wood — bitterness — overflow. The foregoing correlations, with the exception of the last one, are precisely those established in *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/5b and 5/1a-b.

⁴⁰ The commentary presents two different interpretations of this passage, depending on whether we adopt the *erh* 耳 (the side of the mouth; to spit out) reading or the *erh* 珥 (ear ornament) reading. In the first case, the commentary explains that 'when silkworms unreel fresh silkthread, the silkthread is very brittle. The *shang* 商 note is the purest and sharpest of the five musical notes. Therefore, the *shang* string snaps'. Basically the same explanation is given by the commentary on the parallel passage in *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/3b. This last passage reads *erh* 珥 instead of *erh* 耳. After showing convincingly that 珥 should be emended to 耳, Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 82b, concludes: 'When the silkworm produces silkthread from its mouth, the sound it makes is of the same pitch as that of the *shang* string, and so the *shang* string snaps.' The second interpretation is based on the *erh* 珥 reading. The commentary says: 'When the silkworm grows old, the silkthread formed inside its body appears bright yellow from the outside, resembling an ear ornament. The *shang* note corresponds to metal and to the westward direction. The silkworm corresponds to fire at its hottest (noon). When fire is in its ascendancy, metal is held captive (subdued); it simply responds to the *shang* note.' Both these interpretations are based on the Theory of Five Elements, and have their respective merit; I am inclined to choose the first one, because it appears more consonant with the context.

⁴¹ Modern editions read *yün* 運 (to revolve; cycle; circuit). I think *yün* should be emended to *yün* 暈 (sun and/or moon vapour and halos). In more than twelve quotations of this passage in ancient collections, the character used is 暈 and not 運. The earliest and more important quotations are: *Po wu chih* 博物志 (Comprehensive Treatise on the Investigation of Things) 2/7; *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* 150/3b; *Yi-wen lei-chü* 1/5b; *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* 1/12a; *Po shih liu t'ieh shih-lei chi* 白氏六帖事類記 (Records of Classified Affairs in Six Divisions, by Mr. Po) 4/6a; and *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 4/8a (see Tao Fang-ch'i, pp. 109-11 and Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 200a-b). T'ao has proved beyond doubt that 暈 represents the Hsü edition and 運, the Kao edition. All things being equal, the Hsü edition is to be preferred. Finally, 暈 fits in much better with the lunar phenomenon described both in the main text and in the commentary.

⁴² No commentator, as far as I know, has offered a satisfactory discussion of this difficult passage. Kao Yu, who obviously bases his understanding on Hsü Shen's commentary, writes: 'On the eve of a military engagement, if an army camp is completely encircled, then a vapour halo will appear around the moon. If using reed ashes one traces a figure (of the halo) in the moonlight below a window, causing one segment of the circle to be incomplete, then there will be a corresponding gap in the halo around the moon above.' Presumably, this will in turn induce and reveal a break in the military encirclement. The mutual resonance or sympathetic magic induced by drawing a circle in ashes is based on the resemblance between the encirclement of a military camp and a vapour halo around the moon (or sun). Both Hsü and Kao note that the character for vapour halo, *yün/giwan* 暈 is derived from *chün/kiwan* 軍 (army; military camp). Kao Yu's explanation of *yün-erh* 暈珥 (halo ring) in *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 6/62-3 is similar to the one given here.

a whale dies, brush-stars (comets) appear. Something has activated them.

- .11 Therefore, when the Sage rules, he treasures *Tao*
 4a .1 and does not speak;⁴³ yet his kindness reaches the
 Ten Thousand People. [But] when ruler and minister
 distrust each other in their heart, concave and
 convex halos appear in the sky [on each side of the
 .2 sun].⁴⁴ These are indeed evidences of the mutual
 influence of the marvellous *ch'i* (*shen-ch'i* 神氣).⁴⁵
 Therefore, mountain clouds are [like] prairie grass.
 River clouds are [like] fish scales. Drought-land

⁴³ T'ao Hung-ch'ing 陶鴻慶 (1859-1917), *Tu Huai-nan Tzu cha-chi* 讀淮南子札記 1/5b [hereafter T'ao Hung-ch'ing], points out that the particle *erh* 而 does not fit nicely in this sentence. He proposes to shift two characters further down, so as to have the sentence read: *huai tao pu yen, erh tse chi wan-min* 懷道不言,而澤及萬民. He refers to *Kuan Tzu* 2/3 (Rickett, p. 127) for a similar sentence pattern. Cheng Liang-shu, p. 98, basing himself on the omission of *erh* in the Liu and Wang Ying editions, would simply scratch off the particle altogether. The textual evidence presented by these two scholars appears insufficient to justify their emendations, and I retain the text as it appears in most modern editions.

⁴⁴ *Pei-chüeh* 背譎 refers to a particular formation of halo components on each side of the sun, more precisely, concave and convex arcs crossing each other on each side of the sun. The Kao commentary understands the expression in a technical sense: When the varicoloured vapours of a solar halo are at the two sides (of the sun) and are outermost, with projecting tips (that is, they are two convex semicircles, farthest away on the two sides of the sun), they are called *pei* 背; when they are thus farthest away, but with converging tips (that is, they are two concave semicircles), they are called *chüeh* 譎; when they are within (the foregoing positions, that is, are close to the sun) with converging (tips), they are called *erh* 珥 (ear-rings); when they are above (the sun) and are outermost, with projecting tips (that is, a convex semicircle high above the sun), this is then called *kuan* 冠 (crown).

That *Huai-nan Tzu* would use such meteorological examples to illustrate the lack of harmony between ruler and minister testifies to an unexpectedly advanced stage of astronomical observation. It is warranted by similar observations in *Shih chi* 27/1331 (Chavannes, III, 385-9). On the study of solar halos in China, see Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, III, 473-7.

⁴⁵ The compound *shen-ch'i* 神氣 was used in three different ways in Han writings: spiritual emanations, having a supernatural character (see *Shih chi* 28/1382; Watson, II, 35, translates by 'supernatural emanations'; Chavannes, III, 457, translates by 'emanation divine'); the most subtle essence or substance, understood as a naturalistic concept — as used by the Theory of *Yin-Yang* (see *Li chi* 26/104; Couvreur, II, 397-8, translates: 'fluides merveilleux qui descendent du ciel'); and vitality, spirit and breath, morale (see *Chuang Tzu* 12/75 and 21/134; Watson, pp. 135 and 231, translates as 'spirit and breath' in the first instance, and 'spirit and bearing' in the second; *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/4a; Morgan, p. 35, translates as 'spirit' and Kraft, p. 256, as 'Geist und Hauch'). In the present passage of *Huai-nan Tzu*, *shen-ch'i* should be interpreted according to the second meaning, 'subtle essence or substance' in a naturalistic sense.

- .3 clouds are [like] blazing flames.⁴⁶ Torrent clouds are [like] billowy waters.⁴⁷ Each thing is affected inasmuch as it resembles [partakes of] the shape and category [of other things].

⁴⁶ Wang Yin-chih, *Tu-shu tsa-chih* 9/6.2b-3a and *Yü chih* 餘志 (Supplementary Chapter to the foregoing work) 43b-44b, argues that *yen* 煙 (smoke) should be emended to *piao* 燄 (spark; shooting flame). Wang's argument is based on parallelism between *piao-huo* 燄火 and *po-shui* 波水 in the next clause, as well as on the use of *piao* in the parallel passage of *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 13/127 (Wilhelm, p.161); Wang also takes into account the fact that post-Han copyists often wrote 煙 where the original Han or pre-Han work read 燄. Liu Wen-tien, *San yü cha-chi* 三餘札記 (Three Supplements of Critical Notes) 1/19b, refuses to follow Wang's emendation on the ground that ancient dictionaries, such as *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* and *Yi-ch'ieh-ching yin-yi* 一切經音義 (Dictionary of Sounds and Meanings in the Vinaya Part of the Buddhist Tripitaka), define *piao* as meaning 'spark'. Clouds may be compared to smoke (*yen*), but not to sparks (*piao*). Yang Shu-ta 楊樹達, *Huai-nan Tzu cheng-wen* 淮南子證聞 (Critical Annotations on *Huai-nan Tzu* [hereafter Yang Shu-ta], 2/32-33, also rejects Wang's emendation and accuses the latter of using specious arguments. For instance, *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 12/127 originally read 煙 and not 燄; again, *yen-huo* 煙火 forms as good a parallel to *po-shui* as does *piao-huo*. Yang further blames Liu Chia-li for blindly following Wang Yin-chih and emending 煙 to 燄 in his edition of *Huai-nan Tzu*. I also retain *yen*.

⁴⁷ A similar passage occurs in *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 13/127 (Wilhelm, p. 161). The only difference is in the last four characters, which in *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* read *yü yün shui-po* 雨雲水波. *Huai-nan Tzu* seldom quotes earlier sources textually — at least according to the text of pre-Han works that have come down to us. It may have corrected *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* for the sake of parallelism and greater consistency, or may have borrowed from a tradition independent from that work. Kao Yu does not comment on the passage in question of *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu*, but only on *Huai-nan Tzu*: 'The *ch'i* (here meaning 'emanations') of mountains produce clouds that look like grass, the *ch'i* of rivers produce clouds that look like fish scales; clouds formed by the hot *ch'i* of drought-land have the appearance of smoke; clouds produced by torrential waters resemble billowy waters'. Yü Hsing-wu 于省吾, *Chu-tzu hsin-cheng* 諸子新證 (New Evidence on the Philosophers [hereafter Yü Hsing-wu]), p. 354, questions Kao's interpretation of the last two sentences. *Han-yün* 旱雲 and *ts'en-yün* 沍雲, according to Yü, simply mean 'dry clouds' and 'saturated clouds'. While grammatically acceptable, Yü's explanation destroys the overall parallelism of this passage and distorts the meaning intended by *Huai-nan Tzu*, namely, that the shape of clouds corresponds to the kind of environment (mountain, river, drought-land, torrent) from which they were produced, because clouds and environment share a common *ch'i*. One may ask whether this passage does not represent an early attempt at classifying cloud formations. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, III, 470, who unfortunately seems to ignore these passages from *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* and *Huai-nan Tzu*, quotes many technical terms used by *Chin shu* 晉書 (History of the Chin Dynasty), to classify clouds. Among these we find *ts'ao-mang* 草莽 and *yü-lin* 魚鱗, which Needham tentatively identifies as 'cirrus striae' and 'dappled cirro-cumulus' respectively. Needham concedes that 'the mediaeval Chinese devised many technical terms which have not yet been properly analysed in the light of modern knowledge'. One final point should be noted in view of Kao's commentary: that clouds are formed by emanations coming from the earth. If the commentary is correct in its interpretation, this *Huai-nan Tzu* passage would perhaps be the first expression in Chinese writings of the idea that clouds formations are the result of evaporation.

- .6 The *fu-sui* 夫燧 (burning mirror)⁴⁸ gathers fire from
 .7 the sun; the *fang-chu* 方諸 (moon mirror)⁴⁹ gathers
 dew from the moon. What are [contained] between
 .10 Heaven and Earth, even an expert calculator cannot
 .11 compute their number. Thus, though the hand can
 handle and examine extremely small things, it cannot
 lay hold of the brightness [of the sun and moon].⁵⁰
 4b .1 Were it within the grasp of one's hand (within one's
 power) to gather [things within] one category from

⁴⁸ Modern editions write *fu yang sui* 夫陽燧. I agree with Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.3b-4a, that *yang* should be eliminated, the original text reading simply *fu-sui* 夫燧. *Yang* was added by later scholars, who misunderstood *fu* here to be an initial particle (read in the second tone) meaning 'now', 'then', or an emphatic 'this'. To be consistent, these scholars had to add *yang*, so as to create a binom, *yang-sui*, parallel to *fang-chu* 方諸. These scholars, says Wang, were also influenced by a similar passage in *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/2b, where the expression was written *yang-sui*. Wang argues that the parallel expressions *fu-sui* and *fang-chu* occur in such works as *Chou li* 5/60 (Biot, II, 381), where the commentary explains that *fu-sui* and *yang-sui* are two names for the same object. The compound *fu-sui* also appears in *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/6a, in a passage that refers to the text we are discussing. Finally, the Kao commentary on our text warns the reader that *fu* 夫 should be read like the *fu* in *tai-fu* 大夫, in the first tone, meaning the male, active principle. *Fu*, therefore, forms a compound expression with *sui*, and is not an emphatic or demonstrative particle. The commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/2b describes *yang-sui* as follows: 'Yang-sui is made of metal. If one takes a metal bowl without a rim (a slightly concave mirror), polishes it vigorously so that it becomes hot, places it directly below the sun at noon and put mugwort before it, the mugwort will then catch fire.' That we are dealing with heat reflection on the basis of the true focal point is confirmed by *Huai-nan Tzu* 17/19a-b: 'The right way of recruiting men [for government service] may be compared to obtaining fire by means of *yang-sui*; if it is placed too far [from mugwort], it fails to produce fire; if it is placed too close, it fails to hit the center [focal point]; it should be placed exactly between "too far" and "too close".' Besides *fu-sui* and *yang-sui*, the single character *sui* was also used to designate burning mirrors in ancient China; *sui* was sometimes written 銚 or 鑪. For further discussion of Chinese burning mirrors, see Forke, II, 496-8, and especially, Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, IV, 87-9. Needham translated the two passages from *Huai-nan Tzu* quoted in this note. I have modified his translation.

⁴⁹ The expression *fang-chu* 方諸 occurs in *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/2b and 6/4a; *Lun heng* 45/154 (Forke, II, 341) and 46/156 (Forke, II, 351); in other Han works, *fang-chu* is sometimes replaced by some other characters, such as *chien* 鑑, *chu* 諸 or *yin-sui* 陰燧. These different characters all designate an instrument that was believed to have the power to collect 'pure water' from the moon. This pure water was apparently used in sacrificial worship and in the cult of immortality. *Fang-chu* was usually mentioned as the counterpart of *fu-sui*, just as the moon, in the mind of the Han writers, was the counterpart of the sun. Sun Yi-jiang 孫詒讓 (1848-1908), *Chou li cheng-yi* 周禮正義 (The Correct Meaning of *Chou li*), 70/10b-11a, has collected all the relevant material from ancient sources and shown there were three main interpretations of the nature of *fang-chu*: a large clam-shell (*ta ko* 大蛤); a round cup or bowl (*pei* 杯); a square mirror (*fang-ching* 方鏡). Sun suggests that the clam-shell and the square mirror were both used. The Kao and Hsü commentaries on *Huai-nan Tzu* both mention that *fang-chu* was heated vigorously by rubbing and polishing and afterwards collected dew or water. Sun accepts this explanation. However, it would seem that for dew or water to collect on a surface, this surface should be cooler — not warmer — than the ambient air.

⁵⁰ I follow Kao's interpretation.

- 2 the Supreme Ultimate (*t'ai-chi* 太極) above, one could immediately produce both fire and water. This is
 4b 4 because *Yin* and *Yang* share a common *ch'i* and move each other. This is how Fu Yüeh 傅說 straddled
 5 the Ch'en 辰 and Wei 尾 constellations.⁵¹
 6 Perfect *Yin* blasts and chills; perfect *Yang* burns red and hot. The two meet, mingle and achieve harmony, and the Ten Thousand Things are born therefrom.⁵²
 7 If all were roosters and there were no hens, what transformation could possibly be brought about?⁵³
 8 This (the transformations and creativity of *Yin* and *Yang*) is called the argument that is not uttered and the Tao that is not spoken.⁵⁴ [One] resorts (*shih* 使) to

⁵¹ *Chuang Tzu* 6/41 (Watson, p. 82) describes Fu Yüeh as a Sage, who obtained *Tao*. He was minister of Wu Ting 沃丁 (traditional dates, 1324-1266 BC) of the Shang dynasty (1766?-1123?). He ascended to Heaven on the Chi 箕 (*Huai-nan Tzu* 6/4b writes Ch'en 辰) and Wei 尾 constellations, and took his place among the stars. In *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/4b, only the myth of Fu Yüeh's ascension to Heaven is retained; in *Shih chi* 3/102 (Chavannes, I, 195), only Fu Yüeh's ministership to Wu Ting is described and enlarged upon. The constellations mentioned above are three of the twenty-eight *hsü* (lunar mansions) already discussed in note 21 of this chapter. See chart of twenty-eight *hsü* in Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, III, facing p. 250. See also pp. 129-31 below.

⁵² This paragraph depends on *Chuang Tzu* 21/131 (Watson, p. 225). There are some minor textual variants. Watson translates: 'Perfect *Yin* is stern and frigid; perfect *Yang* is bright and glittering . . . ; the two mingle, penetrate, come together, harmonize, and all things are born therefrom.' I do not think, 'stern and frigid', 'bright and glittering' render well the opposition here intended by *Chuang Tzu*, an opposition that is basically between cold (*liu* 寥 or 颶, meaning the cold wind in the upper atmosphere) and hot (*ho* 赫, meaning intense, fiery heat).

⁵³ This paragraph occurs in a different context in *Chuang Tzu* 7/50; the last part of the text is also different: *chung hsiung erh wu t'zu, erh yu hsi luan yen* 衆雄而无雌而又奚卵焉 (in modern editions, *hsiung* and *t'zu* are mistakenly written for one another; see Wang Shu-min, *Chuang Tzu chiao-shih*, I, 66b; Watson, p. 95, fails to emend the text and translates: 'There may be a flock of hens, but if there is no rooster, how can they lay fertile eggs?'). In both *Chuang Tzu* and *Huai-nan Tzu*, hen and rooster are concrete figures of *Yin* and *Yang*, as the complementary principles or categories of all things. Rickett, *Kuan Tzu*, p. 132, note 60, takes the *Huai-nan Tzu* sentence: *yu ho hua chih so neng tsao hu* 又何化之所能造乎 as grammatically independent from what precedes, and linked to what follows, and so translates: 'What is it that causes the transformation [of people]? It is what is called the argument which is not spoken and the Way which does not lead.' By punctuating in this way, the preceding sentence *chung hsiung erh wu t'zu* is left hanging in the air. I think the sentence *yu ho hua*, etc. should be attached to what precedes. *Yu* is not an initial particle introducing a new, independent sentence, but a mere emphatic signaling a resultative clause.

⁵⁴ The same phraseology occurs in *Chuang Tzu* 2/14, where Watson, pp. 44-5, translates: 'discriminations that are not spoken, the Way that is not a way'. Rickett, *Kuan Tzu*, p. 132, note 60, also translates this passage: 'It is what is called the argument which is not spoken and the Way which does not lead.' I prefer Rickett's rendering and follow it closely in my translation. The *Huai-nan Tzu* sentence is also found a second time in *Chuang Tzu* 24/161, broken into two parts; Watson, p. 272, translates: 'the debate that is not spoken', 'the Way that is not a way'.

- non-action (*wu-wei*) to attract those who are far away;⁵⁵ [one] resorts to non-interference (*wu-shih* 無事)
 5a .4 to foster close relations with those who are near.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ The Kao commentary understands *yüan-che* 遠者 and *chin-che* 近者 as referring to the Four Barbarians and the Chinese respectively.

⁵⁶ The two foregoing sentences lend themselves to a double possible interpretation. The first takes the Chinese text as it is given in printed editions of *Huai-nan Tzu* and follows Kao Yu's commentary, which glosses *shih* 使 in each sentence as *yì yǐ* (to use, to resort to, by means of). In this case, the translation would go: '[One] resorts (*shih* 使) to non-action (*wu-wei*) to attract those who are far away; [one] resorts (*shih*) to non-interference (*wu-shih* 無事) to foster close relations with those who are near.' The second interpretation is based on the emendation of *shih* 使 to *yen* 言 (to speak; word; utterance) in the second sentence. The emendation was proposed by Wang Nien-sun and T'ao Hung-ch'ing and has been accepted by the majority of Chinese, Japanese and Western sinologists. If we follow the emendation, *shih* 使 in the first sentence must be interpreted as a noun, so as to correspond to *yen* 言 (nominative function) in the second sentence. The text would then read: 'In bringing over those who are far away, messengers (*shih* 使) are of no use; in fostering close relations with those who are near, words (*yen* 言) are of no avail.'

Both translations are grammatically justifiable and semantically suitable in the context. Kao Yu's commentary implies that the *Huai-nan Tzu* edition he used read *shih* 使 in the second sentence, and not *yen* 言. This is acknowledged by Wang Nien-sun, 9/6a.4a-b, who nonetheless dismisses the *shih* reading as "an early mistake." The textual ground for Wang's emendation are twofold: first, the source of this text in *Kuan Tzu* 2/4 (Rickett, pp. 131-132) reads *yen* 言, not *shih*; second, the text is quoted in *Wen Tzu* 2/9b and Wang proves that *Wen Tzu* is quoting *Huai-nan Tzu* and not *Kuan Tzu*. T'ao Hung-ch'ing, 1/5b, proposes the same emendation for the same reasons, adding that the parallel in *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu*, 5/18a also reads *yen*, not *shih*.

Now, just because *Huai-nan Tzu* modifies the *Kuan Tzu* text it is quoting would not by itself be sufficient ground for emending the text. As we have seen, it is a characteristic of *Huai-nan Tzu* that it often changes the texts it quotes to suit its own intellectual and stylistic purposes and preferences. The *Wen Tzu* quotation, which is the crux of Wang Nien-sun's argument, is fraught with difficulties. On the one hand, Wang admits that the *Huai-nan Tzu* edition commented upon by Kao Yu read *shih* and not *yen*. The Kao commentary was completed around the turn of the ii cent. AD. It is generally admitted that the present-day *Wen Tzu* did not achieve its final form before the end of the iii cent. or the beginning of the iv cent. AD. The *Huai-nan Tzu* edition quoted by *Wen Tzu* was later, nor earlier, than that used by Kao Yu. We can therefore only assume, on the strength of available evidence, either that *shih* was changed to *yen* after Kao completed his commentary or that *Wen Tzu* used a different edition than that used by Kao. In either case, the integrity of the *Huai-nan Tzu* edition used by Kao is maintained. So, neither the source-text in *Kuan Tzu* nor the quotation in *Wen Tzu* would seem to provide sufficient basis to emend *shih* to *yen* in the *Huai-nan Tzu* text under consideration.

The *Kuan Tzu* text is itself problematic. It is not certain at all that *shih* in the first sentence should be interpreted as a noun meaning 'messenger' or 'envoy'. Yin Chih-chang 尹知章 (d.718) glosses the first sentence as follows (*Kuan Tzu* 1/4): 'Yüan *shih wu wei* 遠使無為. By omitting *yen* 焉 at the end of the sentence, Yin narrows the semantic field of the commentary, which can then only mean: '[As to] the far-away [ones], [one] resorts to non-action.' For some understandable reason, Yin fails to comment on the second sentence. Most commentators of *Kuan Tzu* do not comment the two sentences in question, but merely paraphrase them, bringing out the gist of the passage in general terms, which could accord with either interpretation and translation of the text (see *Kuan Tzu* 1/4, 1/19, 64/327, and Rickett, p. 132). However, one may note that Ting Shih-han 丁士涵 (xix cent.) glosses *chao* 召 as *chao* 招 (to beckon; to attract; to bring over), an interpretation which fits in much better if one takes *shih* in a verbal sense ('to use'; 'to resort to') than in a nominal sense ('messenger'; 'envoy').

- Only he who acts by night⁵⁷ has the capacity for such things. Therefore, galloping steeds are turned back to fertilize the fields⁵⁸ and chariot ruts do not stretch out to far off places.⁵⁹ This is called 'to race while sitting',⁶⁰ 'to immerse oneself in the midst of dry land',⁶¹ [for the sky] 'to turn dark at noon and shine bright at night', and 'for glue to melt in winter and ice to congeal in summer'.⁶²

COMMENTARY

Section II may be considered globally as an amplification of the explanations that followed each story-unit in the preceding section. The theme of mutual resonance, which was exposed there by means of concrete examples, is here given a general form — 'the mutual response (*hsiang ying* 相應) of

The inadequacies of the second interpretation do not mean that the first one is free from all difficulties. While *wu-wei* (non-action) fits in well with the ruler's relation to 'those who are far away', *wu-shih* (non-interference) seems somewhat awkward and strong in speaking of 'those who are near'. Furthermore, the use of *shih* 使 in the two parallel sentences appears to be overly formalistic. Usually, *Huai-nan Tzu* prefers greater stylistic diversity and shies away from easy symmetry. But these objections are not overwhelming and carry much less weight than the ones burdening the second interpretation. We have therefore followed the first interpretation in our translation, but not without a nagging suspicion that *Huai-nan Tzu* did not necessarily exclude the second interpretation.

⁵⁷ Kao Yu says that *yeh-hsing* 夜行 is a figure of speech meaning 'to bring about spiritual transformation (*shen hua* 神化) by invisible or secret actions, and thus to obtain the empire'. Another explanation also given in the commentary is that 'he who has been initiated to *Tao* is like someone walking in the darkness of the night'. While I agree with Rickett's translation of *yeh-hsing* as 'that which acts even at night', his explanation of the expression as 'secretly acting, i.e. not putting on a display about acting virtuously' gives the text a moral colouring it does not necessarily have. Nor do I agree with Yü Hsing-wu, p. 355, who proposes to emend *yeh-hsing* to *she hsing* 舍行 (to banish action) on rather far-fetched textual evidence.

⁵⁸ The sentence *ch'üeh tsou-ma yi fen* 却走馬以冀 appears in *Lao Tzu* 46 (Waley, p. 199; see also p. 254).

⁵⁹ The sentence *ch'e-kuei pu chieh yü yüan chih wai* 車軌不接於遠之外 is similar to *Chuang Tzu* 10/61: *ch'e kuei chieh hu ch'ien li chih wai* 車軌結乎千里之外. Watson, p. 112, translates: 'Their carriage tracks weave back and forth a thousand *li* and more.' The Kao commentary connects these last two sentences into one logical whole, expressing the state of harmony and naturalness that prevails when the empire has been transformed by the spiritual power of a ruler who is one with *Tao*. Yang Shu-ta, 2/34, points out that what follows in the present text seems to have no connection with the preceding paragraph and suggests that there may be sentences missing here.

⁶⁰ *Tso ch'ih* 坐馳 occurs in *Chuang Tzu* 4/24. The commentary says that '[even though] the body is at rest, the mind races on'. Watson, p. 58, translates the main text as 'sitting but racing around'.

⁶¹ *Lu shen* 陸沈 occurs in *Chuang Tzu* 25/170. The commentary explains: 'Even though there is no water, one is immersed (or drowns).' Watson, p. 286, translates the main text: 'One who has drowned in the midst of dry land.'

⁶² A similar sentence is found in *Chuang Tzu* 24/158: *wu neng tung ts'uan ting erh hsia tsao ping yi* 吾能冬鑿鼎而夏造冰矣. Watson, p. 269, translates: 'I can build a fire under a cauldron in winter and make ice in the summer.'

things belonging to the same category (*lei* 類). A few sentences later we find a slightly different general formulation: 'Each [thing] is affected (*kan* 感) inasmuch as it resembles [partakes of] the shape and category (*hsing lei* 形類) [of other things].'

The exposition of the general theme in Section II follows a threefold movement:

- acknowledgement of the mysterious nature of mutual resonance;
- further illustrations of mutual resonance borrowed mainly from the natural world; and
- attempt to explain mutual resonance on the basis of *Yin-Yang*.

We need not force the text to perceive in it a dialectical development according to the well-known scheme A-B-A₁. Firstly, the author acknowledges the difficulty of understanding *how* mutual resonance operates; secondly, he reasserts, on the basis of many observable cases, the *fact* of mutual resonance; and finally, he does propose a theory to explain *how* mutual resonance operates. Let us comment briefly on each moment of the dialectic.

The Mysterious Character of Mutual Resonance

The ineffable character of reality, one of the major themes of classical Taoism, recurs many times in Chapter Six and in other parts of the work. Ineffability applies not only to *Tao* (*Huai-nan Tzu* 6/3a), but also, as is the case in this section, to mutual resonance, to *Yin-Yang* and to the infinite variety of things in the universe. A cursory comparison of important passages on ineffability in *Lao Tzu*, *Chuang Tzu* and *Huai-nan Tzu* leaves no doubt in one's mind that the notion is much more developed and qualified in *Huai-nan Tzu*. For instance, we find in the latter a functional distinction between 'sense' knowledge (vision, audition, etc.), 'rational' or 'ordinary' knowledge (usually the word *chih* 知, but many equivalents) and a 'superior' kind of knowledge, which is nothing else than the union with *Tao*.

Now, there is the unexpressed presupposition in *Huai-nan Tzu* that language, like other forms of human-fashioned activity, is adapted to the task of understanding and communicating the content of sensorial and rational knowledge. On the other hand, *Tao*, *kan-ying*, *Yin-Yang*, and the infinity of the real world are not objects that can be perceived by the senses, conceived by the rational mind or conveyed through language. Ineffability, in *Huai-nan Tzu* and, we may presume, in other Taoist writings, means both that a state of affairs is unknowable in the ordinary sense and unsayable.

Because of the close connection between *Tao* and mutual resonance, the two are ineffable in the same 'qualitative' way, as opposed to the 'quantitative' ineffability of the infinite number of things in the universe. Here, it is interesting that the expressions that signify 'union with *Tao*' are practically never of the epistemological or cognitive variety. *Huai-nan Tzu* speaks of 'being one with *Tao*' (*yü tao wei yi* 與道為一, 1/23a), 'being at one with *Tao*' (*t'ung yü tao* 同於道, 12/17a), 'uniting with *Tao* into one body' (*ho tao yi t'i* 合道一體, 11/14b), and so on. The act through which man initially enters into relation with *Tao* is usually *te* 得, to obtain, to get, to attain; other common expressions are *t'i tao* 體道, to incorporate or embody *Tao* (11/17b); *t'ung yü tao* 通於道, to merge with *Tao* (14/2a); and *t'ung tao* 通道, to penetrate *Tao* (2/21b). Thus, we can understand the purport of the opening lines of Section II:

The mutual response of things belonging to the same category is darkly mysterious (*hsüan miao* 玄妙) and extremely subtle (*shen wei* 深微). Knowledge (*chih* 知) cannot explain it, nor discussion (*pien* 辯) unravel it.

The expressions *hsüan miao* (*miao* is sometimes written 眇 in *Huai-nan Tzu*; 眇 and 眇 were interchangeable in ancient Chinese) and *shen wei* express the ineffability of mutual resonance, with special reference to the imperceptibility of the most subtle essences. At any rate, we are speaking of a level of reality that is the same as that of *Tao*; an indication of this is that in *Huai-nan Tzu* 11/13b and 16/13a (also parallel passage in 17/1b), the expressions *hsüan miao* and *shen wei* are indirectly predicated of *Tao*.

The expressions *chih* and *pien* obviously refer to ordinary or 'conceptual' knowledge which, as was said, is inadequate to grasp *Tao*, mutual resonance and even the most subtle essences. In a later passage, (Chapter 6/6a) also dealing with mutual resonance, we read:

That the sun mirror can gather fire from the sun, the lodestone attract iron, the crab spoil the lacquer tree, the sunflower incline toward the sun, even one gifted with bright understanding (*ming chih* 明智) cannot explain these things (*fu neng jan* 弗能然; lit. cannot understand [their] being so).

Therefore, perception of the eye and ear (*erh-mu chih ch'a* 耳目之察) is inadequate for distinguishing the patterns of things (*pu tsu yi fen wu-li* 不足以分物理); disquisitions by the mind (*hsin-yi chih lun* 心意之論) is insufficient for ascertaining true and false (*pu tsu yi ting shih-fei* 不足以定是非).

This passage distinguishes with all desired clarity the three

aspects of knowledge mentioned before. Needless to say, the author was rather pessimistic about the intellectual capabilities of the human mind, an attitude he shared with the foremost Taoist philosophers. However, if we understand 'union with *Tao*' and 'mutual resonance' as a kind of basic, organic (I would be tempted to say 'ontological') affinity with the substance of the universe, we may consider them as a higher form of the cognitive process. In this sense, the function of ineffability as applied by *Huai-nan Tzu* and other Taoist works is twofold: it points out the limits of ordinary knowledge (negative function) only to emphasize the higher cognitive power inherent in man (positive function). In the final analysis, the Taoists were perhaps the real optimists with respect to Man's intellectual endowment.

Mutual Resonance in the Realm of Nature

In Section I mutual resonance always operated through human agency. Section II expands the field of mutual resonance and shows, by many examples, that the same phenomenon is also observable in the realm of nature. The sentence 'When the eastern wind arises, clear wine overflows' has the same logical structure and meaning as 'When Master K'uang played the White Snow melody, wonderful creatures because of this descended, rain and wind broke loose', etc. The correspondence and simultaneity of pairs of natural phenomena is more direct and simple than in the cases involving human agency. The logical form, however, is the same in both cases: given A, there is B. The author presumably believed that natural correspondences, as those he described, were based on the observation of regularities, which could in turn become the basis for deducting or predicting B from A, or vice versa, for A is not the cause of B: the two simply happen at the same time. Here is a list of the natural correspondences in Section II:

A	B
east wind	wine fermentation
exuding of fresh silk	snapping of <i>shang</i> string
drawing in ashes	incomplete moon halo
death of whale	appearance of comet
mountain environment	'thick grass' clouds
river environment	'fish-scale' clouds
torrent environment	'billowy' clouds
sun mirror	fire
moon mirror	dew

A great many more instances of natural correspondences of the same type occur in Chapter Six (Section III in particular) and in other chapters (especially 3/2b-3a, 4/7a-8a, 10/16a and 16/6b, 19a). They reflect the pervasive influence of the School of *Yin-Yang* and Five Elements on *Huai-nan Tzu*.

The instances of mutual resonance in Section I are drawn from history and human affairs, whilst in Section II they are drawn from non-human nature. It is difficult not to see in this sequence a deliberate intention on the part of the author to indicate that the same principles operate in nature as in the world of man and vice versa. J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* II, 238-41, argues that such was precisely the theory held by Tsou Yen and the Naturalists, a theory that was undoubtedly transmitted both orally and by writing to Liu An and his scholar-retainers. We find a perfect exemplification of this theory in Section II, when the author presents the correspondences, first between the sage ruler, who treasures *Tao*, and the people's prosperity, and then between the distrustful ruler and minister and the appearance of sinister solar halos, as phenomena exhibiting the same patterns as the natural correspondences we have just described. For the author, a single fundamental structure undergirds history and nature, society and cosmos, mind and matter. In short, the mutual resonance that is exhibited in the various correspondences is a universal pattern. This conclusion would seem to be one of the main ideas the author intends to demonstrate in the first part of Chapter Six.

Mutual Resonance and *Yin-Yang*

Section II opens with an avowal of the ineffability of mutual resonance; and in the closing paragraph the author nevertheless proposes an explanatory theory based on *Yin-Yang*.

The general thrust of the argument is easy enough to follow. The reason why mutual resonance operates throughout the universe is that all things, even those things that are remote and essentially different — the eminent example of which is *Yin* and *Yang* — share a common *ch'i* (matter-energy). The common *ch'i* is nothing else than 'the most subtle essences' (*chih-ching*): because of their subtle nature, they can penetrate all things, even those that belong to distinct categories, such as water and fire and, ultimately, *Yin* and *Yang*.

Let us try to explicate the overall picture that is implied by the preceding statements. Things that belong to the same category resound together, influence each other and evoke

each other. The counterpart of this statement is that things that do not belong to the same category do not resound together, nor do they influence or evoke each other. Such is the case for purely natural instances of mutual resonance, for example, the lodestone attracts metals, but not tile (for more examples, see Section III). Nevertheless, there is a level at which even things that do not belong to the same category can be made to resound together — the level of the most subtle essences. This does not mean that 'anything goes', that any given thing can influence any other given thing. Mutual resonance is not arbitrary. As we have seen, the most subtle essences have their own dynamism and spontaneously bring about order and harmony: they bring about a cosmos, not a chaos.

The foregoing ideas are presented in a paragraph that could be entitled 'The sun and moon mirrors and *t'ai-chi* (Supreme Ultimate)'. It is one of the most difficult passages of Chapter Six. The difficulty can only be solved when the reader recognizes that part of the text is in the hypothetical mood; only then are the linguistic and logical aspects of the text properly accounted for. It seems neither the Chinese commentators nor the Japanese translators have understood this passage correctly. The criteria for the present translation are threefold: firstly, the translation makes sense and is consistent both with the immediate context of Section II and with the larger context of Chapter Six; secondly, the translation is linguistically justifiable, at least as much as the other possible renditions; and finally, the structure of the whole passage has a close and illuminating parallel in a later part of Chapter Six (*Huai-nan Tzu* 6/6b-7a: Essay on the Lute-tuner and the True Man).

