This is similar to the progression given in the Ta Hsüeh, which moves from cultivation of the person to regulation of the home, and from regulation of the home to display of virtue in the empire. Perhaps these words of the Ta Hsüeh were inspired by Mencius, but the Hsiên-tzü (ch. 12) also states:

"Do you ask how to conduct the affairs of state? I say, I have heard of cultivation of the person, but never of conducting affairs of state. The ruler is the form. When the form is correct, its shadow will be correct. The ruler is the basin. When the basin is round, the water in it will assume roundness. The ruler is the cup. When the cup is square, the water in it will assume squareness. When the ruler shoots, his minister will shoot also. King Chuang of Ch'ü liked slender waists, and so in his palace there were people starving themselves. This is why I say: I have heard of cultivation of the person, but never about conducting affairs of state" (ch'ian 8, pp. 4-5).

This gives the Confucian doctrine that if the man at the top is correct, those below him will model themselves on him and will also be correct, and so there will be good government. The Ta Hsüeh says:

"Yao and Shun led on the empire with goodness, and the people followed them; Chieh and Chou with oppression, and the people followed them. When the orders of a ruler are contrary to what he himself likes, the people do not follow them (i.e., the orders).

"Therefore the Superior Man requires from others only the qualities that he himself has, and blames others only for the qualities that he himself lacks. Never has there been a man who could teach others without having reference to what is stored up in his own person. Therefore the government of the state depends upon the regulation of the family.... When the ruler as a father, a son, an elder or a younger brother, is a model, then the people imitate him" (pp. 418-419).

The fact that if the ruler acts as a model, his people will model themselves upon him, means that cultivation of the person becomes the foundation for regulating the home, ruling the state, and bringing peace to the world. The ruling of a state, furthermore, consists in government of men by men, so that, as the Chung Yung says, "The model is not far away." Hsün Tzü likewise says: "The Sage measures things by himself. Hence by himself he measures other men; by his own feelings he measures their feelings." Again: "A five inch foot-rule is the proper standard for the entire world."'

A person who has cultivated himself will automatically be able to be a measure for others. The Ta Hsüeh continues:

"What is meant by 'making the whole world peaceful depends on the government of its states,' is this: When the superiors

1 Cf. above, p. 284.
treat their aged as the aged should be treated, the people become filial; when they treat their elders as elders should be treated, the people learn the respect due to someone older; when they treat compassionately the young and helpless, the people do the same. Thus the Superior Man has a principle with which, as with a measuring-square, to regulate his conduct.

"What a man dislikes in his superiors, let him not therewith employ his inferiors; what he dislikes in his inferiors, let him not therewith serve his superiors; what he dislikes in those before him, let him not therewith precede those who are behind him; what he dislikes in those who are behind him, let him not therewith follow those who are before him; what he dislikes on the right, let him not display toward the left; what he dislikes on the left, let him not display toward the right: this is called the principle, with which, as with a measuring-square, to regulate one's conduct" (p. 419).

Such a course is like that of Hsün Tzǔ, whereby a foot-rule of five inches becomes 'the proper standard for the entire world.'

To cultivate one's person, one must first rectify one's mind. In other words, the Sage must have knowledge of the Way or Tao. But to know this Way, his mind must have 'emptiness, unity and quiescence.' The Hsün-tzǔ (ch. 21) says:

"The mind of man is like a tub of water. Place it upright and do not shake it, and the mud will settle on the bottom, and the clear water will be on top. Then it will be clear enough to mirror the beard and eyebrows and reveal the features. But if a light wind crosses its surface, the mud at the bottom will be stirred up and the clear water at the top will be disturbed, until a person cannot see in it its true form. The mind is also like this. Hence if it is guided by principle and nourished by purity, nothing can upset it. Then it is sufficient to determine right and wrong, and to decide what is uncertain" (p. 271).

The Ta Hsüeh says:

"What is meant by 'the cultivation of the person depends on rectifying the mind' is: If a man's mind be under the influence of anger, it will not be correct. The same will be the case if he be under the influence of terror, or of fond regard, or of sorrow and distress" (p. 416).

Under such conditions the mind is like the tub of water that has been disturbed by the wind. If it cannot remain unperturbed, it will be unable to 'determine right and wrong, and to decide what is uncertain.' The Hsün-tzǔ continues:

"But if a little thing leads the mind astray, outwardly this man's poise is changed, and inwardly his mind is upset, so that he is not even able to decide ordinary matters.

1 Cf. p. 291.
"Therefore there were many who liked to write, but there was only one Ts'ang Chieh (the supposed inventor of writing) who was known in later times, because of his mind's singleness. There were many who liked agriculture, but there was only one Hou Chi who could hand it down, because of his singleness. Many liked music, but only K'u-uci could hand it down, because of his singleness. Many liked standards of justice (義), but only Shun could hand them down, because of his singleness. Ch'ui made the bow and Fou Yu made arrows, but (the archer) Yi was expert at archery. Hsi Chung made the carriage and (Hsiang) Tu introduced the use of the team of four horses, but Tsao Fu was expert at driving. From ancient times until to-day there have not been men who without devoting themselves to a single thing, could be expert in it" (pp. 271-272).

The mind must be concentrated on one thing in order to retain its correctness. The Ta Hsüeh says likewise: "When the mind is not present, we look and do not see; we hear and do not understand; we eat and do not know the taste of what we eat" (p. 216).

To avoid this failure to concentrate we must seek for a thing earnestly. The Ta Hsüeh says:

"In the 'Announcement to the Prince of K'ang' it is said: 'Be as if you were watching over an infant.' If the mind be really sincere in its seeking, though it may not hit the central mark, it will not be far. There has never been (a girl) who learned first to bring up a child, that she might afterwards marry" (p. 417).

The true protection given by a loving mother to her infant is a concrete example of sincerity (誠). The Ta Hsüeh says:

"What is called 'making the thoughts sincere (誠)' is the allowing of no self-deception. For example, when we hate a bad smell or like a beautiful color, this is called being true to one's self. Therefore the Superior Man must be watchful over himself when he is alone (慎其獨). There is no evil to which the mean man, dwelling in retirement, will not proceed; but when he sees a Superior Man, he tries to disguise himself, concealing his evil and displaying what is good. The other beholds him as if he saw his lungs and liver; of what use (is his disguise)? This is the meaning of the saying, 'What sincerely is within will be manifested without.' Therefore the Superior Man must be watchful over himself when he is alone.

"Tseng Tzü said: 'Ten eyes behold it. Ten hands point to it. How serious!' As riches adorn a house, so virtue adorns the person. When the mind becomes expanded, the body appears at ease. Therefore the Superior Man is sure to make his thoughts sincere" (p. 413).

A man's dislike of a bad smell and liking for a beautiful color are both genuine likes and dislikes, and hence are concrete examples of sincerity (誠). The Ta Hsüeh's statement that 'what sincerely

1 Cf. Shu Ching, p. 168.—Tr.
is within will be manifested without,' and that one should be watchful over oneself when one is alone, are reminiscent of the Hsün-tzŭ. Hsün Tzŭ, however, when he speaks of 'singleness' (tu 獨), means single-minded concentration. If a man, that is, can pursue an affair with sincerity, he can attend to it with single-minded devotion.' The Ta Hsüeh, on the other hand, when it speaks of being watchful over oneself when alone (shen ch'i tu), means that our inward thought must be the same as our outward conduct, and here differs slightly from Hsün Tzŭ.

Our mind must have something which it pursues with sincerity, before it can be not confused and correct. Hence the words: "The point where to rest being known, the object of pursuit is then determined," etc. This is why, "Wishing to rectify one's mind, one first seeks for absolute sincerity in one's thoughts." Such sincerity follows from knowing where to rest. Therefore, "Wishing for absolute sincerity in one's thoughts, one first extends one's knowledge." Such extension of knowledge consists in comprehending that: "Things have their root and their branches. Affairs have their end and their beginning. To know what comes first and what comes last is to be near to the Way." Therefore, as the Ta Hsüeh says: "From the Son of Heaven down to the common people, all must consider cultivation of the person to be fundamental. It cannot be, that when the root is neglected, what should spring from it should be well ordered. It has never been, when what is important is slightly cared for, that what is of slight importance should be greatly cared for. This is called knowing the fundamental, this is called the perfection of knowledge." For one who possesses the perfection of knowledge, the cultivation of the individual is fundamental, and is something which will be done with single-minded sincere effort. Hence the saying: "Knowledge being complete, thoughts become sincere." The Ta Hsüeh says again: "Virtue is the root; wealth is the branches. If he make the root secondary and the branches primary, he will only quarrel with the people and teach them rapine" (p. 420). We must know that virtue is fundamental and so strive with single-minded sincerity 'clearly to exemplify illustrious virtue throughout the world.' This is also the meaning of the saying: "Knowledge being complete, thoughts become sincere."

Yet if we wish to know the root and branches of things, we must have some correct knowledge about them. If not, what we call the root and branches may not be root and branches, and with this initial error, everything that follows will be wrong. The Hsün-tzŭ (ch. 21) says:

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1 Cf. quotation on p. 293, where Hsün Tzŭ uses the word 'singleness' (tu).

2 The Sung scholars, Ch'e Yu-feng (lived circa a.d. 1274), and Wang Po (1197-1274), consider this paragraph to be the explanation of the phrase, 'the extension of knowledge and investigation of things.' Cf. their Lu Ch' ai Chi, ch'üan 2.
“Whenever in observing things there is doubt and the mind is uncertain, then external objects are not apprehended clearly. When my thoughts are unclear, then I cannot decide whether a thing is so or not. When a person walks in the dark, he sees a stone lying down and takes it to be a crouching tiger; he sees a clump of trees upright, and takes them to be standing men. The darkness has perverted his vision. The drunken man crosses a hundred-pace wide canal and takes it to be a half-step wide ditch; he bends his head when going out of a city gate, taking it to be a small private door. The wine has confused his senses. When a person sticks his finger in his eye and looks, one thing appears as two; when he covers his ear and listens, a tiny sound is taken to be a big noise. The circumstances have confused his senses.

“So when one looks down from the top of a mountain, a cow looks like a sheep; but whoever wants a sheep does not go down and lead it away. The distance has obscured its size. When one looks up from the foot of a mountain, a ten-fathom tree looks like a chop-stick; but whoever wants a chop-stick does not go up and snap it off. The height of the mountain has obscured its length. When the water moves, the shadows dance, and men do not then judge whether they are beautiful or ugly. The state of the water is confused. A blind man who lifts up his head and looks, does not see the stars. But people do not determine thereby the existence or non-existence (of the stars). The man is misled by his blindness. A man who would make judgments at such times would be the most stupid in the world. In forming his judgments such a simpleton would be using doubtful premises to make decisions. And when such is the case, the judgment must inevitably be incorrect. When it is incorrect, how can he avoid falling into error?” (pp. 274-275).

If we perceive things on occasions when we have been deceived by their appearance, we cannot have a true knowledge of them. Therefore the extension of knowledge lies in the investigation of things. If the mind can penetrate beneath the external appearance of things and see their fundamental reality, then only can it have true knowledge of them. If not, the decisions rendered by a beclouded judgment must be incorrect. If we are to have such true knowledge of things, however, we must first not allow ‘the mind to be uncertain.’ For the extension of knowledge and investigation of things are both mental operations, and therefore are intimately and naturally connected with the mind’s correctness, as interacting cause and effect.

8—The Doctrine of the Mean

The Chung Yung (Doctrine of the Mean), which, like the Ta Hsüeh, is included in the Li Chi, and forms one of the Four Books, has been traditionally ascribed to Tzü Ssū, the grandson of Confucius. Thus the Shih Chi, in its biography of Confucius, states that “Tzü Ssū
composed the *Chung Yung*” (Mém. hist., V, 431). Also, that the *Hsün-tzu* (ch. 6) groups Tzû Ssû and Mencius together, coupled with the fact that the ideas expressed in the *Chung Yung*, as they exist to-day, are in many ways similar to Mencius’s doctrines, would make it seem that Tzû Ssû was actually their author. Toward the latter part of the *Chung Yung*, however, there occurs the sentence: “To-day throughout the empire carts all have wheels with the same gauge; all writing is with the same characters; and for conduct there exist the same rules” (p. 324). This would seem to indicate conditions as they were following the unification of feudal China, first under Ch’in in 221 B.C., and later under the Han dynasty. The *Chung Yung* also remarks elsewhere: “It (the earth) sustains mountains like the Hua peak without feeling their weight” (p. 322). This is a reference to the sacred mountain of Hua Shan in Shensi, whereas it would be natural to expect such a man as Tzû Ssû, who was a native of the state of Lu (occupying what is now Shantung), to refer in such a case to Shantung’s sacred mountain, T’ai Shan. The statements made on such philosophic concepts as Fate (*ming*), man’s nature (*hsing*), sincerity (*ch’eng*) and enlightenment (*ming 明*), are also more detailed than those of Mencius, and would seem to be further developments of his doctrines, whereas Tzû Ssû lived prior to Mencius. All this evidence would seem to indicate that the *Chung Yung* was really the work of a Confucian of Mencius’s group, living in the Ch’in or Han dynasty.