1 Relative Resonance: the Sun and Moon Mirrors

That the sun mirror gathers fire from the sun is an example of things belonging to the same category (*Yang*) resounding together. The same is true for the moon mirror collecting water from the moon (*Yin* category). These phenomena are, given a few minor qualifications, experimentally verifiable and repeatable. The point the author is making is that the kind of mutual resonance that is exhibited in the foregoing instances is limited or relative, since it takes place among the members of a given category (*Yin* or *Yang*).

2 Total Resonance: the Supreme Ultimate (*t'ai-chi*)

Here the author is speaking of an instance of mutual resonance which is no more relative or limited to one

category, but which is total and universal, which crosses the boundaries of the categories of *Yin* and *Yang* and brings about all at once things that are essentially different, such as fire and water:

And yet, if it were within the grasp of one's hand (i.e. within one's power, *jan yi chang wo chih chung* 然以掌握之中) to gather [things within] one category from the Supreme Ultimate (*yin lei yü t'ai-chi* 引類於太極) above, then one could immediately produce both fire and water.

This is no more an empirically verifiable statement of fact: it is a speculative hypothesis. Therefore, the sentence should be in the hypothetical mood. By taking the sentence in the indicative mood, commentators and translators have failed to grasp the meaning of the text and the way of thinking of the author.

The author is here developing an argument by means of analogy. From the instances of the relative resonance of the sun and moon mirrors that 'communicate' with the 'higher poles' of the sun and moon, he extrapolates to the total resonance of that which could 'communicate' with the 'highest pole', possibly the Pole Star (*t'ai-chi*). Indications of the analogical nature of the argument are provided in the text itself: *yin lei yü t'ai-chi* (to gather [things within] one category from the Supreme Ultimate) is the correspondent or parallel of *ch'ü huo yü jih* 取火於日 (to gather fire from the sun) and *ch'u lu yü yüeh* 取露於月 (to gather dew from the moon).

The reason why a category corresponding to the Supreme Ultimate would produce simultaneously contradictory results (fire and water) is coined in a brief, lapidary formula: '*Yin* and *Yang* share a common *ch'i* and move each other.'

3 The Myth of Fu Yüeh

The paragraph ends with an unexpected allusion to the myth of Fu Yüeh, who rose to Heaven, 'straddling the two constellations of Ch'en and Wei'. Now what is the possible meaning of Ch'en and Wei in this context? We would expect them to represent constellations that belong to the categories of *Yin* and *Yang* respectively. We know from the parallel text in *Chuang Tzu* 6/41 (Watson, p. 82) that Fu Yüeh was a sage who had obtained *Tao*. It would be consistent with the stories of Section I, that having obtained *Tao*, he could not only use stars to ascend to Heaven, but that he would use two constellations which were essentially different, one representing *Yang* and the other, *Yin*. This may very well be what the author was intending to say. However, we find very little textual support for the foregoing interpretation.

For one thing, *Huai-nan Tzu* modifies the *Chuang Tzu* parallel it is obviously borrowing from, writing Ch'en 辰 instead of Chi 箕, the name of another constellation. Is there a meaningful reason for this emendation? It would seem so. Ch'en was the ancient name of a constellation in Scorpio. In other parts of *Huai-nan Tzu*, especially 3/27b, and in other Former Han works, the said constellation was no longer called Ch'en, but Hsin 心. Now, we find in two ancient sources — the Kung-yang 公羊 Commentary on *Ch'un-ch'iu* 春秋, Duke Chao 昭, 17th year (Legge, V, 668; Couvreur, III, 280) and especially *Erh-ya* 爾雅 (Literary Expositor), On Heaven — that the Ch'en constellation is defined as *ta huo* 大火 (great fire). Such a characterization apparently derived from the bright star Antares, located in the centre of the Ch'en constellation (see J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, III, 249-50). We would possibly have, here, the reason for the emendation: Ch'en, defined as fire, could represent *Yang*, whereas Chi had no such connotation. But the problem is only half solved. What about the Wei constellation? Is there any evidence that it represents *Yin*? No textual evidence lends its support to such a contention. The interpretation may therefore be false. But in the absence of better explanations, it should perhaps be accepted because it fits the context so elegantly and brings out in an original way an idea which the author expressed elsewhere in Chapter Six.

If we turn to a later section of Chapter Six, namely, the Essay on the Lute-tuner and the True Man, we find a structure which is the same as the one uncovered in this paragraph: relative resonance represented by the phenomena of musical resonance between two instruments whose strings are tuned exactly to the same pitch (experimental); total resonance in the case of a note which would set not only one string but all twenty-five strings resounding (hypothetical); and a poetic description of the True Man who, having merged with *Tao*, is in resonance with all things.

In both cases, the first two parts derive from the School of *Yin-Yang* and Five Elements, while the last part refers to Taoism, more specifically to the True Man. Fu Yüeh, as we know from the *Chuang Tzu* parallel, was precisely a True Man, who had obtained *Tao*. That was why he could 'ride' *Yin* and *Yang* to ascend to Heaven, thus transcending the most fundamental duality of the universe. The heavenly ascension of Fu Yüeh thus corresponds to the 'return to the origin' of the True Man in the Essay on the Lute-tuner.

The last part of Section II deals with the creativity of *Yin* and *Yang*. There are three main ideas in this passage. Firstly, the blending of *Yin* and *Yang* is indispensable for the birth

and transformation of things. One need not repeat that this blending takes place at the level of the most subtle essences. This is indicated clearly enough by the second idea: the creative and transformative process deriving from the union of *Yin* and *Yang* is ineffable. For instance, the ruler who wants to transform the people cannot do it by words and orders, but by the attainment of the perfect virtue ('that which acts by night') through which are activated his most subtle essences. Thereupon, even things that appear contradictory such as 'racing while sitting' become possible: a reflection of the unity at the level of the most subtle essences of the two ultimate contraries, *Yin* and *Yang*.

SECTION III

- 5a .8 The *Tao* of Heaven⁶³ is devoid of partiality in
 .9 choosing and devoid of partiality in rejecting. Those
 .10 who are capable [of *Tao*] have more than enough
 .11 whilst the inept fall short of enough. Followers of
Tao flourish whilst rebels [against it] come to grief.⁶⁴
 We may compare it to the pearl of Marquis of Sui⁶⁵

⁶³ Modern editions read *fu tao* 夫道 (*fu* being here an emphatic demonstrative), but there is general agreement among commentators that *fu* should be emended to *t'ien* 天 (Heaven). Both the Liu and the Chu editions write *t'ien*. So does Kao's commentary. Furthermore *Wen Tzu* 2/9a, *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 27/3a, and *Yü lin* 喻林 (Forest of Images) 1/2a quote this passage writing *t'ien*. The textual evidence has been collected by Liu Wen-tien, 6/5a, Wang Shu-min, p. 356, Cheng Liang-shu, p. 99, and Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 201a-b.

⁶⁴ The whole paragraph should be read in the light of the much longer parallel in *Kuan Tzu* 2/5 (Rickett, pp. 144-6), on which *Huai-nan Tzu* here depends.

⁶⁵ Modern editions write *sui* 隋. With Wang Shu-min, pp. 356-7 and Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 201b-202a, I emend 隋 to *sui* 隨, on the basis of the commentary on *Wen hsüan* 1/10b, 4/1b, 25/7a, 29/12b, 42/12b, 57/2a and *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 472/8b. Yü points out that from the reign of Emperor Wen 文 of the Sui dynasty, scholars, respecting the law of taboo, began to write 隨 as 隋. The expression *Sui-hou chih chu* 隋侯之珠 appears frequently in ancient Chinese writings, such as *Mo Tzu* and *Chuang Tzu* as well as in other chapters of *Huai-nan Tzu* (16/5a, 16/16a, and 17/18b). The Kao commentary narrates the legend of the Pearl of the Marquis of Sui as follows: 'The Marquis of Sui came upon a large serpent, which was bruised and cut, and healed its wounds with medicinal herbs. Later on, the serpent emerged from the Chiang (River) holding a fine pearl in its mouth, and offered it to the Marquis as a reward; whence its name, "the pearl of the Marquis of Sui". It is the same as the "bright moon pearl"' (see *Huai-nan Tzu* 17/18b).

and the jade disk (*pi*) of Master Ho 和;⁶⁶ those who obtained them became wealthy and those who lost them, poor.

- 5b .5 The measure of success and failure is deep and
 .6 obscure: it is difficult to explain it on the basis of
 knowledge and impossible to clarify it by means of
 discussions. How do we know it is really so? Now,
 .7 floxglove and sweet plants⁶⁷ are medicinal herbs, the
 former healing bones and the latter restoring flesh.
 To use that which heals bones to restore flesh, or
 that which restores flesh to heal bones, may be
 .8 compared to Wang Sun-cho 王孫綽,⁶⁸ who wanted to
 double the dose used for healing a half-paralyzed
 man in order⁶⁹ to bring back to life a man who had
 been killed in battle. This is 'to have lost reason'
 indeed!
 .10 If someone, because of fire's capacity to burn
 .11 wood, uses it to melt metals, *Tao* works indeed!

⁶⁶ The expression Ho-*shih chih pi* 和氏之璧 is found in *Mo Tzu* 46/259 (Mei, p. 215); there are also many references to it in *Huai-nan Tzu*: 14/15a (writing Pien *shih* 卞氏 in place of Ho *shih*); 16/5a, 14a and 16a (the last two references reading Kuo *shih* 郭氏 instead of Ho *shih*). The Kao commentary explains the reference as follows:

A man from Ch'u named Pien Ho found a piece of unpolished jade at the foot of the Ching Mountains. He offered it as tribute to King Wu [of the Chou dynasty]. King Wu had it inspected by a jade expert, who declared it to be ordinary stone. [Pien Ho] had his left leg cut off [as punishment]. When King Wen came to the throne, [Pien Ho] once more presented the jade. King Wen took it to be ordinary stone, and [Pien Ho] had his right leg cut off. Pien Ho wrapped the jade carefully and wept tears of blood. When King Ch'eng ascended the throne, Pien Ho once again presented the jade. King Ch'eng said: 'Dear sir, you disregard having your legs cut off, as long as you can have your jade piece cut up for examination.' As soon as the stone was cut, it appeared that it was truly fine jade, and it was made into a jade disk (*pi*).

A similar but much longer version of this story appears in *Han Fei Tzu* 13/66-676 (Liao, I, 113-4). It lacks the episode of King Ch'eng. The point there made is that great statesmen are to begin with ordinary people, who have been 'cut and polished', like the piece of raw jade. This is not the meaning intended by *Huai-nan Tzu*.

⁶⁷ *Ti huang* 地黃 (*Rehmania glutinosa*) and *kan ts'ao* 甘草 (*Glycyrriza glabra*) respectively; see B. Read, *Chinese Medicinal Plants* (Peiping, 1936), nos. 107 and 391.

⁶⁸ The Kao commentary says that Wang Sun-cho was either from Chou or from Wei 衛. Another commentary, preserved in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 984/4b (tentatively identified by Liu Wen-tien as Hsü Shen's) states that he was from Lu. There is a longer version of this story in *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 25:5/319 (Wilhelm, p. 435). Wang Sun-cho is there called Kung Sun-cho 公孫綽, and is said to be from Lu. In *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* the story is used to show that it is not always possible to combine small units to make a large thing, or halves to make a whole.

⁶⁹ Modern editions write *erh yü yi sheng shu-ssu chih jen* 而欲以生殊死之人. I follow Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.4b-5a, in deleting *yü* as spurious; not only does it not make good sense, but also the Kao commentary omits it in its paraphrase of the main text. Yang Shu-ta, 2/34, also follows Wang's emendation.

- 6a .1 [However,] if, because of the lodestone's capacity to attract iron, one were to try drawing tile with it, then how difficult! Things obviously cannot be explained on the basis of their being light or heavy.⁷⁰
- .2 That the sun mirror can gather fire from the
- .3 sun,⁷¹ the lodestone attract iron, the crab spoil the lacquer tree⁷² and the sunflower incline toward the
- .4 sun,⁷³ even one gifted with bright understanding
- .5 cannot explain.⁷⁴ Therefore, perception by the eye and ear is inadequate for distinguishing the patterns of things; disquisitions by the mind are insufficient for ascertaining true and false.
- 6a .5 It follows that he who relies on knowledge to rule⁷⁵ will hardly be able to sustain the state. Only
- .6 he who is merged with Grand Harmony and holds
- .7 fast to the Responses of the Natural has the capacity for such things. Therefore, when Mount Yao 峽⁷⁶ collapsed, the Po-lo 薄落 [River]⁷⁷ dried up. When
- .8 Ou 區 the Smelter⁷⁸ was born, the Pure Sword

⁷⁰ Meaning, I assume, that while iron is heavier than a tile of the same size, it can be drawn or lifted by the lodestone, while tile cannot.

⁷¹ Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.5a, proposes to omit *yü jih* 於日, because it destroys the parallelism with the three following sentences, which all have four characters each. However, Yang Shu-ta, 2/34-35, refutes Wang, arguing that *fu-sui chih ch'ü huo* 夫燧之取火 would not, in the context, form a complete sentence. Furthermore, the character 日 *jih/niêt*, 鐵 *tieh/tiêt*, 漆 *ch'it/s'iet* and 日 *jih/niêt* all rhyme; if *yü jih* is omitted, the rhyme is destroyed. I have followed Yang and retained the text as preserved in modern editions.

⁷² The Kao commentary explains that 'when crabs are put on a lacquer tree, they spoil it and (the wounds on its trunk) do not dry up, so that it cannot be used'. *Huai-nan Tzu* 16/19a says: 'When the lacquer tree suffers from crabs, [its wounds] do not dry up.'

⁷³ *Huai-nan Tzu* 17/4a uses the natural inclination of the sun-flower (*k'uei* 葵) toward the sun as an image of the Sage's inclination toward *Tao*.

⁷⁴ The Kao commentary equates *jan* 然 and *ming* 明 (bright; to shine; to make clear). There does not seem to be any other instance of *jan* being used in this way in Chinese writings. Yang Shu-ta, 2/35, thinks *jan* should be read as *nan* 難, in the sense of 'causing trouble' or 'rebuking'. He interprets the sentence to mean: 'Even one gifted with bright understanding cannot confute the evidence and verifiability of the aforementioned phenomena.' Yang supplies no ground for equating *jan* and *nan* other than his assumption, which proves to be wrong, that they were pronounced in the same way in ancient Chinese. In my opinion, Yang's interpretation should definitely be rejected.

⁷⁵ Literally, 'who takes knowledge to manage government', a play on the words 智 *chih/t'ieg* and 治 *chih/d'ieg*.

⁷⁶ According to Kao Yu, in the ancient province of Yung 雍. There is a mountain by that name in present-day Feng-hsiang hsien, Shensi.

⁷⁷ Kao says this river flowed in the commandery of Feng-yi 馮翊, in present-day Ta-li hsien, also in Shensi.

⁷⁸ Ou Yeh [Tzu] 歐冶 [子] was a master sword-craftsman, who lived at the time of King Kou-chien 勾踐 (496-465 bc) of Yüeh. He is mentioned as a sword-maker in *Huai-nan Tzu* 11/13a-b (Wallacker, p. 40) and 13/21b (Morgan, p. 170). According to *Yüeh chüeh shu* 越絕書 (History of the Destruction of Yüeh) 11/91a-92a, Ou Yeh was commissioned by the King to cast five excellent swords, *ch'un-kou* 淳鉤 (*ch'un* is written differently in ancient sources) being one of them. *Yen-t'ieh lun* 鹽鐵論 (Discourses on Salt and Iron) 17/20 (Gale, p. 108) states that Ou Yeh was also an expert in casting cauldrons and bells.

- (Ch'un-kou) was forged. When Chou 紂 ruled without
- .9 [following] *Tao*, Tso Ch'iang 左強⁷⁹ served as his minister. Because the Grand Duke⁸⁰ lived through two generations, King Wu's 武 undertakings were successful.
 - .10 Looking at it from this angle, the paths of benefit and injury, the doors of prosperity and misfortune, cannot be discovered through seeking.
 - .11 *Tao* and *Te* are related to each other like tanned leather [helmet] and rough leather [body armour]:⁸¹ if you leave them (the helmet and body armour, i.e. *Tao* and *Te*) far apart, then they (injury and misfortune) reach you; if you keep them tight

⁷⁹ Kao describes Tso Ch'iang as 'a sycophant minister, who taught King Chou (last ruler of the Shang dynasty) to use his power without concern for *Tao*, just to satisfy his lust and greed'. Yang Shu-ta, 2/35, points out that Tso Ch'iang 左強 is the same as Tso Ch'iang 左彊 — the two *ch'iang* being interchangeable characters — mentioned in *Shih chi* 128/3234; he is presented there also as a flatterer and corruptor.

⁸⁰ T'ai-kung here stands for T'ai-kung Wang 太公望, the honorific title of Lü Shang 呂尚, preceptor to both King Wu and King Wen. *Shih chi* 32/1477-1478 (Chavannes, IV, 34-6) explains the origin of this title as follows: King Wen's father, whose honorific title was T'ai-kung, had told his son that he would one day meet a man of worth in strange circumstances and this man would contribute greatly to the prosperity of the Chou dynasty. One day King Wen went hunting and came upon Lü Shang, who was fishing. As soon as he spoke to him, King Wen realized this was the man his father (T'ai-kung) had predicted and so called him T'ai-kung Wang, 'the hope of the Grand Duke' or 'he whom the Grand Duke has foreseen'. T'ai-kung Wang played a major part in the conquest of the Shang by King Wu and in the completion of King Wu's empire by King Wen, thus living through two generations. When his work was done, T'ai-kung Wang was enfeoffed as the first prince of Ch'i. He was later deified under the title of Chiang-tzu-ya 姜子牙, and many legends about him are narrated in *Feng-shen yen-yi* 封神演義 (Romance of the Immortals; for this work, see Liu Ts'un-yan, under 'Lu Hsi-hsing', in L.C. Goodrich and C.Y. Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Bibliography*, I, 993-4).

⁸¹ Kao comments on this sentence: 'Rough leather is like *Tao*, tanned leather is like *te*. If one tries to put *Tao* at a distance, it is right beside him. If one tries to obtain *Tao* by active efforts, *Tao* has already gone far away. If one does not engage in active efforts, [*Tao*] comes to him; but if one engages in active efforts, *Tao* goes away from him.' Kao speaks only of *Tao* and fails to explain how the image of rough leather and tanned leather is used to illustrate the relation between *Tao* and *te*. The only scholar who has, to my knowledge, attempted to clarify this point is Chin Ch'i-yüan 金其原, *Tu-shu kuan-chien* 讀書觀見 (Glimpses from Reading Books), p. 69. Chin, on the basis of *Shih-ching and Chou li*, interprets *wei* 韋 not as tanned leather in general, but as a military helmet made of red tanned leather, called more specifically *wei-pien* 韋弁; again, *ko* 革 does not refer simply to rough leather, but to a kind of armour that covered the body. *Wei* and *ko* would both refer to protective gear against arrows and missiles. Thus, in the same way as the tanned leather helmet (*wei*) and the rough leather armour (*ko*) protect the whole person from the wounds of arrows and missiles only if they are well (tightly) fitted together, so *Tao* and *te*, if they are closely 'knit' together, protect one's person from misfortune and injury. I have followed Chin's interpretation in my translation.

together, then they (injury and misfortune) are kept away.⁸²

- 6b .1 To fail to obtain *Tao* is like watching minnows.⁸³
 .4 The Sage⁸⁴ therefore is like a mirror, neither sending [things] away nor welcoming [things], responding but not storing. Thus, he undergoes Ten Thousand Changes without the slightest injury. He
 .6 who [stops to think he] has obtained it (*Tao*) has just lost it; but he who [thinks he] has lost it, has he not just obtained it?⁸⁵

COMMENTARY

In the first two sections, the author established the universal extension (society and cosmos) of mutual resonance; and in the present section, he demonstrates its beneficial character, especially in the political sphere.

The main idea of Section III is that good fortune and

⁸² Modern editions read *yüan* 遠 (far; to distance; to keep or put away), but according to Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.5a-b, the text should read *shu* 疏 (to keep away; separate; distance). Wang brings forward three reasons for his emendation: a parallel text in *Huai-nan Tzu* 20/1a writes *shu* instead of *yüan*; 德 *te/tək* and 羊 *ko/kək* rhyme in the preceding sentence, and 疏 *shu/sjö* and 魚 *yü/ngio* in the following. If we read 遠 *yüan/giwan*, the rhyme would be destroyed; and the parallel passage in *Wen Tzu* 2/9a reads *shu*, not *yüan*. I follow Wang's emendation.

⁸³ *Yu-yü* 魮魚 is a small, tricky fish: one may catch a glimpse of it in the water, but it is very difficult to track and impossible to catch. *Tao*, according to Kao Yu, is also like this. In the famous story where Hui Shih asked Chuang Tzu how he knew the fish were happy (*Chuang Tzu* 17/108; Watson, pp. 188-9), the same term is used. *Huai-nan Tzu* is perhaps alluding to that story.

⁸⁴ Modern editions omit *jen* 人 (man) after *sheng* 聖 (sage; holy). I follow Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.5b in adding *jen* to the text. Wang bases his emendation on the parallel passage in *Chuang Tzu* 7/51 (Watson, p. 97), as well as on quotations of this text in *Wen Tzu* 2/9a, *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 401/7b, 717/3a, and *Yi lin* 意林 (Forest of Ideas) 2/29. Wang Shu-min, p. 357, adduces further evidence from *T'ien-chung chi* 24/3a, while Cheng Liang-shu, pp. 99-100, notes that the Wang Ying and the Chu editions both have the *jen* reading.

⁸⁵ This sentence has posed serious difficulties to Chinese commentators. Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.6a says the character *fei* 非 (not; not to be; wrong; to condemn) makes the sentence unintelligible, and proposes to omit *fei*, presumably on the strength of the Kao commentary. The text would then read: 'He who thinks he has obtained *Tao* has just lost it; he who thinks he has lost it has just obtained it.' Cheng Liang-shu, p. 100, agrees with Wang's emendation, on the basis of the Liu, Wang Ying and Chu editions, which all omit *fei*. Yü Yüeh, 30/352, would retain *fei*, but add *wei shih* 未始 before *fei*, and omit *nai* 乃 after *fei*. The text would then read: 'He who thinks he has obtained it [*Tao*] has just lost it; he who thinks he has lost it still has got it' (lit. 'has not yet begun not to have gotten it'). In their editions of *Huai-nan Tzu*, Liu Chia-li and Shen Te-hung both follow Yü's emendation. Yang Shu-ta, 2/35, rejects Wang's and Yü's emendations and accepts the text as it appears in most modern editions. He points out that the final *yeh* 也 has an interrogative function, interchangeable in this case with *yeh* 邪. Yü Hsing-wu, 2/355-356, reaches the same conclusion (independently?). I agree with Yang's reading of this text.

success are the spontaneous outcome of being one with *Tao*, and can neither be understood nor obtained by ordinary or conventional knowledge. However, going against *Tao* results in failure and misfortune. This also seems to be the outcome of mutual response.

The section may be logically divided in two parts:

- *Tao* is the source of benefit (success and good fortune). As a counterpart, its absence brings about injury (failure and misfortune).
- For the Sage (ruler) to bring about benefit and ward off injury, he must be constantly united with *Tao*. The constant union is difficult: only the humble and unassuming are capable of it.

The author distinguishes the mere absence of resonance from that which brings about nefarious results. The former is illustrated by the misapplication of medical prescriptions and of the lodestone, and the latter, by the collapse of Mount Yao and the subsequent drying up of the Po-lo River, and the wicked King Chou who was matched by a corrupt minister, Tso Ch'iang. The author seems to establish a symmetry between 'good' and 'bad' resonance. At any rate, the absence of resonance between certain kinds of things confirms the explanation given in Section II: that at the level of 'relative resonance', things that do not belong to the same category do not resonate together.

In Section II, we also quoted an important passage from the present section on the ineffability of mutual resonance (6/6a. 2-5). Seen in context the passage appears as closely linked to political rule. Now, political rule is the prime impulse, the directive idea of Chapter Six. There were in Sections I and II many statements alluding directly or indirectly to the author's intent of defining the essential conditions of a perfect government. But, the theme breaks open for the first time in the present text, following immediately the passage already quoted on the ineffability of mutual resonance. For the author of Chapter Six, that whereby the perfect ruler governs effectively and benefits the people is also ineffable, and transcends thought and language. The perfect ruler needs to be one with *Tao* in order to govern through mutual resonance.

It follows that he who relies on knowledge (*chih/t'ieg* 智) to rule (*chih/d'iæg* 治) will hardly be able (*nan* 難) to sustain the state. Only he who is merged with Great Harmony (*t'ai-ho* 太和) and holds fast to the Responses of the Natural (*tzu-jan chih ying* 自然之應) has the capacity for such things.

The first sentence is probably a pun on the phonetic similarity of *tiēg* (to know; wisdom) and *d'īæg* (to rule; to govern). The word used to indicate the failure or nefarious result of conventional knowledge to rule the state is *nan* 難 (difficult), the same word that describes the failure of magnetic resonance in the case of tile.

The second sentence expresses the author's view about the ideal ruler, a conception which once more blends together ideas deriving from Taoism (Great Harmony) and those deriving from the Theory of *Yin-Yang* (Responses of the Natural).

The two pairs of parallel sentences that follow (6/6a.7-9) illustrate the two contrasting statements about political rule quoted above. One cannot but admire the artistry of the author. From a stylistic standpoint, they are grouped 1-2 and 3-4, each pair being built along parallel lines. But from the standpoint of meaning, they are grouped 1-3 and 2-4, the first pair illustrating the nefarious results of government based on conventional knowledge, and the second pair illustrating the beneficial results issuing from union with *Tao* and mutual resonance.

The first two paragraphs reiterate the ineffability of success and failure and of benefit and injury, and insist on the necessity for the sage (ruler) to be united with *Tao* at all times. The author admits the difficulty of never 'losing sight' of *Tao*, for it is as elusive and unpredictable as minnows. However, a mirror would faithfully reflect the sudden zigzags of the minnows. When the sage ruler's mind is as pure and undisturbed as a mirror, he will respond optimally to each new situation.

The last sentence of the section has been a source of frustration for many commentators. The text appears to be ironic and paradoxical. It is probably a typical Taoist 'jibe' at those who would pretend to have obtained *Tao*. The passage could be a fitting conclusion to the imaginary conversation about *Tao* between Hun 魂 (spiritual soul) and P'o 魄 (somatic soul) in *Huai-nan Tzu* 16/1a-b. In the end it is revealed that P'o, who pretended to know *Tao*, in fact did not, while Hun, who admitted he did not know *Tao*, in fact did.

SECTION IV

- 6b .9 When the lute-tuner⁸⁶ strikes the *kung* note [on
 .10 one instrument], the *kung* note [on the other
 instrument] responds; when he plucks the *chiao* note
 [on one instrument], the *chiao* note [on the other
 instrument] vibrates. This results from having
 corresponding musical notes⁸⁷ in mutual harmony.
 .11 Now, [let us assume that] someone changes the
 tuning of one string in such a way that it does not
 match any of the five notes, and by striking it sets all
 twenty-five strings resonating. In this case there has
 as yet been no differentiation as regards sound;⁸⁸ it
 7a .1 just happens that that [sound] which governs all musical
 .2 notes⁸⁹ has been evoked.⁹⁰
 .3 Thus, he who is merged with Supreme Harmony
 is beclouded as if dead-drunk, and drifts about in
 .4 its midst in sweet contentment, unaware how he came
 there; engulfed in pure delight as he sinks to the
 depths, benumbed as he reaches the end, he is as if
 he had not yet begun to emerge from his origin. This
 .5 is called the Great Merging.

⁸⁶ Modern editions read *hsien* 弦 (string of a musical instrument). However, I follow Yang Shu-ta, 2/36, and Wang Shu-min, p. 357, in emending *hsien* to *se* 瑟 (the great twenty-five silk-string lute). Both scholars attribute the mistake to a contamination of the text by *tiao yi hsien* 調一弦, which occurs later. They note that the parallel in *Chuang Tzu* 24/158 (Watson, pp. 267-8) also reads *se*. Yang Shu-ta adds that *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* 57/297 contains a parallel passage, which also reads *se*. Yang suggests it would not make good sense for the author of *Huai-nan Tzu* to speak in the following line of 'all twenty-five strings resonating', if he had not mentioned previously what musical instrument was being used. The *se* was precisely a twenty-five string instrument.

⁸⁷ Modern editions read *sheng* 聲 (sound in a general sense). This reading was probably influenced by the parallel text in *Yi-ching* 1A/5 (Wilhelm/Baynes, p. 382: 'Things that accord in tone vibrate together'). However, I agree with Wang Shu-min, p. 357, on the basis of Kao's commentary and of the parallel text in *Huai-nan Tzu* 11/15b (Wallacker, p. 42), that it should read *yin* 音 (musical sound; note; tone). See the following note.

⁸⁸ There would seem to be an opposition here between *sheng* and *yin*, the former referring to sound in general, to 'raw' sound, the latter meaning musical sound, 'measured' sound, and particularly, the five-note scale of ancient Chinese music. Summing up ancient Chinese commentaries on the subject, Chavannes, *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, III, 238, note 3, writes: 'La note musicale (*yin*) se distingue du simple son 聲 en ce qu'elle n'est pas un son quelconque, mais un son qui a certains rapports harmoniques avec d'autres sons.'

⁸⁹ Lit. 'It just happens that the lord of [all] notes has assumed shape.' *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/3a has the expression *chün hsing che* 君形者; the Kao commentary explains: 'It means the innermost essence [of man] was manifested.'

⁹⁰ See my commentary to Section IV, p. 141-2

COMMENTARY

This literary unit may be considered as the most important passage of Chapter Six. It contains two distinct paragraphs, which could be entitled respectively 'Musical Resonance' and 'Return to the Origin'. The first theme, as we shall see, derives from the School of *Yin-Yang* and Five Elements and the second, from Taoism. Their combination into one literary unit expresses once again the central philosophy of Chapter Six, inasmuch as it resides in a synthesis of the two philosophical traditions mentioned above.

That the two paragraphs form one single literary unit is indicated clearly by the recurrence at the crucial point of each paragraph of parallel formulae:

- *wei shih yi yü sheng* 未始異於聲 (There had as yet been no differentiation as regards sound); and
- *wei shih ch'u ch'i tsung* 未始出其宗 (He [the True Man] had not yet begun to emerge from his origin).

The full import of the parallel formulae as well as the structural unity of the two paragraphs will become clearer as we analyze the text in more detail.

Musical Resonance

The first paragraph on musical resonance occurs in shorter or longer versions and in different contexts — and therefore with different implications — in *Chuang Tzu* 24/158 Watson, pp. 267-8), *Ch'u tz'u* 13/156 (Hawkes, p. 133, l. 29), *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 13:2/127 (Wilhelm, p. 161), *Huai-nan Tzu* 11/15b (Wallacker, pp. 41-2) and *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* 春秋繁露 (Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals) 57/4b-5a (Fung/Bodde, pp. 253-4). The foregoing texts illuminate each other, and it is by their mutual comparison that we can fully understand the passage on musical resonance in Chapter Six. The descriptions contained in the various sources may be conveniently divided into three parts: introduction, relative resonance and total resonance.

1 Introduction

Only *Chuang Tzu*'s version offers introductory remarks. It explains that two great lutes (*se* 瑟) are placed, one in the hall, the other in an inner chamber. When the *kung* 宮 note is struck on one lute, that on the other instrument resounds; and so on for the *chiao* 角 note. *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* indicates that two different instruments, the great lute (*se*) and the small lute (*ch'in* 琴) are used. Since *Chuang Tzu* is the oldest

version, the other sources seem to assume that two instruments are used. *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 is translated on that supposition, the Kao commentary notwithstanding.

2 Relative Resonance

Notes of the same pitch, such as the strings of two lutes tuned to the *kung* note, cause each other to vibrate in unison. This is the only part that is common to all six parallels. It was perhaps the original core around which the more elaborate versions developed. It may have been connected with an early saying preserved in *Yi ching* 1A/5 (Wilhelm/Baynes, p. 382): 'Things that accord in tone vibrate together.' At any rate, the description of sympathetic resonance given in the Chinese sources is experimentally verifiable and testifies to a marked interest of the Chinese thinkers in acoustic phenomena (J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, IV:1, 126-31).

In *Chuang Tzu* the sympathetic resonance is explained on the basis of the *Yin-Yang* theory. The *Yang* sound (*kung*) evokes its correspondent on the other instrument, and so for the *Yin* sound (*chiao*). *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 interprets the phenomena of relative resonance in the same way: 'This is the result of having corresponding musical notes in mutual harmony.' As we recall, in Section II the respective correspondence of *Yang* elements (sun mirror, sun) and *Yin* elements (moon mirror, moon) produced results 'at a distance' (fire and water, respectively) by the communication of subtle essences too small to be perceived or manipulated. The same is true here. In this sense 'musical resonance' is a phenomenon of the same kind as 'solar resonance' and 'lunar resonance'.

3 Total Resonance

Only the Taoist versions (*Chuang Tzu* and the two parallels in *Huai-nan Tzu*) describe this 'super-experiment', or better, 'hypothesis': that by striking an untuned string on the lute, one perchance sets all twenty-five strings resounding. Now, while the phenomenon of relative resonance is empirically verifiable, total resonance is obviously not. It seems Yang Shu-ta 楊樹達, *Huai-nan Tzu cheng-wen* 淮南子證聞 (Critical Emendations of *Huai-nan Tzu*) 2/36, is the only commentator to have recognized this fact; he compares total resonance to other marvellous phenomena adduced by *Huai-nan Tzu* as illustrations of *Tao*, such as the extraordinary chariotteering of Ch'ien Ch'ieh 鉗且 and Tsao Fu 造父.

The key sentence of this passage is: *tz'u wei shih yi yü sheng erh yin chih chün yi hsing yeh* 此未始異於聲而音之君已形也

(In this case, there has as yet been no differentiation as regards sounds; it just happens that that [sound] which governs all musical notes has been evoked). The *Chuang Tzu* text is identical, except for the omission of *tz'u* at the beginning and *hsing yeh* at the end of the sentence.

Grammatically, the interpretation and translation of the foregoing sentence hinges on the preposition *yü* 於, which has two basic meanings: 'from' and 'at', 'in', 'into', 'with reference to'. In the first case, the translation would read: 'In this case, there has as yet been no differentiation *from* sound. It just happens that the lord of sound has been evoked.' Watson, p. 268, obviously interpreted *yü* in this way, for he translates the *Chuang Tzu* parallel: 'But he [Lu Chü 魯遽] was still using sounds to produce his effect; in this case it just happened to be the note that governs other notes.' Watson, p. 168, note 9, observes that 'although Lu Chü made fun of his disciple for "simply using *yang* to attract *yang*", his own stunts were confined to the same level; i.e. he used sounds to produce sounds.' This interpretation is grammatically possible. However, if we understand *yü* in the sense of 'in', 'into', or 'with reference to', the resulting translation is quite different from Watson's: 'In this case, there has as yet been not differentiation *as regards* sound; it just happens that the lord of [musical] notes has been evoked.' *Huai-nan Tzu* is here referring to a level of reality which goes beyond ordinary sounds. It is no more a question of *Yang* sounds evoking corresponding-*Yang* sounds. That which causes the twenty-five strings to resound is not a particular sound belonging either to the *Yang* or to the *Yin* category. It transcends all categories of sound.

That this is the correct interpretation of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 can be proved from an analysis of the text itself, as well as from a comparison with *Huai-nan Tzu* 11/15b.