Wang Po (1194-1274) throws some light on this problem by pointing out that the *I-wen Chih* in the *Ch’ien Han Shu* contains an entry: “*Chung Yung Shuo* 中庸說 (Explanations of the Doctrine of the Mean) in two sections.” From this entry he concludes that during the Han dynasty two separate works probably existed, and that these were later combined to form the present *Chung Yung*, perhaps by the younger Tai, at the time when he was compiling the *Li Chi*. Wang Po points out further that the words of the title, *Chung Yung*, do not appear in the opening section of the work, as is usually the case in writings of this period, and that the real subject of this section is *Tao*. It is only in the next section that the words *chung* and *yung* occur, a fact which would seem to throw suspicion on the first section.

Wang Po is very suggestive here, though he has not pushed the problem to its conclusion. If we examine the ideas in the *Chung Yung* closely, we find that the first section, beginning with the opening sentence and extending to the words: “Heaven and Earth would have their proper positions, and all things would be nourished” (i.e., p. 300 to p. 301); together with the closing section, beginning with the words: “When those in inferior positions do not obtain

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1 *Cf.* Wang Po’s *Ku Chung-yung Po*, in the *Lu Chai Chi*, chüan 5, pp. 16-17.
confidence from their superiors," to the end of the work (i.e., p. 316 to p. 329), discuss for the most part the relation of man to the universe, and seem to be a development of Mencius’s mystical ideas, while the style is that of a formal essay. The intervening section (pp. 301-316), on the other hand, discusses chiefly human affairs, and seems to be a development of the doctrines of Confucius, while its style is that of recorded conversations. Thus this central section would seem to constitute the original Chung Yung of Tzü Ssū, as listed under his name in the I-wen Chih.1 The opening and closing sections, on the other hand, have been added by a later Confucian, and so probably constitute the ‘Chung Yung Shuo in two sections’ spoken of in the I-wen Chih. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that all the references to the standard cart-wheel gauge used throughout the empire, etc., occur in this latter section. The fact that the author of these opening and concluding sections named them ‘Explanations of the Doctrine of the Mean’ (Chung Yung Shuo), shows that he must have been a follower of Tzü Ssū; yet at the same time they contain ideas derived from Mencius, from which it would seem that their author was a follower of the latter as well. The probable explanation is that the two groups of Confucians headed by Tzü Ssū and Mencius were originally similar to each other, which would also explain why the Hsien-tzu (ch. 6) has grouped the two men together.

I shall begin by discussing the middle or original section of the Chung Yung (pp. 301-316). This commences:

"Chung-ni (i.e., Confucius) said: ‘The Superior Man is in the state of equilibrium (chung) and normality (yung); the small man is the reverse of these states. The Superior Man exhibits them, because he is the Superior Man, and holds to the timely mean (chung); the small man is the opposite of them, because he is the small man, and does anything without taking (morality) into consideration.’" (pp. 301-302).

These concepts of equilibrium or the mean (chung 申) and normality (yung 營), had already been expressed by Confucius.2 The Chung Yung also speaks here of a timely mean (shih chung 時 中), that is, a mean in human affairs such as Aristotle would call relative and not absolute.

This mean of Aristotle is one that is taken as a guide for human emotions and actions, and that differs according to the time, place and person which are encountered, thus making it impossible to have any fixed rules that will serve as a mean under every circumstance.3

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1 This is only a general statement, for this central section also seems not to be entirely free from later additions, though for the most part it probably constitutes Tzü Ssū’s original Chung Yung.
2 Cf. Lun Yü, VI. 27, where the two terms occur.
3 Cf. Aristotle’s Ethics, Bk. II, ch. 5.
The timely mean spoken of by the *Chung Yung* is precisely like this. Mencius also emphasized timeliness, as when he said:

"Not to serve a prince whom he did not esteem, nor command a people whom he did not approve; in a time of good government to take office, and on the occurrence of confusion to retire: such was Po I. 'Whom may I not serve? My serving makes him my prince. What people may I not command? My commanding them makes them my people.' In a time of good government to take office, and when disorder prevailed, also to take office: such was Yi Yin. When it was proper to go into office, then to go into it; when it was proper to remain out of office, then to remain out of office; when it was proper to continue in it long, then to continue in it long; when it was proper to withdraw from it quickly, then to withdraw from it quickly: such was Confucius" (Mencius, IIa, 2, 22).

"Po I among the Sages was the pure one; Yi Yin was the responsible one; Hui of Liu-hsia was the accommodating one; and Confucius was the timely one" (Vb, 1).

"Tzŭ Mo holds to the medium. By holding that medium, he is nearer the right. But to hold it without allowing room for the exigencies of circumstance is like holding to only one point. Why I hate holding to one point is the injury it does to the Way (Tao). It cares for but one point and disregards a hundred others" (VIIa, 26).

Mencius lauded Confucius for being a Sage of timeliness, in contrast to the others, who all held to a fixed and immovable rule for determining their acceptance or resignation of office. The same idea is expressed in the *Lun Yü*: "There are some with whom one can take a firm stand, but cannot associate in judgment" (IX, 29). Such is to hold to only one point. If one holds to the mean without regard for the time, this would be to 'hold the medium without allowing room for the exigencies of circumstance,' which would be to care for but one point and thereby to disregard a hundred others. The *Chung Yung* says:

"The Master said: 'The Way (Tao) is not far from man. When men consider as the Way, a way which is far from men, it is not the Way. The Ode (I, 15, 5) says: 'In hewing an ax-shaft, in hewing an ax-shaft, the pattern is not far off.' We grasp one ax-handle to hew the other; but if we look from one to the other, we still consider them as apart. Therefore the Superior Man governs men by men; and when they change (what is wrong), he stops. Conscientiousness to others (chung 忠) and altruism (shu 仁) are not far from the Way. What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others."

"'In the Way of the Superior Man there are four things, not to one of which have I attained: To serve my father as I would require my son to serve me, I am not yet able; to serve my ruler as I
would require my minister to serve me, I am not yet able; to serve
my elder brother as I would require my younger brother to serve me,
I am not yet able; to set the example in behaving to a friend as I would
require him to behave to me, I am not yet able. (The Superior Man)
practises the ordinary virtues and pays attention to ordinary words.
If he is defective, he dares not but exert himself. He dares not also
do something that is more than what it should be. His words bear
respect to his actions, and his actions bear respect to his words. Is
not the Superior Man characterized by a perfect sincerity?"
(pp. 305-306).

This is simply a development of the ideas of Confucius on
chung (the doing to others what one likes oneself) and shu (the not
doing to others what one does not like oneself). In practising
chung and shu one draws a parallel from one’s own self to treat
others. This is why the Superior Man ‘governs men by men’, and
therefore for him ‘the pattern is not far off.’ The way to morality
is as simple as this. This explains the significance in the title, Chung
Yung, of the word yung (a term which means ‘usual’ or ‘constant’).

The Chung Yung says:

“The universal Way for all under Heaven is five-fold, and the
(virtues) by means of which it is practised are three. There are the
relations of ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife,
elder and younger brother, and of friend and friend: these five con-
stitute the universal Way for all. Wisdom (chih 知), human-hearted-
ness (jen 慈), and fortitude (yang 勇): these three are universal virtues
for all. That whereby they are practised is one. Some are born
and know it; some study and so know it; some through painful
difficulties come to know it. But the result of their knowing is all
one. Some naturally practise it; some easily practise it; some do
so by dint of strong effort. But the result accomplished comes to
one and the same thing.

“The Master said: ‘To be fond of learning is to be near to
wisdom; to practise (virtue) with vigor is to be near to human-heart-
edness; to know to be ashamed (of one’s errors) is to be near to
fortitude. He who knows these three things knows how to cultivate
his own person. Knowing how to cultivate his own person, he knows
how to govern others. Knowing how to govern others, he knows
how to govern the empire and state’” (pp. 313-314).

1 The virtues of chung and shu both aim at the extension of one’s self to others,
so that the one quality can imply the other. Thus the Chung Yung, when it speaks about
serving one’s father as one would have one’s son serve oneself, etc., is really discussing
only chung (‘Do as you would be done by’). Whereas the Ta Hui, when it speaks
about a principle, with which, as with a measuring-square, to regulate one’s course, and
says: ‘What a man dislikes in his superiors, let him not therewith employ his inferiors,’
etc. (cf. above, p. 365), is really discussing only shu (the not doing to others what one
does not like oneself). If we combine these two concepts, we have the principles of
chung and shu.
This again is a development of the ideas of Confucius, and makes
the relations of ruler and subject, etc., the universal Way for all,
while human-heartedness, wisdom and fortitude, which are the results
of individual self-cultivation, become the people’s universal virtues.
Through following the universal Way, by means of the universal
virtues, one may both cultivate one’s self and govern others.

Such are the ideas found in the central or older section of the
Chung Yung. In the opening and closing sections (pp. 300-301,
316-329), we find the anti-utilitarianism of Mencius, together with
his mystical tendencies, explained and combined into a unified system.
The Chung Yung says:

“What Heaven confers (ming 命) is called the nature (hsing). The
following of this nature is called the Way (Tao). The cultivation
of this Way is called instruction” (p. 300).

In the Li Chi of the elder Tai it is stated:

“What is divided from Tao is called what is conferred (ming).
What assumes form in individual things is called the nature (hsing).
What is evolved through the yin and the yang, and manifests itself in
material forms is called life (sheng 生). The cessation of this evolution
and completion of the term of existence is called death” (chüan 13,
p. 3).

The Heaven or T’ien mentioned in the Chung Yung is equivalent
to the Tao in the passage just quoted. The nature (hsing) of each
individual thing is received from Heaven, with which it has a relation-
ship, according to the Confucians, which is similar to the Taoist
conception of the Te and Tao relationship. Heaven is the ethical
first principle of the universe, while hsing is what Heaven ‘confers’
on man, or in other words, what man receives ‘divided’ from Heaven
or Tao. Confucius emphasized on the one hand the value of the
true expression of emotion and desire by the individual, and
on the other hand their regulation by li. The Chung Yung
likewise stresses the ‘following of the nature’ on the one
hand, while on the other it advocates the ‘cultivation’ and
‘instruction’ of this nature. The Chung Yung says again: “The
state in which joy, anger, sorrow and pleasure have not yet made their
appearance is called that of equilibrium (chung). When they have
appeared, but are all in accordance with the proper measure, this is
called the state of harmony (ho 和)” (p. 300). All such feelings are
natural, and so must be allowed expression. But at the same time
we must keep them ordered by means of ‘instruction,’ and must
regulate their expression so that it will be neither too extreme nor
too restrained.

1 The word ming, ordinarily translated as Fate, or as the Decree (of Heaven), is here
used as a verb, to confer. This is explained by the fact that the Fate of a man is what he
receives from Heaven, or in other words, what Heaven confers on him.—Tr.

2 Cf. ch. 8, sect. 4, pp. 179-180; ch. 10, sect. 2, p. 225.
I have already pointed out how Mohist philosophy differed from the Confucian. The Confucians pursued what was right or appropriate, without consideration of any consequent benefit, in contrast to Mo Tzu, who considered only benefit and the result of conduct as important. Those persons, said the Confucians, who do not consider the gain resulting from an act as the important thing, hold this attitude because they believe that the meaning and value of conduct does not go beyond it, but lies in the conduct itself. The Chung Yung support this attitude toward life with a metaphysical argument when it states:

"The Ode (IV, i, sect. 1, 2) says: 'The Decree (ming) of Heaven, how profound is it and unceasing!' Meaning, it is thus that Heaven is Heaven. (Again): 'Oh! How illustrious was the singleness of the virtue of King Wen!' Meaning, it was thus that King Wen was wen 文 (cultured). His singleness was unceasing." (pp. 322-323).