Firstly, the sentence following immediately in *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/6b-7a describes the man who is merged with Grand Harmony, concluding that he is 'as if he had not yet begun to emerge from his origin'. Sentences presenting the same structure appear in *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/2a (see Section II) and 14/1b (already quoted in Section II), and in both cases describe the state of non-differentiation of the True Man (*chen-jen*), who has attained *Tao*. Non-differentiation is expressed in many different ways in Taoism, mainly by symbolic expressions, such as *p'u* 樸 (uncarved block), *tsung* 宗 (origin), *t'ai-yi* 太一 (Great Unity), *t'ai-ch'u* 太初 (Great Beginning) and so on, all of which recur often in *Huai-nan Tzu*. Non-differentiation refers to the perfect beginning before distinction, division, multiplicity and separateness emerged: everything was

smoothly and harmoniously blended into one compact whole; everything was simultaneously 'together'. The theme of 'Return to the Origin', as was noted before, pervades *Huai-nan Tzu*. Now, the important point is that the sentence of our text in Chapter Six, *wei shih yi yü sheng*, presents the same grammatical structure and also refers to the idea of non-differentiation in the realm of sound. This interpretation fully respects the grammar of the text, the philosophical context, and makes better sense than other grammatically acceptable readings. The clause 而音之君已形也 points to the same conclusion. The 'lord of sound' is not just any particular sound but something different from all usual sounds. That this is the meaning intended by *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 is confirmed by comparing with the parallel in *Huai-nan Tzu* 11/15b. There, instead of 未始異於聲, we read a five-word sentence: *tz'u pu ch'uan chih tao yeh* 此不傳之道也 (This is the *Tao* that cannot be transmitted), a phrase already used in *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/3a.1 to express the ineffability of *Tao*. Again, in place of 而音之君已形也, *Huai-nan Tzu* 11/15b reads: *ku hsiao-t'iao che hsing chih chün erh chi-mo che yin chih chu yeh* 故蕭條者形之君而寂寞者音之主也 (Formlessness is the lord of shapes and deep silence is the master of [musical] notes) (Wallacker, p. 42; tr. mod.) Wallacker, p. 69, note 254, correctly understands this passage when he comments: 'Absence of form and absence of sound are fundamental to all form and sound.' The meaning of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/6b-7a is no different. The parallel in *Chuang Tzu* should obviously be interpreted in the light of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 and 11.

In brief, total resonance differs in kind, not in degree, from relative resonance. There is a difference of level. The author starts from a solid but meaningful empirical fact that displays resonance and, from there, analogizes to a meta-empirical or metaphysical level where resonance is all-encompassing. The process is precisely the same, as we already noted in Section II, between the sun and moon mirrors and the Supreme Ultimate (*t'ai-chi*).

Return to the Origin

With the second paragraph, which we entitled 'Return to the Origin', *Huai-nan Tzu* breaks away from the parallel sources, especially *Chuang Tzu*, and goes its own way. Seen from the standpoint of the literary unit as a whole the passage on 'Musical Resonance' was an introductory metaphor for the mystical experience of the True Man that follows. Once more we cannot help but appreciate the perfect mastery of the author over his subject-matter, his sources and the literary

devices he fashions to lead the reader to the highest reaches of the human mind.

Having reached the origin, the perfect beginning and *Tao*, the True Man is in a state of total resonance with all and everything in the universe, transcending the apparent opposites and contradictions of common sense, just as the magical note (silence) set all twenty-five strings resounding, and just as the all-comprehensive category corresponding to the Supreme Ultimate (emptiness) embraced all at once fire and water, *Yang* and *Yin*.

In the present text the author for the first time lets us peek into the mental complexion of the True Man 'on his way back to the origin'. Most of the binary combinations of characters in the text occur nowhere else or none earlier than in *Huai-nan Tzu*; they represent what appears to be a personal and original effort to express traditional Taoist ideas, like that of 'returning to the origin' (*Lao Tzu* 40 and 52), in a new poetic and even mystical idiom.

Now, the full import of Section IV taken as a whole lies, as was stated before, in the ingenious weaving together of two philosophical strands, one deriving from the School of *Yin-Yang* and Five Elements, and the other from Taoism.

Although the idea of musical resonance is found in the older strata of *Yi ching*, it was people like Tsou Yen and his fellow-scholars who drew the main implications from the acoustic phenomena. J.S. Major has convincingly demonstrated the pervading influence of Tsou Yen on *Huai-nan Tzu* 4. Major, *Huai-nan Tzu Chapter Four*, p. 34, concludes:

The relentless cataloguing of categories of five-element and other correlations by Warring States and Han cosmologists points to a further doctrine that perhaps could be regarded as a genuine creation of the Tsou Yen school: *ch'i* and the concept of resonance.

And again:

The question is, how do these effects come about in the absence of mathematical or mechanical links among the things in a single category? The answer, supplied by Tsou Yen and his school, is that things in a category 'vibrate' resonantly together, as two identically-tuned lute strings will vibrate together, and do so through the medium of *ch'i*, an invisible, aethereal, vibrant substance that permeates the universe.

It is difficult to find a clearer and more articulate formulation of the nature of musical resonance and of its origin with the Tsou Yen school. On the strength of Major's conclusion we can also assert the musical origin of the idea of *kan-ying*.

That the paragraph on 'Return to the Origin' is an essentially Taoist doctrine needs no further demonstration. Section IV is thus a deliberate attempt to combine in a logical and harmonious way Taoist and *Yin-Yang* and Five Elements ideas. Is it possible not to agree that the author fully succeeded in his endeavour and achieved both beauty of literary form and philosophical synthesis?

SECTION V

- 7a .5 When ⁹¹ the red hornless dragon and the green
horned dragon⁹² roamed the land of Chi 冀,⁹³ the sky
.6 was limpid and the earth undisturbed. Venomous
animals caused no harm; flying birds, no terror.
They (the red and green dragons) entered⁹⁴ thick
growths, fed on grass seeds which they savoured in
.7 their mouth bit by bit, and their course did not
exceed the space of a hundred *mu*.⁹⁵ So, the mud-
eels⁹⁶ disparaged them, presuming they were no
.8 match for them in rivers and seas. But, let the
.10 somber clouds meet⁹⁷ with the bright sky and

⁹¹ The two following allegories should be read in the light of the similar allegories which form the opening pages of *Chuang Tzu* (Watson, pp. 29-32). The actors (animals) and style are different. *Huai-nan Tzu* makes a much larger use of mythological and cosmological lore than *Chuang Tzu*, but the point of the allegories is, in both works, the same: namely, that petty men are hemmed in by the trivia of their own existence, and cannot understand the grand designs and ambitions of superior men, who have attained *Tao*.

⁹² Kao explains that both *ch'ih-ch'ih* 赤螭 and *ch'ing-ch'iu* 青虯 belong to the species of dragons (*lung* 龍). According to *Kuang ya* 廣雅 (Enlarged [Erh] Ya) 10/6a, *ch'ih* is a hornless dragon, while *ch'iu* is a horned dragon. The expressions *ch'ih-ch'ih* and *ch'ing-ch'iu* appear in *Tzu-hsü fu* 子虛賦 (*Fu* on Sir Fantasy) of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, in *Shih chi* 117/3017 and 3020 (Watson, II, 309 and 312, translates: 'hornless dragon' and 'horned dragon'). B. Read, *Materia Medica; Dragon and Snake Drugs*, no. 104, states that *ch'ih* and *ch'iu* are two of the four kinds of dragons collectively known as *chiao-lung* 蛟龍 (*Crocodylus porosus*).

⁹³ Chi 冀 was one of the legendary Nine Provinces, the central one. Here, it seems to stand, by metonymy, for the known Chinese world.

⁹⁴ Most recent printings of the Chuang K'uei-chi edition mistakenly write *jen* 人 (man) instead of *ju* 入 (to enter). Cheng Liang-shu, p. 100, attributes the mistake to Chuang himself, but Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 203b, has shown that it was rather due to later printers, since the first printing of Chuang's edition read *ju*, and not *jen*.

⁹⁵ The value of *mu* 畝 varied greatly according to times and places in China. During Han times, *mu* was equivalent to two hundred and forty square paces (*pu* 步). In the present allegorical passage, the term *mu* has no fixed dimensional significance.

⁹⁶ According to Read, *Chinese Materia Medica; Fish Drugs*, no. 165, *she-shan* 蛇鰻 is a kind of mud-eel, also called *shan-yü* 鱔魚 (*Fluta alba*), which is poisonous and was believed to be metamorphosed from snakes.

⁹⁷ Kao explains that 'the somber clouds ascend and unite with the bright sky'. Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.6a-b, would emend *chih* 之 as superfluous on the basis that *hsüan-yün* 玄雲 (somber clouds) and *su-ch'ao* 素朝 (bright sky) are parallel, or rather antithetical, compounds. Also, the sentence should have only four characters to conform to the context. Wang notes that the commentary on *Wen hsüan* 4/3b and 6/8a also omits *chih*. I agree with Cheng Liang-shu, p. 100, that Wang's reasons are insufficient to support his emendation. Kao's implicit understanding of *chih* in a verbal sense — here interchangeable with *chih* 至 (to reach) — makes good sense in the context.

Yin and Yang struggle with each other, bringing down storms of wind and rain.⁹⁸ Then they (the red and green dragons) would be carried upward by the storm. Their awesomeness moved Heaven and Earth, their din shook all within the seas. Great sea turtles and alligators⁹⁹ plunged down a hundred fathoms. Black bears and brown bears¹⁰⁰ took to the mountains and hills¹⁰¹ on all fours. Tigers and

⁹⁸ Modern editions write *tung* 凍 (ice), but I follow Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.6a, in emending to *tung* 濤 (heavy shower; squall). Kao Yu explains *tung* 濤 by *pao-yü* 暴雨 (torrential rains; cloud-burst), and *Erh-ya* 8/8 defines *pao-yü* by *tung* 濤. Wang also notes that *tung-yü* 濤雨 appears in *Ch'u tz'u* 2/40, which Hawkes, p. 39, 1.4, renders by 'rainstorm'.

⁹⁹ Modern editions write *she-shan* 蛇蟠 (mud-eel), but I agree with Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.6b-7a, that *she* is a mistaken character for *yüan* 鼃 (interchangeable with *yüan* 鼃) meaning 'the great sea-turtle' (*Pelochelys cantorii*); see Read, *Chinese Materia Medica; Turtle and Shellfish Drugs*, no. 213. Read mentions that according to *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* 13B/4a, *yüan* is the largest of all scaly animals. Wang argues that *shan* is interchangeable with *t'o* 鼈, meaning alligator (*Alligator sinensis*; Read, *op. cit.*, no. 105). *T'o* is also a large and fearsome animal, reaching twenty feet long. The mistake of *she* for *yüan* was due to the occurrence of *she-shan* both before and after in the text. Wang points out that the mud-eel (*she-shan*) lives in shallow waters, and it would be senseless to say that 'it dived a hundred fathoms'. The point of the story is that while such a feeble creature as the mud-eel scorned the red and green dragons, awesome animals such as the great sea-turtle and the alligator fled in terror when the dragons took flight in the storm. How much more terrified, then, the despicable mud-eel should have been! If the mistake is not emended, the point of the whole story is lost.

¹⁰⁰ *Hsiung* 熊 refers to the Himalayan black bear (*Ursus torquatus*), renowned for its speed and agility; *p'i* 羆 is the yellow or brown bear (*Ursus arctos*), described in Chinese sources as fierce and fearless. See Read, *Chinese Materia Medica; Animal Drugs*, no. 361.

¹⁰¹ Wang Yin-chih, *Tu-shu tsa-chih* 9/6.7a, proposes to emend *ch'an* 磬 (cliff) to *chih* 之 (genitive, or possessive particle). He argues that *ch'an-yen* 磬巖 means 'high, lofty mountains'. It would make no sense to say that bears, frightened by the flight of the dragons, fled to high mountains and cliffs; rather, they crouched and hid themselves in some obscure, 'covert' den. Wang notes that in his commentary on *Ch'u tz'u* 13/153, Wang Yi takes *yen* to mean *hsüeh* 穴 (cave; hole; underground dwelling). Thus the sentence would read 熊羆匍匐丘山之巖 'black bears and brown bears fled on all fours to caves in the hills'. Wang Yin-chih adds that the following sentence, speaking of 'tigers and leopards huddling in caves', intends the same meaning. Finally, 丘山之巖 is parallel to 百仞之中 in the preceding sentence; if we retain *ch'an*, we destroy the parallelism. Yang Shu-ta, 2/36-37, however, disagrees with Wang and would retain the *ch'an* reading. Yang shows, on the authority of *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu*, that *ch'an-yen* does not mean 'high, lofty mountains', as Wang assumed, but rather 'rocky mountains', as opposed to 'soft, earth mountains'. This explanation is based on the fact that *yen* 巖 (ordinarily, cliff) here stands for *yen* 礧 (rocky mountain). Yang rejects Wang's other arguments, observing that while there is continuity of meaning in the preceding and following sentences the phraseology is different, and the law of literary parallelism cannot be invoked. Yang finally blames Liu Chia-li for blindly following Wang's emendation in his edition of *Huai-nan Tzu*. Both commentators have valid textual reasons to justify their interpretation. However, the larger ideological and literary context of the clause in question would seem to favour Wang Yin-chih's explanations. For, notwithstanding Yang's contention, there is definite parallelism between the clause we are studying and the preceding one ('plunging to the depths'), just as the two following clauses also make a balanced pair. Parallelism is, in my opinion, the decisive factor of interpretation in the present case.

- .2 leopards¹⁰² huddled in caves, not daring to roar.
 Gibbons and small monkeys¹⁰³ toppled down and
 .3 pitched forward, missing the tree branches. How
 much more should this be the case, then, for the
 mere mud-eels!
 .8 When the male and female phoenixes flew in
 their highest perfection, thunder and lightning did
 .9 not strike down, wind and rain did not break loose,
 river valleys did not flood, nor did grass and trees
 [even] quiver. So, the sparrows¹⁰⁴ derided¹⁰⁵ them
 (the phoenixes), maintaining they could never com-
 .10 pete with them (the sparrows) in [flying] between
 8a .1 the eaves and ridgepole¹⁰⁶ [of the hayloft]. But
 .3 came¹⁰⁷ the moment when they (the phoenixes)

¹⁰² Read, *Chinese Materia Medica; Animal Drugs*, no. 351, notes that according to Chinese sources the tiger 'roars like thunder and causes wind to rise'; the passage is from *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/3a. The leopard is said to have received its name 'on account of the fierce character of the animal, "Pao Lieh" meaning fierce' (no. 352).
¹⁰³ Read, *op. cit.*, no. 401A, quotes Chinese sources to the effect that the gibbon, *yüan* 獼 (Hylobates agilis), 'can jump many tens of feet'. The small monkey, *yu* 狢 (Semnopithecus larvatus), is described (no. 402) as very fearful: 'When it sees people it runs up and down the branches of trees knocking itself, cutting its head and breaking its limbs.' This quotation may well be a paraphrase of the passage of *Huai-nan Tzu* we are studying.

¹⁰⁴ The expression *yen ch'üeh* 燕雀 can be understood by taking the two characters separately as 'swallows and sparrows', or taking the characters together, as 'sparrows' in general. For instance, we find the expression in *Shih chi* 127/3219; Watson, II, 474, takes the two characters together and translates, 'flocks of little sparrows'. For the sake of parallelism with the mud-eels in the first allegory, the two characters are here read together and translated simply by 'sparrows'.

¹⁰⁵ Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.7a-b rejects Kao Yu's explanation of *hsiao* 佼 as meaning 'to compare oneself advantageously with others', and proposes to understand it as *hsiao* 蛟 (the two characters were interchangeable), meaning 'to ridicule; to deride; to belittle'. Kao notes that *hsiao* 佼 is sometimes written *chiao* 詵, which Cheng Liang-shu, p. 100, defines by *hsiao* 笑, 'to ridicule; to laugh; to laugh at'. The present translation follows Wang's and Cheng's interpretation.

¹⁰⁶ Modern editions write *yü-chou* 宇宙. Kao Yu defines *yü* as 'roof eaves' and *chou* as 'ridgepole'. The compound *yü-chou* occurs thirteen times in *Huai-nan Tzu*, and in all cases except this one, it is used in the sense of the universe of space and time. In three different instances (*Huai-nan Tzu* 1/3a, 3/1a and 16/9b), the commentary defines *yü* as 'the four [cardinal] directions, plus the central axis' and *chou* as 'the flow of time from antiquity to the present'. In two other instances (*Huai-nan Tzu* 1/3b, and 2/11b), the commentary equates *yü-chou* with 'Heaven and Earth'. That the expression *yü-chou* bears a completely different meaning solely in the present text poses a problem of consistency. Wang Shu-min, p. 358, has attempted to solve this problem by emending *chou* to *tung* 棟 (column or pole) in the main text, and correcting the commentary accordingly from its present reading, *Chou, tung-liang* 宙, 棟梁也 to *Tung, liang yeh* 棟, 梁也. I agree with Wang's emendation, adding that there seems to be no other instance in Chinese literature where *yü-chou* is used to mean 'the space between the ridge pole and the roof eaves', except this one passage from *Huai-nan Tzu*. Again, the compound *tung-liang* seems to appear only in the Kao commentary which Wang proposes to emend. Wang explains that copyists probably mistook *yü-tung* 宇棟 for *yü-chou* in the main text, because the latter was a common occurrence, while the former was not. Then, some editor erroneously changed the Kao commentary (i.e. adding *chou*) so as to harmonize the commentary with the main text.

¹⁰⁷ Modern editions read *huan* 還 (to return; to go back). Sun Yi-jang, *Cha-yi* 札遺 7/16a (Study Notes [hereafter Sun Yi-jang]) was the first scholar to point out that

soared aloft ten thousand yards, swirled beyond the Four Seas, flew over the Wild Garden (Shu-p'u 疏圃)¹⁰⁸ of the K'un-lun 昆侖 [Mountains], drank from the gushing waters at Polished Needle Mountain (Ti-chu 砥柱),¹⁰⁹ zigzagged over the banks of the Vale of Darkness (Meng-ssu 蒙汜),¹¹⁰ skirted the borders of

huan is a mistaken character for *tai* 逮 (to reach; to come to). The same mistake occurred in *Mo Tzu* 19/93 (Watson, p. 57), where *tai* 逮至乎夏王桀 (Coming to King Chieh of the Hsia; Watson translates: 'In the case of King Chieh of Hsia.') was also mistakenly written *huan*. Sun explains both mistakes by observing that *tai* was anciently written in two different forms, 逮 and 逮. The latter was easily confused with *huan*, because of their similar shape. Contemporary scholars have brought forward further textual evidence to substantiate Sun's emendation. Wang Shu-min, p. 486, and Cheng Liang-Shu, p. 100, note that the Wang Ying and the Chu editions write *tai*; Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 203b, also traced the *tai* reading in *Yü lin* 31/2b. We can only be grateful to Sun for pointing out the *Mo Tzu* reference, which is decisive for interpreting *Huai-nan Tzu* in the case at hand. However, Sun gave the reference as *Mo Tzu* 16 (*Chien-ai hsia* 兼愛下: 'On Universal Love,' last Section). This is a bad mistake, especially by the author of the most important modern commentary on *Mo Tzu*. The correct reference (given above) is *Mo Tzu* 19 (*Fei kung hsia* 非攻下: 'Against Offensive Warfare,' last Section). Liu Wen-tien, 6/8a, who reproduces the text of Sun, also reproduces this mistake.

¹⁰⁸ In ancient sources, *shu* in the expression Shu-p'u 疏圃 was also written 蔬 and 疎. It would therefore seem that *shu* in the present text means 'wild vegetation', the only meaning common to all three mutually interchangeable characters. Whence my translation of Shu-p'u as 'wild garden'. Erkes, 'Das Weltbild', p. 45, translates as 'Kräutergarten'; Major, *Huai-nan Tzu Chapter Four*, p. 40, prefers 'carved garden'. The names of places and animals mentioned in the present allegory are primarily mythological and seem related mainly to the cycle of Yü 禹.

¹⁰⁹ Lit. 'the polished stone column'. Kao Yu describes Ti-chu 砥柱 as 'a narrow gorge of the Yellow River'. However, other ancient sources, such as K'ung An-kuo's 孔安國 (ca. 156 - ca. 74 BC) commentary on *Shu ching* 書經 (Couvreur, pp. 80-1) and *Shui ching chu* 水經注 (The Waterways Classic and Commentary) 4/22a agree that Ti-chu was a rock pillar standing erect in the middle of the Yellow River. The evidence is reproduced in the standard commentary on *Shih chi* 2/67-68 (Chavannes, I, 136-7).

¹¹⁰ Kao states that Meng-ssu 蒙汜 is 'the place where the sun emerges'. The same idea is found in *Ch'u tz'u* 3/51-52 (Hawkes, p. 47, 11. 15-16) and *Erh-ya* 9/10 (the latter work writes 'Ta-meng' 大蒙). We find in *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/18a-19b a long passage describing the sixteen stations of the sun's daily course, from dawn to dusk. There we find two statements about the rising and setting of the sun, which seem contradictory. On the one hand, *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/18a says that 'the sun sinks into the Vale of Darkness' 淪於蒙谷 (emending *chih* 至 to *lun* 淪, with Wang Nien-sun; Chuang K'uei-chi notes that Meng-ku 蒙谷 is the same as Mei-ku 昧谷 in other ancient sources). On the other hand, the sentence following immediately in *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/18a concludes that 'the sun sets at the confluent waters of Yü-yüan 虞淵, and shines forth (*shu* 曙) on the banks of Meng-ku'. In these two passages, Meng-ku is used both for 'the place where the sun sinks' and 'the place where the sun shines forth'. Liu Wen-tien, *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/19b, quotes *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* 1/6b to the effect that Meng-ku is the same as Meng-ssu. So, there seems to be a discrepancy. We cannot assume that *Huai-nan Tzu* 3, which is one of the most precise and technical chapters, could so grossly contradict itself in successive sentences. It would seem that Meng-ssu (and other equivalent terms) is a designation both for the place where the sun sets and the place where the sun rises. The sun sinks into the Obscure River (or Vale) at dusk, and emerges from the Obscure River (or Vale) at dawn. There is no mention of stations for the sun's nocturnal course. One should note, finally, that *ssu* 汜 means 'a river branch that returns to the main trunk'. Major, *Huai-nan Tzu Chapter Four*, pp. 25-6, thinks that we have to do here with an early Chinese myth about 'the path of the sun in its daily revolution around the earth'.

- .5 the Land of Chi, shot directly over Tu-kuang 都廣 [Mountain],¹¹¹ accompanied the sun to [its setting-place,] Yi-chieh 抑節,¹¹² cleansed their feathers¹¹³ in the Jo 弱 River,¹¹⁴ and at dusk nested in the Cavern
 .10 of the Wind (Feng-hsüeh 風穴).¹¹⁵ At this time, among wild geese, swans and cranes,¹¹⁶ there were none
 .11 that were not awestruck, fleeing for cover and stick-
 8b .1 ing their beaks deep in the river banks. How much more should this be the case with mere sparrows!

Here are instances (the mud-eels and sparrows) of having discernment about the traces of insignificant activities, but failing to understand the origin of great affairs.

COMMENTARY

The two literary compositions that form Section V could be entitled 'The Fable of the Dragons and Mud-Eels' (Fable I)

- ¹¹¹ *Huai-nan Tzu* 4/4b (Major, p. 44) writes that 'the Chien 建 tree on Mount Tu-kuang 都廣, by which the gods 帝 ascend and descend to and from Heaven, casts no shadow at midday, exhales noiselessly and roofs over the centre of the world'. Kao Yu borrows part of the foregoing passage in his commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/8a.5, adding that Tu-kuang is a mountain in the southwest. By naming all these distant places, the author of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6, says Kao, wants to emphasize the vastness of the phoenixes' whirl. On the cosmological and mythological significance of the Chien tree and Mount Tu-kuang, see the fine essay by Major, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-9.
- ¹¹² Following Yü Hsing-wu, p. 358, who interprets Yi-chieh 抑節 as 'the resting or stopping place of the sun', that is, the place where the sun sets. Yü explains that yi is also written *mi* 弭 (to stop; to rest; to come to an end; etymologically, the tips of a bow).
- ¹¹³ Modern editions write *yü yi* Jo-shui 羽翼弱水. I agree with Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.7a-b, that this sentence does not make sense and should be emended to read *cho yü* Jo-shui 濯羽翼水, 'cleanses its feathers in the Jo River.' Wang points out that the Kao commentary read *cho yü* and thinks the mistake in the main text was due to the fact that Kao used *yü yi* 羽翼 (feathers and wings, or feathered wings) to explain *yü*. Wang justifies his emendation on the strength of *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* 11A/18a, *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* 158/19a, *Wen hsüan* 54/14b (commentary) and *Po shih liu t'ieh shih-lei chi* 94/6b. Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 204a-b, produces further evidence from the commentary on *Shih-lei fu* 18/2b.
- ¹¹⁴ Chavannes, *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, I, 130-1, asserts that the Jo 弱 River should be identified with the Hei 黑 River, which marked the northwestern limits of the Han Empire under Emperor Wu. The Jo River was linked to the mythological cycle of Yü 禹 and seems to mark the westernmost frontier of his travels.
- ¹¹⁵ Kao Yu comments that Feng-hsüeh 風穴 is the northern region, from which the cold wind (*han-feng* 寒風) blows. See *Huai-nan Tzu* 4/2a (Major, p. 36).
- ¹¹⁶ According to Read, *Chinese Materia Medica; Avian Drugs*, *hung* 鴻 (no. 253) is a larger species of the wild goose, *yen* 雁 (*Anser fabalis serrirostris*), while *hu* 鵠 (no. 254) is a swan (*Cygnus bewicki jankoski*) described as 'bigger than a wild goose ... a high flier'. *Ts'ang* 鶩 (*Megalornis grus lilfordi*) is identified with the large Eastern Gray Crane (no. 247), while *hao* 鶴 or 鶴 (*Megalornis japonensis*), the Sacred Crane, is noted for high altitude flying (no. 245). One can only admire the appropriateness of the animals chosen by the author of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 to bring out the lesson of the two allegories.

and 'The Fable of the Phoenixes and Sparrows' (Fable II). Their literary unity is revealed by their close parallel structure, by the common meaning they intend to convey, and from the fact that there is only one conclusion for them.

Each fable is about the same length (129 characters for the first one and 121 characters for the second) and is divided into three moments:

- concealment of the true nature of the Dragons and Phoenixes (A); presumptuousness of the Mud-Eels and Sparrows (X);
- manifestation of the awesomeness of the Dragons and Phoenixes (A₁); flight of the great animals and, *a fortiori*, of the insignificant Mud-Eels and Sparrows (X₁); and
- moral: small and great intelligence.

We may note the recurrence in the fables of the scheme A-B-A₁, or better, AX-B-A₁X₁, where A represents the Dragons and Phoenixes, X the Mud-Eels and Sparrows, and B the factor that brings about the manifestation of the Dragons and Phoenixes. B is only spelled out in Fable I, when the author speaks of the storm issuing from 'the meeting of the somber clouds with the bright sky' and from 'the struggle of *Yin* and *Yang*'. From AX to A₁X₁, the situation is completely overturned, the Dragons and Phoenixes passing from ordinary appearance and concealment of their true being to overpowering revelation of their awesome nature; and the Mud-Eels and Sparrows passing from defiant and scornful contemptuousness to utter humiliation and discomfiture.

The author spells out in the conclusion the epistemological lesson intended by the two fables: the Mud-Eels and Sparrows personify shallow and narrow understanding of things, while, by implication, the Dragons and Phoenixes personify superior knowledge, which 'understands the origin of great affairs'.

At first glance the two fables seem to form an isolated literary unit, with little or no connection with the preceding sections.

The style, in particular, contrasts sharply with the earlier part of the text. The two compositions may be characterized as allegorical fables written in the poetic style of *fu* 賦. We know from *Han shu* 30/1747 (Treatise on Literature) that Liu An wrote no less than eighty-two *fu* poems.

Allegorical fables, where mythical or semi-mythical animals like the Dragons and Phoenixes symbolize ideas, attitudes and/or human types, occur in earlier Chinese sources, especially *Chuang Tzu* and *Chan kuo ts'e* 戰國策 (The Intrigues of the Warring States). There is evidence that the

author of Chapter Six borrowed from the two successive — and partly repetitive — fables of the great bird P'eng 鵬 in the opening page of *Chuang Tzu* (Watson, pp. 29-32). While the general structure of the fables is similar in both works, the description of the action and of the setting in Chapter Six underlines the creative originality of the author, who modified substantially the *Chuang Tzu* parallel to suit his own purpose and, in the final analysis, to convey a different message. Fable II, among other things, was almost certainly influenced also by the 'spirit journey' of *Li Sao*.

In the *Chuang Tzu* fables the great P'eng, however overwhelming his flight, does not represent supreme perfection: for he still relies on something (*yu yu so tai* 猶有所待), that is, the air, while supreme perfection is to rely on nothing (*wu so tai* 無所待). Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙 (1842-1918), in his commentary on *Chuang Tzu* 1/3 says well: 'To rely on nothing (*wu so tai*) and still wander in the boundless regions (*wu ch'ung chih fang* 無窮之方), that is the essential meaning of the whole chapter of "Hsiao yao yu" 逍遙遊 [of *Chuang Tzu*].' In *Huai-nan Tzu* 6, however, the Dragons and Phoenixes do represent supreme perfection. They represent the True Man as opposed to narrow-minded people, and superior knowledge (union with *Tao*) as opposed to conventional knowledge (to know how to swim in the rivers and sea and how to fly in the hayloft).

The point of the two *Huai-nan Tzu* fables seems to be that in times of peace the True Man does not reveal his inner greatness. This is a Taoist tenet consistent with the ineffability of *Tao*. So, petty men of limited scope and skills deride the True Man, who is untrained in any particular skill. But in periods of imminent chaos (the clash of darkness and light, of *Yin* and *Yang*) the True Man suddenly manifests world-shaking power (universal resonance) and completely overwhelms his detractors. The idea of the True Man arising only when the world threatens to return to chaos is developed at length in *Huai-nan Tzu* 8/7a-9a (Morgan, pp. 87-90), a section that may be described as a Taoist interpretation of the beginning of Chinese history. The theme of the True Man suddenly outwitting and discomfiting his myopic despisers is too widespread in Taoist writings not to perceive it as an essential element of the two fables.

In the light of this interpretation, and notwithstanding the particular style and literary genre of the two fables, can we still say that Section V is isolated from or unrelated to the preceding sections? Hardly. The purport of Section IV was, as we have seen, to establish the superiority of mutual resonance and, ultimately, of the True Man. Section V continues the

same theme in a different language and with different connotations. Between Section V and the preceding sections there is solid philosophical continuity.

Section V also seems to mark the end of the first part of Chapter Six, which focused on mutual resonance and the True Man in their relation to *Tao*.

SECTION VI

- 8b .2 In ancient times, when Wang Liang 王良¹¹⁷ and
 .3 Tsao Fu 造父¹¹⁸ went charioteering, [as soon as] they
 mounted their carriage and seized the reins, [their]
 horses behaved with discipline and coordination.
 .4 They threw their legs in perfect unison whether they
 galloped strenuously or ambled about leisurely.
 .5 Their minds were elated, their *ch'i* blended
 harmoniously and their bodies were alert, light and
 swift. When quietly exercising, they advanced
 joyfully; when making a burst of speed, it was as if
 .6 they had vanished. They would zigzag right and left,
 like braided plaits;¹¹⁹ or they would follow a set
 course, as if following a circle.
 .8 People of their (Wang Liang's and Tsao Fu's) age
 all accounted them clever, but they had not yet seen
 the truly great ones.
 .9 Take, for instance, the charioteering¹²⁰ of Ch'ien

¹¹⁷ Wang Liang 王良 was assistant to Chao Yang 趙鞅, a vassal of Duke Ting 定 of Chin (611-575 BC). He is celebrated in ancient Chinese literature as a master charioteer.

¹¹⁸ Tsao Fu 造父 was minister of King Mu 穆 of Chou (1001-947 BC). He was King Mu's charioteer on the famous journey to the West, speeding the King back in record time to quench the rebellion of Hsü Yen 徐偃. Tsao Fu appears as the champion charioteer of antiquity in most ancient Chinese writings.

¹¹⁹ I follow Yü Yüeh, 30/352, in reading *pien* 鞭 (whip) as *pien* 辮 (interlacing, weaving pattern). Yü's argument rests mainly on the parallelism of the two sentences *tsou yu jo pien* 左右若辮 and *chou hsüan jo huan* 周旋若環; *pien* and *huan* should be words of the same kind. Only if we read *pien* 鞭 as a borrowed character for *pien* 辮 are parallelism and meaning saved. Yang Shu-ta, 2/37, has objected to Yü's interpretation, but his own explanation fails to solve the problem of parallelism; nor does it help to make sense out of the sentence.

¹²⁰ Modern editions omit *yeh* (final particle after *yü* 御 (to drive)). I agree with Liu Wen-tien in adding *yeh* so that this sentence forms a perfect parallel with the preceding 王良造父之御也. Liu finds evidence for the addition in the commentary on *Wen hüsan* 3/22a, 359/9b, 746/6a and 896/8a. Wang Shu-min, p. 358, Cheng Liang-shu, p. 101 and Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 205a have produced much textual material to substantiate Liu's emendation.

- 9a .10 Ch'ieh 鉞且 and Ta Ping 大丙.¹²¹ They cast aside rein and harness, discarded whip and lash.¹²² Before the chariot had [even] been moved, it started off by itself; before the horses had been given the signal, they took off by themselves. [Just as] when the sun moves,¹²³ the moon is activated; when the stars shine forth, the firmament revolves; and when lightning flashes, thunder¹²⁴ claps,¹²⁵ [so] they (the horses, carriages and drivers) advanced or withdrew, contracted or stretched out, without leaving any visible trace.¹²⁶
- .3 Without beckoning or guiding, shouting or bawling, they (Ch'ien Ch'ieh and Ta Ping) would pass¹²⁷ the

¹²¹ According to Kao Yu, Ch'ien Ch'ieh 鉞且 and Ta Ping 大丙 were charioteers of T'ai-yi 太乙, the supreme deity of the Han state cult; see Dubs, 'The Archaic Jou Religion', *Toung Pao*, 46 (1958), 259. Another ancient commentary (probably Hsü Shen's) states that the two charioteers in question were men of antiquity who had obtained *Tao*, thereby being enabled to 'drive *Yin* and *Yang*'. In his commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu* 11/14a, Chuang K'uei-chi has shown that Ch'ien Ch'ieh was written in many different ways in pre-T'ang writings.

¹²² Modern editions write *ch'ü p'ei hsien*, *ch'ü pien ch'i is'e* 去轡銜, 去鞭棄策. Liu Wen-tien, 6/8b, would add *she* 舍 (to put away; to cast aside) before *hsien* so that the two clauses balance each other. He bases his emendation on *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 359/9b. I think Liu is wrong and would rather follow Wang Shu-min, p. 358, who proposes to save the parallelism by deleting *ch'i* (to reject; to cast aside) in the second clause. Wang produces evidence from the Chang Chan commentary on *Lieh Tzu* 3/32 and *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 746/6a. Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 205a-b, has traced further quotations of this passage in *Shih-lei fu* 21/1b and *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 896/8a to corroborate Wang's emendation.

¹²³ Modern editions omit *erh* after 日行. I follow Tao Hung-ch'ing, 1/6a, in adding *erh* for the sake of parallelism with the two following sentences. Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 206a, also agrees with T'ao's reading.

¹²⁴ Modern editions read *kuei* 鬼 (demon; ghost). With Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 206a, I emend *kuei* to *lei* 雷 (thunder). Yü notes that the commentary on *Wen hsüan* 55/5a writes *lei* instead of *kuei*. Yü also argues that *kuei* would be out of context as regards the topics discussed in this sentence, namely, the sun, moon, stars and heavens. For the same reason, Yü rejects Liu Chia-li's proposed emendation of *tien* 電 (lightning) to *shen* 神 (spirit; deity).

¹²⁵ Modern editions write *t'eng* 騰 (to ascend; to mount). I follow Wang Shu-min, p. 359, who notes that *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 746/6a reads *hai* 駭 (to strike; to startle; to terrify) in place of *t'eng*. Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 206a, justifies Wang's indication on the strength of the commentary on *Wen hsüan* 55/5a, *Shih-lei fu* 21/1b and *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 896/8a.

¹²⁶ I disagree with Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 206a-b, who proposes to emend *chen-yin* 朕垠 (traces) to *ch'eng-yin* 塍堦 (raised divisions or paths between rice-fields). There is no direct textual evidence for such a change, and *chen-yin* seems to make better sense in the context. While *yin* 垠 and *yin* 堦 are interchangeable, as Yü notes, there is no reason to change them here.

¹²⁷ This sentence and the following one form a balanced pair. The immediate meaning of the two sentences is quite straightforward. However, if I understand Kao Yu's commentary correctly, the implications of the parallel text would be as follows. The wild geese migrate north (to Chieh-shih 碣石), while (at the same time) the phoenixes migrate south (to Ku-yü 姑餘). Ch'ien Ch'ieh and Ta Ping moved so swiftly that they overtook the wild geese on their northern migration and then, turning south (at Chieh-shih), overtook the phoenixes on their southern migration. Kao Yu states that both sentences illustrate the swiftness of the charioteers; but he seems to interpret *kuo* 遇 as meaning 'to cause', and this is unacceptable because it would destroy the parallelism.

- .4 wild geese returning to Chieh-shih 碣石,¹²⁸ and
 .5 overtake the phoenixes¹²⁹ at Ku-yü 姑餘¹³⁰ [Mountain].
 When they (the horses) galloped, it was as if they
 took flight; when, suddenly, they started away, it was
 .6 as if they disappeared. They followed arrows,
 treaded the wind, pursued the whirlwind and joined
 .7 themselves to the gale.¹³¹ At dawn, they started out
 from Fu-sang 傅桑¹³² and set with¹³³ the sun at Lo-
 t'ang 落棠.¹³⁴

9b .1 It was by relying on 'non-use' (*fu-yung* 費用)¹³⁵
 that they (Ch'ien Ch'ieh and Ta Ping) were able to
 achieve their usefulness, and not through mental
 investigations or manual techniques. Whenever their

¹²⁸ In present-day Yung-p'ing hsien, in Hopei.

¹²⁹ According to Read, *Chinese Materia Medica*; Avian Drugs, no. 268, *kun-chi* 鶡雞 should be identified with the Szechuan fowl. However, I agree with Kao Yu that, in the present context, it is simply another name for the phoenix.

¹³⁰ In present-day Wu-hsien, on Lake T'ai (T'ai-hu), Kiangsu. The mountain was also called Ku-su 姑蘇 and Ku-yü shan 姑餘山.

¹³¹ I follow Kao Yu's explanation, except for *kuei-hu* 歸忽, which I interpret following Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.8a, as *kuei-feng* 歸風 (to attach oneself to the gale).

¹³² Fu-sang 傅桑 is one of the three legendary trees where (some sources say: 'in which') the sun rises. It is written Fu-sang 傅桑 in *Huai-nan Tzu* 4/13a, 6/9a and *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* 12A/9b; and Fu-sang 扶桑 in *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/18b, *Ch'u tz'u* 1/16 and *Shan-hai ching* 9/3a; and Fu-mu 扶木 in *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 19/248, *Huai-nan Tzu* 4/4b and *Shan-hai ching* 14/5a. The Fu-sang was related to many solar myths, for which see Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, II, 435-6; and especially, Major, *Huai-nan Tzu Chapter Four*, pp. 44-7.

¹³³ Modern editions read *jih ju* Lo-t'ang 日入落棠 (the sun entered [set at] Lo-t'ang). With Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.8b-9a, I emend *jih ju* to *ju jih* (inverting the two characters), and interpret *ju* as 'to accompany'. As Wang observes, the whole point of this paragraph is to emphasize the speed with which the two charioteers covered vast distances. If we read *jih ju*, the point is lost and the sentence does not make sense in the context. The mistake was due, according to Wang, to contamination of the main text by the Kao commentary, which explains that Lo-t'ang is 'the place where the sun sets', *jih so ju* 日所入. The expression *ju jih* as explained by Wang appears a few lines before in the main text (8a.6) and also in *Shan-hai ching* 8/2b.

¹³⁴ According to Kao Yu, Lo-t'ang 落棠 is the place where the sun sets. However, we have seen in note 110 (quoting *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/18a) that the sun sets at Yü-yüan 虞淵. There seems to be no way to solve the apparent discrepancy satisfactorily. We can at least show that T'ang and Sung encyclopaedists thought they were two names for the same place. For instance, *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 3/5a quotes the text from *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/18a, but writes Yen-tz'u 崦嵫 instead of Yü-yüan. A commentary following the quotation notes that 'Yen-tz'u is Lo-ch'ang shan 落棠山'. *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* 1/6b also quotes the text in question and comments: 'Yen-tz'u ... is also called Lo-t'ang shan 落棠山'. It would seem highly probable that the *ch'ang* in Lo-ch'ang shan is a mistaken character for *t'ang*, because of their pictographic resemblance. So, we have the equivalence Yü-yüan — Yen-tz'u — Lo-t'ang (shan). If we go back to Kao Yu's commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu* 6-9a.9, he says precisely that Lo-t'ang is the name of a mountain where the sun sets. There is a mountain called Yen-tz'u near present-day T'ien-shui hsien, in Kansu.

¹³⁵ Kao Yu interprets *fu-yung* 費用 to mean *wu-wei* 無為 (non-action). This passage is similar to *Chuang Tzu* 22/143: 是用之者假不用者也以長得其用 (Watson, p. 245, translates: 'Using this method of deliberately *not* using other things [*pu yung*], he was able over the years to get some use out of it'). *Huai-nan Tzu* is more explicit in defining what it means by *fu-yung*.

- .2 inclination [for going anywhere] assumed shape in their breast, their subtle spirits (*ching-shen* 精神)
- .3 were in harmony¹³⁶ with the Six Horses. This is how, by 'non-driving' (*fu-yü* 弗御), they drove their horses.

COMMENTARY

The second part of Chapter Six opens with two parallel anecdotes describing two pairs of famous charioteers of antiquity, Wang Liang and Tsao Fu (Pair A), and Ch'ien Ch'ieh and Ta Ping (Pair B). The exploits of Pair A illustrate the perfection of the art of charioteering understood in a conventional sense, 'within the limits of possible experience'. But the prodigies of Pair B transcend conventional experience. One can perhaps see horses that 'zigzag left and right like braided plaits' or set a perfectly circular course. But can one ever imagine seeing 'chariots that start off by themselves' or charioteers that drive their carriages beyond the highest mountains in the sky? We find between the two pairs of charioteers the same difference of level that we noted in the preceding sections, as, for instance, between relative resonance and total resonance. The difference of levels in the case of the charioteers is stated explicitly by the author when he says: 'But they (the contemporaries of Wang Liang and Tsao Fu) had not yet seen the truly great [charioteers].' This sentence marks the transition from Pair A to Pair B and should be kept in mind to understand the following Section (VII).

What is the superiority of Pair B over Pair A? The answer is implicitly given by the author at the end of the section. Pair A, however perfect its art, still relied on external means (rein and harness, whip and lash, beckoning and guiding, shouting and bawling) to drive its horses. This is not said directly in the text but can be deduced from the fact that Pair B did away with all the foregoing external means and relied on 'non-use' (*fu-yung* 弗用).

Kao Yu is certainly correct when he interprets *fu-yung* as

¹³⁶ Modern editions write *yü* 踰 (to go over; to jump over; to transgress). Ch'en Kuan-lou 陳觀樓 (1743-1820), quoted in Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.9a, proposes to emend *yü* 踰 to *yü* 喻 (to instruct; to understand), the latter reading occurring in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 896/8a. However, Wu Ch'eng-shih, 2/11b-12a, rejects Ch'en's emendation as mistaken and thinks *yü* should be written *tiao* 調 (to tune; to be attuned; to harmonize). He argues that *yü* 踰 (to manifest; to publish; to illustrate) in Kao's commentary is a mistaken character for *tiao* due to pictographic resemblance. Wu produces evidence from *Huai-nan Tzu* 9/21 and 14/4a to justify his emendation; in both cases we have the same idea expressed in similar phraseology as the text discussed here, and the expressions used are 心和於馬 and 心調於馬. Wu finally notes that Kao explains *yü* 踰 by *ho* 和 (to harmonize). There is no equivalence between *yü* and *ho*, while *tiao* and *ho* overlap almost completely in meaning. I follow Wu's emendation.

wu-wei 無為 (non-action). *Wu-wei* is the main theme of the second part of Chapter Six; or to be more accurate, mutual resonance is the central theme throughout the chapter, but in the second part it is explained in relation to *wu-wei* and the sage ruler, while in the first to *Tao* and the True Man.

Wu-wei refers essentially to government, and it is in this sense that the idea will be developed in Chapter Six. We know that the most prevalent image of government in pre-Han and Han writings was that of charioteering. How fitting that the author of this chapter would choose that image to introduce the reader to the second part of his essay.

SECTION VII

- 9b .4 In ancient times Huang Ti 黃帝 (the Yellow Lord or Yellow Emperor)¹³⁷ ruled all under Heaven. Li Mu 力牧 and T'ai-shan Chi 太山稽¹³⁸ assisted him as
.5 he measured out the course of sun and moon¹³⁹ and

¹³⁷ Huang Ti 黃帝 was a legendary cultural hero of China (traditional dates, 2698–2598 BC), about whom many myths and euhemerized stories were formed. According to *Shih chi* 1/1 (Chavannes, I, 25–6; see also I, li-lii), he was the first ruler of China. *Huai-nan Tzu* obviously follows a different tradition here — shared by many other Han works — in which the age of Fu Hsi 伏羲 (traditional dates, 2953–2838) and Nü Kua (or Wa) 女媧 (contemporary or successor of Fu Hsi) preceded the reign Huang Ti. A good study by Yang K'uan 楊寬 of the origin and meaning of the title Huang Ti, of the various traditions that relate the exploits of him and of his chronological position in history (or myth) may be found in *Ku shih pien* 7A, 5/189–209; see also B. Karlgren, 'Legends and Cults in Ancient China', *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, 18 (1946), 199–365 (*passim*).

¹³⁸ Li Mu 力牧 and T'ai-shan Chi 太山稽 are described by Kao Yu as *shih* 師, which may best be translated as 'counselors', or 'advisors'. Both *Shih chi* 1/6 (Chavannes, I, 32) and *Lieh Tzu* 2/26 (Graham, p. 34) state that Huang Ti had three ministers. Only Li Mu is common to all sources.

¹³⁹ Modern editions read 以治日月之行律 [the Kao commentary then adds 律, 度也], 治陰陽之氣. Ch'en Kuan-lou (quoted in Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.92–b) proposes to omit *chih* 治 before 陰陽之氣 so as to re-establish parallelism with the preceding and following sentences. Some editor, says Ch'en, mistakenly read 治日月之行律 as one sentence, unaware that *lü* 律 belonged to the following sentence and then spuriously added *chih* 治 to complete the next sentence. The corrected text should then read 以治日月之行, 律陰陽之氣. Wang Nien-sun agrees with Ch'en, adding that the *Huai-nan Tzu* text was probably mistakenly emended by some ancient scholar on the basis of the parallel text in *Wen Tzu* 2/9b. Wang Shu-min, p. 359, and Cheng Liang-shu, p. 101, basically agree with Ch'en and produce evidence from *T'ien-chung chi* 6/13b and *Yü hai* 9/4a to the effect that *chih* should be omitted before 陰陽之氣. However, Liu Wen-tien, 6/9b, points out an early quotation of this passage in *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* 4/3b, which reads 理日月之行, 治陰陽之氣. This is the earliest version we have of the text in question, and it puts into serious doubt the validity of Ch'en's deletion of *chih*. Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 206b–207b, has confronted all the evidence and concluded that the Hsü Shen and Kao Yu recensions of this passage were slightly different, Hsü reading 律日月之行 (whence the commentary 律, 度也, which is inserted at this point, the commentary being Hsü's, not Kao's), and Kao Yu reading 理日月之行. That this is the Kao reading is proved by the quotation of this text in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 79/6a, a work that quotes the Kao edition. According to Yü, the mistake occurred when some post-Han scholar attempted to combine the Hsü and Kao commentaries. I retain the Hsü reading, regarded by Yü as authentic.

- .6 regulated the *ch'i* of *Yin* and *Yang*, apportioned the
 .7 length of the seasons and rectified the numbers of
 .8 the calendar, separated men and women and distinguished male and female [animals], made clear [the distinction between] those above and those below and classified the ranks of noble and common. He kept the strong from crushing¹⁴⁰ the weak and the many from oppressing the few.
- .10 The people fulfilled their life-span and did not
 .11 meet with untimely death. Harvests ripened at the propitious time, and were not damaged by any calamity. The Hundred Officers were upright and devoid of self-interest. Those above and those below were harmonious and not fault-finding. Laws and
 10a .1 orders were clear and there was no confusion. Ministers were public-minded and not partial. Land-
 .2 tillers did not transgress balks, and fishermen did not wrangle over deep-water channels.¹⁴¹ People did not appropriate what had been left along the road, and the prices were not fixed in advance in the market-place. [The gates of] inner and outer city walls were left unlocked, and manors were free
 .3 from thieves and robbers. Rustic folks mutually yielded goods to each other, and dogs and pigs spat out grain and millet on the roadside.¹⁴² All were
 .4 devoid of aggressive hearts.
- Thereupon, sun and moon shone with pure brilliancy, and stars and constellations did not lose their courses. Wind and rain came at seasonable
 .5 times, and the five grains grew to maturity. Tigers and leopards¹⁴³ did not bite recklessly, and birds of prey did not strike at random. Male and female Phoenixes swirled over the court-yard, and the *Ch'i*-

¹⁴⁰ Modern editions omit *te* 得 (to get; to obtain) before *yen* 掩 (to crush; to cover) and before *pao* 暴 (to oppress) in the following sentence. I follow Liu Wen-tien, 6/9b, who adds *te* in both instances, on the strength of *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* 32/2b and *Yi-wen lei-chü* 11/9b. Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 207b, corroborates Liu's emendation with evidence from *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 79/6a.

¹⁴¹ Yü-Ta-cheng, I, 207b, notes that the commentaries on *Wen hsüan* 6/16b, 25/2b and 35/16a all write *ti* 坻 (islet in a river) in place of *wei* 隈 (deep-water channels). Yü suggests that *ti* perhaps represents the Hsü reading. Whatever the case, the evidence is insufficient to support an emendation.

¹⁴² Modern editions omit *tao* 道 (road; to lead). However, *Yi-wen lei-chü* 11/9b and 85/5b-6a (see Wang Shu-min, p. 359), *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 79/6a and 840/6b (see Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 207b), and *T'ien-chung chi* 45/32b all read *tao-lu* (road), which I take to be the correct reading.

¹⁴³ Modern editions read *lang* 狼 (wolf) instead of *pao* 豹 (leopard). With Yü Ta-cheng, I, 207b, I emend *lang* to *pao* on the basis of *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 79/6a. Wang Shu-min, p. 359, also notes that *Yi-wen lei-chü* 11/9b reads *pao*.

- lin 麒麟¹⁴⁴ roamed about the open fields outside
 10a .6 the city walls. Green Dragons¹⁴⁵ propelled the
 .9 carriages, and Flying Yellow¹⁴⁶ [horses] reclined in
 the stables. Of the northern states of Tan-erh 僇耳,¹⁴⁷
 .10 there were none that did not offer their tribute and
 skills.

Yet this [Age of Huang Ti] still did not come up
 to the *Tao* of Fu Hsi 處戲.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ The *Ch'i-lin* 麒麟 (often translated as 'unicorn') was, like the phoenix, a mythological animal, which only appeared when a perfectly virtuous ruler brought peace and harmony to his country.

¹⁴⁵ The green dragon (*ch'ing-lung* 青龍) should be distinguished from the green horned dragon (*ch'ing-ch'iu* 青虯) mentioned in *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/7a.5; see note 92 above.

¹⁴⁶ The Kao commentary identifies *fei-huang* 飛黃 as *ch'eng-huang* 乘黃 and describes the latter as 'a fox-like animal originating from the West; it has a hump (horn?) protruding from its back, and lives one thousand years'. T'ao Fang-ch'i, 2/27b-28a, has shown beyond doubt that the Kao commentary here depends almost completely on Hsü's commentary, preserved in *K'ai-yüan chun ching* 115/9a-b. The only difference is that Hsü omits the 'protruding hump', adds that the *ch'eng-huang* can carry things on its back, and increases its life-span to three thousand years. The expression *ch'eng-huang* is not any easier to explain than *fei-huang*. According to a fragment of the *Fu-jui t'u* 符瑞圖 (Charts of Auspicious Influences) preserved in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 896/6b, *ch'eng-huang* is another name for *t'eng-huang* 騰黃, described as 'a divine horse yellow in colour'. The rest of the description is identical with that given for *ch'eng-huang* by Kao Yu. Alternate names for *t'eng-huang* are *chi-huang* 吉黃 (lucky yellow), *chi-liang* 吉量 (lucky talent), *chi-shan* 吉山 (lucky mountain) and *chi-kuang* 吉光 (lucky light). From a confrontation of the sources where these terms occur, it seems safe to conclude that they refer to horses, and not to wild animals, *shou* 獸, as some commentaries would have it. The expression *t'eng-huang* appears in *Tung-ching fu* 東京賦 (*Fu* on the Eastern Capital), *Wen hsian* 3/28a (Hughes, p. 74, refuses to translate and simply says '*t'eng-huang* horses'. He adds no explanation). We know that in Former Han, especially under Emperor Wu, horses began to be imported on a large scale from Central Asia. I think the expressions *fei-huang*, *ch'eng-huang* and *t'eng-huang* refer to one or more species of these horses. Whatever the case, the expression *fei-huang* is used in a mythological sense in the present context.

¹⁴⁷ Kao Yu states that Tan-erh 僇耳 is a collective name for the barbarians of the extreme north; Kao has a similar commentary on *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 17/204. The expression *Tan-erh chih kuo* 僇耳之國 (the country of the Tan-erh) occurs in *Shan-hai ching* 17/3b, where the Kuo P'u commentary says that 'the people of that country have ears [so] big that they drop downward and hang over their shoulders'.

¹⁴⁸ Fu Hsi 處戲 was a legendary cultural hero of ancient China, allegedly reigning from 2953 to 2838 BC. He is seldom mentioned in pre-Han writings. In Han times, while he is given prominence as a paragon of virtue and the founder of a golden age, his myth remains rather undeveloped, as compared with the myth of Nü Kua. The latter is presented either as Fu Hsi's consort, sister or minister, as suggested in the Kao commentary. The characters of Fu Hsi differ in Han sources, even within the same work. The most common characters are 伏羲, 伏犧, 宓戲, 伏戲 and 處戲. Fu Hsi is also called Pao Hsi and written differently as 庖犧, 包犧, 包犧, 炮犧 and 炮戲. These two series of names seem to characterize Fu Hsi mainly as a subduer of animals and as the inventor of cooked food. But even on these points Han myth and lore split off in diverging traditions. Lü Ssu-mien 呂思勉, *Ku shih pien* 7B, 350-2, presents most of the source material and concludes that the myth of Fu Hsi originated in south China, in the state of Ch'u. The myth was greatly amplified in post-Han times. For additional information on Fu Hsi, see T'ung Shu-yeh 童書業, *Ku shih pien* 7B, 121-4; and Karlgren, 'Legends and Cults in Ancient China', *passim*.

- .11 Turning back to ancient times,¹⁴⁹ the Four Pillars¹⁵⁰ were shattered and the Nine Provinces¹⁵¹ dislocated. The sky did not cover [the earth] completely; nor did the earth uphold [all of the sky].¹⁵² Fire roared with inextinguishable flames,¹⁵³ and waters gushed forth in powerful and incessant waves.¹⁵⁴ Ferocious animals devoured the good

¹⁴⁹ The following paragraph has been translated by D. Bodde, 'Myths of Ancient China', in *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, pp. 286-7; see also H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, p. 28.

¹⁵⁰ The expression *ssu-chi* 四極 appears in *Ch'u tz'u* 1/18 and is translated by Hawkes, p. 30, 1.118 as 'the earth's four quarters'. Bodde's rendering of 'four pillars [at the compass points]' is more accurate and fits much better with the cosmological picture of the world held by the ancient Chinese. Bodde, p. 387, comments: 'The four pillars mentioned in this myth belong, of course, to the cosmological belief, found in many cultures, that Heaven is supported on pillars or some other kind of foundation.' Another expression used for the pillars of the world by *Huai-nan Tzu* as well as other Han works is *pa-chi* 八極 (the eight pillars), where four intermediary points are added to the four compass points. These pillars were identified with famous mountains on the periphery of China. A complete enumeration of *pa-chi* is given in *Huai-nan Tzu* 4/6a-b (Major, p. 50); Major calls *pa-chi* 'the eight ultimate endpoints' or 'the eight *terrae ultimae*'; his essay on the cosmological significance of *pa-chi*, pp. 50-2, is most helpful and enlightening.

¹⁵¹ The expression *chiu-chou* 九州 refers to a legendary division of China, allegedly established at the time of Shun 舜 (traditional dates, 2255?-2206? BC). A list of the *chiu-chou* (nine provinces) is given in *Huai-nan Tzu* 4/1b (Major, p. 36).

¹⁵² Kao Yu states, on the authority of this teacher Lu Chih, that 'during the period of the Three Sovereigns (*san-huang* 三皇) there was a gap in the sky to the northwest, so it was patched up [by Nü Kua]'. No explanation is given by the main text or by Kao Yu for the chaotic state of the world; emphasis is plainly laid on the redeeming work of Nü Kua. Other (and probably later) traditions combine in a single narrative the myth of Kung Kung 共工 (cause of the world disorder) and the myth of Nü Kua (repairer of the world disorder). The first record of this synthesis would appear to be *Lun heng* 31/105 (Forke, I, 250). This is the tradition followed by Ssu-ma Cheng 司馬貞 (fl. AD 713-742) in his 'Annals of the Three Sovereigns' (*San-huang chi* 三皇紀), placed at the beginning of *Shih chi* (Chavannes, I, 11-12). In *Lieh Tzu* 5/52 (Graham, p. 96) the order of the two myths is inverted, destroying any logical or historical consistency. In *Huai-nan Tzu*, both myths recur independently in different chapters, and at no point is there any suggestion that they were interconnected. Bodde, 'Myths of Ancient China', pp. 386-9, has made a thorough study of this problem, on which I depend for this note. See also Lü Ssu-mien, *Ku shih pien* 7B, 352-66, where most of the pertinent material on the two myths is presented, and their origin and interconnection discussed.

¹⁵³ Modern editions read *yen* 炎 (flame; to blaze). I follow Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.10a, in emending 炎 to *yen* 焔 (same meaning as above), on the basis of *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 78/4b. For further explanation, see next note.

¹⁵⁴ Modern editions write *yang* 洋 (ocean). I agree with Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.10a, that *yang* should be emended to *yao* 濤 (vast expanse of water). The expression *hao-yao* 灕灕 occurs in *Shang-lin fu* 上林賦 (*Fu* on Shang-lin [Park]) by Ssu-ma Hsiang-jü, *Wen hsüan* 8/3a (B. Watson, in *Anthology of Chinese Literature*, ed. by C. Birch, p. 143, translates 'boundless'). *Hao-yao* 濤 appears in *Wei tu fu* 魏都賦 (*Fu* on the Capital of Wei) by Tso Ssu 左思 (d. ca. AD 306), *Wen hsüan* 6/5b. Both 灕 and 濤 are interchangeable with 浩. Wang notes that *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 59/7a and 78/4b quote this passage from the *Huai-nan Tzu* writing 浩然 and 皓然, respectively. Finally, Wang argues from the rhyme pattern, stating that *lan* rhymes with *yen*, and *hao* with *yao*. The rhyme would be destroyed if we read *yang*; it was not possible to check with Karlgren, since three of the four characters are not mentioned in his work.

- .4 people,¹⁵⁵ and birds of prey snatched away the old
 .5 and weak. Thereupon, Nü Kua 女媧¹⁵⁶ fused
 .6 together stones of the five colours¹⁵⁷ with which she
 .7 patched up the azure sky.¹⁵⁸ She cut off the feet of
 .8 the turtle with which she set up the Four Pillars.
 She slaughtered the black dragon¹⁵⁹ in order to save
 the Land of Chi.¹⁶⁰ She piled up reed ashes with
 .9 which to check the flooding waters.¹⁶¹

When the azure sky was patched up, the Four Pillars set up straight, the flooding waters dried up,

¹⁵⁵ Modern editions write *chuan-min* 顓民 (good people). Hui Tung 惠棟 (1697-1758) (see the Kao P'u-yang 高僕陽 edition of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/7a) was the first scholar to note that in the quotation of this passage in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 78/4b, *chuan* in the main text and in the Kao commentary was written *ching* 精, which Kao glosses as 'good' (*shan* 善). Liu Wen-tien, 6/10a, and Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 208b have produced additional evidence from *Yi-wen lei-chü* 11/8a and *T'ung-chien wai-chi* 通鑑外記 (Unofficial Records Appended to the Comprehensive Mirror of History) 1/3b to corroborate Hui Tung. *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* states explicitly, as Yü Ta-ch'eng observes, that it is using Kao's commentary, thereby proving that the Kao recension of *Huai-nan Tzu* read *ching*, and not *chuan*. I agree with Yü.

¹⁵⁶ Kao again reporting the view of his teacher Lu Chih states that Nü Kua was called *yin-ti* 陰帝 and that she assisted Fu Hsi in governing. The meaning of *yin-ti* is not easy to define, but it probably refers to the female sex of Nü Kua so that it could be translated as 'woman ruler' or 'empress'. In Wang Yi's commentary on *Ch'u tz'u* 3/60 (Hawkes, p. 51, 11. 95-8), Nü Kua is described as having a human face and a snake's body, but her sex is not specified. However, *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* 12B/3b states explicitly that she was a sage woman (*sheng nü* 聖女). Kuo P'u's commentary on *Shan-hai ching* 16/1a-b asserts that she was a 'female ruler' (*nü-ti* 女帝; note the similarity with Kao's *yin-ti*). During Han times, Nü Kua was regarded as: the creator of the universe (*Ch'u tz'u* 3/60); the creator of mankind (*Feng-su t'ung-yi*, preserved in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 78/5a); the restorer or repairer of the world (*Huai-nan Tzu* 6/10b; *Lieh Tzu* 5/85 [Graham, p. 96]); and the author of the marriage institution (*Feng-su t'ung-yi*, preserved in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 78/5a). See Bodde, 'Myths of Ancient China', pp. 386-9; and T'ung Shu-yeh, *Ku shih pien* 7B, 155-8.

¹⁵⁷ Kao's commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/12a states that 'the essence of stone' (*shih ching* 石精) is 'the essence of the five colors' (*wu se chih ching* 五色之精). This explanation seems equivalent to Chang Chan's commentary on *Lieh Tzu* 5/85 (Graham, p. 98), which identifies the five colour with 'the five basic essences' (*wu ch'ang; chih ching* 五常之精).

¹⁵⁸ *Ts'ang-t'ien* 蒼天 here simply means 'the blue sky' and not one of the Nine Heavenly Fields (*chiu-yeh* 九野), of which the eastern is also called *ts'ang-t'ien*, as described in *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/5b.

¹⁵⁹ Kao comments that the black dragon (*hei-lung* 黑龍) is the essence of water (*shui-ching* 水精). There seems to be a gross inconsistency in Kao's commentary at this point, since it attributes the slaughter of the black dragon not to Nü Kua, as the main text clearly states, but to Li Mu and T'ai-shan Chi, the two ministers of Huang Ti mentioned above (see note 138).

¹⁶⁰ Kao understands Chi-chou 冀州 here not just as one of the Nine Provinces, but as a designation (*pars pro toto*) for all China, 'all within the four seas' (*ssu hai chih nei* 四海之內). Chi was the central as well as the metropolitan province of ancient (mythological) China, so it could fittingly be used to represent China as a whole.

¹⁶¹ Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 209a, notes that this text is quoted at least fifteen times in more than ten pre-Sung sources. In four instances, the quotations read *t'ao* 滔 (to overflow; a torrent) in place of the usual *yin* 淫 (to go to excess; to overflow). Yü suggests that *t'ao* represents the Hsü version, and *yin* the Kao version. However, the evidence does not support emending the text, and the *yin* reading is retained.

- the Land of Chi made orderly and the cunning wild animals¹⁶² exterminated, the good people thrived, supported by the square earth and embraced by the round heaven. [The people responded to] the amenity of spring, the canicule of summer, the rotting of autumn and the indigence of winter. They slept on their pillow squares and rush mats. Whatever obstructed the free circulation of *Yin* and *Yang*,¹⁶³ they opened up and put in order. Whatever perverse *ch'i* and destructive things might do damage to what the people had abundantly accumulated, they cut short and halted.
- At that time, they would go to rest carefree and calm, and arise with a serene unblinking gaze.¹⁶⁴ One of them might think he was a horse and another might think he was an ox.¹⁶⁵ Their gait was slow and unsure, their gaze beclouded and blurred.¹⁶⁶ In their rustic simplicity they all enjoyed harmony, no one knowing where it came from. They drifted aimlessly, not knowing what they were

¹⁶² Following the Kao commentary, which glosses *ch'ung* 蟲 as *shou* 狩. Yü Hsing-wu, p. 357, observes that *shou* in the commentary was anciently interchangeable with *shou* 獸 (wild, untamed animal).

¹⁶³ Modern editions read 陰陽之所壅沈不通者. According to Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.10a-b, this sentence, as it stands does not make sense. In particular, the characters *yung shen* 壅沈 cannot be read as a compound. Wang proposes to emend this passage on the basis of *Wen Tzu* 2/9b, which reads 陰陽所擁沈滯不通者, thus deleting *chih* 之 as superfluous and adding *chih* 滯 (to hinder; to obstruct; to congeal). *Yung* 壅 and *yung* 擁 were anciently interchangeable in the sense of 'to squeeze' or 'to obstruct'. The evidence from *Wen Tzu* is quite insufficient to justify Wang's emendation, even if *Huai-nan Tzu* text makes for difficult reading. I rather retain the text as it is, explaining *chih* 之所, along with Yang Shu-ta, 2/38, as indicating the passive (see, for instance, the sentence 又何化之所能造乎 in 6/4b.7) and interpreting *yung shen* as *yung-chih* 壅滯 (to obstruct, as of circulation), an expression commonly used by Han sources.

¹⁶⁴ Modern editions read *mien-mien* 眊眊 (side-swipes; glancing blows). I follow Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.10b-11a in emending *mien-mien* to *hsü-hsü* 盱盱 (to open the eyes and look; blurred vision). Wang explains that *hsü* was originally written 盱, a form easily confused with *mien*. He shows that this mistake occurred in other ancient texts, among others *Huai-nan Tzu* 19/3a (Morgan, p. 222). Again, in two loosely parallel texts in *Chuang Tzu* 7/48 and 29/197 (Watson, p. 92 and p. 327), the corresponding characters are *yü-yü* 于于 (interchangeable with *hsü-hsü*). Wang further notes that the Kao commentary paraphrases the main text as meaning 'empty, unintelligent gaze'; this could apply to *hsü-hsü*, but not to *mien-mien*. Finally, 倨 *chü/kio* in the following clause rhymes with *hsü/Xiwo*; *mien* would destroy the rhyme. Hung Yi-hsüan (quoted in Liu Wen-tien, 6/11a) presents the same argument in shorter form.

¹⁶⁵ This last sentence occurs in different context in *Chuang Tzu* 7/48 (Watson, p. 92). There, it describes the spiritual perfection of Clansman T'ai 泰, not of a whole society as seems to be implied by *Huai-nan Tzu*.

¹⁶⁶ This sentence occurs in *Chuang Tzu* 9/57 (Watson, p.105, translates: '[In a time of Perfect Virtue] the gait of men is slow and ambling; their gaze is steady and mild').

seeking, [just as] the *Wang-liang* 魍魎 Demon knows not where it goes.¹⁶⁷

- At that time, of the wild birds and animals,
 .11 insects¹⁶⁸ and reptiles, there were none that did not
 11b .1 sheathe their claws and store away their venom and
 poison, and none that displayed predatory and
 voracious dispositions.
 .2 If we examine their (Fu Hsi's and Nü Kua's)¹⁶⁹
 meritorious achievements, they reached to the Nine
 Heavens¹⁷⁰ above and touched the Yellow Clay¹⁷¹
 .3 below. Their fame was celebrated by later ages, and
 .4 their glory pervaded¹⁷² the Ten Thousand Things.
 They rode the thunder chariot,¹⁷³ using winged
 dragons as the inner pair¹⁷⁴ and green dragons as

¹⁶⁷ This sentence occurs in *Chuang Tzu* 11/66 (Watson, p. 121) which reads *ch'ang-k'uang* 猖狂 (Watson: 'demented drifting') instead of *Wang-liang* 魍魎 ('mountain sprite'). On this last mythological figure, see D. Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China*, p. 103, who shows that *Wang-liang* was one of the demons of pestilence that was destroyed during the Great Exorcism (*Ta-no* 大儺).

¹⁶⁸ Modern editions write *fu-she* 虺蛇 (cobra; viper). I agree with Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.11a-b, that the expression should be emended to *ch'ung-she* 蟲蛇 (insects and reptiles). Wang notes that *Han Fei Tzu* 49/339 (Watson, p. 96) and the parallel text in *Wen Tzu* 2/9b both write *ch'ung-she*. Furthermore, *ch'ung-she* is parallel to *ch'in-shou* 禽獸 (wild birds and animals), both compounds being general expressions for animal species. If we write *fu-she*, we destroy this parallelism and generality.

¹⁶⁹ The subject of the following paragraph is not spelled out. However, in the light of the context, there can be little doubt that it is Fu Hsi and Nü Kua. The beginning of this section describes at length the great achievements of Nü Kua during the reign of Fu Hsi. Kao tells us that Nü Kua was minister of Fu Hsi. The two are inseparable, reflecting perhaps the unity of ruler and minister in Chinese political theory. They are mentioned together in *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/15b.2.

¹⁷⁰ According to Kao, the Nine Heavens (*chiu-t'ien* 九天) are the eight directions, plus the central (vertical) axis of the realm of Heaven.

¹⁷¹ Kao explains that *huang-lu* 黃墟 refers to great lumps of yellow clay at the bottom of the Yellow Sources (*huang-ch'üan* 黃泉); the latter fountains were believed to well from the deepest recesses of the earth, and were where the material souls (*p'o* 魄) of the departed supposedly went three years after death. The Nine Heavens and the Yellow Clay here signify the top and the bottom of the world.

¹⁷² Modern editions read *chung* 重 (heavy; to give importance to; when pronounced *ch'ung*, it means 'to repeat' or 'a layer'). I follow Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.11b-12a, in emending *chung* to *hsün* 熏 (to pervade; to permeate; to cauterize; to contaminate), on the basis of the commentary on *Erh-ya* 9/13a. The two characters are very easy to confuse.

¹⁷³ Both T'ao Fang-ch'i, 2/28a, and Yeh Te-hui, *Huai-nan hung-lieh chien-ku* (Running Commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu*), 1/15b, propose to read *yün* 雲 (cloud) instead of *lei* 雷 (thunder). They assume, on the basis of *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 930/7b, that *yün* reflects the Hsü edition, and *lei* the Kao edition. Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 209b-210a, argues that such a conclusion is wrong: *lei* is the original reading of both the Hsü and Kao editions. After examining eight quotations of this passage in ancient sources that all read *lei*, Yü concludes that we should retain *lei* and emend *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* quotation to read *lei*. I agree with Yü.

¹⁷⁴ Modern editions add *chia* 駕 (to ride; to drive) after *fu* 服. I follow Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.11b-12a, in deleting *chia* as spurious. *Yi-ch'ieh-ching yin-yi* 1/4b.20, *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 930/7b and the commentary on the *Erh-ya* 10/9a quote this passage omitting *chia*. Wang suggests that the mistake was due to contamination of the main text by the Kao commentary.

- .9 the outer pair. They clasped the magic jade
 .10 tablets¹⁷⁵ and displayed their charts.¹⁷⁶ Yellow
 clouds hung inter-woven¹⁷⁷ [to form a coverlet over
 12a .1 the chariot] as they (the whole retinue) were
 preceded by white serpents and followed by
 .6 speeding snakes.¹⁷⁸ Drifting aimlessly, they led the
 ghosts and spirits and ascended the Nine Heavens,
 where they paid court to the Lord¹⁷⁹ at the Sacred
 .7 Gate¹⁸⁰ and remained reverently silent¹⁸¹ in the
 presence of the Great Ancestor.¹⁸² Even then, they
 .8 would not extol their own merit, or trumpet their
 own fame. [Rather,] they concealed within themselves
 the *Tao* of the True Man and thereby followed the
 unchanging course of Heaven and Earth. How was

¹⁷⁵ Modern editions read *jui* 瑞 (jade tablet; talisman; auspicious), Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.12a, on the strength of the Kao commentary and of *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 930/7b, proposes to emend *jui* to *ying* 應 (response; retribution; answer). Yü Hsing-wu, pp. 357-8, rejects Wang's emendation, blaming him for misunderstanding Kao's commentary (it is an habitual procedure for Kao to add characters for the purpose of explaining) and using a single quotation from *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* as normative. Wang Shu-min (quoted in Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 210b) agrees with Yü Hsing-wu. Finally, Yü Ta-ch'eng produces much evidence to prove that *jui* is the correct reading. Wang Shu-min notes that Liu Chia-li in his edition of *Huai-nan Tzu* followed Wang Nien-sun blindly, and mistakenly changed *jui* to *ying* in the main text.