"Therefore absolute sincerity (ch'eng 功) is unceasing; unceasing, it continues long; continuing long, it manifests itself; manifesting itself, it reaches far; reaching far, it becomes large and substantial; being large and substantial, it becomes high and brilliant.

"By being large and substantial, it supports (all) things. By being high and brilliant, it overspreads (all) things. By reaching far and continuing long, it perfects (all) things. In its largeness and substantiality it is the equal of Earth. In its loftiness and brilliance, it is the equal of Heaven. In its reaching far and continuing long it is infinite.

"A person who is like this, without being seen, makes a display; without any movement, transforms; without any effort (wu wai), makes complete. The way of Heaven and Earth may be completely stated in one sentence: They are not double-minded in their creations of things, and so they produce things inexhaustibly. The way of Heaven and Earth is to be large and substantial, high and brilliant, far-reaching and long-continuing." (pp. 321-322).

'Heaven' (in this case meaning Nature) moves unceasingly; it acts, but not for something. The Superior Man takes this Heaven for model. Therefore he, too, must exert himself without ceasing. He also acts, but not for something.

I have already pointed out that there is a mystic tendency in Mencius's philosophy. The Chung Yung further develops this tendency, making the highest state of human development 'the union of the inner and the outer.' In this state, although life goes on and all things continue to exist, there is no longer any distinction between what is within and without, what is of self and of others. The 'absolute sincerity' (ch'eng) described by the Chung Yung seems to refer to such a condition. 'Heaven' or T'ien originally possessed

1 Cf. ch. 5, sect. 4, pp. 84-87.
this ch'eng; T'ien, that is, originally made no distinction between what is within and without. Therefore the Chung Yung says:

"Ch'eng is the way of Heaven. To attain to that ch'eng is the way of man .... Enlightenment (ming 明) which comes out of ch'eng is to be ascribed to the nature (hsing). Ch'eng which comes out of enlightenment is to be ascribed to instruction. Given ch'eng, there is enlightenment; given enlightenment, there is ch'eng" (pp. 318-319).

Ch'eng being the way of Heaven, man must use 'instruction' in order, through self-enlightenment, to attain to ch'eng. Hence such attainment constitutes the way of man. The Chung Yung continues:

"Ch'eng is the end and beginning of things. Without ch'eng there would exist no things. Therefore the Superior Man considers ch'eng as the noblest of all attainments.

"The quality of ch'eng does not consist simply in perfecting one's self. It is that whereby one perfects all other things. The perfection of the self lies in the quality of jen. The perfection of other things lies in wisdom. In this is the quality of the nature (hsing); it is the way in which comes the union of the inner and the outer. Therefore whatever always pursues it is fitting" (p. 321).

This doctrine, that the perfection of oneself and of other things is the way whereby to effect a union of inner and outer, is the same as Schopenhauer's 'work of love' which transcends the principium individuationis. Ch'eng is the 'quality of the nature.' 'Instruction' can add nothing to this nature which was not already there, but can only assist it to attain its fullest development. The Chung Yung says on this:

"It is only he in the world who has most ch'eng who can develop his nature to its utmost. Able to develop his own nature to its utmost, he can do the same to the natures of other men. Able to develop to their utmost the natures of other men, he can do the same to the natures of things. Able to develop these to their utmost, he can assist the transforming and nourishing operations of Heaven and Earth. Capable of assisting in these transforming and nourishing operations, he can form a trinity with Heaven and Earth" (p. 319).

The individual natures of men and of other things are all parts of 'Heaven,' and so the man who can fully develop his own nature, can do the same for the natures of other men and things. The man of perfect ch'eng is one without distinctions between inner and outer, self and others, and so has already attained to the state in which all things form one. In this state he can assist the transforming and nourishing operations of Heaven and Earth, and thus form a trinity with them. Such a man has the virtue of the Sage, and therefore he can accomplish wonderful things, should he furthermore hold the position of Emperor. The Chung Yung says:

"Therefore the course of the Superior Man (who is a ruler) is rooted in his own character, and attested by the multitudes of the
people. He examines (his institutions) by comparison with those of the founders of the Three Dynasties, and finds them without mistake. He sets them up before Heaven and Earth, and there is nothing in them contrary (to their mode of operation). He presents himself with them before spiritual beings, and no doubts about them arise. He is prepared for the rise of a Sage a hundred ages after, without any misgivings. That he can present himself (with his institutions) before spiritual beings, without any doubts about them arising, shows that he knows Heaven. That he is prepared to wait for the rise of a Sage a hundred ages after, without any misgivings, shows that he knows man.

"Therefore the movements of the Superior Man mark out for ages the way for all under Heaven; his actions are the law for ages for all under Heaven; his words are for ages a law for all under Heaven. Those who are afar look longingly for him, and those who are near never weary of him. . . ."

"Never has a Superior Man obtained an early renown throughout the world who did not correspond to this description" (pp. 325-326).

When such a man occupies the throne, he rules the world simply through the influence of his virtue. In such a condition:

"All things are nourished together, without their injuring one another; all courses are followed without any collision. The smaller energies are like river currents; the greater energies are seen in mighty transformations. It is this which makes Heaven and Earth so great" (p. 326).

We may see from the foregoing that the Chung Yung largely follows the ideas of Mencius, while the Ta Hsüeh largely follows those of Hsün Tzu. These two works have exerted a tremendous influence upon later Chinese philosophy, and it is no pure accident that during the Warring States period they should have represented the two great Confucian groups of that time, headed, respectively, by Mencius and Hsün Tzu.

9—The Evolutions of Li

Later Confucianism received considerable Taoist influence. In the political and social philosophy of one part of the Confucian school, this influence is well represented in the section entitled 'The Evolutions of Li' (Li Yün 立論) in the Li Chi (ch. 7):

"Confucius said: 'I have never seen the practice of the great Tao, and the eminent men of the Three Dynasties, though I have had a mind to do so. When the great Tao was in practice, the world was common to all; men of talents, virtue and ability were selected; sincerity was emphasized and friendship was cultivated. Therefore men did not love only their parents, nor did they treat as children only

1 Cf. pp. 292-293, for the way in which Hsün Tzu was influenced.
their own sons. A competent provision was secured for the aged till their death, employment for the able-bodied, and a means of upbringing for the young. Kindness and compassion were shown to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they all had the wherewithal for support. Men had their proper work and women had their homes. They hated to see the wealth of natural resources undeveloped, but also did not hoard wealth for their own use. They hated not to exert themselves, but also did not exert themselves only for their own benefit. Thus (selfish) schemings were repressed and found no development. Robbers, filchers and rebellious traitors did not show themselves, and hence the outer doors were left open. This was the period of Great Unity (ta t'ung 大同).

"Now that the great Tao has fallen into obscurity, the world has become (divided into) families. Each loves but his own parents, and treats as children only his own children. People accumulate material things and exert their strength for their own advantage. Great men take it as the proper li that their states should descend in their own families. Their object is to make the walls of their cities and suburbs strong, and their ditches and moats secure. Li and standards of justice (i) they regard as the bonds whereby to keep in its correctness, the relation between ruler and subject; in its generous regard, that between father and son; in its harmony, that between elder and younger brother; in a community of sentiment, that between husband and wife. They use them to formulate institutions, lay out lands and hamlets, adjudge courageous and wise men as superior, and regulate accomplishments for their own advantage. Hence scheming practices come thereby and militarism arises.

"It was in this way that Yü, T'ang, Wen, Wu, King Ch'eng and the Duke of Chou obtained their distinction. Of these six great men, each paid great attention to li. Thus they displayed their justice, tested their sincerity, exposed errors, exemplified virtue and discoursed about courtesy, thus showing to the people the invariable constants. All rulers who did not follow this course lost power and position, and all regarded them as pests. This was the period of Small Tranquility (hsiao k'ang 小康)" (pp. 364-367).

This says that the government and society so striven for by some of the Confucians is, in the final analysis, only that of the Small Tranquility, above which there is the government of Great Unity. This idea is one plainly borrowed from the social and political philosophy of the Taoists. In recent times the philosophy of the Confucian school exemplified here has been much exalted by certain Chinese political leaders, such as the reformer, K'ang Yu-wei (1858-1927), and Sun Yat-sen.
CHAPTER XV


1—ORIGIN OF THE BOOK OF CHANGES AND OF ITS APPENDICES

The I Ching (Book of Changes) was first of all a book of divination. Its original corpus is made up of the famous eight trigrams (pa kua 八卦), each consisting of combinations of three broken or unbroken lines, as follows: ☰ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐. These are traditionally said to have been drawn by the mythological Emperor Fu Hsi. There are also sixty-four hexagrams derived from the original eight trigrams by combining any two of these into diagrams of six lines each, thus making a total of sixty-four different combinations. Some scholars say they were made by Fu Hsi himself; others that they were formulated by King Wen, one of the Chou dynasty founders. Both the written explanations in the I Ching given to each of the hexagrams, and the brief descriptions of each of the six lines within every individual hexagram, are sometimes said to have been written by King Wen. Others say that the former were composed by King Wen and the latter by the Duke of Chou. The I Ching's Appendices, commonly known as the Ten Wings (Shih I 十翼), are traditionally, but quite unjustifiably, ascribed to Confucius.

It is probable that during the Shang dynasty (1766?-1123? B.C.) the I Ching's eight trigrams were not yet in existence, since the Shang people then made divinations not by means of the divining plant (with which the I Ching's trigrams were originally associated), but by means of the tortoise shell. The former method was an invention of the Chou people, made either to substitute, or to supplement, the tortoise shell method. The I Ching's trigrams and hexagrams thus would seem to have originally been made as pictorial substitutes for the cracks formed in the tortoise shell when this was heated with fire by the diviner; while the explanations in the I Ching on each hexagram, and on the individual lines of each hexagram,

1 This statement is given by the famous I Ching commentator, Wang Pi (A.D. 226-249).
2 This is said by the historian, Ssu-ma Ch'ien (145–c. 86 B.C.).
3 This is also said by Ssu-ma Ch'ien.
4 This is said by the noted commentator on the classics, Ma Yung (A.D. 79-166).
5 For these two methods, see p. 27.—Tr.
would seem to correspond to the prognostications made by the Shang diviners when they examined the tortoise shell cracks. After such examination, these diviners would either make prognostications that were entirely new, or would sometimes utilize earlier prognostications. These earlier prognostications would be followed if the new cracks made in the shell were similar in form to cracks that were already known from former occasions; but when no prototypes existed, an entirely new prognostication had to be devised.

The cracks thus formed from the heating of a tortoise shell were numerous and intricate and hence difficult to interpret. Consequently the prognostications based on them were also complicated and difficult to remember. The use of the divining plant in conjunction with the I Ching’s diagrams, however, put an end to these difficulties. For the diagrams of the I Ching, formed of broken and unbroken lines in such a way that they bore a certain resemblance to the cracks appearing in the tortoise shell, were at the same time limited in number to sixty-four combinations, with the result that their prognostications were likewise limited. Thus when divination was made with the divination plant, a standard prognostication could always be obtained corresponding to whichever hexagram or line in the hexagram happened to be encountered, and the meaning of the prognostication could then be applied to the situation at hand. This was certainly a far easier method than that of the tortoise shell, in which any combination of new cracks might appear.1 Perhaps this explains the I Ching’s alternative name of Chou I 周易. It was named Chou from the fact that it was composed by the people of the Chou dynasty, and I because its method of divination was an easy one.2

Originally the I was written to be used with the divining plant, but later, even when not used for divination, the meanings of the explanations of its hexagrams and lines continued to be quoted when support for an argument was sought for. The Tso Chuan gives an example under the year 597 B.C.:

“... The army of Chin went to the rescue of the state of Cheng. ... Chih Tzū ... crossed the Yellow River with the part of the central army that was under him. Chuang Tzū of Chih said: ‘This army is in great danger! The Chou I, under the case of the hexagram shih 齊, as changed into that of lin 靈, says: ‘An army proceeds according to the regular rules. If these are not good, there will be evil.’” If the leader conforms himself to what is proper, the result is good. If not, the result is evil. A multitude divided

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1 These ideas, beginning with the words, “It is probable that during the Shang dynasty,” etc., which begin §2, p. 379, have largely been taken from the article by Yü Yung-liang, I Kua Hsi-řu ti Shih-tai chi ch‘i Tso-che, in the Ku Shih Pien, III, pt. i.
2 The word i 很 means ‘easy’ as well as ‘change.’—Tr.
3 Cf. I Ching, p. 72. Shih is hexagram No. 7, and lin is No. 19.—Tr.
become weak; it is like the blocking up of a stream so as to form a marsh. The rules of service are changed so that each one goes his own way. Therefore it is said that the rules are not good. They are as it were dried up, just as the full stream is dried up and cannot follow its course. Consequently evil must ensue. Not to act is called lin. Is there a greater lack of action than where there is a chief who is yet not obeyed? This is the case we now have. If we really encounter the enemy, we shall certainly be defeated, and Chih Tzŭ will be responsible. Even if he now escapes and returns, great evil will await him" (p. 316-317).