¹⁷⁶ Kao explains that maps (charts or diagrams) and registers were spread out to make a mat. Another explanation is that the expression *lo-t'u* 羅圖 refers to the coverlet hanging over the chariot. I have departed from Kao's explanation. The clasping of the jade tablet and the display of charts and diagrams are mentioned as the emblems of power.

¹⁷⁷ Yü Yüeh, p. 352, proposes to invert the sentence *huang yü-n lo* 黃雲絡 (they interwove or suspended yellow clouds). Yü's main argument is literary parallelism with the five three-character sentences that precede and the two that follow. He also argues from the structure of Kao's commentary. In my opinion, Yü's reasons are insufficient to justify his proposed emendation, especially in view of the fact that quotations of this text in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 930/7b and *T'ien-chung chi* 11/3b both write *huang yü-n lo*. The contextual parallelism can be as easily explained while retaining the text of the modern editions.

¹⁷⁸ The expressions *pai-ch'ih* 白螭 (white dragon) and *pen-she* 奔蛇 (speedy snake) both refer to mythological animals. *Pai-ch'ih* occurs in *Ch'u tz'u* 9/75 (Hawkes, p. 63, 1.5, translates 'white serpents'). Kao Yu explains that *pen-she* is the same as *t'eng-she* 騰蛇, which is described in Han sources as a dragon-like snake.

¹⁷⁹ According to the Kao commentary, *ti* 帝 here refers to *shang-ti* 上帝 (Lord on High), the main deity (deified ancestor?) of the Shang dynasty. *Shang-ti* remained a 'high god' through most of Chinese history. In Han times, it seems, the original meaning of *shang-ti* was already obscured.

¹⁸⁰ *Ling-men* 靈門 (sacred gate) seems to demarcate the 'holy of holies' of the pantheon described here.

¹⁸¹ Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 210b, points out that both *Wen Tzu* 2/9b and *Lu shih hou-chi* 路史後記 (The Great Ancient History, Later Records) 2/2a quote this text omitting *hsiu* 休 (to rest; to desist), and suggests that the short reading represents the Hsü edition. The evidence appears too thin — *Wen Tzu* is here very corrupt — to identify a distinct Hsü reading, not to speak of emending the text.

¹⁸² *T'ai-tsu* 太祖, according to Kao Yu, here stands for *t'ai-tsung* 太宗 (the great origin). The expression is not restricted to human genealogy, but refers to the originator or progenitor of all things.

- .9 this [possible]? With their *Tao* and *Te* they communicated with what was on high, whereas their knowledge of factual matters was obliterated.

COMMENTARY

General Structure and Meaning

Section VII is long and complex. Many themes would deserve substantial explanations. However, lest we lose sight of the forest for the trees, let us focus, as in the preceding commentaries, on problems of structure and meaning. The details are never better understood than when we have grasped the overall plan of a composition as well as the directive idea of the author.

Section VII contains two successive descriptions of ancient utopias; the first flourished under Huang Ti and the second under Fu Hsi. Let us note for future reference that although the Fu Hsi utopia is described in the second place, it is in the mind of the author earlier in time than the Huang Ti utopia. In Section VI, the second pair of charioteers was also earlier in time than the first pair.

Now, the relation of the two utopias is also the same as that of the two pairs of charioteers of Section VI. There, the superiority of the second pair of charioteers was indicated by the transitional sentence: 'But they (the contemporaries of Wang Liang and Tsao Fu) had not yet seen the truly great [charioteers].' In the present section, the superiority of the second utopia is spelled out by the transitional sentence: 'Yet this (the age of Huang Ti) still did not come up to the *Tao* of Fu Hsi' (*jan yu wei chi* Fu Hsi *shih chih tao yeh* 然猶未及處戲氏之道也). This sentence is one of the keys to Section VII. It ties the two utopias into one single literary unit and reveals the parallel structure of Sections VI and VII which, however, are parallel in more than one way.

Huang Ti and his ministers, Fu Hsi and Nü Kua, correspond to the two pairs of charioteers. The reign of Huang Ti is described in down-to-earth, prosaic terms that do not transcend the limits of possible human experience. Much of the terminology derives, not surprisingly, from Confucian sources. But then the reign of Fu Hsi quite obviously goes beyond the realm of ordinary human affairs: Nü Kua saves the world from primordial chaos; and in the end, Fu Hsi and Nü Kua ascend to the the highest heaven. We noted the same differences of level between the first and second pair of charioteers.

The reason for the superiority of Fu Hsi and Nü Kua over

Huang Ti and his ministers is no different from the case of the two pairs of charioteers. This does not appear clearly in Section VII, although the last sentences are relevant to the issue: 'They [Fu Hsi and Nü Kua] concealed within themselves the *Tao* of the True Man, (*chen-jen chih tao* 真人之道) and thereby followed the unchanging course of Heaven and Earth . . . ' But, near the end of Chapter Six (15b.1-3; see Section IX) we read the following passage:

How explain that Ch'ien Ch'ieh and Ta Ping used neither rein nor bit, and were nevertheless renowned through the whole world for their excellent driving? Or that Fu Hsi and Nü Kua did not set up laws and measures, and were nevertheless treasured by later ages for their perfect virtue? They reached empty non-being (*hsü-wu* 虛無) and pure unity (*shun-yi* 純一) and did not peck at vexatious affairs (*k'o-shih* 苛事).

As we have seen in Section VI, not to use external means ('bit and rein') to drive horses is a metaphor for non-action (*wu-wei*) in government. 'Not to set up laws and measures' is another cliché meaning government by non-action. The parallel structure of Sections VI and VII becomes clear: Ch'ien Ch'ieh and Ta Ping were superior to Wang Liang and Tsao Fu because they drove their horses by non-action; Fu Hsi and Nü Kua were superior to Huang Ti and his ministers because they ruled by non-action.

In the foregoing quotation, the author himself establishes a parallel between the second pair of charioteers and Fu Hsi and Nü Kua, thus confirming the interpretation given above. The stories of the two pairs of charioteers appear to play the role of introduction (metaphorical) to the subject of government by non-action which, as was stated, is the main theme of the second part of Chapter Six.

In the light of this general interpretation, let us now study a few important aspects of the reigns of Huang Ti and Fu Hsi respectively.

The Age of Huang Ti

The description of the reign of Huang Ti is divided into three paragraphs:

- major achievements of Huang Ti and his ministers in organizing society (9b.4-10);
- ensuing social peace, justice and prosperity (9b.10-10a.4); and
- beneficial and auspicious response of nature (10a.4-10).

In all three paragraphs both the contents and the terminology reflect an unmistakable Confucian influence.

For instance, the description of Huang Ti's remarkable contributions to the organization of society is presented in similar terms (more mythical, if anything) in *Ta Tai li chi* 大戴禮記 (Records on Ceremonial of the Elder Tai) 62:7/1b-2a (Gryn timer, pp. 131-2). The description is furthermore put in the mouth of Confucius himself! In the passage about social peace, justice and prosperity, the sentence 'prices were not fixed in advance in the market place' (*shih pu yü chia* 市不豫費) is derived from *Hsün Tzu* 8:4/75 (Dubs, pp. 94-5), where it describes the attitude of the horse and cattle traders of Lu at the time when Confucius became Minister of Crime in that state. The idea expressed by 'people did not appropriate what had been left along the road' (*tao pu shih yi* 道不拾遺) occurs, with a slightly different terminology, in *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 16:5/189 (Wilhelm, p. 243) and there again is used to describe Confucius' beneficial influence after only three years in office. The two foregoing sentences were lumped together by Ssu-ma Ch'ien in his biography of Confucius (*Shih chi* 47/1917; Chavannes, V, 327). Finally, in the last part of the description of Huang Ti in Chapter Six, the author speaks of the appearance of the Phoenix and *Ch'i-lin*, distinctive Confucian symbols of the Great Peace. This brief survey leaves little doubt that this chapter describes Huang Ti in strong Confucian terms. If we examine post-*Huai-nan Tzu* Confucian writings, such as *Hsin hsü* 新序 (New Preface) and *K'ung Tzu chia-yü* 孔子家語 (School Sayings of Confucius), we find even more similarities with the description of Huang Ti in Chapter Six.

Now in pre-Han writings Huang Ti appears most often as a supernatural being — a god. According to Yang K'uan 楊寬, *Ku shih pien* 7A, 199, in such passages as *Chuang Tzu* 6/41 (Watson, p. 82), *Tso chuan* 10/205 (Chao 昭, 17; Legge, V, p. 667; Couvreur, III, 276-7), *Han Fei Tzu* 10/44 (Liao, I, 76-7), and *Ta Tai li chi* 62:7/1b-2a (Gryn timer, p. 132), 'Huang Ti had not yet shed his mythical character'. We also find one passage in *Huai-nan Tzu* (17/5a, with the Kao commentary), where Huang Ti is endowed with divine attributes. But in other pre-Han and Han sources, he is conceived as an extraordinary ruler, but human, as is the case in the present text. *Shih chi* 1/6 (Chavannes, I, 31-3), especially 26/1256 (Chavannes, III, 322-4), describes Huang Ti and his age in relatively the same way.

Is it possible to explain this ambivalence and duality in the personality of Huang Ti as we find it described in early Chinese sources? Furthermore, why did *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 choose to picture Huang Ti as a human ruler rather than a divine being?

The answer to the first question lies in the fact that an

ancient belief in the mythical and supernatural character of Huang Ti was in the course of time slowly transformed into a secular, humanized and historical conception. The new conception did not obliterate the ancient belief so that in some ancient works, or even in the same work, we find traces of both traditions. The conception of Huang Ti in *Huai-nan Tzu* may well be a case in point.

Sinologists have chosen to call the process whereby gods are transformed into men 'euhemerization'. This term requires some clarification, which may be drawn from D. Bodde, 'Myths of Ancient China', in S.N. Kramer, ed., *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, p. 372 (hereafter 'Myths of Ancient China'):

The theory to which Euhemerus [Greek philosopher of the fourth century B.C.] has given his name maintains that the origin of myth is to be found in actual history, and that the gods and demigods of mythology were, to start with, actual human beings. As commonly used by writers on Chinese mythology, however, 'euhemerization' denotes precisely the opposite process: the transformation of what were once myths and gods into seemingly authentic history and human beings.

On page 375, Bodde remarks that euhemerization was mainly the work of Confucian writers, due to their strong historical and humanist mindedness. That would agree well with the Confucian overtones of the characterization of Huang Ti and his reign in *Huai-nan Tzu* 6.

As to why Chapter Six chose to present Huang Ti just as a great human ruler, a general answer was given in the first part of the present section. It is obvious that the author needed the example of an exceptionally good ruler, who organized society in the most orderly and rational way so as to bring out the transcendence of Fu Hsi and Nü Kua who, being one with *Tao*, brought about — by mutual resonance — an era of supreme peace and harmony. The logic is here the same as in the case of the two pairs of charioteers. There was no question about the perfection of the first pair; it is just that the second pair was superlative. We are dealing with an *a fortiori* type of argument. The form of the argument is similar to that we encountered in the Essay on the Lute-tuner: relative resonance was perfect in its own order, but total resonance went beyond ordinary human abilities. The superexcellence of the charioteers Ch'ien Ch'ieh and Ta Ping resided in that they achieved supreme perfection without using external means, but simply by being united with the *Tao* of the True Man and by being in a state of mutual resonance

with their horses. The author intends to make the same point regarding Fu Hsi and Nü Kua: they ruled by non-action, and were therefore more perfect than Huang Ti. The implication is that Huang Ti used external means to rule, although this is not stated in the text.

The mention of two ministers assisting Huang Ti (other sources mention three, four or seven ministers) may be a simplification (one minister on the left and another on the right?) for purposes of parallelism. Everything works in pairs in Sections VI and VII: Wang Liang and Tsao Fu, Ch'ien Ch'ieh and Ta Ping, Huang Ti and his ministers (the ministers being taken as a unit), and Fu Hsi and Nü Kua. Had Fu Hsi stood alone, it would have broken the symmetry of composition. Another reason may be the complementarity of ruler and minister in traditional Chinese political thinking.

The choice of the ministers T'ai-shan Chi (Chi, the Diviner or Counsellor from T'ai-shan) and Li Mu (the Strong Herdsman) may perhaps be explained by the fact that the mythical texts about Huang Ti describe him as a mountain god residing on Mount K'un-lun. In the foregoing texts Mount K'un-lun is often called T'ai-shan 太 (or 泰) 山 (the Highest Mountain) or *Hsi-t'ai-shan* 西太山 (the Highest Mountain of the West; probably to distinguish it from the T'ai-shan of the East, in Shantung).

Fu Hsi and Nü Kua

The description of the age of Fu Hsi differs on many points from that of the age of Huang Ti. It deals mainly with the repairing work of Nü Kua. The text may be outlined as follows:

- the age [or *Tao*] of Fu Hsi (6/10a.10);
- the world in chaos (6/10a.11-10b.6);
- the repairing work of Nü Kua (6/10b.6-9);
- the world in perfect order (6/10b.9-11b.1); and
- the ascension to Heaven of Fu Hsi and Nü Kua and the author's explanation (6/11b.2-12a.9).

Two features are striking in this outline: firstly, although the author begins by speaking of the *Tao* of Fu Hsi, there is no mention of his accomplishments, but only of those of Nü Kua; and secondly, the structure of the whole text, except the transitional or introductory sentence, is the same as that of the anecdotes we read in Section I:

- presentation of the hero in a difficult and challenging situation;
- marvellous solution of the difficulty (and beneficial result); and

—the author's explanation that the marvellous outcome was due to the hero's union with *Tao* and his resonance with the universe.

Let us deal first with the second feature.

The rich poetic and mythical description of Nü Kua should not hide from us the basic structure of the text. Nü Kua finds herself in the midst of a world threatening total chaos. She repairs it by non-conventional and apparently inadequate means, ushering in a perfect age where the people as a whole seem to have been transformed into True Men. In the end Nü Kua, along with Fu Hsi, ascends to the Nine Heavens (*shang chi chiu t'ien* 上際九天) in the full splendour of their regalia and with the accompaniment of a cavalcade of mythical animals, ghosts and spirits, and reaches to the highest god, the Great Ancestor (*t'ai-tsu* 太祖). In the conclusion, the author explains that if Nü Kua and Fu Hsi could accomplish such marvellous deeds — both the saving of the world and the ascension to Heaven — it was because 'through their *Tao* and *Te* they merged with what was on high (*tao-te shang t'ung* 道德上通), whereas their knowledge of factual matter was obliterated'.

In Section I, King Wu, for instance, found himself in a chaotic situation. By brandishing his sword and standard and saying a few words he reestablished order among the elements. In the end the author explains that he could accomplish this because 'his most subtle essences merged with Heaven' (*ching t'ung yü t'ien* 精通于天). We need not force the text to see in the section on Nü Kua an elaboration on a much richer and broader scale of the same structure we already analysed in Section I. This has obvious implications for our understanding of Section VII.

But, who is this Nü Kua, who could perform such prodigies? Early Chinese sources on Nü Kua are extremely scanty. Only two cryptic texts, *Ch'u t'zu* 3/60: 'Questions on Heaven', Hawkes, p. 51, ll. 95-8 and *Shan-hai ching* 16/1a-b, both of which present Nü Kua as a supernatural being, predate *Huai-nan Tzu*. This does not mean, however, that earlier information about Nü Kua may not be found in later texts. The tradition recorded in *Feng-su t'ung-yi* 風俗通義 (Comprehensive Meaning of Customs) — but preserved only in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 78/5a — about Nü Kua's role as the creator of mankind may possibly be a case in point. Such information may have been transmitted orally or in early works that have become lost. On the strength of this principle and of a careful study of the available data, T'ung Shu-yeh, *Ku shih pien* 7A/155, concludes that the earlier traditions pictured Nü Kua as having a snake body and a human head and did not specify

her sex, while later traditions represented her as the sister or consort of Fu Hsi and as an excellent ruler.

Huai-nan Tzu 6 would presumably reflect a late stage of the myth of Nü Kua. Kao Yu, *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/10.b-6, comments that Nü Kua was a female ruler (*yin-ti* 陰帝) who assisted Fu Hsi in governing (*pu chih* 補治). In his commentary on another text on Nü Kua in *Huai-nan Tzu* 17/5a-b, Kao says that Nü Kua ruled (*wang* 王) all under Heaven. Whatever Kao Yu meant by *pu chih* and *wang*, it is clear it was no ordinary 'governing' or 'ruling'.

Nü Kua does not appear here as the creator of mankind (-earlier stage of the myth?), but she does play a cosmic, superhuman role in repairing a world that had fallen 'out of joint'. She could achieve such marvellous results (*mirabilia*), because 'through her *Tao* and *Te* she merged with what was on high'; or, as the author expresses himself in 6/12a.8, 'because she concealed within herself the *Tao* of the True Man'. If Nü Kua was, in the eyes of the author of Chapter Six, a goddess, would she 'conceal within herself the *Tao* of the True Man'? Furthermore, admitted that the *mirabilia* performed by Nü Kua are of cosmic dimensions, are they, taken one by one, different from those accomplished by the seven heroes of Section I? Finally, Nü Kua's ascension to Heaven, which is also attributed to her being united with *Tao*, would seem to imply that the author thought of her as a human being like Fu Yüeh, who also ascended to the sky. Here we have instances of human beings being transformed into divinities.

If this is true, we have a double process of euhemerization taking place here. First a euhemerization process (as sinologists understand the term) whereby Nü Kua, who was originally (we may presume) a goddess, is transformed into a True Man (or True Woman), and a second process of euhemerization (as Euhemerus understood the term) whereby Nü Kua is transformed into a goddess.

This double process expresses well the polarity of religious consciousness, always pulled in the opposite directions of transcendence and immanence.

Whether the author of Chapter Six believed that Nü Kua was a human ruler who had become a goddess, or whether he used the myth of Nü Kua as a literary device to make a point is a debatable question. The distinction between the divine and the human was perhaps not sharply defined in the minds of Western Han thinkers, and from that standpoint, one may be inclined to think that the author was serious about Nü Kua.

But the important point is that the intention of the author

was to show that Nü Kua achieved her valorous deeds and reached the highest perfection because she was one with *Tao*, and not through activities deriving from 'knowledge of factual affairs' (*chih ku* 智故).

Let us turn now to the relation between Fu Hsi and Nü Kua. The author opens the section by speaking of 'the *Tao* of Fu Hsi', but omits mentioning any contribution by Fu Hsi himself. The heroic deeds as well as the universal harmony that ensues appear to be the work of Nü Kua, and Nü Kua alone. This would seem to indicate that the myth of Nü Kua was originally independent from the lore about Fu Hsi. Bodde, 'Myths of Ancient China', p. 286, sums up the problem as follows:

The constructive work of Fu Hsi, however (other than as inventor and ruler), has not come down to us, and we may wonder whether the purported association between him and the fashioning deity Nü Kua really goes back before Han times.

Huai-nan Tzu 6 appears to be the earliest extant text where we find the association of Fu Hsi and Nü Kua. The association may have been part of the euhemerizing process.

The author does not tell us how they were related. According to various post-*Huai-nan Tzu* sources, it was as brother and sister, as husband and wife, as ruler and minister, or any combination of these. The fact that the paragraph opens with the words 'The Age of Huang Ti did not come up to the *Tao* of Fu Hsi' would seem to indicate that the author considered Fu Hsi to be the chief ruler and Nü Kua, perhaps, a consort-ruler. The sources allow us to go no further.

SECTION VIII

- 12a .9 Coming to the time of Chieh 桀 of Hsia 夏,¹⁸³
 .10 rulers were benighted and unenlightened. *Tao* was
 .11 dissipated and uncultivated. They rejected the

¹⁸³ Liu Wen-tien, 6/12a, points out that *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* 158/20a writes Chieh Chou 桀紂 (Chieh and Chou, the last wicked rulers of the Hsia and Shang dynasties, respectively) instead of Hsia Chieh 夏桀 (Chieh of Hsia). Yang Shu-ta, 2/39, rejects the *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* reading as erroneous. According to Yang, this text depends on *Shih Tzu* 尸子 (fragment quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 82/14a), which writes correctly Hsia Chieh. Yang also notes that Kao's commentary a few lines down (*Huai-nan Tzu* 6/13a.7-8) refers to the present passage and mentions only Chieh, not Chou. Yang's argument based on *Shih Tzu* is rather weak. Nevertheless, that Yang's conclusion is correct is confirmed by Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 211a, who produces evidence from *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* 42/1b and 42/3b, *K'ai-yüan chan ching* 113/24b and several other ancient sources.

- benevolent punishments of the Five Emperors¹⁸⁴
 12b .1 and did away with the laws and codes of the Three Kings.¹⁸⁵ As a result, the perfect *Te* was obliterated and not diffused; the *Tao* of the [Five] Emperors was blotted out and did not flourish. In undertaking affairs they offended the azure sky,
 .2 and in issuing ordinances they were at variance with the four seasons. Spring and autumn withdrew their harmony, whilst Heaven and Earth cast aside their *Te*.
 .3 Rulers of men¹⁸⁶ occupied positions [of power], but did not bring peace. Grand ministers concealed *Tao* and did not speak out. Officials fulfilled
 .4 to the last detail their superior's desires and embraced what fitted [these desires, rather than
 .6 what was inherently right].¹⁸⁷ They rended bone from flesh (destroyed kinship relations) for their

¹⁸⁴ Han sources present many different lists of the Five Emperors (*wu-ti* 五帝). There seems to be two distinct systems for these lists. In the first system, which is probably the older, the Five Emperors are celestial beings controlling the stars, the months, the cardinal directions, the five elements and so on. The more usual names of the Five Emperors in these lists are: T'ai Hao 太皞, Yen Ti 炎帝, Huang Ti, Shao Hao 少皞 and Chüan Hsü 顓頊. This system appears in *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/5b-6b, and has parallels in *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* (*passim*), in *Li chi* 4/28-35 (Couvreur, I, 330-410) and in *Han shu* 74/3139. In *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* each of the foregoing *ti* controls the first month of each of the four seasons, Huang Ti controlling mid-summer. The other system considers the Five Emperors as historical human rulers of pre-dynastic times. Their names are given by Kao Yu in his commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu* 8/9a as: Huang Ti, Chüan Hsü, Ti K'u 帝嚳, Yao 堯 (traditional dates 2357?-2256?) and Shun 舜 (2225?-2206?). Parallel lists are found in *Ta Tai li chi* 63/4b-6a (Gryn timer, pp. 140-1) and *Shih chi* 1 (Chavannes, I, 25-96). There can be little doubt that *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/12a.11 refers to the latter list and not to the former. For a critical study of the various lists of the Five Emperors, see Yang K'uan, *Ku shih pien* 7A, 246-69; see also Karlgren, 'Legends and Cults in Ancient China', especially p. 213.

¹⁸⁵ According to Kao's commentary on *Huai-nan Tzu* 8/9a, the Three Kings (*san-wang* 三王) are Yü of the Hsia dynasty, T'ang 湯 of the Shang dynasty and Wen of the Chou dynasty, that is, the founders of the three first dynasties.

¹⁸⁶ Most modern editions write *jen-chün* 仁君 (human-hearted ruler). I follow Wang Shu-min, p. 360, in emending 仁 to *jen* 人 (human being). Wang bases his correction on *Wen Tzu* 22/39a, which by itself would be insufficient evidence. However, Cheng Liang-shu, p. 103, confirms Wang's emendation by pointing out that the Liu, Wang Ying and Chu editions all read *jen* 人.

¹⁸⁷ Yü Yüeh, p. 352, asserts that *huai tang* 懷當 cannot be read together and proposes to follow the parallel passage in *Wen Tzu* 22/39a, which reads *huai ch'ang* 懷常 (to cherish the unchanging). Yang Shu-ta, 2/39, and Wang Shu-min, p. 360, working independently, have both rejected Yü's argument as unfounded and the *Wen Tzu* reading as a corruption of the *Huai-nan Tzu* text. Yü Hsing-wu, p. 358, agrees with Yang and Wang, adding that *tang* should be read in the fourth tone (fitting; just right; matching) and that it agrees with the character *chun* 準 (to equalize; to adjust) in the preceding sentence. Finally, Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 211b, points out that *Wen Tzu* is in most cases an insufficient criterion to correct *Huai-nan Tzu*, and produces evidence from three quotations of the present text in ancient sources in support of the *tang* reading.

- own interest. Evil men got together in twos and threes and plotted secretly. They interposed themselves between ruler and minister, father and son, and vied for chariots (wealth and prestige).¹⁸⁸ They puffed the ruler and imitated his every wish. They perverted others to achieve their goals.
- .8 In these conditions ruler and minister turned their back to each other, relatives (bone and flesh) were estranged [from each other] and did not associate. The established (state) altars¹⁸⁹ dried up and cracked.¹⁹⁰ The ceremonial hall shook and
- .10 collapsed. Dogs wailed and entered deep pools. Pigs
- .11 held rushes in their mouths with which they bedded themselves in the dark corner of the house.¹⁹¹
- 13a .1 Beautiful women disheveled their hair, blackened
- .2 their faces and applied no make-up. Fine singers
- 13a .3 swallowed charcoal, withdrew within themselves and did not sing. In mourning people did not

¹⁸⁸ Yang Shu-ta, 2/39, interprets *tsai* 載 as meaning 'a riding chariot', while Yü Hsing-wu, p. 358, takes it to mean 'wealth'. The two meanings are perhaps not exclusive, since chariots were a traditional symbol of wealth and prestige in ancient China. There is no direct textual evidence for this interpretation.

¹⁸⁹ Yang Shu-ta, 2/39, interprets *chih-she* 植社 as meaning *chih-she* 置社 (established altars; altars subsidized by the state). The latter expression occurs in *Li chi* 20/90 (Couvreur, II, 266). A parallel to this text in *Hsin shu* 新書 (The New History; attributed to Chia Yi, 201-169 BC, but probably written as late as the vii cent. AD) also writes *chih* 置. *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 880/6a preserves a fragment from *Chu-shu chih-nien* 竹書紀年 (Annals Written on Bamboo, iv cent. BC; the fragment is not found in the translations of this work by Legge or Biot) to the effect that 'in the last years of Chieh of Hsia, altars cracked open [from neglect]'.

¹⁹⁰ Modern editions write *hsia* 塤, a form absent from most dictionaries. I agree with Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.12a, who proposes to read *hsia* 塤 (to crack; a crack) instead. His argument is as follows: the form 塤 is absent from ancient dictionaries such as *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu*, *Yü p'ien* 玉篇 (Jade Tablets Dictionary), *Kuang yün* 廣韻 (Enlarged Rhyming Dictionary of Chinese Character Pronunciation) and *Chi yün* 集韻 (Complete Dictionary of the Sounds of Characters). The mistake of 塤 for 塤 was due to the use of the simple square style of writing (*li-shu* 隸書) by some ancient copyist. In this writing style the character *hu* 庠 (to scream) is sometimes written 塤, and the character *yü* 雩 (the summer sacrifice for rain) is sometimes written 塤. Thus, it was easy to confuse 塤 for 塤. The occurrence of this mistake can be verified often in the literature of Han times. For instance, where *Han shu* 15/471 and 94/3757 use 庠, the corresponding passages in *Shih chi* 21/1109 and 110/2896 write 雩. Again, where *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* 6A/2b writes *ch'u* 塤 (*Ailantus glandulosa*), we nowadays write 塤. *Yü p'ien* 3/7a states that *hu* 塤 (beautiful) may also be written 塤. Wang adds that *hsia* 塤 was anciently interchangeable with *hsia* 塤, both meaning, according to *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* 13B/10a, 'to crack', 'to split', 'to break'. In the parallel passage in *Hsin shu* 7/5a, the text reads *fen-lieh* 分裂 (to split and crack) instead of 塤裂. Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 212a, confirms Wang's emendation on the strength of *T'ung-chien wai-chi* 2/8a, which correctly writes 塤 in place of 塤.

¹⁹¹ Wang Shu-min, p. 360, notes that *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* quotes this passage writing *chih* 豕 (swine) in place of *shih* 豕 (pig; hog), and *ao* 澳 (cove) in place of *ao* 澳 (bay). *Hsin shu* 7/5a also reads *chih*, but has *ao* 奧 (obscure; mysterious) instead of 澳. Wang comments that 奧, 澳 and 澳 were all interchangeable.

exhaust their grief; nor in hunting did they fulfill¹⁹²
their joy.

- .5 The Old Mother¹⁹³ of the West broke her hair
- .6 ornament in two,¹⁹⁴ and the Yellow God¹⁹⁵ sighed
- .7 and moaned.¹⁹⁶ Flying birds suffered damaged
- wings,¹⁹⁷ and running animals suffered injured
- .9 feet.¹⁹⁸ Mountains were bare of towering trees, and
- .10 flatlands empty of deep pools.¹⁹⁹ Foxes and monkeys
- headed into burrows. Horses and oxen escaped and
- were lost. Fields were barren of growing grain, and

¹⁹² Yü Yüeh, p. 352, proposes to read *te* 德 (in the sense of *te* 得, 'to obtain', the two characters being interchangeable) in place of *t'ing* (to hear; to listen; to follow). He argues that 樂 should be pronounced *le* (joy; happiness) and not *yüeh* (music), and that *t'ing* makes no sense here. Both Yü Hsing-wu, pp. 358-9 and Yang Shu-ta, 2/40, have refuted Yü Yüeh's emendation. Yü Hsing-wu accepts Yü Yüeh's reading of 樂 as meaning joy, but argues that *t'ing* should be retained as a correct reading; however, it should be interpreted to mean 'to follow' (*ts'ung* 從) and not 'to listen'. Yü Yüeh's mistake was to ignore this secondary meaning of *t'ing*, whereas Yang Shu-ta points out that while Yü Yüeh is correct in reading 樂 as *le*, he is wrong in basing his interpretation on the Kao commentary, for Kao surely read 樂 as *yüeh*, on account of the character *t'ing* in the sentence. So *t'ing* is not a mistaken character for *te*, and Yü Yüeh's argument is proved futile. Yang thinks that *t'ing* is a borrowed character for *ch'eng* 逞, which he interprets, on the strength of *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* 2B/5b, as equivalent to *chin* 盡 (to exhaust; to exert oneself to the utmost). Thus *t'ing* would be a perfect counterpart to *chin* in the preceding sentence, just as *le* is a perfect counterpart for *ai* 哀 (grief, as in mourning). In the absence of any more satisfying explanation of this passage, Yang's interpretation has been retained in the present translation.

¹⁹³ Modern edition write *lao* 老 (old; aged). Sun Yi-jiang, 7/16a, proposes, on the strength of *Kuang yün* 3: 10/18b, to emend *lao* to *lao* 姥 (old mother), explaining that in ancient writings, *mu* 母 (mother) was often used to replace 姥, as in the case of Hsi-wang-mu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West). Wang Shu-min, p. 361, confirms Sun's emendation on the basis of the Mao K'un and Han Wei *ts'ung-shu* editions. I have followed Sun's correction. 'Old Mother' here probably refers to *Hsi-wang mu*, for which see note 234 *infra*.

¹⁹⁴ Liu Wen-tien, 6/13a, notes that *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* 42/1a writes *hsi* 膝 (knee) instead of *sheng* 勝 (hair ornament). Yü Hsing-wu, p. 359, rejects the *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* reading as mistaken and shows that 'the hair ornament of the Queen Mother of the West' recurs as a leitmotiv in Han literature.

¹⁹⁵ That is, Huang Ti, the Yellow Emperor.

¹⁹⁶ Both gestures, according to Kao Yu, express the sage ruler's grief at a *Tao*-less world.

¹⁹⁷ Kao interprets *sha* 鐵 as *tsung* 縱 (to let go; to shed). The sentence would then read: 'flying birds shed their wings'. I agree with Yang Shu-ta 2/41, in emending *tsung* in the commentary to *ts'an* 殘 (to injure; to cripple). Yang notes that *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 28/6a correctly reads *ts'an yi* 殘翼 (crippled; injured wings), while the Hsü commentary preserved in the commentary on *Wen hsüan* 25/22a-b also explains *sha* by *ts'an*.

¹⁹⁸ Liu Wen-tien, 6/13a, points out that *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* 158/20a writes *tsu* 足 (foot) in place of *chiao* 脚 (foot; leg). Wang Shu-min, p. 361, has traced another quotation of this passage in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 82/14a, which reads *chüeh t'i* 決蹄 (to cut off the hoof or leg).

¹⁹⁹ Following the Kao commentary, which explains *wa* 洿 by *ch'un-shui* 淳水 (pure, deep water). Yang Shu-ta, 2/41, notes that *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 82/14a quotes the Kao commentary as reading *ch'ing-shui* 清水 (clear water). He suggests that *wa* is the equivalent of *wa* 窪 which means precisely 'deep and clear water'. Wang Shu-min, p. 361, observes that *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 82/14a writes *wa* 佳 (beautiful).

- roads denuded of reeds and hemp.²⁰⁰ Gold ingots
 13b .2 were chipped at their edges, and jade disks through
 .8 repeated [handling] lost their delicate markings.²⁰¹
 The tortoise had holes (bored in its shell) until it
 .9 had no undershell left, and the divining stalks were
 cast day after day.²⁰²
 .10 In the later generations, the Seven States set up
 clan differences.²⁰³ The feudal lords codified [their
 own] laws, and each differed in his practices and
 .11 customs. The Vertical and Horizontal Alliances²⁰⁴
 divided them, raising armies and attacking one
 14a .1 another. When they laid siege to cities, they

²⁰⁰ Modern editions write *so fan* 莎蘋 (hemp and reed). Wang Yin-chih, *Tu-shu tsa-chih* 9/6.12b, shows on the basis of Kao's commentary that the two characters should be inverted to read *fan so*. 莎 *so/swâ*, argues Wang, rhymes with 禾 *ho/g'wâ* 贏 *lo/lwâ* and 施 *shih/sia*. If we read *so fan*, the rhyme is destroyed.

²⁰¹ Modern editions write *li* 理 (pattern; markings). I agree with Wang Yin-chih, *Tu-shu tsa-chih* 9/6.12-1b, that *li* should be emended to *lo* 贏 (here meaning fine circular markings on the jade disk, *pi* 璧). Wang's argument is threefold. Firstly, the parallel text in *Wen Tzu* 22/39a writes *ying* 贏 (gain; profit; surplus), which is a mistaken character for *lo*. Secondly, ancient editors of *Huai-nan Tzu*, having misunderstood the original *lo* reading, altered the Kao commentary, omitting *lo* and thereby making the commentary unintelligible. The commentary should read *lo, pi wen; hsi, ch'ung* 贏, 璧文; 襲, 重 (*lo* are the markings on the jade disks; *hsi* is to repeat, to pile up). In all modern editions, *lo* is omitted. Finally, the rhyme argument presented in the preceding note is valid here also. The jade disks were used so often, explains Wang, that their fine circular markings were worn off — a figurative way of expressing excessive divinatory practices.

²⁰² These two sentences express a negative stance — current in *Huai-nan Tzu* — toward divination. It was looked upon as the symbol of a declining state. The boring of the tortoise shells and heating them to form cracks and the shuffling of stalks of the milfoil to obtain formulas (in *Yi ching*) were the two classic means of divination in ancient China.

²⁰³ According to Kao, the period described here is the late Spring and Autumn to the end of the Warring States (v cent. to 221 bc). Each of the seven states identified itself with a clan name: T'ien 田 for the state of Ch'i; Mi 𣎵 for Ch'u; Chao 姚 for Yen; Chao 趙 for Chao; Han 韓 for Han; Wei 魏 for Wei; and Ying 嬴 for Ch'in.