Again, under the year 545:

"The Viscount of Ch'u will soon die. He does not practise virtue in his government, and is greedy and blind in his conduct toward the feudal lords. Can he, in order to satisfy his own desires, hope to continue for long? The Chou I, under the hexagram fu 福, as changed into that of i 疊, says: 'A blind return is of evil augury.' Cannot these words be applied to the Viscount of Ch'u? He wishes to return to his first desire, and reject what is fundamental. He has no place to return to. This is a blind return. Is it not inauspicious?" (p. 541).

Confucius also made use of the I in this way when he quoted and expanded the meaning of the thirty-second hexagram, so as thus to teach the necessity for constancy (the meaning of this hexagram).① Hsün Tzŭ, too, frequently quoted the hexagrams to support his arguments.② All these instances indicate that in later times the I was no longer used purely as a book of divination, but was regarded as a work having a wider significance. So too with its Appendices, which could not have been the work of any one man, but were probably written by several men who, while utilizing its varied ideas, added their own views and developed them, and thus made the I into a work having a unified philosophic system.

That these 'Ten Wings' or Appendices could never have been written by Confucius, has already been made clear both by past and contemporary scholars.③ The chapter on the Confucian school in the Ch'ien Han Shu says:

"During the Ch'in interdiction of learning (i.e., the Burning of the Books in 213 B.C.), the I, being a book of divination, was the only work not forbidden, and so its line of transmission was not interrupted. With the rise of the Han (in 206 B.C.), T'ien Ho, because he belonged to the family of T'ien, (rulers) of Ch'i, was

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① Cf. I Ching, p. 108. Fu is hexagram No. 24, and i is No. 27.—Ta.
② Cf. p. 65.
③ Cf. the Hsün-tzŭ, ch. 5 (chüan 3, p. 9), and ch. 27 (chüan 19, pp. 9 and 10).
④ Cf. the I T'ung Tzŭ Wen, by Ou-yang Hsiu (1017-1072); Chu Ssu K'ao Hsin Lu, by Ts'ui Shu (1740-1816); various articles by Professor Ku Chieh-kang in the Ku Shih Pien; and my own K'ung Tzŭ ts'ai Chung-kwo Li-shih shung shih Ti-wei, in the Ku Shih Pien, Vol. II.
transferred to Tu-ling, and was called Tu T’ien-sheng. Wang T’ung and his son, Chung, of Tung-wu, to whom he (T’ien Ho) gave (the \( I \)); Chou Wang-sun and Ting K’uan of Loyang; and Fu Sheng of Ch’i, all made commentaries on the \( I \) in several chapters” (ch. 88, p 7).

We have no means of knowing if these ‘commentaries’ (\( chuan \) 傳) are among the present ‘Ten Wings’ or not, but at any rate it is probable that the latter are in character similar to, and date from about the same period, as these commentaries.

### 2—THE EIGHT TRIGRAMS AND THE YIN AND YANG

The eight trigrams and their combinations of sixty-four hexagrams were invented in early Chou times, as I have said in the preceding section, to simulate the cracks formed in the tortoise shell of the earlier divination method. Originally these eight trigrams may not have had any specific meanings attached to them, but later on they were elaborated so that each came to be representative of certain ideas. Appendix V of the \( I \) Ching says:

“The \( ch’i’en \) 凡 trigram is Heaven, and hence is called father. \( K’un \) 坤 is Earth, and hence is called mother. \( Chen \) 震 by its first (i.e., lowest) line is male (i.e., an unbroken line), and so is called the eldest son. \( Sun \) 錦 by its first line is female (i.e., a divided line), and so is called the eldest daughter. \( K’an \) 坎 by its second (i.e., central) line is male, and so is called the second son. \( Li \) 离 by its second line is female, and so is called the second daughter. \( Ken \) 恆 by its third (i.e., upper) line is male, and so is called the youngest son. \( Tui \) 毛 by its third line is female, and so is called the youngest daughter.

“\( Ch’i’en \) is Heaven, round, and is the ruler and the father.... \( K’un \) is Earth and is the mother.... \( Chen \) is thunder.... \( Sun \) is wood and rain.... \( K’an \) is water.... and is the moon.... \( Li \) is fire and the sun.... \( Ken \) is mountain.... \( Tui \) is marsh.... (pp. 429-432).”

Though this is supposed to be one of the later appendices, yet already in the Ch’un Ch’iu period, according to the \( Kuo Yu \) and \( Tso Chuan \), people were thinking of \( ch’i’en \) as Heaven, \( K’un \) as soil, \( sun \) as wind; \( li \) as fire, \( ken \) as mountain; \( chen \) as thunder, \( k’an \) as water; and \( chen \) again as the eldest son, and \( k’un \) as the mother.

Thus what Appendix V records is simply a unification and arrangement of what had already been said.

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1 These appendices are here numbered according to Legge’s numbering in his translation.—Tr.
2 Here, as throughout the trigrams and hexagrams in the \( I \) Ching, the progression is made from the lowest line up to the topmost one.—Tr.
3 Cf. \( Tso Chuan \) under the year 672, p. 103.
4 Ibid., year 537, p. 504.
5 \( Kuo Yu \) (Chin Yu IV, 9).
6 Ibid.
Once these fixed meanings had become attached to the eight trigrams, the present cosmologies in the I Ching were written. These based their speculations upon the origin of life as it is seen to occur in the case of the human being, and extended this by analogy to apply to the origins of other things. Appendix III says: "There is an intermingling of the genial influences of Heaven and Earth, and the transformation of all things proceeds abundantly. There is an intercommunication of seed between male and female, and all things are produced" (p. 393). A human being is produced by the union of man and woman, and so by extension, the universe is also considered to have two prime principles: the male or yang, the trigram for which is ch'ien; and the female or yin, the trigram for which is k'un. Heaven and Earth are the physical representations of these principles. From the union of ch'ien and k'un comes chen, which has a male or unbroken lower line, and hence is the eldest son, the physical representation of which is thunder. Sun has a female or broken lower line, and hence is the eldest daughter, the physical representation of which is wind. K'an, having a central male line, is the second son, represented by water. Li, having a central female line, is the second daughter, represented by fire. Ken, having a topmost male line, is the youngest son, represented by mountains. And tui, having a female topmost line, is the youngest daughter, represented by low marshes.

The greatest things in the universe, in short, are Heaven and Earth. In Heaven, the objects most noteworthy to man are the sun, moon, wind and thunder; on Earth they are mountains and marshy lowlands; and the things most used by man are water and fire. The ancient Chinese regarded these objects as forming the constituents of the universe, made the eight trigrams correspond to them, and linked these trigrams together by giving them the relationships of father and mother, and of sons and daughters.

The objects symbolized by the eight trigrams are thus made the basic constituents of the universe. During the Chou dynasty this system seems to have existed quite independently from that of the Five Elements which has already been described, so that the proponents of one system did not uphold the other. In the Han dynasty, however, the two schools were united. Thus Tsou Yen and his followers are referred to in Han times as the Yin-yang school, though in reality the yin and yang were originally attached to the system of the eight trigrams, which Tsou Yen had not touched.

Already in early times, however, the yin and yang had been used to explain the phenomena of the universe, and were later often referred to by the Taoists, as in the Lao-tze: "Tao produced Oneness. Oneness produced duality. Duality evolved into trinity, and trinity evolved into the ten thousand things. The ten thousand things

1 Ch. 7, sect. 7, pp. 159-169.
2 Cf. ch. 3, sect. 4, pp. 32-33.
support the *yin* and embrace the *yang*. It is on the blending of the breaths (of the *yin* and the *yang*) that their harmony depends” (ch. 42). Again, the *Li-shih Ch’un Ch’iu* (V, 2) says:

“Great Oneness produced the two Forms (*i* 儀). The two Forms produce the *yin* and the *yang*” (p. 58). The *Li Chi* (ch. 7) says:

“Li must be rooted in the great Oneness, which divided to form Heaven and Earth, and revolved to make the *yin* and the *yang*” (pp. 386-387).

In the same manner the *I Ching* (Appendix III) says:

“In the *I* there is the Great Ultimate (*t’ai chi* 太極), which produced the two Forms (*i*). These two Forms produced the four emblems (*hsiang* 象), and these four emblems produced the eight trigrams” (p. 373). Again:

“One *yin* and one *yang* constitute what is called *Tao*. That which is perpetuated by it is good. That which is completed by it is the individual nature (*hsing*). The benevolent see it and call it benevolence (*jen*). The wise see it and call it wisdom. The common people use it daily, yet without realizing it. Thus the Superior Man’s *Tao* (is seen by) few. It is manifested in acts of benevolence (*jen*), and lies stored up in things of utility. It drums all things onward, without having the same anxieties thereon that possess the Sage. Complete is the abundance of its Power (*Tê*) and the greatness of its achievement! Richly possessing it is what is meant by ‘the greatness of its achievement.’ The daily renewing of it is what is meant by ‘the abundance of its Power’” (pp. 355-356).

The duality spoken of in the *Lao-tzu*, and probably the two Forms of the *Li-shih Ch’un Ch’iu*, both refer to Heaven and Earth. In the *I Ching*, however, the two Forms seem to be the *yin* and *yang*, as evidenced by its statement that “one *yin* and one *yang* constitute what is called *Tao*.” Chiao Hsün (1763-1820) says about this: “That which is divided from *Tao* is called Fate (*mîng*). That which is manifested in the individual is called his nature (*hsing*). The unity of *Tao* is divided so as to give completeness to the natures of individual men. The natures of all things are united so as to give completeness to the whole of *Tao*. One *yin* and one *yang* are what make *Tao* never ending.”

The relation given here between *Tao* and the individual nature is exactly that of the Taoists between *Tao* and *Tê*. *Tao* is the all-embracing first principle through which all things are produced, and the natures of individual men and things are parts separated from this *Tao*. There is nothing produced by *Tao* that is evil, and so the *I* says: “That which is perpetuated by it (*Tao*) is good.” It is only after *Tao* separates that it becomes defined and gives completion.

¹ Cf. his *Lun-yü T’ung-shih I-kuan Chung-shu*. 
to something, and therefore the I says: “That which is completed by it is the individual nature.” The I then continues: “The benevolent see it and call it benevolence. The wise see it and call it wisdom.” The Lao-tzu means the same thing when it says: “The Tao that may be called Tao is not the invariable Tao” (ch. 1), and again when it says that the Tao “produces but does not possess; acts but does not depend upon anything; is leader yet does not preside” (ch. 51). Therefore, says the I, “The common people use it daily, yet without realizing it.” The Tao “drums all things onward, without having the same anxieties thereon which possess the Sage.” Likewise the Lao-tzu says:

“Heaven and Earth are not benevolent. They treat all things like straw dogs” (ch. 5). That is, all things are produced spontaneously, without Heaven and Earth (i.e., the universe) having the intention of either being kind or unkind to them.

The Appendices of the I Ching thus borrow ideas from the Lao-tzu, at the same time adopting the yin and yang doctrines, and equating these to ch’ien and k’un, the male and female principles. Produced by Tao or the Great Ultimate, these are the two first principles of the universe. Describing their qualities, the I Appendices say:

“Vast is ch’ien, the beginner! All things owe to it their beginning. It comprises Heaven . . . . The way of ch’ien is to change and transform, so that everything obtains its proper nature (hsing) according to its Fate (ming)” (p. 213).

“Perfect is k’un, the beginner! All things owe to it their birth. It receives obediently the influences of Heaven . . . .” (p. 214).

“The way of ch’ien constitutes the male; the way of k’un constitutes the female. Ch’ien knows the great beginning; k’un gives to things their completion. It is through its ease that ch’ien is known; through its simplicity that k’un exhibits its ability” (p. 349).

“There is ch’ien. In its quiescence it has concentration; when in activity it goes straight ahead; and it is thus that it has great productive power. There is k’un. In its quiescence it is self-collected and capacious; when in activity it develops its resources; and thus its productive power is on a wide scale” (p. 358).

“Ch’ien is a yang thing; k’un is a yin thing. The yin and the yang unite their forces, and the hard and the soft gain embodiment, thus giving manifestation to the phenomena of Heaven and Earth” (p. 395).

Here again we find the origin of human life being taken as an example to explain by extension the origin of all things. “There is an intercommunication of seed between male and female, and all things are produced.” Extending this same principle, we find:

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1 According to the commentators, dogs made of straw were offered as sacrifices to Heaven and Earth.—Ta.
There is an intermingling of the genial influences of Heaven and Earth, and the transformation of all things proceeds abundantly."

"Heaven gives forth and Earth produces, leading to an increase without restriction" (p. 247).

Heaven and Earth are the physical representations of ch’ien and k’un, yang and yin. Of these two first principles, the one is hard, the other soft; the one gives forth, the other receives; to one all things owe their beginning; to the other they all owe their birth. "There is ch’ien. In its quiescence it has singleness; when in activity it goes straight ahead. . . . There is k’un. In its quiescence it is self-collected and capacious; when in activity it develops its resources."

"Shutting a door is like k’un; opening a door is like ch’ien" (p. 372).

In all these statements the reproductive activities of male and female are taken as examples to explain ch’ien and k’un.

Other aspects of the relation of ch’ien to k’un are explained in the I Appendices by making analogies between them and the relationship of man and woman in the human society of that time. Thus in Appendix I:

"Perfect is k’un the beginner! All things owe to it their birth. It receives obediently the influences of Heaven. K’un in its thickness, supports and contains things. Its Power (Te) harmonizes and is unlimited. Its comprehension is wide and its breadth great. Various things obtain from it their full development. The mare is a creature of earthly kind. It moves over the earth without limits. It is mild and docile, beneficial and firm. Such is the course of the Superior Man. If it (k’un) goes ahead first, it will become confused and lose the way. It it follows, it will docilely gain the regular (way). . . . The good fortune arising from resting in firmness corresponds to the unlimited capacity of Earth" (pp. 214-215). And Appendix IV:

"K’un is most soft, yet when in movement it is hard. It is most at rest, yet its Power (Te) is square. By following, it obtains its lord and has the regular (way). It contains all things in itself, and its transforming power is glorious. What docility marks the way of k’un! It receives the influences of Heaven and acts at the proper time. . . . Although the yin has its beauties, it keeps them under restraint in its service of the King, and does not claim success for itself. This is the way of Earth, of a wife, of a subject. The way of Earth is, not to claim the merit of achievement, but on another’s behalf to bring things to their proper issue" (pp. 418-420).

The ch’ien or yang is master, while the k’un or yin is their helper. If the k’un puts itself forward, it ‘will become confused and lose the way.’ But if it follows the ch’ien or yang, it will ‘obtain its lord and have the regular (way).’ For long this has been held up in China as the ideal of wifely conduct.

¹ Cf. above, p. 383.
There must be union between man and woman to produce offspring, and likewise the *yin* and the *yang* must unite to produce all things. Appendix I says:

"When Heaven and Earth have intercourse with one another, all things have free development. When superior and inferior are in communication with one another, they are possessed by the same aim. . . ." (p. 223).

"When Heaven and Earth act one upon the other, all things are transformed and produced" (p. 238).

"When Heaven and Earth have meeting with one another, the various things are all brought to manifestation" (p. 250).

"In the marriage of a young girl lies the great meaning of Heaven and Earth. If Heaven and Earth were without intercourse, all things would not flourish. (In the same way), the marriage of a young girl is the beginning and end of man" (p. 257).

Heaven and earth are the physical manifestations of the abstract first principles, *ch'ien* and *k'un*. They must be united to make things flourish. "Heaven and Earth are separate, yet their work is together. Man and woman are apart, yet they have a will in common. All things are separate, yet in their operations they fall into classes" (p. 243). Because of their union, Heaven and Earth, though separate, have their common work, just as man and woman, though separate, have a common will.

3—Development and Change of Phenomenal Things

Because of the union of *ch'ien* and *k'un*, all things exist, and hence there comes development and transformation. Appendix I says:

"When Heaven and Earth are released (from the grip of winter), we have thunder and rain. When these come, the buds of the plants and trees that produce the various fruits begin to burst" (p. 245).

"Heaven and Earth undergo their changes, and the four seasons complete their functions" (p. 254). And Appendix III:

"Shutting a door is called *k'un*. Opening a door is called *ch'ien*. One opening following one shutting is called change. The endless passing from one of these states to the other may be called the constant course (of things)" (p. 372).

Things in the universe ever change and become renewed, and these changes all follow a constant order. Appendix I says:

"Heaven and Earth act in concord, and hence the sun and moon make no error (in movement), and the four seasons do not deviate (from their order)" (p. 227).

"Heaven and Earth observe their regular terms, and the four seasons are complete" (p. 262).
"The way of Heaven and Earth is constant and unceasing. 'Movement in any direction whatever will be advantageous.' When there is end, there is beginning again. The sun and moon, pertaining to Heaven, can shine constantly. The four seasons, changing and transforming, can constantly give completion (to things). . . . When we see how they are constant, the nature of Heaven, Earth and all things can be seen" (p. 239). And Appendix III:

"Good and ill fortune are constantly overcoming one another. The way of Heaven and Earth is constantly to manifest themselves. The sun and moon constantly emit their light. All movements beneath the sky are constantly subject to one and the same rule" (p. 380).

The underlying idea in these quotations is that all things in the universe follow a definite order according to which they move everlastingly. The Chung Yung says: "The way of Heaven and Earth may be completely described in one sentence: They are not double-minded in their creation of things, and so they produce things inexhaustibly" (p. 322). This is exactly the idea conveyed in the quotation above: "All movements beneath the sky are constantly subject to one and the same rule." Because of this, evolution never ceases in the universe, so that Appendix VI says:

"Things cannot be exhausted, and therefore it is with wei chi (未濟) that they (the sixty-four hexagrams) are brought to a close" (pp. 438-439).

4—THE ENDLESS CYCLE OF PHENOMENAL CHANGE

Things in the universe are ever changing according to an endless cycle. Thus the appendices say:

"Between Heaven and Earth nothing goes away that does not return" (p. 281).

"When there is end, there is beginning. Such is the movement of Heaven" (p. 229).

"His way is one of return and repetition. In seven days comes its return . . . . In this returning we see the mind of Heaven and Earth" (p. 233).

"When the sun has reached its meridian height, it begins to decline. When the moon has become full, it begins to wane. Heaven and Earth are now full, now empty, according to the flow and ebb of the seasons" (p. 259).

"When the sun goes, the moon comes. When the moon goes, the sun comes. The sun and moon thus take the place of one another in producing light. When the cold goes, the warmth comes, and when the warmth comes, the cold goes. Cold and warmth take the place of one another, and so the year is rounded out. That which goes contracts, and that which comes expands. It is by the influence,

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1 This is a quotation from hexagram 32 (p. 125), which is discussed here.—Ts.

2 Meaning 'not yet completed,' the name of the last and sixty-fourth hexagram.—Ts.
one upon the other, of this contraction and expansion that what is beneficial is produced” (p. 389).

This ‘return’ or constant round of the sun and moon and all other things in the universe constitutes a great universal law, according to which things change. Hence ‘in this returning we see the mind of Heaven and Earth.’

Because of this principle, everything that reaches a certain peak, must then revert to its opposite. “When the sun has reached its meridian height, it declines, and when the moon has become full, it wanes.” Thus in ch’ien, the first hexagram, the dragon, which is described in the first or lowest line as lying hidden, reaches its highest peak in the fifth line, when it is flying in the sky, but in the sixth or topmost line “the dragon exceeds the proper limits and there will be occasion for repentance” (pp. 57-58). In Appendix IV, Confucius is reported as commenting on this:

“This phrase, ‘exceeds the proper limits,’ indicates that he knows to advance, but not to retire; he knows preservation, but not destruction; obtaining but not losing. He only is the Sage who knows to advance and to retire, to preserve and to destroy, without ever acting improperly. Yes, he only is the Sage!” (p. 417).

This principle of rise and fall is one taken from the Lao-tzu, and, according to the Appendices of the I, is illustrated in the arrangement of the sixty-four hexagrams themselves. Appendix VI says: '

“... Treading leads to the hexagram t’ai 泰 (No. 11), after which there is peace. Hence this (hexagram 10) is followed by t’ai. T’ai denotes things having free course. They cannot forever have free course, and so this is followed by pi 否 (denoting things being shut up and restricted). Things cannot forever be shut up, hence this is followed by t’ung jen 同人 (denoting a union of mankind)...” (p. 434).

“... Things should not be united in a reckless or irregular way, and hence this is followed by pen 禱 (No. 22). Pen denotes adorning. When ornamentation has been carried to the utmost, its progress comes to an end; hence it is followed by po 革. Po denotes decay and overthrow. Things cannot be done away with forever. When decadence and overthrow have completed their work at one end, re-integration commences at the other, and hence this is followed by fu 恢 (meaning return) ...” (pp. 434-435).

“... Chen 風 (No. 51) is the idea of movement. Things cannot be in movement forever. They are stopped, and therefore this is followed by ken 息. Ken denotes stopping. But things cannot be forever stopped, and so this is followed by chien 漸 (meaning advance) ...” (p. 437).

1 Some scholars have maintained that Appendix VI is of later origin than the other appendices. Yet it is quoted from in the Huai-nan-tzu (ch. 10, p. 7), indicating that in the time of the Prince of Huai-nan (died 122 B.C.) it was already known.
Because of this law, both good and evil must exist in the process of change in the universe. Therefore Appendix III says:

"Good and bad fortune, occasion for repentence or regret, all arise from movement" (p. 380).

"The lines (of the hexagrams) are patterned upon all the movements taking place beneath the sky. It is thus that good and bad fortune are produced, and repentance and regret appear" (p. 387).

Good and bad fortune are the invariable concomitants of any movement, and all phenomena in the universe consist in movement of some kind. Hence it is inevitable that there will be evil in the world. Thus Appendix III says again: "The eight trigrams serve to determine good and bad fortune, from which is produced great accomplishment" (p. 373). Such accomplishment must be closely connected with good and bad fortune. This is what Schopenhauer called 'eternal justice.'

5—THE HEXAGRAMS AND HUMAN AFFAIRS

The things in the universe, and their production and change, all follow the universal laws described above. The I Ching, according to its Appendices, was composed so as to represent, through simple symbols, these universal laws, in order to be a model for human actions. In other words, the I Ching is a reflection in miniature of the entire universe. Appendix III says:

"As to the emblems (hsiang 甲), the Sages used them in surveying all the complex phenomena under the sky. They then considered in their mind how these could be figured, and made representations of their appropriate forms, which are hence designated emblems" (p. 360).

"The appearance of anything is called a semblance (hsiang). When it has physical form, it is called an object. When we regulate and use it, this is called law. And when benefit arises from it in external and internal matters, so that the people all use it, it is called divine" (pp. 372-373).

That is, from the emblems (i.e., hexagrams) which the Sage has drawn to represent the things of the universe, he makes the utensils and laws that are used by the people. Therefore:

"Heaven produced the spirit-like things, and the Sages patterned themselves on them. Heaven and Earth have their transformations, and the Sages imitated them. Heaven suspends its emblems (i.e., stars, sun, moon, etc.) from which are seen good and bad fortune, and the Sages made semblances (hsiang) of them" (p. 374).

1 A certain Chinese author writes: "An Immortal said: 'In playing chess, there is no infallible way of winning, but there is an infallible way of not losing.' He was asked what this infallible way could be, and replied: 'It is not to play chess.' For the playing of chess constitutes movement, and when there is movement there must result bad fortune as well as good, and consequent occasion for repentence or regret."
Things in the universe are ever in a state of flux and change, and the *I Ching* serves to represent these changes. Appendix III says again:

"The lines (of the hexagrams) serve to imitate all the movements taking place beneath the sky" (p. 387).

"The *I* is a book which cannot be put far away. Its method (of teaching) is that of frequent changing (of its lines). They move and change without staying (in one place), flowing about into any one of the six places of the hexagram. They ascend and descend, ever inconstant. The strong and weak lines change places, so that an invariable and compendious rule cannot be derived from them. It must vary as their changes indicate" (p. 399).