²⁰⁴ In the last phase of the Warring States, the main belligerents were Ch'in (northwest), Ch'i (northeast) and Ch'u (south). In the centre were several lesser states. The main threat was the eastward thrust of Ch'in through alliances of this 'super-power' with the lesser states along the east-west axis (Horizontal Alliances, *heng* 衡). To counter-balance Ch'in's expansion, Ch'i and Ch'u entered mutual treaties and forged alliances with the lesser states along the north-south axis (Vertical Alliance, *tsung* 縱). In his commentary, Kao states that Su Ch'in 蘇秦 (d. bc 317) sealed the Vertical Alliances, while Chang Yi 張儀 (d. bc 310) secured the Horizontal Alliances. Kao here accepts the myth and romance about Su Ch'in (and Chang Yi). Bodde, *China's First Unifier*, p. 242, states that 'the speeches and activities of Su Ch'in, as recorded in *Chan Kuo Ts'e* (The Intrigues of the Warring States) have all been shown by two independent scholars [Ch'ien Mu and Maspero] to be a mass of contradictions that have little foundation in historical fact, so that the story of Su Ch'in is probably a late romance'. As to the Alliances themselves, Maspero would minimize their role and importance: 'Ces coalitions furent rares et c'est plutôt l'histoire des conquêtes ininterrompues du Ts'in que celle des efforts spasmodiques de ses adversaires qui donne son unité à l'histoire de cette période' (*La Chine antique*, pp. 337-8). For more information on this question, see J.I. Crump, *Chan Kuo ts'e*, pp. 11-22.

- slaughtered mercilessly, overthrowing the nobles
 .2 and threatening the innocent. They dug up burial
 mounds and scattered the bones of the dead. They
 built more powerful war chariots and higher
 .5 defence ramparts.²⁰⁵ They dispensed with the
 principles of war and were conversant with the
 road of death, clashed with mighty foes and ravaged
 without measure. Out of a hundred [soldiers] who
 .6 advanced, only one would return. Their fame
 enjoyed a spurious amplitude.
 .7 In these circumstances, the able-bodied and
 .8 light-footed were made armoured soldiers a
 thousand *li* away, while family elders and feeble
 ones remained at home, sad and sick at heart.
 Menials and stable-grooms²⁰⁶ pushed carts and
 distributed rations [to the soldiers] along endless
 .9 roads²⁰⁷ in biting frost and snow, and their coarse
 .10 felt clothing did not [even] cover them completely.
 14b .2 Others, exhausted, their carts falling into pieces and
 road mud reaching up to their knees, pulled one
 .3 another by the hand along the highways. They
 struggled with their heads on the road,²⁰⁸ fell
 .5 prostrate on the cross-bar of their chariots and
 died.
 .9 What the expression 'to annex states and

²⁰⁵ Modern editions write *ching* 京 (mound). I agree with Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.13b-14a, that *ching* should be emended to *lei* 壘 (to pile up; a military wall; a rampart). Wang deduces this reading mainly from the Kao commentary. Kao writes: *ku yüeh: kao ch'ung lei; ching, kuan yeh* 古曰: 高壘京, 觀也. As it stands, the commentary in regard to the main text does not make sense. Wang argues that an extra character *lei* should be added in the commentary before *ching*, making the last part of the commentary read: *lei, ching kuan yeh* (*lei* is a watch tower). Then, it is obvious that the main text originally read *lei* in place of *ching*, but was contaminated by the omission of *lei* in the commentary. Wang finds textual confirmation of his emendation in *Wen Tzu* 22/39a.

²⁰⁶ Modern editions read *ma* 馬 (horse). I follow T'ao Hung-ch'ing, 1/6b, in emending *ma* to *mu* 牧 (to tend as a shepherd). T'ao argues on the strength of the Kao commentary. The commentary reads: *niu, yüeh mu; ma, yüeh yü* 牛, 曰牧; 馬, 曰圍 (a keeper of oxen is called a pastor; as keeper of horses is called a groom). T'ao asserts that in the same way as *ma yüeh yü* explains the character *yü* in the main text, so should *niu yüeh mu* explain the character *mu* in the main text. *Ma-yü* means a stable, and would be senseless in the context.

²⁰⁷ Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 213b, notes that the Northern Sung, Liu and Wang Ying editions correctly writes *lu* 路 (road), while most other editions mistakenly write *ma* 馬 (horse).

²⁰⁸ Yü Yüeh, p. 352, proposes to invert the characters *shou* 首 (head) and *yü* 於 (on; in; at; from; about), making the sentence read *fen yü shou lu* 奮於首路. He takes *shou* as equivalent to *hsiang* 嚮 (to incline toward; to approach; to go forward), and interprets the sentence as meaning that 'the people could do nothing else but encourage themselves to go forward on the road'. I think Yü's emendation rests on no textual basis, destroys the literary parallelism with the preceding sentence and complicates the meaning needlessly. It should be rejected.

- .10 appropriate the land' meant was several hundred thousand recumbent bodies and smashed chariots by the hundreds and thousands. Those who sustained injuries from bow and crossbow, spear and lance, darts and rocks, helped and supported²⁰⁹ one another along the roads.
- .11 The world finally reached the point where people used human skulls as head-rests, ate human flesh, pickled human livers, drank human blood, and relished these more than the flesh of grass- and grain-fed animals.
- 15a .1 Therefore, from [the beginning of] the Three
 .2 Dynasties²¹⁰ and afterwards, the [people of the] world were never able to soothe their heart and mind and find joy in their traditions and customs, or to insure their natural span²¹¹ and escape
 .3 untimely death caused by human cruelty. Why was it so? The feudal lords fiercely attacked [one another], and the world failed²¹² to unite and form one family.

COMMENTARY

The Chronological Framework

The second part of Chapter Six is divided chronologically into five periods. We have already seen two of them, those of Fu Hsi and Huang Ti, in Section VII. The present section deals

²⁰⁹ Modern editions write *chü* 舉 (to raise; to promote). I agree with Wang Shu-min, p. 472, that *chü* should be emended to *yü* 舉 (same as *yü* 與; to support). Wang shows that in slightly different parallels in *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 21/279 (Wilhelm, p. 379), *Kuan Tzu* 79/390 and *Huai-nan Tzu* 15/6a (Morgan, p. 190), *yü* is used in place of *chü*. The *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* passage is quoted by *Hsin hsü* 5/5b-6a, which also mistakenly writes *chü*. Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 213b-214a, corroborates Wang's emendation on the strength of *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 339/3a, which correctly writes *yü*.

²¹⁰ Hsia, Shang and Chou.

²¹¹ *Hsiu ming* 脩命 is the equivalent of *ch'ang ming* 長命 (long life). Ch'ang being the name of Liu An's father, the character was taboo and was replaced by *hsiu* (see Kao Yu, Preface to *Huai-nan Tzu*, 2a; Wallacker, p. 6). Modern editions add *t'ien* 天 (sky; heaven) after *hsiu ming*. I agree with Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.14b-15a, in omitting *t'ien* as spurious. *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 327/9a correctly omits *t'ien*.

²¹² Modern editions write *t'ien-hsia ho erh wei yi chia* 天下合而為一家 (all under heaven united and became one family). With Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.15a, I put this sentence in the negative by adding *pu* 不 (no; not) before *ho*. This reading is supported by *Wen Tzu* 22/39a and *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 327/9a. Yü Ta-ch'eng, I, 214a-b, agrees with Wang's emendation and comments that the present sentence describing the disunity that followed the Three Dynasties forms a perfect contrast to the sentence 天下混而為一 (the empire coalesced and became one) a few lines below, which extols the grandeur and superiority of the Han dynasty.

with two later periods, the Three Dynasties and the last part of the Spring and Autumn to the end of the Warring States in 221 BC. The final period, that of the first Han emperors (especially Emperor Wu) will be discussed in Section IX. Each period is introduced by a time expression that is usually non-technical, such as *hsi che* 昔者 (formerly; in ancient times). With the help of the periodization schemes of pre-Han history that were prevalent in Han times, it is possible to get a fairly good idea of the chronological framework the author of Chapter Six had in mind. For the sake of clarity, I shall present in the following scheme the introductory time phrases, the periods they refer to, and the historical figures that are associated with each as they appear in the second part of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6.

	Time Phrases	Name of Period	Historical Figures
1	<i>wang ku chih shih</i> 往古之時 Turning back to the most ancient times (6/10a.6)	<i>San-huang</i> 三皇 The Three Sovereigns	Fu Hsi, Nü Kua
2	<i>hsi che</i> 昔者 In ancient times (6/9b.4)	<i>Wu-ti</i> 五帝 The Five Emperors	Huang Ti, T'ai-shan Chi, Li Mu
3	<i>Hsia Chieh chih shih</i> 夏桀之時 The Age of Chieh of Hsia (6/12a.9)	<i>San-wang</i> 三王 The Three Kings	Hsia Chieh 夏桀, Chieh of Hsia
4	<i>wan shih chih shih</i> 晚世之時 In the later generation (6/13b.10)	<i>Ch'i kuo</i> 七國 The Seven States	
5	<i>tang chin chih shih</i> 當今之時 At the present time (6/15a.5)		<i>T'ien-tzu</i> 天子 Son of Heaven

We may note that the historical figures of (1) and (2) were the first rulers of their age, while Chieh of Hsia (3) was the last ruler of the dynasty. The order of presentation is deliberate. Fu Hsi and Nü Kua, as well as Huang Ti, stand for the perfection of their respective ages, and perfection lies in the beginning. Symmetrically, Chieh stands for the worse corruption of his age, and corruption is at the end of each cycle. The author is in no way systematic in outlining the periods of ancient history. He mentions neither Shang nor Chou, and there is but a veiled allusion to Ch'in. But when we grasp the point the author intends to make, we understand he needed not to be systematic or exhaustive in matters of relative chronology.

The author's goal in the second part of Chapter Six is to show, as was already stated, the gradual decline of 'government by non-action based on union with *Tao* and mutual resonance' all through Chinese history. Only the age of Fu Hsi and Nü Kua was supremely perfect. Already with the first of the Five Emperors, Huang Ti, there was reliance on knowledge and action (as versus *Tao*, resonance and non-action). The situation worsened tragically by the end of the Three Ages (Dynasties), and became totally senseless and inhuman during the so-called 'Seven States' period.

Seen in the light of Section VIII, the author of Chapter Six may appear as a pessimistic thinker, propounding a defeatist view of history. He understands history as change and growth — change for the worse and growth of divisiveness and disorder. He does not attribute this decline to economic or ethical factors, but to the gradual obliteration of *Tao*, a distinctive Taoist view. However, this is only half of the picture. As we shall see in Section IX, the author believes that the first emperors of the Han dynasty have recovered *Tao* and restored perfect government, thus opening a new age. Hence history is not fatally bound to ruin: restoration may reenact the perfection of the beginning. History seems to follow a wave pattern, like day and night, like the four seasons and, more generally, like *Yin* and *Yang*. From the utter darkness of the last phases of the Warring States arose the splendour of the Han dynasty.

The outline and contents of Section VIII is divided into two parts of relatively equal length, plus a conclusion:

- the age of Chieh of Hsia (6/12a.9-13b.10);
- the period of the Seven States (6/13b.10-14b.11); and
- conclusion (6/15a.1-3).

The reader cannot escape noticing the symmetry between Sections VII and VIII. In Section VII, the author underlined the perfection of the first two periods of history, those of Fu

Hsi and Nü Kua, and Huang Ti. The former period was nevertheless more perfect than the latter. In Section VIII, he focuses on the evil aspects of the two following ages of human history, and demonstrates by vivid descriptions that the last age, the Seven States, surpassed the corruption even of Tyrant Chieh's reign to reach the depths of evil. Again, he displays a complete mastery of his subject and an artistic sense of literary composition.

The Age of Chieh of Hsia

No details are given about Chieh, the notorious tyrant whose incredible excesses brought about the fall of the Hsia dynasty. In the same way that Fu Hsi and Nü Kua, and Huang Ti, respectively represent the perfection of the Age of the Three Sovereigns and the Age of the Five Emperors, Chieh stands for the deterioration of conditions during the Age of the Three Dynasties. The description of the latter age may be divided into three parts:

- abandonment of *Tao* by the rulers and disorder in government, where private interests prevail (6/12a.9-12b.8);
- ensuing social disorder and misery (6/13a.5-13b.9); and
- adverse and inauspicious response of nature (6/13a.5-13b.9).

The threefold division is the negative counterpart of the positive aspects of the age of Huang Ti. Many sentences in the last two parts seem to be in the form of allusions. They were presumably readily understandable to the contemporaries of the author, but their exact import is lost to us. Many expressions are found only in Chapter Six so that we have no external or comparative way of penetrating their specific meaning. At least we know their general thrust, which is to signify the social chaos and ominous natural phenomena arising from the rulers' abandonment of *Tao* and, by implication, of mutual resonance and non-action. Kao Yu's commentary is especially useful in this section, although there is evidence that the commentator is not sure at all of the exact meaning of many obscure expressions and allusions.

The Period of the Seven States

The gradual obliteration of *Tao* and corresponding rise of divisiveness and private interest during the Three Dynasties reached its culmination with the rulers of the Seven States and the devastating wars they waged against one another. We find few pre-Han or Han texts where the sufferings brought

about by war are described in such succinct and suggestive language. There is in this text a threefold division: the first one (6/13b.10-14a.6) pertaining to the rulers who waged war without any concern for principles or people, in order to defend or aggrandize kingdoms they looked upon as their own possessions; the second (6/14a.7-14b.11) pertaining to the people who were subjected to untold miseries and cruel death for the sake of their warmonger-rulers; and the last (6/14b.11) describing the state of a society in which the incessant wars of unprincipled rulers had deprived the people of basic human sentiments. This last paragraph corresponds to 'the adverse and ominous response of nature' in the section on Chieh.

The expression 'to annex states and appropriate the land' (*chien kuo yu ti* 兼國有地) is probably an allusion to the series of military conquests that culminated in the Ch'in unification in 221 BC.

Conclusion

The unity of the paragraph on Chieh of Hsia and that on the Seven States, which could be deduced from the internal structure of the text, is confirmed by the conclusion, which applies to both paragraphs. *Tzu san-tai yi hou che* 自三代以後者 (6/15a.1) means 'from [the beginning of] the Three Dynasties and afterwards', and not 'since the end of the Three Dynasties and afterwards'. We find a similar clause in *Chuang Tzu* 10/62: *Tzu san-tai yi hsia* 自三代以下, where the context makes it indisputable that the author uses *tzu* as inclusive of the noun it modifies. Watson, p. 113, translates correctly: 'From the Three Dynasties down on . . .' In the eyes of the author of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6, the long period starting with Hsia and ending with the Warring States and the military unification of China formed an uninterrupted downward flow, more and more remote from the purity and the unity of the original sources — the *Tao* of Fu Hsi and Nü Kua.

Finally, the author sees the absence of unity or divisiveness as the natural outcome or response of a world where rulers are devoid of *Tao*. The implication is that ideally the world should form one family under a single head, as is implied by the last sentence.

SECTION IX

- 15a .4 Coming to the present time, the Son of
 .5 Heaven²¹³ reigns supreme, sustaining [all] with *Tao*

²¹³ Kao Yu identifies the Son of Heaven (*t'ien-tzu* 天子) as Emperor Wu of the Han.

- and *Te*, assisting [all] with human-heartedness (*jen* 仁) and equity (*yi* 義). Those close [to him] offer their wisdom, and those far removed cherish his *Te*. [Simply] by clasping his hands on his breast and stretching them forward,²¹⁴ the Four Seas pay obeisance and in spring and autumn, winter and summer offer their tribute. The whole world coalesces and becomes one, sons and grandsons succeeding one another. Such was the way in which the Five Emperors greeted the *Te* of Heaven.
- Even the sage ruler cannot create the time. The time comes along, and he does not miss it. He promotes the competent and dismisses those who show the slightest penchant for slander and flattery, cuts short clever disputations and does away with mutilating laws, brushes aside petty and troublesome affairs and obliterates the first traces of rumours, shuts the door to cabals and cliques, gets rid of [conventional] knowledge and ability, and enhances the office of Minister of Ceremonies.²¹⁵
- He (the Sage) dissolves his limbs and body, casts out [sense] knowledge,²¹⁶ merges with formless obscurity, unloosens his mind, sloughs off his spirit and becomes blank as if soulless,²¹⁷ causing the Ten Thousand Things one by one to return to their Root. This, then, is how to follow in the footsteps of Fu

²¹⁴ The expression *kung yi chih hui* 拱揖指揮 (to clasp the hands and extend them outwards) is a ritual gesture symbolizing the spiritual radiance of the sage ruler. It occurs in *Hsün Tzu* 10/130, untranslated by either Dubs or Watson).

²¹⁵ *T'ai-ch'ang* 太常 (Minister of Ceremonies) was the first of the nine ranking ministers (*chiu ch'ing* 九卿) of the central Han government. T'ung-tsu Chü, *Han Social Structure*, p. 103, has this to say about the function of *T'ai-ch'ang* during the Former Han: 'Students who studied under the erudites were selected from persons above the age of eighteen by the grand minister of ceremonies (*t'ai-ch'ang* 太常); also, those who were recommended by the local authorities to study at the Academy (*Han shu* 88:4b). When the institution was set up in Emperor Wu's time, the number was limited to fifty only.' In the light of this text, it would make historical sense that Liu An, a patron of literature and an advocate of an enlightened government, would praise the enhancement of the office of the Minister of Ceremonies. For more details on the history and many responsibilities of *t'ai-ch'ang*, see H. Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, pp. 17-18.

²¹⁶ This sentence occurs in *Chuang Tzu* 6/47 (Watson, p. 90), where it is put in the mouth of Yen Hui, Confucius' favourite disciple. Watson translates, or rather paraphrases: 'I smash up my limbs and body, drive out perception and intellect, cast off form, do away with understanding'. There is another parallel in *Chuang Tzu* 11/67 uttered by Hung Meng: 鴻蒙: 墮爾形體, 吐爾聰明; Watson, p. 122, translates (rather differently, this time): 'Smash your form and body, spit out hearing and eyesight.' The parallel in *Chuang Tzu* 11/67 continues with many different characters, down to 復歸其根. *Huai-nan Tzu* applies to Emperor Wu Chuang Tzu's description of the Taoist sage.

²¹⁷ *Huai-nan Tzu* modifies significantly the *Chuang Tzu* parallel it is using, making it more explicit.

Hsi and revert to the *Tao* of the Five Emperors.

- How explain that Ch'ien Ch'ieh and Ta Ping
 .2 used neither rein nor bit and were nevertheless
 renowned throughout the whole world for their
 excellent driving? How explain that Fu Hsi and Nü
 Kua did not set up laws and measures and were
 nevertheless treasured by later generations for
 their perfect virtue? They reached empty non-being
 and pure unity, and did not peck at vexatious
 15b .3 affairs. The Book of Chou 周²¹⁸ says: "[When] he who
 .4 nets ringed pheasants fails to catch any, he changes
 [his techniques] to accord with their (the pheasants')
 habits."²¹⁹
 .5 Now, let us take the manner in which Shen [Pu-
 hai],²²⁰ Han [Fei-tzu]²²¹ and Shang Yang²²² managed
 .6 government. They plucked up the stem [of good
 government] and weeded out its roots, without
 investigating wherefrom it grew. How did they
 .7 get to this? They forcibly created the Five Punish-
 ments²²³ and practiced cutting and slicing, thus
 turning their back on the root of *Tao* and *Te* and
 fighting over the tip of an awl.²²⁴ They mowed down
 .8 the Hundred Surnames (the people) like grass and
 .9 exterminated more than half of them. Then, inflated
 with self-satisfaction, they prided²²⁵ themselves on

²¹⁸ *Chou shu* 周書 (Book of Chou) may refer either to a section of *Shu ching* in thirty-two chapters, or to a work in seventy-one chapters that has come down to us in fragments collected under the title *Yi Chou shu* 逸周書 (Remnants of the Book of Chou). Since the quotation in question is not found in *Shu ching*, it may perhaps come from the lost *Chou shu*; however, the quotation does not seem to occur among the preserved fragments of that work.

²¹⁹ The meaning of this quotation is rather obscure. Chinese scholars have seemed reluctant to comment on it. The present translation is tentative. I interpret *yen* 掩 to mean 'to capture by covering or enveloping' (as hunting with a net). Furthermore, *chih* 雉 is described by Chinese sources as a bird (*Phasianus versicolor*) that can only fly short distances and is captured by using a net called, precisely, *chih-wang* 雉網 (pheasant net). In the light of these explanations, the sentence seems to make sense.

²²⁰ D. 337 BC. Legalist philosopher from the state of Han, better known as Shen Tzu 申子.

²²¹ D. 233 BC. Most famous of the Legalist philosophers, also from Han.

²²² D. 338 BC. Statesman and philosopher who was responsible to a large extent for the prosperity of Ch'in and its subsequent conquest of China. He was also an important proponent of the Legalist philosophy.

²²³ The expression *wu-hsing* 五刑 (five punishments) applied to different sets of physical punishments through Chinese history. During the Ch'in and Han periods, they were: tattooing (*ch'ing* 黥); amputation of the nose (*pi* 劓); amputation of the feet (*chan* 斬); decapitation and exposure of the head (*hsiao* 梟); and execution and pickling (*chiu* 菹).

²²⁴ The expression *chui tao chih mo* 錐刀之末 was a cliché meaning to fight and struggle strenuously without obtaining any significant results.

²²⁵ I follow T'ao Hung-ch'ing, 1/6b, in interpreting *ch'ang* 常 (constant; unchanging) as meaning *shang* 尚 (here meaning 'to esteem'). The two characters were anciently interchangeable.

- having performed [the tasks of] government. This is like adding fuel wood in order to put out a fire,
 .10 or boring holes to stop water.²²⁶
 16a .1 Now, stump shoots²²⁷ may grow on the wooden
 .2 casing²²⁸ of a well, obstructing the bucket from reaching the bottom; and branches may grow on the side beams of a canal, obstructing the passage of
 .7 boats. But three months will not pass before they (the growths) will surely be dead. Why is it so? [Because] these [growths] were all born haphazardly, lacking their own roots.
 .8 That the Yellow River²²⁹ makes nine turns to flow into²³⁰ the sea without being stopped [by any obstacle] is due to its being carried forward by
 .10 the K'un-lun [Mountains].²³¹ That flood waters, however, do not flow but spread out to the limit of one's gaze — if it does not rain for a full month, their waters dry up and leave a stagnant swamp —
 .11 is due to their being the result of mere accumulation and lacking a source²³² [of their own].

²²⁶ Most editions read *ch'u* 出 (to come out). With Wang Nien-sun, 9/6b.15a-b, I read *chih* 止 (to stop) in place of *ch'u*. If we read *ch'u* the sentence is self-contradictory. *Wen Tzu* 2/11a correctly writes *chih*.

²²⁷ Modern editions read *tsu* 梓 (catalpa wood). I agree with Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.15b-16a, in emending *tsu* to *nieh* 桤 (also written 桤, 桤 and 桤) meaning 'tree stump' or 'shoots growing on a stump'. The mistake occurred, according to Wang, because *nieh* is written 桤 in the *chüan* 篆 ('curly') style, while in the *li* 隸 ('square') style, it is written 梓, a form easily mistaken with *tsu*. Yang Shu-ta, 2/41, and Shen Te-hung, pp. 43-4, follow Wang's emendation.

²²⁸ Following Kao's commentary. Kao explains that *chih* 植, here and in the next sentence, should be interpreted as wood panels, beams, rafters and so on.

²²⁹ Modern editions omit *shui* 水 (water; river) after *ho* 河 (river; the Yellow River). I agree with Wang Nien-sun, 9/6.16a-b, in adding *shui*. Quotations of this passage in *Yi-wen lei-chü* 8/11b, *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* 6/14b, *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 40/4b and the commentary on *Wen hsüan* 20/17a all read *ho-shui*, which is another name for the Yellow River.

²³⁰ Modern editions add *yü* 於 before *hai* 海 (sea). With Wang Nien-sun, 9/6a-b, I delete *yü* as superfluous, on the strength of the same authorities as those quoted in the preceding note.

²³¹ The idea is that the Yellow River can make nine turns and still reach the ocean because its source is in the highest mountain, K'un-lun. There is an implicit idea in this image. I believe Taoism can follow different courses and still achieve its historic function or mission, because its doctrine derives from the transcendent *Tao*.

²³² Modern editions read *che* 者 (pronoun, adjectival or adverbial modifier), but I agree with Yü Yüeh, p. 353, that *che* should be emended to *yeh* 也 (final particle). Yü argues that this sentence forms a perfect contrast to the preceding one about the Yellow River flowing to the sea, which ends with the particle *yeh*. If we leave *che* uncorrected, the sentence is left hanging in the air. T'ao Fang-ch'i, p. 119, notes that Kuo P'u's commentary on *Chiang fu* 江賦 (*Fu* on the Chiang River), *Wen hsüan* 12/17a, quotes this passage writing *che yeh* 者也, a further indication of the correctness of Yü's emendation, which I follow.

- 16b .3 This may be compared to Yi 羿²³³ requesting the
 drug of immortality from the Queen Mother of the
 .4 West.²³⁴ Heng O 姮娥 stole it and fled to the moon.
 .8 [Yi] was dejected and forlorn, having no way to
 perpetuate it (the drug). Why was this, then?
 .9 [Because] he did not know wherefrom the drug of
 .10 immortality grew. Therefore, to beg for fire is not
 .11 as good as to obtain a fire-maker. To depend on
 [other people's] water is not as good as to dig a well
 [of one's own].

COMMENTARY

General Structure and Meaning

Section IX completes the historical sweep of the second part of Chapter Six and brings us to the time when *Huai-nan Tzu* was presumably completed, about 139 BC. In this section the downward trend toward political and social chaos is checked. The Han dynasty is viewed as marking the beginning of a new age, which the author does not shy at comparing to the age of the Five Emperors and even to the supreme perfection of Fu Hsi and Nü Kua. The argument that gave

²³³ Yi was a mythological hero mostly known as the excellent archer who shot down the ten suns when they appeared simultaneously in the sky during the reign of Yao. Whence the name often given to him, Yi 夷羿, Yi the Archer (see Bodde, 'Myths of Ancient China', pp. 394-5). The myths and stories centring around Yi are numerous and diverse to the point of inconsistency. After a detailed study of the most relevant pre-Han sources, T'ung Shu-yeh, *Ku shih pien* 7C, 232-3, concludes that up to the middle of Former Han, there was no unanimity either about the general period in which Yi lived or about the traits of his personality. Most sources, however, emphasized his excellence in the art of archery. T'ung also sees a veiled allusion to the episode in question here in *Ch'u tz'u* 3/58 (Hawkes, p. 50, 11. 67-72; if T'ung is correct, Hawkes misconstrued the passage of *Ch'u tz'u*). There does not seem to be any connection between the *Huai-nan Tzu* story and the myth of Yi the Archer. Of the numerous mentions of Yi in the former, this is the only one where there is no reference to archery.

²³⁴ According to Chavannes, *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, V, 480-9, Hsi-wang-mu was originally the name of a non-Chinese tribe, which he locates in the northwesternmost part of China and in Turkestan. This interpretation is based on the earliest mentions of *Hsi-wang-mu*, namely, in *Chu-shu chi-nien* (The Annals Written on Bamboo) and *Mu t'ien-tzu chuan* 穆天子傳 (The Annals of King Mu). *Erh-ya* 9/10 also takes Hsi-wang-mu as the name of a country. Chavannes attributes to 'popular etymology' the origin of all the legends pertaining to 'the Queen Mother of the West'; that is, people took literally what was to start with probably a mere phonetic transcription of a non-Chinese name. K.M. Schipper, *L'Empereur Wou des Han dans la légende taoïste*, p. 21, acknowledges that the origin of 'the Queen Mother of the West' as a mythological figure is obscure. By early Han, however, her cult was already well developed, since she appears in *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/16b.3 as 'the giver of the drugs of immortality'. The text of *Huai-nan Tzu* seems to be one of the first mentions of the popular beliefs about Hsi-wang-mu. We know that her cult flourished mainly during the Later Han.

logical continuity and consistency to the complex text of the chapter also reaches its conclusion in this last section. The argument stated that only the man united with *Tao* and in a state of mutual resonance with the universe could govern by non-action and become the perfect ruler. The Han Emperor is described precisely as a Taoist sage.

Section IX may be divided into three parts:

- the Han Emperor as the perfect Taoist ruler (6/15a.4-15b.4);
- against the Legalist conception of government (6/16b.5-10); and
- the root and source of government are internal, not external (6/16a.1-16b.11).

The Han Emperor

We find in the description of the Han Emperor, identified by Kao Yu as Emperor Wu, terms and ideas that are partly Confucian, partly Legalist and partly Taoist. For instance, in the opening paragraph (6/15a.4-7) the Han ruler is called *t'ien-tzu* (Son of Heaven), is said to use *jen* 仁 (human-heartedness) and *yi* 義 (equity), and brings about universal submission by ritual gestures (*kung yi chih hui* 拱揖指揮). All these are Confucian concepts.

The second paragraph (6/15a.8-10) deals mainly with the ruler's management of personnel and reminds one of ideas put forward by the so-called tradition of Name and Performance (*hsing-ming* 形名), which may be viewed as a sub-group of the Legalist School.

Finally, the third paragraph (6/15a.10-15b.4) is distinctly Taoist in conception and akin to the description of the True Man in the Essay on the Lute-tuner and the True Man (Section IV).

It is here argued that the three paragraphs form a deliberate sequence; that there is no contradiction from one paragraph to another; and that the description is essentially Taoist.

To study all the non-Taoist expressions in the first two paragraphs would be excessively time-consuming. Let us focus on what appears to be the most glaring contradiction of all: the combination of *Tao* and *Te* with the basic ideas of Confucianism, *jen* and *yi*. The opposition between the two is expressed succinctly in *Lao Tzu* 18: 'When the great *Tao* was abandoned (*fei* 廢), there was *jen* and *yi*.'

Now we find in *Huai-nan Tzu* three kinds of statements about *jen* and *yi*. Firstly, as in *Lao Tzu* 18, opposition between *Tao* (or *Tao* and *Te*) and *jen* and *yi*. The most explicit texts

here are 2/11a.2, 8/5a.10-6b.2, and 11/1a.4-5. For instance, 2/11a.2 (Morgan, p. 43, tr. mod.) states: 'When *jen* and *yi* are set up (*li* 立), *Tao* and *Te* are abandoned (*fei* 廢).' Secondly, *jen* and *yi* are accepted as integral parts of the presumably Taoist philosophy of the author. It is striking that such ideas are found in all three chapters mentioned above. To quote again from *Huai-nan Tzu* 2 (5b.2-4; Morgan, p. 36, tr. mod.):

Therefore, he (the sage ruler) takes *Tao* for a rod, *Te* for the fishing line; he uses rites and music for hook, and *jen* and *yi* for bait. He casts these into the rivers and seas [of the world], and there is nothing he fails to hook from the abundant life of creation.

We have no reason to believe that Chapter Two was not written by a single author. Must we assume that he contradicted himself so blatantly in the space of four or five pages?

The answer seems to lie in the third kind of statements about *jen* and *yi* we find in *Huai-nan Tzu*. In these texts *jen* and *yi* are denied any normative or ultimate value as principles of society and government: they have relative value only inasmuch as they are subordinated to the ultimate Taoist principles of *Tao* and *Te*. This is stated explicitly in 8/5a.2-3 (Morgan, p. 85, tr. mod.):

Therefore, *jen* and *yi*, rites and music have the power to save [society] from corruption, but they do not reach the utmost [perfection] of government (*fei t'ung chih chih chih yeh* 非通治之至也).

Another expression of the same idea is found in 16/9b.3-4:

That *jen* and *yi* are not greater than *Tao* and *Te* is [because of] their being contained within *Tao* and *Te* (*tsai tao te chih pao* 在道德之包).

In the final analysis, the problem is not one of contradiction, but of subordination. *Jen* would be contradictory to *Tao* if the author said that both were ultimate principles of social relations. But there is no such statement in *Huai-nan Tzu*. There is only one ultimate principle, *Tao*. Or to put it in another way, *jen* and *yi* are necessary for the total scheme of things, but they are insufficient by themselves. Only *Tao* is at the same time necessary and sufficient. It alone allows *jen* and *yi* to be genuine and effective in their limited field of application. The same foregoing principles obtained in the case of sincerity (*ch'eng*) and ordinary knowledge, as we saw in previous sections. We may agree that they also apply here to the first

two paragraphs that describe the Han Emperor.

The third paragraph should be read in the light of the two parallels in *Chuang Tzu* 6/47 (Watson, p. 90) and 11/67 (Watson, p. 122). The author of Chapter Six joined together excerpts of both passages. He chose, in each case, only the last part of the *Chuang Tzu* text describing the perfect union with *Tao* and applied it to the sage ruler of Han. The *Chuang Tzu* terminology is in many instances modified by the author of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6, and bears a close resemblance to that depicting the True man in Section IV. We saw there that the True Man was 'he who could return to his origin, as if he had not yet begun to emerge from the Great Unity'. In this case the author speaks of the sage ruler as 'causing the Ten Thousand Things one by one to return to their Root' (*shih wan-wu ko fu kwei ch'i ken* 使萬物各復歸其根), to indicate that the Taoist True Man, inasmuch as he is the ruler of all under Heaven, is in a state of 'creative' mutual resonance with all things: he causes them to reach their original perfection. And this he does, not by any external means, but simply by being one with *Tao*. In this way, the sage ruler of Han governs in the same way as Fu Hsi and Nü Kua, and in the same way that Ch'ien Ch'ieh and Ta Ping drove their horses: by mutual resonance and non-action. This 'reaches to the utmost perfection of government' (*t'ung chih chih chih yeh* 通治之至也). At the same time it includes and transcends Confucian values, such as *jen* and *yi*, as well as Legalist techniques, such as management of personnel. But, as we shall see, not all non-Taoist ideas and values are compatible with the Taoist scheme of the author.

Against the Legalists

We should note that the author of Chapter Six does not use the term 'Legalists' (*fa chia* 法家), an expression that probably was not current at the time *Huai-nan Tzu* was written. Rather he speaks of 'the way Shen [Pu-hai], Han [Fei Tzu] and Shang Yang managed government'. One particular aspect of their doctrine and practice comes under sharp attack, namely, their advocacy of harsh, mutilating punishments. According to Chapter Six, that was a distortion of the 'benevolent punishments of the Five Emperors' (*wu-ti chih en-hsing* 五帝之恩刑; 6/12a.11). The author seems to blame Shen, Han Fei and Shang Yang for emphasizing mutilating punishments and applying them in a systematic way. Is there any factual basis for such an accusation? It would seem so, at least in the case of Shang Yang. We read in his work, *Shang chün shu* 商君書 17/29 (Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, pp. 278-9):

What I mean by the unification of punishments is that punishments should know no degree or grade, but that from ministers of state down to great officers and ordinary folk, whosoever does not obey the king's commands, violates the interdicts of the state, or rebels against the statutes fixed by the ruler, should be guilty of death and should not be pardoned.

We read in the biography of Shang Yang in *Shih chi* 68/2230 (Duyvendak, p. 14) that 'he fixed the mandate by which the laws were altered . . . whoever did not denounce a culprit would be cut in two . . . ; whoever concealed a culprit would receive the same punishment as he who surrendered to an enemy'.

We find the advocacy of harsh punishments in *Han Fei Tzu*. Some scholars, however, would take exception to Shen Pu-hai being characterized as emphasizing punishments, or even as being a Legalist. H.G. Creel in his *Shen Pu-hai* tries to show that Shen's political thought should be called 'administrative philosophy' rather than Legalism. Be it as it may, there can be no doubt that both the author of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 and the commentator Kao Yu took Shen, Han Fei and Shang Yang to be 'birds of the same feather'. Kao comments on *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/15b.5 that 'the methods (*shu* 術) of the three philosophers (*tsu* 子) were all mutilating laws' (*chieh k'e-hsiao chih fa* 皆刻削之法).

The criticism of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 against the Legalist philosophers is not limited to the excessive harshness of punishments; it condemns the principle of relying on external, and therefore artificial, means of managing government. For the author of the chapter, government has its roots and source in the naturalness that is the essence of man and of the universe, and whose highest, ineffable principle, *Tao*, is inside man. Any other derivation of government, especially one based in principle on an external instrument, is unnatural, incompatible with Taoism, and doomed to failure.

The Root of Government is Internal, not External

The last paragraphs of Chapter Six consist of three similes, borrowed from nature and folk beliefs and applied to the Legalist and Taoist conceptions of government.