Because of this constant movement, the Appendices often make references to what is 'timely' (*shih*時). And because in their changes things must move from one extreme to the other, there is often reference to what is called 'central' or 'the mean' (*chung*中). The noted *I Ching* scholar, Hui Tung (1697-1758), points out how the word 'timely' is used in Appendix I twenty-four times and in Appendix II six times; while the word 'central' occurs in Appendix I thirty-five times, and in Appendix II thirty-six times. The word 'timely' is used in many ways, such as waiting for what is timely, the timely movement, the timely completion, the timely change, the timely use, the timely meaning, the timely development, the timely release, and the timely standard. The word 'central' or 'mean' is also variously used in such phrases as the proper mean, the great mean, the central *Tao*, conduct according to the mean, the hard and the soft mean, etc.; while in one place (commentary of Appendix I on hexagram 4), the terms 'timely' and 'central' are united in one phrase. He also points out how these terms are also used in other early Confucian writings. Thus we see that in the *I* Appendices these terms, already of long standing in Confucianism (especially in the *Chung Yung*), are given a metaphysical meaning and that in the usage of these, as well as other expressions, Appendices I and II show certain similarities to that work.

Applying the principle that everything that reaches one extreme must revert to the other, the *I* Appendices offer mankind with ways of dealing with affairs, similar to those outlined in the *Lao-tzu*. Appendix I says:

"It is the way of Heaven to send down its beneficial influences below, where they are brilliantly displayed. It is the way of Earth, lying low, to send its influences upward. It is the way of Heaven to diminish the full and augment the humble. It is the way of Earth to overthrow the full and replenish the humble. Spiritual beings inflict calamity on the full and bless the humble. It is the way of man to hate the full and love the humble. What is humble is yet

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1 *Cf.* the *I Shang Shih Chung Shuo*, in his *I Han Hsiêh*, chüan 7, p. 4.
honored and brilliant. It is low but no man can pass beyond it. Thus the Superior Man reaches a good conclusion” (pp. 226).

And Appendix III:

“Tolling laboriously yet humbly, the Superior Man will have good fortune in the end. The Master (i.e., Confucius) said: ‘He toils but does not boast of it; he achieves but takes no merit to himself from it: this is the height of generous goodness.’ He was speaking here of the person who though having merit, puts himself below others. The virtue of the humble is overflowing, and his manners are respectful. Being most respectful, he is able to preserve his position” (pp. 362-363). Again:

“He who keeps danger in mind will rest safe in his seat; he who keeps ruin in mind will preserve his interests secure; he who sets the danger of disorder before him will maintain good order. Therefore the Superior Man, resting in safety, does not forget danger; resting in security, does not forget disaster; and when having good government, does not forget disorder. Thus his person is kept safe and his country is preserved. The I (hexagram 12) says: ‘He perishes! He perishes! (If he thinks always on this) he will be as safe if bound to a clump of bushy mulberry trees’” (pp. 391-392).

Here it is evident that the I Appendices are borrowing from the doctrines of the Lao-tzu.

Yet these methods for dealing with things in the world are only similar to, but not identical with, those in the Lao-tzu. The latter work advocates that extremes be synthesized so as to form a new blend or harmony, whereas the I Appendices simply advocate the taking of the mean or middle way between these two extremes. When the Lao-tzu says, for example: “Great skill is like clumsiness,” this great or absolute skill is not something at a point midway between skill and clumsiness (meaning by this the skill that is ordinarily thought of when we speak of skill, and which, because is is not kept within bounds, may meet disaster). Rather it is a blend derived from the combination of ordinary skill with clumsiness.” The I Appendices, on the other hand, urge only to take the mean between the extremes (the Confucian doctrine of the mean), and in this respect remain Confucian documents.

As already seen, the position and relation of man and woman in the society of that time are extended, in the Appendices, by analogy to ch’ien and k’un. On the other hand, once the position and relationship of ch’ien and k’un in the universe have been established in the Appendices, they serve as a metaphysical interpretation of the relationship between man and woman in the actual world. Thus in Appendix 1:

“In chia jen 家 人* the woman has her right place within, and the man his right place outside. The correctness of position of man

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1 See above, p. 185.

* People of the household,” the name of hexagram 37.—Tr.
and woman is the great principle of Heaven and Earth. In chia jen we have the idea of an authoritative ruler, that is, parental authority. When the father is father, the son, son; when the elder brother is elder brother, and the younger brother is younger brother; when husband is husband and wife is wife: then the way of the family is correct. When it is correct, all under Heaven will be established” (p. 242).

In this passage, the metaphysical support of the great principle of Heaven and Earth is brought forward to support the proper relationship that should exist between man and wife. Again Appendix III says:

“Heaven is lofty and honorable, Earth is low, and ch’ien and k’un are firmly fixed in this. Their lowliness and loftiness serve to display honorable and humble (social) position” (p. 348).

Honorable and humble position in society thus become things as natural as are the loftiness of Heaven and lowliness of Earth.

In addition to this, Appendix II, while describing the sixty-four hexagrams, points out how each can be used as a model by man:

“Heaven, in its motion, is vigorous. The Superior Man, in accordance with this, nerves himself to ceaseless activity” (p. 267).

“The power of Earth is denoted by k’un. The Superior Man, in accordance with this, supports things with his broad virtue” (p. 268).

Here man can apply the meaning of the hexagrams to self-cultivation. Again:

“Heaven above and a marsh below form t’ai 塗 (No. 10). The Superior Man, in accordance with this, discriminates between high and low, and gives fixity to the aims of the people” (p. 280).

“The intercourse of Heaven and Earth form ts‘ai 泰 (No. 11). The sovereign, in harmony with this, through his wealth gives completion to the way of Heaven and Earth, and assists what is appropriate to them, so as to benefit the people” (p. 281).

Here the hexagrams provide models for the conduct of government and society. Appendix III says:

“In the I there are four things characteristic of the way of the Sages. We should set the highest value on its explanations to guide us in speaking; on its changes to guide our movements; on its emblems (hsiăng) for the making of utensils; and on its prognostications for our practice of divination” (pp. 367-369).

The I was originally used for divination; its words can be used as models for our own speech, and its hexagrams as models for our conduct. Appendix III gives a concrete explanation of how the emblems or hsiăng may be used as models for the making of utensils:

“Of old, when Pao Hsi¹ ruled all beneath Heaven, looking up, he contemplated the emblems (i.e., sun, moon, stars, etc.) exhibited in Heaven, and looking down, surveyed the patterns shown on Earth.

¹ i.e., Fu Hsi, one of the earliest mythical emperors.—Tr.
He contemplated the markings of birds and beasts and the suitabilities of the ground. Near at hand, in his own person, he found things for consideration, and the same at a distance, in things in general. Thereupon he first devised the eight trigrams to show fully the attributes of spirit-like intelligence (in its operations), and to classify the qualities of myriads of things. . . . On the death of Pao Hsi, there arose Shen Nung. He fashioned wood to make the share, and bent wood to make the plough handle. The advantages of ploughing and weeding were then taught to all under Heaven. The idea of this was taken, probably, from i 坤” (pp. 382-383).

I 坤, the forty-second hexagram, which means ‘advantage,’ is composed of the trigrams sun 木 above, and chen 兑 below. Sun symbolizes wind and wood, while chen symbolizes thunder and movement. Thus the hexagram i, composed of wood above and movement below, inspired the Divine Farmer, Shen Nung (one of China’s culture heroes), to invent the share and plough-handle. The same passage continues:

“They hollowed out trees to make boats; they cut others long and thin to make oars. Thus arose the benefit of boats and oars for the help of those who had no intercourse with others. They could now reach the most distant parts, and all under Heaven were benefited. The idea of this was probably taken from huan 湳” (p. 384).

Huan 湳, the fifty-ninth hexagram, is composed of the trigrams sun 木 above, symbolizing wind and wood, and k’an 震 below, symbolizing water. Thus from the hexagram huan, composed of wood over water, Huang-ti (the Yellow Emperor) is supposed to have invented boats and oars. Again:

“They harnessed oxen and yoked horses so as to draw heavy things to far-off places, thus benefiting all beneath the sky. The idea of this was taken, probably, from sui 坤” (p. 384).

Sui 坤, the seventeenth hexagram, is composed of tui 兑 above, symbolizing marshes and contentment, and chen 兑 below, symbolizing movement. Thus from the hexagram sui, composed of contentment over movement, was conceived the idea of utilizing oxen and horses for transport.

The I, in short, is a reflection in miniature of the entire universe, so that Appendix III says:

“The I is in a position of equality with Heaven and Earth, and is therefore able to give unity and order to their courses. (The Sage), looking up in accordance with it, contemplates the brilliant phenomena of Heaven, and looking down, examines the markings on Earth. Thus he knows the cause of darkness and light. He traces things to their beginning and follows them to their end. Thus he knows what can be said about death and life” (p. 353). Again:

“Wide is the I and great! If we speak of it in its farthest reaching, no limit can be set to it. If we speak of it with reference to what
is near at hand, it is quiescent and correct. If we speak of it in connection with all between Heaven and Earth, it embraces all” (p. 358).

In short, if we model our conduct upon the I, we shall fall into no error. Appendix III says again:

"Therefore what the Superior Man peacefully rests in is the order shown in the I, and the study that gives him the greatest pleasure is that of the explanations of the lines. Therefore the Superior Man, when living quietly, contemplates the emblems and studies their explanations. When in activity, he contemplates their changes and studies their prognostications. It is thus that there is help extended to him from Heaven, with good fortune and nothing that is not beneficial” (p. 351). In these lines the importance of the I is made evident.

6—The Cosmology of the Huai-nan-tzu

The book called the Huai-nan-tzu 淮南子 was written in the Former Han dynasty by the guests attached to the Court of Liu An 劉安, Prince of Huai-nan, who after becoming implicated in a plot against the throne, committed suicide in 122 B.C. This book, like the Lü-shih Ch'ŭn Ch'iu, is a miscellaneous compilation of all schools of thought, and lacks unity. Nevertheless it contains passages which explain the origin of the universe more clearly than do any earlier philosophic writings. This is because during the early period of Chinese philosophy interest was largely centered on human affairs, so that it was not until the beginning of the Han dynasty that cosmological theories assumed such fullness as found in the I Ching Appendices and in the Huai-nan-tzu. The second chapter of the latter work gives an example:

"(1) There was a beginning. (2) There was a beginning of an anteriority to this beginning. (3) There was a beginning of an anteriority even before the beginning of this anteriority. (4) There was Being. (5) There was Non-being. (6) There was ‘not yet a beginning of Non-being.’ (7) There was ‘not yet a beginning of the not yet beginning of Non-being.’

"(1) The meaning of ‘there was a beginning,’ is that there was a complex energy which had not yet pullulated into germinal form, nor into any visible shape of root and seed and rudiment. Even then in this vast and impalpable condition the desire to spring into life was apparent; but, as yet, the genera of things had not yet formed.

"(2) At the ‘beginning of an anteriority to this beginning,’ the fluid (ch'i 氣) of Heaven first descended, and the fluid of Earth first ascended. The jin and the yang united with one another, prompting and striving amidst the cosmos. They wandered hither and thither, pursuing, competing, interpenetrating. Clothed with energy and containing harmony, they moved, sifted and impregnated, each wishing to ally itself with other things, even when, as yet, there was no appearance of any created form.
"(3) At the stage, 'there was a beginning of an anteriority even before the beginning of anteriority,' Heaven contained the quality of harmony, but had not, as yet, descended; Earth cherished the vivifying fluid (ch'i), but had not, as yet, ascended. There was a void, still, desolate, vapory, without similitude. The vitalizing fluid floated about without destination.

"(4) 'There was Being' speaks of the coming of creation. The nuclei and embryos, generic forms such as roots, stems, tissues, twigs and leaves of variegated hues, appeared. Butterflies and insects flew hither and thither; insects crawled about. This was a stage of movement with the breath of life everywhere. At this stage things could be felt, grasped, seen, followed, counted and distinguished.

"(5) The state of Non-being was so called because when it was gazed on, no form was seen; when the ear listened, there was no sound; when the hand grasped, there was nothing tangible; when gazed at afar, it was illimitable. It was limitless space, profound and a vast void, a quiescent subtle mass of immeasurable translucency.

"(6) The state of 'there was not yet a beginning of Non-being' wrapped up Heaven and Earth, shaping and forging the myriad things of creation. There was an all-penetrating impalpable complexity, profoundly vast and all-extending. Nothing extended beyond it, yet even the minutest hair and sharpest point could not be within it. It was a space uncompassed by any wall, and it produced the basis of Being and Non-being.

"(7) In the period of 'there was not yet a beginning of the not yet beginning of Non-being,' Heaven and Earth had not yet split apart, the yin and the yang had not yet become differentiated, the four seasons were not yet separated, and the myriad things had not yet come to birth. Vast-like, even and quiet; still-like, clear and limpid; forms were not yet visible. It was like light in the midst of Non-being which retreats and is lost sight of" (pp. 31-33).

Again (ch. 3):

"When Heaven and Earth did not yet have form, there was a state of amorphous formlessness. Therefore this is termed the Great Beginning (t'ai shih 太始). This Great Beginning produced an empty extensiveness, and this empty extensiveness produced the cosmos. The cosmos produced the primal fluid (yuan ch'i 元氣), which had its limits. That which was clear and light collected to form Heaven. That which was heavy and turbid congealed to form Earth. The union of the clear and light was especially easy, whereas the congealing of the heavy and turbid was particularly difficult, so that Heaven was formed first and Earth afterward.

"The essences of Heaven and Earth formed the yin and the yang, and the concentrated essences of the yin and yang formed the four seasons. The scattered essences of the four seasons formed the myriad things. The hot force of yang, being accumulated for a long
time, produced fire, and the essence of fire formed the sun. The
cold force of yin, being accumulated for a long time, produced water,
and the essence of water formed the moon. The refined essence of the
excess fluid of the sun and moon formed the stars and planets. Heaven
received unto itself the sun, moon, stars and planets, while Earth
received water, rivers, soil and dust.

"Formerly Kung Kung contended with Chuan Hsü to be
Emperor and, blundering in his rage against Mount Pu-chou,
snapped the pillar of Heaven (at the northwestern corner) and the
sustainer of Earth (at the southeastern corner). Hence Heaven dips
downwards to the north-west, so that sun, moon, stars and planets
travel toward that quarter. The Earth, on the other hand, cannot
fill up the south-east, so that water, rivers, soil and dust flow in
that direction."

"The way of Heaven is to be round, while the way of Earth is to
be square. Squareness dominates darkness, while roundness
dominaates light. Light is an ejection of fluid, and therefore fire is
bright externally. Darkness is that which absorbs fluid, and therefore
water is bright internally. That which ejects fluid, gives forth. That
which absorbs fluid, transforms. Therefore yin gives forth and yang
transforms.

"Among the irregular fluids of Heaven and Earth, that which
is angry forms wind. Among the united fluids of Heaven and Earth,
that which is in harmony forms rain. Yin and yang interact on one
another and create thunder; excite each other and make thunder-claps;
become confusedly mixed and make mist. When the yang fluid is
dominant, it scatters (this mist) to make rain and dew. When the yin
fluid is dominant, it conceals it to make frost and snow. Hence the
furred and feathered classes of creatures, and those that fly and walk,
pertain to yang; while the armored, scaled and hibernating classes of
creatures pertain to yin.

"The sun is the lord of yang, and so in spring and summer the
multitudes of quadrupeds shed (their hair). At the solstices of the
sun the tailed and ordinary deer lose (their horns). The moon is the
source of yin. Hence when the moon wanes the brains of fish become
smaller, while when the moon is new snails and clams draw in. Fire
floats upward, while water flows downward. Therefore birds fly
aloft, while fish move below. Different classes of creatures influence
one another, and the root and topmost branches (of a tree) respond
to one another. Therefore when a yang sui 陽燧 (a kind of mirror)
is put under the sun, it becomes hot and creates fire. When a yang chu
方舘 (another kind of mirror) is put under the moon, it becomes moist
and forms water. When the tiger roars, the valley wind comes.
When the dragon arises, great clouds appear. When unicorns fight,

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1 This ingeniously explains why the heavenly bodies apparently move westward,
and why the great rivers in China in general flow eastward.—Tk.
the sun and moon are eclipsed. When whales die, comets come forth. When silkworms produce their silk, the string of the shang note (in the Chinese scale) breaks. When shooting stars descend, the great seas make inundations” (ch. 3, pp. 1-3).

This passage gives a unified system of cosmology to explain how Heaven, Earth and all created things came into being. It is curiously interrupted in the middle by the myth of K'ung K'ung struggling with Chuan Hsü to be Emperor, a section quite disconnected from the remainder of the passage, and probably an interpolation made by another visitor of Prince Huai-nan who belonged to a different school.

The Huai-nan-ťźŭ also touches upon the relation and position of man in the cosmos, as in Chapter VII:

"Of old, before Heaven and Earth even existed, there were only images and no physical shapes, profound, opaque, vast, immobile, impalpable and still. There was a haziness, infinite, unfathomable, abysmal, a vasty dcpp to which no one knew the door. Then two divinities were born together, supervising Heaven and regulating Earth. Deep-like indeed! No one could see where they ended. Great-like indeed! No one knew where they ceased. Thereupon they divided into the yin and the yang, and separated to the eight extremes (of the compass). Hard and soft mutually completing each other, the myriad things acquired form. The murky fluid went to form reptiles, and the finer essence to form man. Hence what is spiritual belongs to Heaven, and what is physical belongs to Earth. When the spiritual returns to its door, and the physical reverts to its root, how can I continue to exist? . . . .

"The spiritual is what is received from Heaven, while the form and body are what are drawn from Earth. Hence the saying: ‘Oneness produced duality. Duality evolved into trinity, and trinity evolved into the ten thousand things. The ten thousand things support the yin and embrace the yang. It is on the blending of the breaths (of the yin and the yang) that their harmony depends." Therefore it is said: ‘In one month there is an embryo; in two months it has skin; in the third and fourth it has tissue and more definite shape; in the fifth there is muscle, and in the sixth bone; it is completed in the seventh; moves in the eighth; is active in the ninth; and is born in the tenth.’ The bodily form being complete, the five viscera have form. Hence the lungs regulate the eye; the kidneys regulate the nose; the gall the mouth; and the liver the ear. The senses are the outward, and the viscera the inward regulators. Their opening and closing, expansion and contraction, each has its fixed rule. Hence the roundness of the head imitates Heaven, and the squareness of the foot imitates Earth."

* Cf. the Lao-ťźŭ, ch. 42.—Tr.
"Heaven has the four seasons, Five Elements, nine divisions, and three hundred and sixty days. Man likewise has four limbs, five viscera, nine orifices, and three hundred and sixty joints. Heaven has wind, rain, cold and heat, and man likewise has (the qualities of) accepting and giving, joy and anger. Therefore the gall corresponds to clouds, the lungs to vapor, the spleen to wind, the kidneys to rain, and the liver to thunder. Thus man forms a trinity with Heaven and Earth, and his mind is the master. Therefore the ears and eyes are as the sun and moon, and the humors of the blood as wind and rain. In the sun there is a bird standing on three legs, and in the moon a three-legged toad. Were the sun and moon to miss their course, there would be an eclipse and loss of light. Should wind and rain fail their proper time, there would arise disaster and calamity. Should the five planets fail in their course, continents and countries would suffer calamity.

"The Way (Tao) of Heaven and Earth is most great and boundless; nevertheless they conserve their brilliant display and husband their spirit-like intelligence. How then can man’s ears and eyes work long without rest? How can his spirit ever speed on, without coming to exhaustion?" (pp. 58-60).

In this passage, Heaven and Earth are described as a macrocosm, and man as a microcosm. Again (ch. 14):

"Pervading Heaven and Earth, in confused Unwrought Simplicity, with nothing created: this is called the Great Oneness (t’ai i). All things issuing from this Oneness, each becomes differentiated. Insects, fish, birds and quadrupeds: these are the classifications of creatures. They are classified according to their varieties, and divided according to their groups, their natures and capacities being different, but all having physical embodiment. Cut off one from the other, they are divided each into its own particularity, and none can return to the common source. Hence moving, they are said to be animate, and at death they are said to be worn out. They are all creatures. They are not those that are not created, but those that create things. That which creates things is not amidst things. If we look back to antiquity, to the Great Beginning, man was there born out of Non-being to assume form in Being. Having form, he was regulated by things. But he who is able to revert to that state out of which he was born, so as to be as if he had never had physical form, is called the True Man (chen jen). The True Man is he who is as if he had not yet separated from the Great Oneness" (ch. 14, p. 1).

Here is mysticism of the type that takes union of the individual with the universe as the highest state.

1 i.e., the nine heavens that are mentioned elsewhere in the Hsui-nan-tzu (ch. 3), consisting of the eight compass points, and the center as ninth.—Tr.
CHAPTER XVI

CONFUCIAN DISCUSSIONS ON THE SIX DISCIPLINES, AND THE ULTIMATE TRIUMPH OF CONFUCIANISM

1—Confucian Discussions on the Six Disciplines

A number of texts were used by Confucius for teaching purposes, comprising what I have already described as the Six Disciplines or Classics: the Shih, or Book of Poetry; Shu, or Book of History; Li, or Book of Rites; Yüeh, or Music; Ch’un Ch’iu, or Spring and Autumn Annals, and I, or Book of Changes. But in his time the term, ‘Six Disciplines’ (liu i 六藝), was not yet in use, nor had any general statements appeared describing their merits as a group. It was only toward the latter years of the Warring States period that such statements appeared, as for example in the Hsün-tzŭ (ch. 1):

“The Shu records political events. The Shih establishes the standard of harmony. The Li sets forth the rules governing great distinctions, and is the regulator of social classes. . . . The reverence and elegance of the Li, the harmony of the Yüeh, the comprehensiveness of the Shih and Shu, and the subtleties of the Ch’un Ch’iu are the epitome of all creation” (pp. 36-37).

In this passage, all the Six Disciplines save the I Ching are mentioned. Though Confucius may have used the I Ching’s moral teachings in his instruction, it is probable that he more frequently referred to the Shih, Shu, Li and Yüeh. Mencius never once mentions the I, and though Hsün Tzŭ does refer to it, he never does so in the passages in which he makes general statements concerning the value of the other classics. From this it would seem that though Hsün Tzŭ and the earlier Confucians may have used the I Ching in their teachings, they nevertheless regarded it as definitely less important than the Shih, Shu, Li, Yüeh and Ch’un Ch’iu. Only after Hsün Tzŭ’s time did the Confucianists begin to refer to the I Ching with increasing frequency, and not till then did it become equal in importance to the other classics. The Chuang-tzŭ (ch. 33) says, for example:

“The Shih describes motives; the Shu describes events; the Li directs conduct; the Yüeh secures harmony. The I shows the principles of the yin and yang. The Ch’un Ch’iu shows distinctions and duties (p. 439).
And the *Li Chi* (ch. 23) states:

"On entering a country, its teachings may be known. If its people are gentle and accommodating, sincere and honest, their teaching has been that of the *Shih*. If they have a wide comprehension and know what is remote and old, their teaching has been that of the *Shu*. If they are large-hearted and generous, indulgent and beneficent, their teaching has been that of the *Yüeh*. If they are pure and calm, refined and subtle, their teaching has been that of the *I*. If they are respectful and modest, earnest and attentive, their teaching has been that of the *Li*. If they are able to use their language carefully and to classify historical events correctly, their teaching has been that of the *Ch'ün Ch'iu*. Therefore when the teaching of the *Shih* has been abused, there results a stupid simplicity. When that of the *Shu* has been abused, there results duplicity. When that of the *Yüeh* has been abused, there is wastefulness. When that of the *I* has been abused, there results violation of reason. When that of the *Li* has been abused, there results an over elaboration of ceremony. When that of the *Ch'ün Ch'iu* has been abused, there is insubordination" (p. 255).

The *Huai-nan-tzu* states likewise:

".....The Six Disciplines are different in kind, yet all are the same in principle. Gentleness and kindness, accommodation and beneficence: these are the influence of the *Shih*. Simplicity and purity, sincerity and honesty: these are the teachings of the *Shu*. Clear-sightedness and logical comprehension: these are the meanings of the *I*. Respectfulness and modesty, veneration to others and humbleness: these are what are brought about by the *Li*. Magnanimity and simple ease: these are the transformations wrought by the *Yüeh*. The ability to make criticisms and argue about ideas: these are the results of the detailed analysis of the *Ch'ün Ch'iu*. Therefore when the teaching of the *I* has been abused, demons appear. When that of the *Yüeh* has been abused, there is dissoluteness. When that of the *Shih* has been abused, there results a stupid simplicity. When that of the *Shu* has been abused, there is pedantry. When that of the *Li* has been abused, there is envy. When that of the *Ch'ün Ch'iu* has been abused, there is slander. These six (disciplines), the Sage uses in co-ordination, and regulates according to their different merits" (ch. 20, p. 9).