In the first simile (6/16a.1-8), stump shoots and branches that grow haphazardly on the wooden casing of wells and on the side beams of canals are shown to be unable to reach maturity because they do not have natural roots in the soil. The author need not tell us that this is an image of the laws of

the Legalists that lack their own roots in the naturalness of man and in *Tao*.

The second simile is a comparison between the Yellow River and rain waters. The Yellow River has a natural source in the highest mountains; therefore, although it turns nine times it can still reach the ocean. Without working out the image in too mechanical a way, we may say that the Yellow River represents government; the K'un-lun, the source of government in *Tao*; the nine courses, the many tasks of government; and the ocean, the perfect fulfilment of government. The rain waters, however, do not have a permanent and natural source. They have no principle. After flooding and causing extensive damage, they dry up and leave a stagnant swamp. This represents the Legalist system of government, which has no permanent and natural source, but applies laws haphazardly and brings misery to the people.

The last image is borrowed from an ancient myth about the drug of immortality. The actors are the Queen Mother of the West, who knew the secret of where the drug of immortality grew; Archer Yi, who was fond of the drug; and his wife Heng O, who stole the drug from her husband and fled to the moon, leaving Yi in a state of dejection and despair. This seems to be the earliest extant version of the myth. The author uses it as a simile to make a point. The reason Archer Yi was dejected after the flight of his wife was that he did not know the source of the drug of immortality. In the same way, the Legalists ignore the source of government. The sentence *pu chih pu ssu chih yao chih so yu sheng yeh* 不知不死之藥之所由生也 (He [Yi] did not know wherefrom the drug of immortality grew) in 6/16b.9 corresponds to the sentence *pu ch'ung chiu ch'i so yu sheng* 不窮究其所由生 (They [the Legalists] did not investigate wherefrom it [government] was born) in 6/15b.6.

Chapter VI



The Idea of *Kan-Ying* in *Huai-nan Tzu*

The Logical Structure of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6: Syncretism or Synthesis?

At first reading, it would seem that Chapter Six exhibits, in miniature, the confusion and lack of unity scholars such as Hou Wai-lu 侯外廬 found in *Huai-nan Tzu* as a whole. One cannot help being struck by the lexical, syntactic and stylistic difficulty of the text. The connection of successive literary units appears obscure, if not non-existent. It is perhaps no accident that the chapter was not translated before. Yet beneath this surface of apparent literary and intellectual diversity and even confusion, patient effort can unveil a structure that not only satisfies the rational mind, but also gratifies one's sense of form.

By structure, I mean a number of interrelated and congruent parts, unified by a common aim or function. The question arises: given that there is some kind of structure in Chapter Six, does the structure have any logical consistency? To phrase the question otherwise: is Chapter Six a synthesis or merely syncretism? Synthesis establishes a logical and necessary link between ideas, whereas syncretism merely

juxtaposes ideas side by side, even though the ideas have no intrinsic connection with each other. The foregoing question can only be answered by testing the logical consistency of the chapter, that is, by attempting a logical reconstruction. This may be done in two steps: defining by way of a hypothesis what appears to be the unifying and directive idea; and demonstrating on the basis of the text itself how the different parts are organized in such a way as to substantiate the logical validity of the directive idea.

The directive idea of Chapter Six may be summarily formulated as follows:

The most perfect form of government is that of non-action (*wu-wei*), for it operates through the natural (*tzu-jan*) resonance (*kan-ying*) of all things. The perfect ruler is the True Man (*chen-jen*) who, being one with *Tao* is in a state of mutual resonance with all things.

Two aspects of the foregoing formulation should be noted: the combination of Taoist ideas (True Man, *Tao*, non-action) with the idea of *kan-ying*, deriving from the School of *Yin-Yang*; and the centrality of *kan-ying* as the 'middle term' of the argument.

Now let us examine how the author arranged the different parts of Chapter Six to demonstrate the validity of the directive idea. The chapter is divided into two parts of about equal length (6/1a.4-8b.1 and 8b.2-16b.11). The first part, mainly cosmological, intends to show that the principle of resonance applies to all things in the universe: things are interconnected and influence one another according to certain set patterns (pp. 102-51). Only in the True Man, who is one with *Tao*, is resonance total (pp. 140-4). The second part, mainly political, is an application to the sphere of government of the principle of resonance. It shows how government by non-action is based on resonance and, ultimately, on *Tao* (pp. 151-89).

Each of the two parts is divided into sections, whose interrelatedness and congruence emerge clearly in the light of the overall structure. The first part opens with a series of pseudo-historical anecdotes about True Men possessed of *Tao*, who achieved marvellous and beneficial results by being spontaneously and unwittingly in a state of mutual resonance with the universe (6/1a.4-3a.4; pp. 102-8; commentary on pp. 108-16). The following section (6/3a.5-4b.8; pp. 116-23), while admitting the difficulty of understanding how resonance operates (pp. 116-20), argues on the basis of a broad and diversified survey that resonance is a universal pattern, obtaining in the realm of natural phenomena as well as social

behaviour and political rule (pp. 117-20), and finally explains resonance on the basis of *ch'i* (matter-energy), *Yin-Yang*, and *Tao* (pp. 120-3). The next section (6/5a.8-6b.6; pp. 131-5) illustrates by many examples that following the principle of resonance leads infallibly to benefit and success (pp. 131-2). The first part ends with the poetic essay on the Lute-tuner and the True Man (6/6b.9-7a.5; p. 138), amplified by two *fu*-style allegories (6/7a.5-8b.1; pp. 144-8) comparing the True Man to the ordinary man.

Is it necessary to stretch one's imagination to perceive in this fivefold division of the first part of Chapter Six a natural and logical movement of the human mind: observation; generalization; explanation; evaluation; and recapitulation? Nor is there any doubt about the author's intention in the first part: it is to establish the universal and therefore binding character of the principle of resonance. This becomes clear in the second part of the chapter.

Corresponding to the literary structure of the first part, which ends with two allegories, the second part opens with two *fu*-style allegories (6/8b.2-9b.3; pp. 151-4) describing two pairs of charioteers of antiquity. The first pair, however perfect their art, still relied on external means (whips, shouts) to drive their horses. The second pair was more perfect, for they relied on no external means whatsoever, but only on mutual resonance between them and their horses. The two allegories are obviously meant to illustrate the superiority of government by resonance and non-action, as compared to forms of government based on the use of external means such as rites and laws (pp. 153-5). Following the allegory of the charioteers, the author draws an overall survey of government by non-action through Chinese history, showing after the perfect political beginning with Fu Hsi and Nü Kua (6/9b.4-12a.9; pp. 155-63) how government by non-action gradually declined until it reached the antipode during the Warring States and the period of military unification of China (6/12a.9-15a.3; pp. 170-6). Under the emperors of the Han dynasty, non-action government was restored, but not without being contradicted by the doctrines of the Legalists (6/15a.4-16.11; pp. 180-3).

The second part is thus the application of the cosmological and universal principles elaborated in the first part. There, the idea of resonance is shown to derive from *Tao* and to be of universal extension. The universal character of resonance imposes itself as normative and binding in the particular field of government, where it appears as non-action. The chapter ends with the description of the Han Emperor as a True Man and his government as comparable to that of Fu

Hsi and Nü Kua. The doctrines of the Legalists are rejected outright.

Thus by following the different sections of Chapter Six and examining their interrelationship, we end up with a conclusion that is none other than the hypothetical formulation of the directive idea of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 given above. There is no begging of the question here, but simply a deduction of the only interpretation of the chapter that does full justice to the text. In the final analysis, it would appear that there is a logical structure to it and that it represents a synthesis rather than mere syncretism.

A full explanation of the key notions that give logical consistency to Chapter Six would require borrowing from other chapters to complement information there lacking. Such a systematic approach, deserving of an independent study, would show that a set of philosophical ideas and presuppositions is shared in varying degrees by the different chapters of *Huai-nan Tzu*. Here, only two factors of synthesis will be examined, namely, the notion of the perfect ruler and the cosmological scheme.

Elements of Synthesis in *Huai-nan Tzu*

1 The Sage and the True Man

I have defined *Huai-nan Tzu* as a Taoist-oriented summa of Han philosophy.¹ But, as we have seen, it was a 'new Taoism', largely influenced by the so-called Huang-Lao School whose central doctrine was contained in the four words: *ch'ing ching wu-wei* (purity, tranquillity and non-action).² We find a clear echo of this teaching in *Huai-nan Tzu* 6. The four-word maxim focused on the two main aspects of traditional Taoism, which H.G. Creel has called 'contemplative' (mainly *Chuang Tzu*) and 'purposive' (mainly *Lao Tzu*).³ There is no doubt that the Huang-Lao School emphasized heavily the purposive aspect of Taoism, advocating non-action as the fundamental principle of government.

It is my contention that the purposive and contemplative aspects of Taoism were combined in a deliberate and systematic way in *Huai-nan Tzu*, particularly in Chapter Six. The most important instance of synthesis between the 'this-

¹ See p. 2.

² This subject has already been dealt with on pp. 6 and 194.

³ References to Creel are given on p. 30.

worldly' and 'other-worldly' orientations of Taoism in the work lies in the blending of the perfect ruler (the Sage, *sheng-jen*) and the True Man (*chen-jen*).

In pre-Han works, the expression '*chen-jen*' seems to be found only in works of Taoist inspiration and always refers to the quasi-mystical and contemplative strand of Taoism. While it is only used once in *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 (6/12a.8), we have three important descriptions that refer implicitly but directly to the True Man (6/2a.10-11, 6/7a.2-4 and 6/15a.10-11; commentaries on pp. 113-4, 142-4 and 187).

Thus, in *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/15a.8-15b.4, the Sage is described as combining within himself the art of the perfect ruler and the mystical consciousness of the unnamed but implied True Man, in other words, as blending together purposive and contemplative Taoism.

Huai-nan Tzu contains many texts where the specific attributes of the Taoist True Man are transferred to the Sage (ruler). One significant text, 14/1b-2a, reads:

The Sage (*sheng-jen*) is neither the embodiment of fame nor the storehouse of schemes. He does not undertake affairs nor does he take himself for the lord of wisdom. He treasures what has no [perceptible] shape. What he does leaves no trace, and he wanders where there is no trail . . . He who takes no action (*wu-wei*) and remains peaceful, if he loses that whereby he is peaceful, faces danger. He who is without [involvement in] affairs and yet governs [effectively], if he loses that whereby he governs [effectively], faces disorder . . . Therefore, the Sage conceals his brilliance in what has no shape and buries his traces in non-action.

In the following texts, the transfer in question is even more explicit:

The Sage . . . returns to the [simplicity of the] uncarved block (*p'u 樸*);⁴

The Sage incorporates (*t'i 體*) *Tao* and returns to his [original] nature (*hsing 性*);⁵

The Sage . . . returns to the beginning (*ch'u 初*) of the Ten Thousand Things;⁶

The Sage returns to himself (*chi 己*) and is not dependent [on what comes from outside].⁷

⁴ *Huai-nan Tzu* 11/11b (Wallacker, p. 38; tr. mod.)

⁵ *Huai-nan Tzu* 11/17b (Wallacker, p. 43; tr. mod.)

⁶ *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/10a (Morgan, p. 42; tr. mod.)

⁷ *Huai-nan Tzu* 10/17b.

The verb translated as 'to return' in all four quotations was *fan* 返, the same word used to describe the True Man's ability to return to the perfect beginning.⁸ The 'perfect beginning' is represented in the quotations by equivalent Taoist expressions such as *p'u* (the uncarved block), *hsing* ([original] nature) and *chi* (self, as opposed to what is external); in one text the word *ch'u* (beginning) itself is used.

By combining the Taoist image of the True Man with the traditional image of the Sage, *Huai-nan Tzu* elaborates a more comprehensive ideal of the Taoist ruler than we find in pre-Han Taoism. Moreover, it is precisely this conception of the ideal ruler that we find in Chapter Six.

There seems to have been for the author of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 an intrinsic connection between the two foregoing aspects of the ideal Taoist ruler. The common element was efficacy or power. Not blind or arbitrary power, but the power to bring about order — harmony. Furthermore, the fundamental task of the Sage (ruler) was to bring order to the world by constantly transforming inwardly the people's customs and ethos in accordance with the arising of new circumstances and situations; only the True Man, being one with *Tao*, had unlimited power to accomplish the transformation in question. This is spelled out in brief at the end of the chapter, when the author says that 'the Sage (ruler) . . . causes the Ten Thousand Things one by one to return to their Root' (6/15a.11; p. 181; commentary on p. 187).

The notion of ultimate reality as power reminds us of a passage from Plato's *The Sophist*. The Stranger is speaking:

I suggest that anything has real being that is so constituted as to possess any sort of power either to affect anything else or to be affected, in however small a degree, by the most insignificant agent, though it be only once. I am proposing as a mark to distinguish real things [that is, real being] that they are nothing but power.⁹

The author of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6 would have agreed with such a statement, but with one important qualification: the power to affect or to be affected contains the element of harmony in its very essence.

To sum up this section: *Huai-nan Tzu* synthesized two separate strands of pre-Han Taoism, the contemplative and the purposive. An illustration of the synthesis is the transfer

⁸ See p. 187.

⁹ Plato, *The Collected Dialogues*, 247d-e (p. 992).

of 'contemplative' attributes from the True Man to the Sage (ruler). The philosophical basis of such a synthesis appears to be the conception of being as the power to effect harmony.

2 Taoism and the School of Yin-Yang: a New Cosmology

This new comprehensive Taoist vision became in turn in *Huai-nan Tzu* one component of a larger synthesis which tied together basic Taoist tenets with the teachings of the School of Yin-Yang and Five Elements, presumably derived from Tsou Yen and the materialist wing of the Chi-hsia Academy.¹⁰

As far as *Huai-nan Tzu* is concerned, the teachings of the School of Yin-Yang and Five Elements may be reduced to four basic ideas:

- the idea of *ch'i* (matter-energy);
- the idea of resonance (*kan-ying*) between different formations, configurations and categories of *ch'i*;
- the idea of an alternating principle of change, *Yin* and *Yang*; and
- a sequence of phases relating the foregoing 'principles' to concrete things and making it possible to classify the latter into systems of correspondence.

These ideas blended with Taoist conceptions such as *Tao*, non-action (*wu-wei*), naturalness (*tzu-jan*) and return to the origin (*fan*) to form a new all-embracing cosmology.

Five major passages of *Huai-nan Tzu* spell out the new cosmology. Their importance is highlighted by their position at the head of five different chapters. The texts differ in many respects: vocabulary, sequence of stages in the formation of the cosmos, completeness of description, and emphasis. A comparative study nevertheless brings out a common picture of the structure and genesis of the universe (cosmology) shared by the five texts, providing the philosophical parameters and foundation of Chapter Six. The differences are perhaps best explained by the specific standpoint and theme

¹⁰ The best study in a Western language on Tsou Yen and the School of Yin-Yang and Five Elements is probably found in J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, II, 232-44; but one should also read the well-balanced account in Fung/Bodde, I, 159-69. One cannot but regret that Needham did not make a topical study of the concept of *ch'i* in the foregoing reference; the most complete study of the notion of *ch'i* by him is found in *Science and Civilisation in China* IV/1, 133-5; there he suggests that the notion may have been acoustic in origin. If this is so, the translation of *kan-ying* by 'resonance', which Needham was the first to propose, is all the more justified.

of each of the five chapters in which the relevant descriptions are found:¹¹

Huai-nan Tzu 1/1a-3a: the formation of the cosmos from the standpoint of *Tao*;

Huai-nan Tzu 2/1a-2a: the formation of the cosmos from the standpoint of Being, Non-being and Time;

Huai-nan Tzu 3/1a-4a: the formation of the cosmos from the standpoint of Heaven and Earth (Space);

Huai-nan Tzu 7/1a-3a: the formation of the cosmos from the standpoint of Man;

Huai-nan Tzu 14/1a-b: the formation of the cosmos from the standpoint of the True man.

Common to all five texts is the succinct cosmological scheme found in *Lao Tzu* 42:

¹¹ The cosmological texts of *Huai-nan Tzu* present particularly difficult problems of translation. References to as many readily available translations as possible are therefore provided:

	<i>HNT</i> 1/1a-3a	<i>HNT</i> 2/1a-2a	<i>HNT</i> 3/1a-4a	<i>HNT</i> 7/1a-3a	<i>HNT</i> 14/1a-b
Balfour, 'The Principle of Nature . . .', <i>China Review</i> , 9 (1880-1)	281-2	—	—	—	—
Chan, <i>A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy</i>	305-6	306-7	307-8	—	—
De Barry et al., (eds.), <i>Sources of Chinese Tradition</i> , vol. I	—	—	192-3	—	192-3
Fung/Bodde, <i>A History of Chinese Philosophy</i> , vol. I	—	395-6	396-8	398-9	399
Hughes, <i>Chinese Philosophy in Classical Times</i>	287-9	289-91	291-2	—	—
Kraft, 'Zum <i>Huai-nan-tzu</i> . . .', <i>Monumenta Serica</i> , 16 (1957)	207-11	250-4	—	—	—
Larre, <i>Le traité VIIe du Houai nan tseu</i>	—	—	—	53-5	—
Morgan, <i>Tao, the Great Luminant</i>	2-4	31-3	—	58-60	—
Saso, <i>Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal</i>	45-6	—	—	48-51	—

Tao gave birth to one,
 One gave birth to two,
 Two gave birth to three,
 Three gave birth to the Ten Thousand Things.
 The Ten Thousand Things carry *Yin* and embrace *Yang*,
 and through the blending of matter-energy (*ch'i*) they
 achieve harmony.¹²

In *Huai-nan Tzu* the scheme is significantly expanded and made more complex. However, *Tao* remains the wellspring or matrix, and the Ten Thousand Things the final outcome. *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/2b sums up the cosmological process: '*Tao* gave birth to the Ten Thousand Things' (*Tao sheng wan-wu* 道生萬物).

Among the five cosmological texts, *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/1a-2a is particularly important and difficult. It provides a view of cosmology from the standpoint of Being and Non-Being in the framework of time. Its difficulty lies in its derivation from *Chuang Tzu* 2/12-13 and in its ordering of the sequence of stages in the formation of the cosmos.

The parallel text in *Chuang Tzu* 2/12-13 is part of a complex argument intended to show the inadequacy of language to express reality. The discussion about 'being' (*yu* 有), 'non-being' (*wu* 無) and the potentially infinite regression of beginnings (*shih* 始) is purely formal and has no concrete contents. It has nothing to do with 'descriptive cosmology'. The *Chuang Tzu* passage may be rendered as follows (the propositions are numbered 1-7):

There was a beginning. (1)
Yu shih che 有始者
 There was a time which preceded the beginning. (2)
Yu wei shih yu yu shih che 有未始有有始者
 There was a time before that which preceded the
 beginning. (3)
Yu wei shih yu fu wei shih yu yu shih che
 有未始有夫未始有有始者
 There was Being. (4)
Yu yu che 有有者
 There was Non-Being. (5)
Yu wu che 有無者
 There was a time before Non-Being began. (6)
Yu wei shih yu yu wu che 有未始有有無者
 There was a time before that which preceded the
 beginning of Non-Being. (7)
Yu wei shih yu fu wei shih yu yu wu che
 有未始有夫未始有有無者

¹² Waley, p. 195 (tr. mod.)

A.C. Graham, *Chuang Tzu*, p. 55, comments that Chuang Tzu here refutes the assumption that 'an object either is an ox or is not, so that having distinguished the alternatives we ought to be able to recover the totality by adding non-oxen to oxen'. In an earlier study of the same passage, 'Chuang Tzu's Essay on Seeing Things as Equal', *History of Religion*, 9:2-3 (1969-70), 145, Graham states: 'The description or its negation applies to every concrete thing which has either already begun or not yet begun.' Graham's interpretation, which seems to imply that Chuang Tzu challenges the logical principle of the excluded middle, confirms the formal character of Chuang Tzu's statement: it deals with language and thought, not with perceptible physical objects.

Huai-nan Tzu 2/1a-2a borrowed Chuang Tzu's formal scheme and applied its seven propositions to as many stages in the formation of the universe. Whether the author of *Huai-nan Tzu* 2 deliberately or inadvertently misunderstood *Chuang Tzu* 2/12-13 is a moot point. In any event, he reinterpreted a pre-Ch'in text by transforming a purely formal concept into a physical description of the universe. For instance, the expression *wei shih* 未始 (not having yet begun) in *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/1a-2a is not used primarily in a logical sense or dialectic of Being and Non-Being as in the *Chuang Tzu* parallel, but rather as introducing a qualitative change in the substance of the universe. It is precisely this kind of reinterpretation Fung Yu-lan emphasized as a distinguishing feature in *Huai-nan Tzu*.¹³ The seven propositions in *Chuang Tzu* form a logical sequence that does not correspond to the sequence of the seven cosmogonic stages in *Huai-nan Tzu*. As the latter follows the order of the seven propositions of *Chuang Tzu*, the sequence of the cosmogonic stages, understood as gradual 'qualitative' changes from Non-Being (*wu*) to Being (*yu*), is erratic. For instance, Proposition (1) corresponds to Stage 7, Proposition (2) to Stage 6, and so on. Hu Shih pointed out the necessity to modify the order of the propositions in *Huai-nan Tzu* in accordance with the cosmogonic stage each proposition is applied to. Hu's insight is unassailable. However, his reordering of the seven propositions would not seem to reflect a satisfactory understanding of *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/1a-2a and therefore cannot

¹³ See Fung, *The Spirit of Chinese Philosophy*, pp. 112-3 (already quoted above, p. 4); one finds a more elaborate treatment of the same idea in Fung's *Hsin pien*, I, 146.

be accepted.¹⁴ In the following description the seven propositions are rearranged according to the successive stages of the formation of the cosmos as presented in *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/1a-2a, as well as in the four other cosmological texts mentioned above, which Hu failed to take into account.

EMPTY NON-BEING (*hsü-wu* 虛無)¹⁵

Empty Non-Being is called 'the dwelling place of *Tao*' (*tao-chih so chü* 道之所居)¹⁶ and 'the Great Beginning' (*t'ai-shih* 太始).¹⁷ All and everything is indistinctly blended together (*hun-tun* 混沌)¹⁸ into an indistinguishable whole (*t'ai-yi* 太一).¹⁹ As *Huai-nan Tzu* 1/1a-2a shows, *Tao* is not a stage — not even the first one — in the cosmogonic scheme, but is present as matrix and principle at every moment of the process, both inside the smallest elements and beyond the immensity of the

¹⁴ Hu shih, *Huai-nan wang shu* 淮南王書, pp. 33-7 proposed to rearrange the seven propositions as follows: 7, 3, 6, 2, 1, 4, 5. Such a reordering does not seem consonant to the structure of the text. Propositions 1-4 describe the realm of Being going further back in time; propositions 5-7 describe the realm of Non-Being going back still further to the very beginning of the universe. For reasons of symmetry, of which we have seen examples in *Huai-nan Tzu* 6, the author of *Huai-nan Tzu* 2 placed Being (*yu yu che* 有有者) and Non-Being (*yu wu che* 有無者) as an opposite pair in the middle of the text. The series of moments from the present going back to the beginning can be made continuous by displacing proposition 4 (*yu yu che*) to the first position, giving the following sequence: 4, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7. In the present study, I have inverted the order, starting from the beginning and ending with the present: 7, 6, 5, 3, 2, 1, 4.

¹⁵ The expression *hsü wu* occurs nine times in *Huai-nan Tzu*. In all instances it is used as a metaphor to point out to the deepest level (if one may so speak) of Non-Being. Like all expressions used to describe the structure of the universe, it has an ambivalent connotation: it may refer primarily to the objective cosmos or to the subjective mind, the two sides of experience being often difficult to distinguish in Taoist writings such as *Lao Tzu*, *Chuang Tzu* and *Huai-nan Tzu*. In *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/1a (Morgan, p. 32; Fung/Bodde, I, 396) and 7/1b (Morgan, p. 59; Larre, p. 54), *hsü wu* is used to describe the structure of the universe, while in *Huai-nan Tzu* 14/1b it describes the basic mental attitude of the True Man.

¹⁶ *Huai-nan Tzu* 7/1b (Morgan, p. 59; Larre, p. 54); see also *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/12a, *hsü wu che tao chih she* 虛無者道之舍 (Empty Non-Being is the lodging place of *Tao*).

¹⁷ *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/1a (Fung/Bodde, I 396), following the reading of Wang Nien-sun, 9/3.1a-b.

¹⁸ The main references in *Huai-nan Tzu* to the original indistinct oneness of the universe are: 1/18b (Morgan, pp. 18-19); 2/1a-2a (Morgan, pp. 31-3); 3/1a-b (Fung/Bodde, I, 396-7); 7/1a-b (Morgan, pp. 58-9; Larre, pp. 53-5); 8/1a (Morgan, p. 80); and 14/1a (Fung/Bodde, I, 399). See preceding note on the expression *hun-tun*. The theme of *hun-tun* (chaos; indistinctness) in the early Taoist tradition has been studied in a masterly way by N.J. Girardot, "Returning to the Beginning" and the Arts of Mr Hun-tun in the *Chuang-tzu*, *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, 5 (1978), 21-69 and in the same author's *Myth and Meaning in Early Taoism. The Theme of Chaos (Hun-tun)*, pp. 47-112.

¹⁹ *Huai-nan Tzu* 14/1a (Fung/Bodde, I, 399); Bodde translates 'Great Oneness'. cf. *Huai-nan Tzu* 21/1b: '*Hun-tun wan-wu hsiang t'ai-yi chih jung*' 混沌萬物象太一之容 (The Ten Thousand Things were mixed indistinctly together having the appearance of a great oneness). Kao Yu comments: 'The expression *t'ai yi chih jung* means that the matter-energy of the Northern Pole (Star) united and formed one body.'

universe, before and after the beginning and end of time. From the cosmic standpoint of *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/1a-2a, Empty Non-Being is twice removed from Non-Being: 'There was a time before that which preceded the beginning of Non-Being' (7).²⁰ There is no space, no light, no darkness, no form and no sound; nor can one form any likeness or image of this cosmic stage (*pu k'o wei hsiang* 不可為象).²¹

(OPAQUE) EMPTY SPACE (*hsü-k'uo* 虛廓)²²

This stage is characterized by the appearance of space — a space which is utterly dark (*ta-t'ung hun-ming* 大通混冥),²³ limitless (*pu k'o wei wai* 不可為外)²⁴ and empty (*pu k'o wei nei* 不可為內).²⁵ In the overall scheme of *Huai-nan Tzu* 2, we have moved one grade closer to Non-Being: 'There was a time before Non-Being began' (6).²⁶

(LUMINOUS) EMPTY SPACE (*hsü-k'uo*)

Space, while remaining limitless and empty, becomes luminous and transparent (*t'ung kuang-yao* 通光耀).²⁷ Yet in this vast bright space, there is nothing to be perceived or grasped. For *Huai-nan Tzu* 2, this is the stage of Non-Being: 'There was Non-Being' (5).²⁸

THE SPACE-TIME COMPLEX (*yü-chou* 宇宙)²⁹ AND THE FORMATION OF HEAVEN AND EARTH (*t'ien-ti* 天地)³⁰

The three foregoing sections described qualitative changes in the realm of Non-Being. With the Space-Time Complex, we enter the first stage of Being. *Huai-nan Tzu* 11/13b defines *yü* 宇 as 'the flow of time from the beginning to the present', and *chou* 宙 as 'the space within the four directions and the

²⁰ *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/2a (Fung/Bodde, I, 396; tr. mod.)

²¹ *Huai-nan Tzu* 1/3a (Morgan, p. 4; tr. mod.)

²² 3/1a (Fung/Bodde, I, 396); Bodde translates *hsü-k'uo* as 'empty extensiveness'.

²³ *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/2a (Fung/Bodde, I, 395); Bodde, following Morgan, p. 32, translates *ta-t'ung hun-ming* 'an all-penetrating impalpable complexity'. See also *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/15a.11.

²⁴ *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/2a (Fung/Bodde, I, 396); cf. *Huai-nan Tzu* 16/4b.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/2a (Fung/Bodde, I, 396, tr. mod.)

²⁷ Ibid.; Bodde, following Morgan, p. 32, translates *t'ung kuang-yao* as 'immeasurable translucency'.

²⁸ *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/2a (Fung/Bodde, I, 396).

²⁹ *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/1a (Fung/Bodde, I, 396); Bodde translates *yü-chou* as 'cosmos'. Chan, p. 307 has 'universe (of space and time)'.

³⁰ *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/1a (Fung/Bodde, I, 396). Compared to *yü-chou* (for which see the following note), Heaven and Earth is a more definite concept in the sense that it refers to organized space and measured time.

[vertical axis] upward and downward'.³¹ The concomitance of space and time produced a vaporous, inert and amorphous mass of matter-energy (*yüan-ch'i* 元氣).³²

A circular movement (*yün* 運)³³ of the cosmic matter-energy (*yüan-ch'i*) brings about a process of differentiation and separation of light and clear elements (*ch'ing-yang* 清陽)³⁴ from heavy and turbid elements (*chung-cho* 重濁).³⁵ The first

³¹ *Huai-nan Tzu* 11/13b: 'Wang ku lai chin wei chih chou; ssu fang shang hsia wei chih yü' 往古來今謂之宙; 四方上下謂之宇 (see Wallacker, p. 40, tr. mod.); on page 67, note 224, Wallacker provides a definition of *yü-chou* attributed to Shih Tzu 尸子 (iv cent. BC) by Liu Chün's 劉峻 commentary on *Shih shuo hsin yü* 世說新語 (A New Account of Tales of the World) 25/6.197 (R. Mather, p. 410; the commentary is not translated): 'T'ien-ti ssu fang yüeh yü; wang ku lai chin yüeh chou' 天地四方曰宇; 往古來今曰宙 (Heaven and Earth and the four directions are called yü; from ancient times to the present is called chou). The similarity between the Shih Tzu text and *Huai-nan Tzu* parallel leaves no doubt about the derivation of the latter. In this case, *Huai-nan Tzu* 11 once more modified a pre-Ch'in text (replacing 't'ien-ti ssu fang' by 'ssu fang shang hsia') to fit more nicely his cosmological scheme. *Chuang Tzu* 23/151 also offers a definition of *yü-chou*: 'Yu shih erh wu hu ch'u che yü yeh; yu ch'ang erh wu hu p'iao che chou yeh' 有實而無乎處者宇也; 有長而無乎剎者宙也 (What has reality but has no place wherein it resides is space; what has duration but no beginning or end is time). See Watson, p. 256, who translates somewhat differently.

³² *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/1a (Fung/Bodde, I, 396), following the reading of Wang Nien-sun, 9/3.1b. *Ch'i* 氣 is one of the most difficult terms to render in Western languages. A brief survey of the diversity of English translations testifies to this difficulty: 'fluid' (D. Bodde), 'material force' (W.T. Chan), 'substance' (H.G. Creel), 'vapor' (D. Harper), 'vital energy' (E.R. Hughes), 'material substance' (D. Munro), 'subtle matter' or 'matter energy' (J. Needham), 'primordial breath' (M. Saso), 'pneuma' (E. Schaffer), 'life spirit' (A. Waley). One of the major difficulties in adopting a uniform translation of *ch'i* is that the term covers many analogous or even equivocal meanings depending on context. This has been expressed aptly by N. Sivin in his *Chinese Alchemy: Preliminary Studies*, pp. xviii-xix:

It [*ch'i*] stands for a conception similar in breadth to the Stoic *pneuma*. On one level it names the air we breathe, the subtle material breath of life. In cosmology, it is used for a terrestrial effluence through which the planets move. In chemistry it can refer to an aroma, to fumes, to smoke, or the activity of a reagent. In medicine the homeostatic force within the body is a *ch'i*; so is any pathological agent which disturbs the balance; so, for what matter, is abdominal gas. That all of these are to us fundamentally different meanings is a statement not simply about the Chinese language, but about the mapping of Chinese upon English. In translating, therefore, one must choose between carrying over the larger concept or the particular sense.

Fortunately, in the cosmological texts of *Huai-nan Tzu*, we can assume that the meaning of *ch'i* is generally univocal, so that the translation adopted, 'matter-energy', may serve most cases. For a systematic study of *ch'i* in *Huai-nan Tzu*, see Hiraoka Teikichi 平岡積吉, *Enanji ni arawareta ki no kenkyū* 淮南子に現れた氣の研究 and especially Fukunaga Mitsuji, 'Dōka no ki ron to Enanji no ki' 道家の氣論と淮南子の氣 in Onozawa Seiichi 小野沢精一, Fukunaga Mitsuji and Yamanoi Yuru, (eds.), *Ki no shisō* 氣の思想 (The Philosophy of *Ch'i*), pp. 126-46. A brief survey of *ch'i* as a basic concept of Chinese cosmology is presented by Mitukuni Yosida, 'The Chinese Concept of Nature', in Nakayama Shigeru and N. Sivin, (eds.), *Chinese Science. Exploration of an Ancient Tradition*, pp. 71-89.

³³ *Huai-nan Tzu* 1/1b (Morgan, p. 3 translates *yün* by 'revolutions').

³⁴ *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/1a (Fung/Bodde, I, 396).

³⁵ Ibid.

kind of matter-energy forms the *Yang* category, the heavenly spheres (*san-kuang* 三光)³⁶ and all that is associated with light, fire, transparency and tenuousness. Its finer elements are called *ching* 精 (subtle essences) or *ching-ch'i* 精氣 (subtle matter-energy) and, in a still more refined state, *chih-ching* 至精 (most subtle essences) or *shen-ching* 神精 (spiritual essences).³⁷ The second kind of elements forms the *Yin* category, the earth and all that is associated with the dark, the cold, the opaque and the lumpy. These elements also go by various equivalent expressions such as *chung* 重 (heavy elements), *cho* 濁 (turbid elements), *fan-ch'i* 煩氣 (turgid elements)³⁸ and so on.

Things that belong to the same category and share a common substance have the power to influence one another (*wu-lei hsiang tung* 物類相動),³⁹ respond to one another and resound together (*kan-ying* 感應), precisely because *ch'i* (matter-energy) being an invisible, aethereal and vibrant substance⁴⁰ serves as a medium or a continuum through which movement and change, following the alternation of *Yin* and *Yang*, can be actualized.

Only one kind of *ch'i*, however, has universal extension and unlimited efficacy: the *ch'i* of Tao, which has two main aspects, power (*te* 德) and harmony (*ho* 和). It is this *ch'i* which *Huai-nan Tzu* calls *chih-ching* (most subtle essences), *ching-ch'i* (most subtle matter-energy), *shen-ching* (spiritual essences) and so on. At the level of 'the most subtle essences', *kan-ying* operates as a universal pattern, penetrating, linking and transcending the comprehensive categories of *Yin* and *Yang*.

The level of 'the most subtle essences' corresponds to the original stage of the universe, before things arose as distinct and separate. In this sense *kan-ying* is the manifestation in the created universe — 'after things became separate and distinct' — of the infrangible unity of the uncreated universe — 'before things arose as separate and distinct'.

In the scheme of *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/1a-2a this stage is twice removed from the appearance of distinct beings: 'There was a time before that which preceded the beginning' (3).⁴¹ The three stages forming the realm of Being are parallel to those forming the realm of Non-Being, and this is reflected in the corresponding stylistic formulae borrowed from *Chuang Tzu*.

³⁶ *Huai-nan Tzu* 1/16 (Morgan, p. 3)

³⁷ The foregoing expressions were discussed *supra*, pp. 111-5.

³⁸ *Huai-nan Tzu* 7/1a (Fung/Bodde, I, 398 translates *fan ch'i* as 'murky fluid', Larre, p. 54 as 'souffles grossiers').

³⁹ *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/2b (Fung/Bodde, I, 397).

⁴⁰ Major, *Huai-nan Tzu Chapter Four*, p. 34.

⁴¹ *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/1b (Fung/Bodde, I, 396; tr. mod.)