The Han Confucianist, Tung Chung-shu (179?-104? B.C.), writes in his *Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu* (ch. 1):

"The prince knows that he who is in power cannot by evil methods make men submit to him. Therefore he chooses the Six Disciplines through which to develop the people. The *Shih* and *Shu* make orderly their aims. The *Li* and *Yüeh* purify their fine qualities. The *I* and *Ch'ün Ch'iu* illumine their knowledge. These six teachings are all great, and at the same time each has that in which it stands pre-eminent. The *Shih* describes aims, and therefore is pre-eminent for
its unspoiled naturalness. The Li regulates distinctions, and therefore is pre-eminent in its decorative qualities. The Yüeh intones virtue, and therefore is pre-eminent in its influencing power. The Shu records achievements, and therefore is pre-eminent concerning events. The I takes Heaven and Earth as its bases, and therefore is pre-eminent in calculating probabilities. The Ch'ün Chi'iu rectifies right and wrong, and therefore stands pre-eminent in ruling men” (chuan 1, p. 24).

Also Ssū-ma Ch'ien states in his autobiography in the Shih Chi:

"The I records (the movements of) Heaven and Earth, the yin and the yang, the four seasons, and the Five Elements, and therefore stands pre-eminent in describing the mutations (of the universe). The Li correlates and regulates the classes of mankind, and therefore stands pre-eminent in the field of human conduct. The Shu records the affairs of the early kings, and is therefore pre-eminent in the field of government. The Shih contains records of mountains and rivers, valleys, birds and beasts, grasses and trees, and the male and female of the furred and feathered kind, and therefore is pre-eminent in its influencing power. The Yüeh is that whereby the feeling of joy is established, and therefore is pre-eminent in its harmonizing power. The Ch'ün Chi'iu distinguishes between right and wrong, and therefore stands pre-eminent in ruling men” (ch. 130, p. 9).

Finally, the I-wen Chih in the Ch'ien Han Shu states:

"As to the cultural value of the Six Disciplines, the Yüeh is intended to harmonize the (human) spirit, and is the manifestation of benevolence; the Shih is intended to rectify words, and is the practice of justice; the Li is intended to make clear the rules of bodily conduct, and the meaning here is so obvious that there is no need for an interpretive symbol; the Shu is intended to broaden one's information, and is the practice of wisdom; the Ch'ün Chi'iu is intended to pass moral judgments on events, and is the symbol of faithfulness. These five are the way of the five enduring virtues; they mutually support each other. The I is the source of all. Therefore it is said: 'When the I is not revealed, the activities of ch'ien and k'un are almost suspended.' This means that the I ends and begins with Heaven and Earth. But the other five teachings change in each period, just as the Five Elements succeed each other, one or another controlling affairs in each successive period” (Aids, p. 60).

Almost all of these passages about the classics are written by later Confucianists, and in them the term, 'Six Disciplines,' first becomes definitely established. At times, however, the classics were also spoken of as the Six Teachings (liu hsiêh 六家), as in the chapter in the Ch'ien Han Shu which describes the Confucian school:

"The Confucians of old studied widely the literature of the Six Disciplines. It was through these Six Teachings, which are the

1 Cf. I Ching, p. 377.—Tr.
texts of kingly teaching, that the former Sages made evident the way of Heaven, rectified human relationships, and brought to actuality the completed laws for perfect government" (ch. 88, p. 1).

The same chapter continues: "At this time the Confucians first devoted themselves to classical studies" (p. 3). The term, 'classical studies' (ching hsūh 經 學), here means the study of the Six Teachings or Six Disciplines.

It was when Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.) of the Han dynasty carried out (probably in 136 B.C.) the plan of the noted Confucianist, Tung Chung-shu, who asked that 'all not within the field of the Six Disciplines or the arts of Confucius, should be cut short and not allowed to progress further,' that Chinese thought became largely centered around Confucianism; while at the same time the teachings of the Confucianist school became definitely confined to those of the classics. From Tung Chung-shu's time down to that of the reformer, K'ang Yu-wei (1858-1927), most Chinese thinkers have endeavored to make the classics the foundation for their ideas (no matter how novel), since they have known full well that only in this way could they gain approval for them from the general public. Though the study of the classics has been undergoing constant modifications, yet the spirit of each age has continued to find chief expression in their study. The historical changes in Chinese scholarship and thought may therefore be summarized by saying that the age extending from Confucius down to the Prince of Huai-nan (died 122 B.C.) is that of the Philosophers; while that from Tung Chung-shu down to K'ang Yu-wei has been the period of the study of the Classics.

2—CAUSES FOR THE ULTIMATE TRIUMPH OF CONFUCIANISM

The rise of the Confucian school marked the beginning of the Period of the Philosophers; its supremacy over all other schools marked the close of the period. The turbulent thought of the epoch as a whole, together with its political, social and economic background, have already been described. During the early part of the Han dynasty, a political unification of China was effected such as had hitherto been unknown, while the social and economic movements that had first begun during the Ch'un Ch'iu period, gradually crystallized into a new system. With this unification and settlement, it was natural enough that a corresponding unification of thought should occur. Both the earlier policy of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti and of his minister Li Ssu, which aimed at a unity of thought, and the latter one of Wu-ti and of his minister, Tung Chung-shu, were representative of the same historical tendency and hence were not the mere whim of one or two men.

1 Cf. p. 17.
2 Cf. ch. 2.
It is well known that when Ch’in Shih-huang created the title, ‘scholar of wide learning’ (po shih 博士), he conferred it not only upon Confucianists, but also upon scholars belonging to all other schools of thought. In view of this fact it is rather surprising to see to what an extent he utilized Confucian ideas in his political organization. The great scholar Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682) has pointed this out clearly: ‘Ch’in Shih-huang had a total of six tablets engraved with inscriptions, all giving accounts of his annihilation of the six kings (i.e., the six great states of the Warring States period), and unification of the empire. Concerning the customs of the common people, the inscription at T’ai Shan stated: ‘Man and woman (in their relations to each other) conform to the proper rites; each fulfills his duty carefully; the distinction between household and outside affairs is kept manifest; there is nothing that is impure.’ The Chieh-shih-men inscription stated simply: ‘The men delight in their agricultural labors. The women practise their regular occupations.’ And the words on the Kuei-chi inscription read: ‘Cultivation is adorned and righteousness is made manifest. When a woman who has children re-marries, she is (considered to be) disloyal to the dead (i.e., her dead husband) and unchaste. The separation between household and outside affairs is distinct, dissipation is forbidden, and men and women are restrained and pure. If a man commits adultery, he who kills him is without sin. Thus the men observe the statutes of justice. If wives abandon (their married homes) to marry (another man), their children do not consider them as mothers, and so they all transform themselves to become pure.’ ‘

‘Thus, then, although the Ch’in dynasty’s use of punishments was too extreme, its purpose of restraining the people thereby and of correcting their customs, certainly differed in no way from that of the Three Kings.’

This use by the Ch’in dynasty of Confucian doctrines, and even its Burning of the Books and prohibition of private studies, were in no way at variance with the Confucian advocacy of a single system of morality and one social code; the only difference was that the execution of these ideas was too extreme. Li Ssū and Ch’in Shih-huang, by putting an end to all private teachings, made the first step toward a unification of thought. By obliterating the various philosophic schools, Wu-ti and Tung Chung-shu took the second step toward this unification. The fact, however, that even after the Burning of the Books many schools continued to exist until well into the Han dynasty, makes the question arise as to why it was that of all these schools, Wu-ti and Tung Chung-shu should have singled out Confucianism alone to be orthodox? Is it an accident that such a

1 These tablet inscriptions appear in the Shih Chi, ch. 6, (Mm. hist., II, 142, 166, and 188 f.).—Tr.
2 Cf. his Jih Chih Lu, chüan 13, p. 2.
THE TRIUMPH OF CONFUCIANISM

man as Tung Chung-shu should have been living during the Han dynasty, and that the carrying out of his ideas by Wu-ti should have led to such a result?

Some scholars have said that Confucianism, because it advocates reverence toward prince and restraint upon subjects, has gained the support of would-be absolute monarchs; yet if this were the case, the doctrines most convenient for such rulers would be those of the Legalists rather than the Confucians. Many later rulers have, as a matter of fact, been 'outward Confucians but inward Legalists.' It is easily understandable why they should believe in Legalism, but why, in such a case, should they at the same time pretend to be Confucians?

Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that despite the fundamental changes occurring in political, social and economic conditions from the Ch'un Ch'ui period down to the early Han dynasty, there were no important mechanical developments or inventions, and hence anything like industrial progress, and therefore commercial development, was necessarily limited. The bulk of the population continued to be agricultural as before, the only difference being that men who had formerly been agricultural serfs now succeeded in becoming free peasants. Because of this, most of the people remained grouped in ancestral clans, within which they continued to cultivate their fields as formerly. As a result, the ancient patriarchal social system maintained itself without great deterioration, so that the ceremonial teachings and regulations of the past continued, in part at least, to find practical application. What only the nobles had formerly been allowed to practise, however, was now in large measure practised by the common people as well. This is explained by the fact that the common people, after their liberation, eagerly appropriated the ceremonial teachings and regulations that had once been restricted to the nobility, so as in this way to gain self-importance and to divert themselves.

Politically speaking, despite the changes made by the Ch'in and Han dynasties from the past, the Ch'in imperial house still remained the royal feudal family of early times, and even though Kao Tsu, the Han founder, arose from the common people, his form of government continued to be a hereditary monarchy. Hence in these respects, at least, the Ch'in and Han dynasties did not wholly break with the past.

Man, moreover, can never wholly detach himself from his surroundings, so that no institution can ever be newly created in its entirety. Hence when, after the Ch'in and Han unifications, it was necessary to draw up in final form the new institutions that were to be used in government and society, the services of Confucians were found necessary for their organization. For it was these Confucians who were versed in the old records and regulations, and who possessed records of every new form of political and social
institution that had appeared since the time of Confucius downward. The *Chuang-tzu* (ch. 33) says about these men:

“How perfect were the men of old! They were equal with the spiritual and intelligent, they purified the world, they cultivated all things, they harmonized the empire. Their beneficent influence extended to the masses. They understood fundamental principles and connected them together with minute regulations reaching to all points of the compass, embracing the great and the small, the fine and the coarse. Their influence was everywhere. Some of their teachings which were concretely embodied in measures and institutions, are still preserved in ancient laws and the records of the historians. Those teachings that were recorded in the *Shih, Shu, Li* and *Yüeh*, are known to most of the gentlemen and teachers of the states of Tsou and Lu”

(p. 438).

The Confucianists were thus not only versed in the former records and institutions, but were able to idealize and revivify them through their expositions and discussions, and to give them order and clarity. The other philosophic schools, on the other hand, dealt only with political or social philosophy as such, and therefore lacked the broad outlook of the Confucianists and their unified system of approach toward the concrete problems of government and society; or if these did exist among them, they were less complete than those of the Confucianist school. Hence during the ‘reconstruction period’ that followed the Ch’in and Han political unifications, these other schools were quite unable to compete with Confucianism.

Still another factor for the success of Confucianism lies in the fact that the Six Confucian Disciplines did not originally belong to any one school, but contained the germs of many types of thought. As such they could readily undergo change or elaboration, and because of this flexibility toward various types of thought, it was possible for them to combine and assimilate many different elements. For this reason the ultimate supremacy of Confucianism did not mean the absolute extinction of other schools of thought, but only their perpetuation in a modified form within the frame of the Six Disciplines. The result of such a compromise was that Confucianism on the one hand did not have to engage in a death struggle with the other schools, nor did these on the other hand have to expend all their energy in opposing Confucianism—another reason which would go far to explain the eventual Confucian triumph.

The position of classical scholarship in later Chinese thought, as a result, has been like that of a constitutional ruler. Though the ruler stands always as the ‘connecting link of a myriad generations,’ yet his policy of government must as certainly ever change

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1 i.e., of the Confucianists. Tsou and Lu were the respective states of Mencius and Confucius.—Tr.
with the succession of his privy councillors. Present-day China, since her contact with the West, has in her social, political and economic life once more been undergoing fundamental changes. And with these changes the study of the Classics, which for two thousand years has held a dominant position in Chinese thought, has for the first time suffered revolution and been forced to abdicate. At the same time the Chinese thought of the future is assuming a new aspect.
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the traditional chronology prior to Confucius, see p. xx.