THE BLENDING OF HEAVENLY *CH'I* (*t'ien-ch'i* 天氣) AND
TERRESTRIAL *CH'I* (*ti-ch'i* 地氣)

The meeting of Heaven and Earth takes place at the level of the basic elements of matter-energy (*ch'i*) described in 'The Space-Time Complex and the Formation of Heaven and Earth'. The union is described both as 'the matter-energy of Heaven beginning to descend and the matter-energy of Earth beginning to ascend' (*t'ien-ch'i shih hsia, ti-ch'i shih shang* 天氣始下，地氣始上)⁴² and 'the Yin and Yang essences intermingling and interpenetrating' (*yin-yang ts'o-ho hsiang-yü* 陰陽錯合相與).⁴³ Heaven and Earth are conceived as the symbols of the first coalescence and concretion of Yang and Yin elements. The present stage is still devoid of distinct organisms: 'There was a time which preceded the beginning' (2).⁴⁴

THE LIFE IMPULSE (*yü sheng hsing* 欲生興)⁴⁵

The initial combination of cosmic elements does not issue in the formation of organisms or species (*wei ch'eng wu-lei* 未成物類).⁴⁶ However, in the same way that a circular movement led to the appearance of matter-energy in the realm of Non-Being, so a 'desire to live and thrive' (*yü sheng hsing*) brings about the imperceptible conditions of life. In this sense the present stage is still once removed from the appearance of distinct organisms: 'There was a beginning' (1).⁴⁷

THE BIRTH AND FLOURISHING OF THE TEN THOUSAND THINGS
(*wan-wu sheng hsing* 萬物生興) AND OF MAN (*jen* 人)

This is the realm of Being proper: 'There was Being' (4).⁴⁸ The first forms of life which proliferated on the earth are the genetic components of plants such as roots, branches, twigs and leaves and air-breathing animalcules such as flying and crawling insects.⁴⁹ These organisms can be perceived, grasped, handled and counted individually.⁵⁰ From these primitive forms of life evolved the various species of animals: fish, quadrupeds and birds, in that order.⁵¹

⁴² *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/1a (Fung/Bodde, I, 395; tr. mod.)

⁴³ Idem.

⁴⁴ Idem.

⁴⁵ Idem. Bodde, modifying Morgan, p. 31, writes: '(Even in this vast and impalpable condition) the desire to spring into life was apparent.'

⁴⁶ *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/1a (Fung/Bodde, I, 395); Bodde, following Morgan, p.31, translates: '(There was a complex energy which) had not yet pullulated into germinal form.'

⁴⁷ *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/1a (Fung/Bodde, I, 395).

⁴⁸ Idem.

⁴⁹ Idem.

⁵⁰ Idem.

⁵¹ Idem. Cf. *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/2a-b (Fung/Bodde, I, 397).

According to *Huai-nan Tzu* the lower animal species are formed mostly of heavy (*chung*) and turbid (*cho*) matter-energy (*ch'i*) and belong to Earth; human beings are constituted primarily of clear (*ch'ing*) and luminous (*yang*) matter-energy (the most subtle or spiritual essences) and belong foremost to Heaven.⁵² However, the more physical aspects of man's being also link him to Earth, so that Man stands on the threshold of Heaven and Earth and forms a microcosm.⁵³

Among the various distinguishing characters of Man as compared to the Ten Thousand Things, the most important is his capacity to reproduce within himself the process of cosmic origination, 'to return to his origin as if he had not yet begun to distinguish himself from the Great Unity' and thereby become a True Man.⁵⁴ In this spiritual transformation and reenactment of the cosmic process resides the fulfilment of Man and the perfection of the universe, for its uncreated and created aspects are here unified. Man stands at the end of the cosmic process and at the same time brings us back to the very beginning of the universe. Having blended with the original oneness of the uncreated universe, the True Man is in a state of total resonance (*kan-ying*) with all things and, without taking any deliberate action (*wu-wei*), leads all things to their ultimate perfection, the perfect beginning (*kuei ken* 歸根).⁵⁵

Only the True Man can be the perfect ruler. For the ruler can only bring order to society, which in its essence is a natural outcome of the cosmic process, by being in a state of mutual resonance (*kan-ying*) with the society and the cosmic environment, leading the people through self-transformation (*tzu-hua* 自化) and without external imposition (*wu-wei*) to the Great Peace (*t'ai-p'ing* 太平) and the Great Merging (*ta-t'ung* 大通).⁵⁶

Finally, the True Man can fulfill his calling without becoming a ruler. His oneness with Tao contains and transcends the political function.⁵⁷

⁵² *Huai-nan Tzu* 7/1a-b (Fung/Bodde, I, 398); cf. *Huai-nan Tzu* 3/2a-b (Fung/Bodde, I, 396).

⁵³ Cf. *Huai-nan Tzu* 8/4a-b 'T'ien-ti yü-chou yi jen chih shen yeh' 天地宇宙一人之身也 (Heaven and Earth and the Universe of Space and Time form the body of a single human being).

⁵⁴ Cf. *Huai-nan Tzu* 14/1b and 6/2a.

⁵⁵ *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/15a; cf. *Lao Tzu* 16.

⁵⁶ *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/5b and 6/7a.

⁵⁷ The main texts are *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/15b-16a (Morgan, pp. 48-9) and 14/4a.

Conclusion

The cosmological texts we have examined intend to describe *how* (descriptive cosmology) the world is rather than *why* (explicative cosmology) it is so. According to the *Huai-nan Tzu Weltanschauung*, the world as we perceive it is the spontaneous outcome of a natural process. Naturalness (*tzu-jan*) is all at once inherent in the objective cosmological process and in man's awareness and understanding of the cosmos: things are so of themselves; they form harmonious patterns of themselves.

As far back as the mind can reach in the profound obscurity of Non-Being (*lan-ming* 覽冥), there is a tendency 'to be', and 'to be ordered and organized'. The perceptible order and organization of things is not created or fashioned by an all-powerful agent different from the universe, but is an intrinsic tendency of the original substance of the universe, which the mind can follow unto indistinctness. *Huai-nan Tzu* pushed back to an ever-receding beginning the fundamental patterns of the present world. It made the formation of the cosmos a natural event, not a supernatural one.

Furthermore, the basic structure of the formative process can be 'grasped' here and now. For the human mind, being itself in continuity with nature, has the capacity 'to know', 'to become' and 'to reproduce' the cosmic process, not through

divinely granted revelation, reflection or contemplation, but on the affective and participative level of being. In this sense true knowledge (*chen-chih*) is not a mirror-image — neither a representation of 'what's out there' nor a focal or peripheral vision of the intellect — but rather a direct and immediate *affectus* of things themselves, an affinitive correspondence and union that precedes any reflected awareness of it. It is this ontological relation of an affinitive rather than causal type that actualizes in the discrete world of space, time, species and individuals the primal unity of the cosmos.

True knowledge, which, according to *Huai-nan Tzu*, constitutes the ultimate entelechy of nature, is the total and universal resonance (*kan-ying*) of all things.¹ True knowledge does not lead to the quest for a first cause or for an irreducible atom, but to the self-transformation (*tzu-hua*) whereby man becomes one (*yi-t'i* 一體) with the cosmos, 'returning (*fan*) to his origin as if he had not yet begun to emerge from the Grand Unity'.²

The seven stages described in the cosmological texts should not be interpreted in a purely temporal and quantitative sense. They also correspond to ever-recurring patterns of the natural world-order and to operational structures of the human mind. Being and knowledge in *Huai-nan Tzu* may appear at first glance as the two sides of the same coin, but in the final analysis, they merge into a common vanishing point, original unity. From that standpoint it is possible to reduce the foregoing seven stages to a threefold scheme:

- The primal indistinct unity, characterized by Emptiness (*hsiü*) and encompassing the realm of Non-Being (*wu yu*) (stages one to three).
- The process of differentiation and distinction of the

¹ *Huai-nan Tzu* 2/10b (Morgan, p. 42; tr. mod.) states that 'it is only with the True Man (*chen-jen*) that there is true knowledge (*chen-chih* 真知)'. Through true knowledge the True Man becomes one substance with *Tao*, 'i'i tao' 體道 (*Huai-nan Tzu* 1/9a), 'yü tao wei yi' 與道為一 (*Huai-nan Tzu* 1/23a). The same idea is expressed in a more dynamic and even mystical way in *Huai-nan Tzu* 14/1b (already quoted): 'He who can return to that which produced [him] as if he had not yet acquired [physical] form, we call him a True Man. The True Man is he who has not yet begun to differentiate himself from the Great Unity.' A similar description is found in the 'Essay on the Lute-tuner' and the True Man' in *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/7a.3-5: 'He who is merged with Supreme Harmony . . . is as if he had not yet begun to emerge from his origin' (cf. *supra*, p. 138). Finally, if we may paraphrase a passage from *Huai-nan Tzu* 6, which obviously applies to the True Man, it is 'he who has the capacity to gather things within one category from the Supreme Ultimate above, thus transcending *yin* and *yang* and attaining a deeper level of reality, which at the same time goes beyond and contains the fundamental dualities of the universe' (*Huai-nan Tzu* 6/4b.1-5; cf. *supra*, p. 121).

² *Huai-nan Tzu* 14/1b.

elemental mass of matter-energy (*yüan-ch'i*) evolving in the framework of Space and Time (*yü-chou*) and issuing in the formation of Heaven and Earth (*t'ien-ti*) and of all things (*wan-wu*). The abeyant tendency of the myriad things to coalesce and to restore original unity expresses itself through the mutual resonance (*kan-ying*) of things with one another (relative resonance) (stages four to six).

- The return (*fan*) to the original unity. Only the True Man (*chen-jen*) through True Knowledge (*chen-chih*) can attain a state of total resonance with all things and thereby return to primal unity (stage seven).

The mediating function of resonance (*kan-ying*) in the foregoing ternary cycle and in the overall cosmology of *Huai-nan Tzu* echoes the pivotal role of Chapter Six in the work as a whole.

Kan-ying may be defined, in the final analysis, as the power of things to affect and to be affected in such a way as to bring about harmony. This power is based on the persistent affinity and attraction of things that were originally one, but that became scattered when the world began. Through the True Man *kan-ying* recreates the original unity.

As a dynamic pattern *kan-ying* expresses the full cycle of cosmological, social and psychological integration. Its natural and universal character makes it binding for the cosmos as a whole and also for each and every one of the Ten Thousand Things issuing from Tao. In Chapter Six the foregoing pattern is applied mainly to the realm of human society and, more specifically, to the relations between the perfect ruler — the True Man — and the people. The argument there propounded, that these relations should be based on non-action (*wu-wei*) understood as resonance (*kan-ying*), draws its ultimate strength from the cosmological scheme outlined above. We may thus conclude that *kan-ying* not only forms a logically coherent and philosophically meaningful idea but also provides the focal point around which the *Huai-nan Tzu* cosmology is structured.

The threefold process of original unity, diversified multiplicity and return to unity recurs with irreducible specificities in various mythologies, religions and philosophies, such as the myth of Uroboros, the *exitus-reditus* scheme of Platonic cosmology, the Judaeo-Christian belief in Eden, the Fall and Heaven, and the Hegelian dialectic of thesis-antithesis-synthesis. The interpretation of *kan-ying* within the foregoing framework of archetypal ideas would be fully deserving of in-depth study which, belonging properly to comparative philosophy, lies beyond the intentions of the

present work. It should be noted, however, that the idea of *kan-ying* in *Huai-nan Tzu* avoids both Platonic dualism and religious theism and ritualism, and seeks universal integration of the concrete, given world through an original blending of self-transformation and creative action, of spontaneity and structure, and of cosmos and society. Here it may be suggested that the earliest systematic expression of what J. Needham calls 'the Chinese philosophy of organism'³ is found in *Huai-nan Tzu*, especially in Chapter Six and in the cosmological chapters just studied. One may also ask whether the blending of moral and cosmological theory by the Sung Neo-Confucian philosophers was not perhaps influenced more by such a work than has hitherto been acknowledged. After all, it is in *Huai-nan Tzu* that we find the statement: 'The relation of the Sage to *Tao* is like the relation of the sunflower to the sun; although they cannot be together all the time, the fidelity of their tendency never wavers.'⁴ That is *kan-ying* too.

³ See *Science and Civilisation in China*, II, 562.

⁴ *Huai-nan Tzu* 17/4a-b: 'Sheng-jen chih yü tao yü k'uei chih yü jih, sui pu neng yü chung-shih ch'i hsiang chih ch'eng yeh' 聖人之於道猶葵之與日，雖不能與終始其鄉之誠也。

Appendix 1

Chinese Text of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6

The Chinese text is a manuscript reproduction of the Liu Wen-tien edition (see Note to the Translation of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6, p. 101).

Pagination and line numbers correspond to the foregoing edition. The beginning of each new full page — recto and verso — of the original text is indicated by a full reference (e.g. 6/2a.1) at the margin. As the Liu Wen-tien edition includes long commentaries that sometimes fill many columns, the numbers indicating the columns (e.g. .5) are not necessarily consecutive.

The manuscript Chinese text includes fifty-six critical emendations within brackets []. There are three kinds of emendations, represented by the following symbols: additions +, omissions —, and substitutions =. For example, [+人] means that the character 人 should be added to the preceding character in the text; [—人] means that the preceding character 人 should be omitted; and [=入] means that the preceding character should be changed to 入.

The justifications for the emendations are given in the notes to the corresponding text of the translation.

淮南鴻烈集解卷六

覽 冥 訓

6/1a.4 昔者師曠奏白雪之音而神物為之下降風雨暴至平公癘 .5 病晉國赤地 .6 庶女叫 [= 告] 天 [+ 而] 雷電下擊景公臺隕 .7 支體傷折海水大出 1b.1 夫瞽師庶女位賤尚冀權輕飛羽 .4 然而專精厲意委務積神上通九天 .5 激厲至精由此觀之上天之誅也雖在壙虛幽 .6 間遼遠隱匿重襲石室界障險阻其無所逃之亦明矣 .7 武王伐紂渡于孟津陽侯之波逆流 .8 而擊疾風晦冥人馬不相見 .11 於是武王左操黃鉞右秉 [= 執] 白旄瞋目而撓之曰

6/2a.1 余任 [= 在] 天下誰敢害吾意者於是風濟而波罷 .6 魯陽公與韓構難戰酣日暮援戈而撓之日為之反三舍 .10 夫全性保真不虧其身遭急迫難 .11 精通于天若乃未始出其宗者何為而不成 2b.1 夫死生同域不可質陵勇武一人為三軍雄 .2 彼直求名

而能自要者。3 尚猶若此又況夫宮天地懷萬物而友造化。4 含至和直偶〔＝寓〕于人形。5 觀九鑽一知之所不知。8 而心未嘗死者乎昔雍門。9 子以哭見於孟嘗君。10 已而陳辭通意撫心發聲孟嘗君為之增歎歎喑流涕狼戾。11 不可止精神〔＝誠〕形於內而外論

6/3a.1 哀於人心此不傳之道使俗人不得。2 其君形者而效其容必為人笑故蒲。3 且子之連鳥於百仞之上而詹何之驚魚於。4 大淵之中此皆得清淨之道太浩之和也。5 夫物類之相應玄妙深微知不能論。8 辯不能解故東風至而酒湛溢 3b.4 蠶。5 呬絲而商弦絕或感之也。6 晝隨灰而月運〔＝暈〕闕鯨。7 魚死而慧星出或動之也。11 故聖人在位懷道而不

6/4a.1 言澤及萬民君臣乖心則背譎見於天神氣。2 相應微矣故山雲草莽水雲魚鱗。3 旱雲煙火滲雲波水各象其形類所以感之。7 陽〔－陽〕燧取火於日方諸取露於月。10 天地之間巧歷不能舉其數。11 手微忽怳不能覽其光 4b.1 然以掌握之中引類於太極之上。2 而水火可立致者陰陽同氣相動也。4 此傳說之。5 所以騎辰尾也。6 故至陰颺颺至陽赫赫兩者交接成和而萬物生焉衆。7 雄無雌又何化之所能造乎所謂不言之之辯不道之道也。8 故召遠者使〔＝言〕無為焉親近者使無事。9 焉

6/5a.4 惟夜行者為能有之。5 故却走馬以糞而車。6 不接於遠方之外。7 是謂坐馳陸沈晝冥宵明。8 以冬鑠膠以夏造冰夫〔＝天〕道者無私就也無私去也能。9 者有餘拙者不足。10 順之者利。11 逆之者凶譬如隋〔＝遼〕侯之珠和氏之璧得之者富失之者貧 5b.5 得失之度深微窈冥難以知論不。6 可以辯說也何以知其然今夫地黃主屬骨而甘草主生肉。7 之藥也以其屬骨責其生肉以其生肉論其屬骨是猶王孫。8 綽之欲〔－欲〕倍偏枯之藥而欲以生殊死之人亦可謂失論矣。10 若夫。11 以火能焦木也因使銷金則道行矣若以慈石之能連鐵也

6/6a.1 而求其引瓦則難矣物固不可以輕重論。2 也夫燧之取火於日。3 慈石之引鐵蟹之敗漆葵之鄉日。4 雖有明智弗能然也故耳目之。5 察不足以分物理心意之論不足以定是非故以智為之治者。6 難以持國唯通于太和而持自然之應者為能有之。7 故峴山崩而薄落之水涸。8 區治生而淳鉤之劍成紂為。9 無道左強

在側太公竝世故武王之功立¹⁰由是觀之利害之路禍福之門不可求而得也¹¹夫道之與德若韋之與革遠之則邇近則遠〔＝疏〕
 6b.1 不得其道若觀鯨魚⁴故聖〔＋人〕若鏡不將不迎應而不藏⁵故萬⁶化而無傷其得之乃失之其失之非乃得之也⁹
 今夫調弦〔＝瑟〕者叩宮¹⁰宮應彈角角動此同聲〔＝音〕相和者夫有¹¹改調一弦其於五音無所比鼓之而二十五弦皆應此未始

6/7a.1 異於聲而音之君已形也²故通於太和者惛若純醉而甘卧以³游其中而不知其所由至也純溫⁴以淪鈍悶以終若未始出其宗⁵是謂大通今夫赤螭青虬之游冀州也天清地⁶定毒獸不作飛鳥不駭人〔＝入〕榛薄食薦梅嚼味⁷含甘步不出頃畝之區而蛇鰐輕之以為不能與之爭於江⁸海之中若乃至於玄雲之素朝¹⁰陰陽交爭降扶風雜凍〔＝凍〕雨扶搖而登之¹¹威動天地聲震海內蛇〔＝蛇〕鰐著泥百
 7b.1 仞之中熊羆匍匐丘山暫巖虎豹襲穴而不²敢咆獫狁顛蹶而失木枝又況直蛇³鰐之類乎⁸鳳皇之翔至德也雷霆不作風雨不⁹興川谷不澹草木不搖而燕雀佼之以為不能與之爭於¹⁰宇宙〔＝棟〕之間

6/8a.1 還〔＝逮〕至其曾逝萬仞之上翱翔四海之外³過昆侖之疏圃飲砥柱之湍瀨⁴遭回蒙汜之渚⁵尚洋冀州之際徑躡都廣入日抑節⁶羽翼〔＝濯羽〕弱水暮宿風穴¹⁰當此之時鴻鵠鵠莫不憚驚伏竄¹¹注喙江裔又況
 8b.1 直燕雀之類乎此明於小動之迹而不知大節之所由者也²昔者王良造父之御也³上車攝轡馬為整齊而歛諧⁴投足調均勞逸若一心⁵怡氣和體便輕畢安勞樂進馳驚若滅左右若⁶鞭〔＝鞭〕周旋若環⁸世皆以為巧然未見其貴者也⁹若夫鉗且大丙之御也¹⁰除轡銜去鞭棄〔＝棄〕策

6/9a.1 車莫動而自舉馬莫使而自走也日²行〔＋而〕月動星耀而玄運電奔而鬼〔＝雷〕騰〔＝駭〕進退屈伸不見朕³垠故不招指不咄叱過歸鴈於碣石⁴軼羈鷄於姑餘⁵騁若飛驚若絕縱矢⁶躡風追焱歸忽⁹朝發櫓桑日入〔＝入日〕落棠
 9b.1 此假弗用而能以成其用者²也非慮思之察手爪之巧也嗜欲形於胷中而精神踰〔＝調〕³於六馬此以弗御御之者也⁴昔者黃帝治天下而力牧太山稽⁵輔之以治〔＝律〕日月之行律

[一律] 治陰陽之氣節 .6 四時之度 .8 正律歷之數 .9 別男女異雌雄明上下等貴賤使強不[+得]掩弱衆不[+得]暴寡 .10 人民保命而不夭歲時孰 .11 而不凶百官正而無私上下調而無尤法

6/10a.1 令明而不闇輔佐公而不阿田 .2 者不侵畔漁者不爭隈道不拾遺市不豫賈城郭不 .3 關邑無盜賊鄙旅之人相讓以財狗彘吐菽粟於[+道] .4 路而無忿爭之心於是日月精明星辰不失其行風雨時節 .5 五穀登孰虎狼[=豹]不妄噬鷺鳥不妄搏鳳皇翔於庭麒麟 .6 游於郊青龍進駕飛黃伏皐 .9 諸 .10 北僭耳之國莫不獻其貢職猶未及虞戲氏之道 .11 也往古之時四極廢九州裂天不兼覆地不周載火 10b.1 熒炎[=焱]而不滅水浩洋[=漾]而不息 .4 猛獸 .5 食顓[=精]民鷺鳥攫老弱 .6 於是女媧鍊五色石以補蒼天斷 .7 鼈足以立四極殺 .8 黑龍以濟冀州積蘆灰以止淫 .9 水蒼天補四極正淫水涸冀州平狡 .10 蟲死顓[=精]民生背方州抱圓天和春陽夏殺秋約冬 .11 枕方寢繩陰陽之所壅沈不通者竅理之逆氣

6/11a.1 戾物傷民厚積者絕止之 .2 當此之 .3 時卧倨倨興眊眊[=盱眊] .8 一自以為馬一自以為牛其行踳踳其視瞑 .9 瞑侗然皆得其和莫知所由生浮游不知求魍魎 .10 不知所往當此之時禽獸 .11 蝮[=蟲]蛇無不匿其爪牙藏其螫毒 11b.1 無有攫噬 .2 之心考其功烈上際九天下契黃墟 .3 名聲被後世光輝重[=重]萬物 .5 乘雷車服駕[一駕]應龍驂青虬 .9 援絕瑞 .10 席蘿圖

6/12a.1 黃雲絡前白螭後奔蛇 .6 浮游消搖道鬼神登九天朝帝 .7 於靈門宓穆休于太祖之下然而不 .8 彰其功不揚其聲隱真之道以從天地之固然 .9 何則道德上通而智故消滅也逮至夏桀之 .10 時主闇晦而不明道瀾漫而不修 .11 棄捐五帝之恩刑推蹶三王之法籍 12b.1 是以至德滅而不揚帝道揜而不興舉事戾蒼天發 .2 號逆四時春秋縮其和天地除其德 .3 仁[=人]君處位而不安大夫隱道而不言 .4 羣臣準上意而懷當 .6 疏骨肉而自容邪人參耦比周而陰謀居臣父子 .7 之間而競載驕主而像其意亂人以成其事是故君臣 .8 乖而不親骨肉疏而不附植社槁而墜裂 .10 容臺振 .11 而掩覆犬羣嗥而入淵

6/13a.1 豕銜蓐而席澳美人挈首墨面而不 .2 容曼聲吞炭內閉而不歌 .3 喪不盡其哀獵不聽其樂 .5 西老折勝黃 .6 神嘯吟 .7

飛鳥繳 .8 翼走獸廢脚 .9 山無峻榦澤無注水 .10 狐狸首穴馬牛
放失田無立禾路無莎蒨 [= 蒨莎] 13b.2 金積折廉壁襲無理
[= 贏] .8 磬龜無腹 .9 著策曰 .10 施晚世之時七國異族諸侯制
法各殊習俗 .11 縱橫間之舉兵而相

6/14a.1 角攻城濫殺覆高危安掘 .2 墳墓揚人骸大街車高重
京 [= 壘] .5 除戰道便死路犯嚴敵殘不義百 .6 往一反名聲苟
盛也 .7 是故質壯輕足者為 .8 甲卒千里之外家老羸弱悽愴於內
廝徒馬 [= 牧] 围軻 .9 車奉鑲道路遼遠霜亟集短褐 .10 不完
14b.2 人羸車弊泥塗至膝相 .3 攜於道奮首於路 .5 身枕格而死
.9 所謂兼國有地者伏尸數 .10 十萬破車以千百數傷弓弩矛戟
矢石之創者扶舉 [= 舉] 於路故 .11 世至於枕人頭食人肉殖
人肝飲人血甘之飢餓

6/15a.1 故自三代以後者天下未嘗得 .2 安其情性而樂其習
俗保其脩命天而不夭於人虐也所 .3 以然者何也諸侯力征天下
[+ 不] 合而為一家 .4 逮至 .5 當今之時天子在上位持以道德
輔以仁義近者獻 .6 其智遠者懷其德拱揖指麾而四海賓服春秋
冬夏皆獻其 .7 貢職天下混而為一子孫相代此五帝之所以迎天
德也 .8 夫聖人者不能生時時至而弗失也輔佐有能黜讒佞之端
.9 息巧辯之說除刻削之法去煩苛之事屏流言之迹塞朋黨 .10
之門消知能脩太常隳肢體絀聰明大通 .11 混冥解意釋神漠然
若無魂魄使萬物各復其根則是所 15b.1 脩伏羲氏之迹而反五
帝之道也夫鉗且大丙不施轡銜 .2 而以善御聞於天下伏戲女媧
不設法度而以至德遺於後世 .3 何則至虛無純一而不嚶喋苛事
也周書 .4 曰掩雉不得更順其風 .5 今若夫申韓商鞅之為治也棹
.6 拔其根蕪棄其本而不窮究其所由生何以至此也鑿五刑 .7 為刻
削乃背道德之本而爭於錐刀之末斬艾 .8 百姓殫盡太半 .9 而忻
忻然常自以為治是猶抱薪而救火鑿竇而 .10 出 [= 止] 水

6/16a.1 夫井植生 .2 梓 [= 梓] 而不容壅溝植生條而不容
舟不過三月必死 .7 所以然者何也皆狂 .8 生而無其本者也河
[+ 水] 九折注於 [- 於] 海而流不絕者昆侖之輸也 .10 潦水
泄瀆瀆極望旬月不雨則涸而枯澤受 .11 瀦而無源者 [= 也]
譬若羿請不死之藥於西王母 .4 姮娥竊以奔月 .8 悵然有喪無以
續之 .9 何則不知不死之藥所由生也 .10 是故乞火不若取燧 .11
寄汲不若鑿井

Appendix 2

Chinese Dynasties: Traditional Chronology

The present chronology is intended simply as a broad framework of the main periods of Chinese history. The exact dates when Dynasties began and ended are in most cases problematic and depend on the author's standpoint.

It should also be noted that no firm correspondence can be established between traditional dates on Chinese antiquity and archaeological data before the latter part of the Shang dynasty (*ca.* 1480 BC).

Legendary Culture Heroes

Fu Hsi and Nü Kua (Pastoral Age)
Shen Nung (Agricultural Age)
Huang Ti (Father of Chinese Culture)
Yao (trad. dates, 2357-2258 BC)
Shun (trad. dates, 2257-2208 BC)
Yü (Founder of Hsia Dynasty, trad. dates, 2207-1766 BC)

Historical Dynasties

Shang Dynasty (1765-1123 BC)
Chou Dynasty (1122-256 BC)
 Western Chou (1122-771 BC)
 Eastern Chou (770-256 BC)
 Spring and Autumn Period (722-481 BC)
 Warring States Period (403-256 BC)
Ch'in Dynasty (221-207 BC)
Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220)
 Former (Western) Han (206 BC-AD 5)
 Hsin Dynasty (AD 6-23)
 Later (Eastern) Han (AD 24-220)
Three Kingdoms (220-265)
Chin Dynasty (265-420)
 Western Chin (265-317)
 Eastern Chin (317-420)
Northern and Southern Dynasties (420-589)
Sui Dynasty (589-618)
T'ang Dynasty (618-906)
Five Dynasties (907-960)
Sung Dynasty (960-1279)
 Northern Sung (960-1126)
 Southern Sung (1127-1279)
Yüan Dynasty (1280-1368)
Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)
Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911)
Republic (1912-)
 Republic of China (1912-1949)
 People's Republic of China (1949-)

Bibliography

Methodology This bibliography includes primarily items mentioned in the course of the study as well as unquoted works that were either indispensable or useful for a better understanding of the subject-matter. Very general works, such as dictionaries, bibliographies and concordances, are not listed unless specifically cited in the text.

Chinese works are generally listed by title for the pre-Ch'ing (before 1644) period, and by author from the beginning of Ch'ing to the present. Non-Chinese works are listed by author.

Reference to a particular passage in a Chinese work is followed, when available, by reference to its Western translation; the translator's surname only is given. For instance, *Chuang Tzu* 1/1a (Watson, p. 29) means that a passage from *Chuang Tzu*, *chüan* 1, page 1, *recto*, is translated in Burton Watson, *The Works of Chuang Tzu*, page 29. In some cases, more than one Western translation may be referred to for the same Chinese text. When reference is to a Chinese commentary on a Chinese work, it is not always necessary to give the Western translation of the main text being commented upon. For instance, reference to Li Shan's commentary on *Wen hsüan* 8/13a does not require indicating Erwin von Zach's translation of the main text in question.

Quotation of a Western translation of a Chinese work is usually referred to in the notes. If the quotation has been modified — often for the sake of literary uniformity — this is indicated immediately after the reference by 'tr. mod.'

In the body of the work, Chinese and Japanese titles of books and articles are usually given in romanized form, followed by a translation of the title in parentheses. In the bibliography, the Chinese characters and Japanese script are added after the romanized title. The same method applies to the names of the authors.

For recurring titles of books and articles, two kinds of abbreviations are used:

- 1 short titles; these are given immediately after the first full citation of the title in question; for instance, B.E. Wallacker, 'Liu An, Second King of Huai-nan (180?-122 BC)', p. 3b [hereafter 'Liu An'].
- 2 author's name only, followed by volume and/or chapter number if necessary, and by page number. Instances where the author's name stands for the work are indicated after the full citation of the title; for instance, Yang Shu-ta, *Huai-nan Tzu cheng-wen* (Critical Emendations of *Huai-nan Tzu*), p. 35 [hereafter 'Yang Shu-ta']. This method is used mostly for the often quoted commentators on *Huai-nan Tzu*.

References to pre-Ch'ing Chinese works give the page (*recto* and *verso* being indicated by a and b, respectively). However, in the case of *Huai-nan Tzu* 6, which forms the basic text of this study, the column is also indicated, for instance, *Huai-nan Tzu* 6/1a.4 means *Huai-nan Tzu*, Chapter 6, page 1, *recto*, column 4.

Abbreviations

- CTCC** *Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng* 諸子集成 (Complete Collection of the Various Philosophers). Peking reprint: Chung-hua 中華 shu-chü, 1954, 8 vols.
- ESSS** *Erh-shih-ssu shih* 二十四史. See 3, s.v.
- HWTS** *Han Wei ts'ung-shu* 漢魏叢書 (Collected Writings of the Han-Wei Period). 1592 ed. collated by Ch'eng Jung 程榮.
- SKCS** *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* 四庫全書 (Completed Book Collection in Four Branches). Comp. mainly by Chi Yün 紀昀 (1724-1805). Shanghai, 1930. Taipei reprint: Commercial Press, 1973-5.
- SPPY** *Ssu-pu pei-yao* 四部備要 (Collection of Important Works in Four Categories). Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1927-35.
- SPTK** *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊 (Collected Reprints of Works in Four Categories). Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1920-36.

1 Main Editions of *Huai-nan Tzu* (by chronological order)

- Pei Sung hsiao-tzu pen* 北宋小字本 (Northern Sung Small-Character edition). *Huai-nan Tzu* 淮南子. 21 *chüan* 卷. Commentary by Kao Yu 高誘 (fl. AD 205-212). Block-print of the Jen-tsung reign (1023-63). Photolithographic printing of facsimile copy of Liu Lü-fen 劉履芬 (1827-79) by the Commercial Press, (SPTK), Shanghai, 1920-2; Taipei reprint: Yi-wen 藝文 Printing House, 1969.
- Tao-tsang pen* 道藏本 (Taoist Canon edition). *Huai-nan hung-lieh chieh* 淮南鴻烈解. 28 *chüan*. Commentary by Hsü Shen 許慎 (AD ca. 30 - ca. 124). Block-print of the Cheng-t'ung period (1436-49) included in *Tao-tsang*. Reprinted by Han-fen lou 涵芬樓, Shanghai, 1923 (vols. 863-7 of *Tao-tsang*).
- Liu pen* 劉本 (Liu edition). *Huai-nan hung-lieh chieh*. 28 *chüan*. Commentary by Kao Yu. Block-print of the Hung-chih period (1488-1505), with the supplementary annotations of Liu Chi 劉績 (*chin-shih* of the Hung-chih period, 1488-1505).
- Wang Ying pen* 王榮本 (Wang Ying edition). *Huai-nan hung-lieh chieh*. 28 *chüan*. Commentary by Kao Yu. Block-print of the ninth year (1530) of the Chia-ching period (1522-66).
- Chu pen* 朱本 (Chu edition). *Huai-nan hung-lieh chieh*. 28 *chüan*. Commentary by Kao Yu. Block-print of the Wan-li period (1573-1620) prepared by Chu Tung-kuang 朱東光 (*chin-shih* of the Lung-ch'ing period, 1567-72) and included in his *Chung-tu ssu tzu* 中鄒四子 (Four Philosophers of the Four Capitals).
- Mao Yi-kuei pen* 茅一桂本 (Mao Yi-kuei edition). *Huai-nan hung-lieh chieh*. 21 *chüan*. Commentary by Kao Yu. Block-print of the eighth year (1580) of the Wan-li period (1573-1620).
- Mao K'un pen* 茅坤本 (Mao K'un edition). *Huai-nan hung-lieh chieh*. 21 *chüan*. Commentary by Kao Yu. Block-print of the Wan-li period (1573-1620) prepared by Mao K'un (1512-1601); with a critical commentary by the same.
- Chuang pen* 莊本 (Chuang edition). 21 *chüan*. Commentary by Kao Yu. Prepared by Chuang K'uei-chi 莊達吉 (1760-1813) in 1789 and block-printed by Hsien-ning kuan-she 咸寧官舍. This edition is also known as the *Chü-wen t'ang* 聚文堂 edition and the *Erh-shih-wu tzu* 二十五子 (Twenty-Five Philosophers) edition because of the two collections in

which it was later printed. In 1875, Chekiang shu-chü published a new, expurgated version of the Chuang edition, prepared by T'ao Fang-ch'i 陶方琦 (1845-84) and others. This has become the 'standard' Chuang edition. It was reprinted in *SPPY* and *CCTC* and also was the *textus receptus* for Liu Wen-tien's 劉文典 *Huai-nan hung-lieh chi-chieh* 集解 (Collected Commentaries on *Huai-nan hung-lieh*). Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1923; Taipei reprint: Commercial Press, 1968. This is the edition used in the present work.

Han Wei ts'ung-shu pen 漢魏叢書本 (Edition of the Han-Wei Book Collection). *Huai-nan hung-lieh chieh*. 21 chüan. Commentary by Kao Yu. Included only in the third (enlarged) printing of *Han Wei ts'ung-shu*. The *Huai-nan Tzu* edition was prepared by Wang Mo 王謨 (*chin shih* in 1778), on the basis of the edition prepared by Chang Shih-ju 張焯如 during the Ch'ung-chen reign (1628-1644); the latter was itself based on the Mao K'un edition.

Tao-tsang chi-yao pen 道藏輯要本 (Edition Excerpted from the Taoist Canon). 28 chüan. Commentary by Hsü Shen. Block-print of the Chia-ch'ing period (1796-1820) prepared by Chiang Yüan-t'ing 蔣元廷 (1755-1819) on the basis of the *Tao-tsang* edition from which it however differs. Block-reprint of 1906. Photolithographic reprint of 1906 edition, Taipei, 1970.

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Glossary-Index

The Glossary-Index covers proper names and topics in the main text and notes, but not in the Bibliography. Only pre-Ch'ing (1644) titles are given. When author and work go by the same name, the two are usually combined under a single entry, e.g. Chuang Tzu/*Chuang Tzu*; Kao Yu/Kao Yu Commentary.

In the arrangement of Chinese words, no distinction is made between *ü* and *u*, or between aspirated (e.g. *ch'*, *k'*, *t'* etc.) and unaspirated (e.g. *ch*, *k*, *t* etc.) initials; the initials *hs* and *sh* also follow normal alphabetical sequence.

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