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THE

SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

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THE

SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

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THE

SACRED BOOKS OF CHINA

THE TEXTS OF TÂOISM

TRANSLATED BY

JAMES LEGGE

PART I

THE TÂO TEH *K*ING

THE WRITINGS OF *K*WANG-ʒZE

BOOKS I—XVII

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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CORRIGENDUM ET ADDENDUM.

On page 58, for the third and fourth sentences of the explanatory note to Chapter XIV, substitute the following —It was but an interesting fancy of the ingenious writer, and the elaborate endeavour of Victor von Strauss to support it in 1870 has failed to make me think more favourably of it

Dr Edkins, in an article in the China Review for July and August, 1884, takes a different view of the chapter He reads the monosyllables Î, Hî, and Wei according to his view of the old names of the Chinese characters, and calls them Âi, Kâi, and Mâi, considering them to be representative of one or three names of God He says —'I am inclined to find here marks of the presence of Babylonian thought We have not the original words for the first trinity of the Babylonian religion They are in the Assyrian or Semitic form Anu, Bel, Nuah In Accadian they were Ilu, Enu, Hia Of these Ilu was the supreme God, source of Chaos, in Chinese Hwun tun or Hwun lun In this chaos all forms were confounded as is the case with the Taoist chaos Bel or Enu is the word which separates the elements of chaos Nuah or Hia is the light of God which penetrates the universe, and maintains the order established by the word It was this Trinity of God, in the language of some intermediate nation, which Lâo-tsze appears to have had in view in the various passages where he speaks of the original principle of the universe in a triple form'

This reading of our chapter is not more satisfactory to me than that of Rémusat, and I am content, in my interpretation of it to abide by the aids of Chinese dictionaries and commentators of reputation who have made it their study

PREFACE.

IN the Preface to the third volume of these 'Sacred Books of the East' (1879), I stated that I proposed giving in due course, in order to exhibit the System of Tâoism, translations of the Tâo Teh *K*ing by Lâo-*ẓ*ze (sixth century B C), the Writings of *K*wang-*ẓ*ze (between the middle of the fourth and third centuries B C), and the Treatise of 'Actions and their Retributions' (of our eleventh century), and perhaps also of one or more of the other characteristic Productions of the System

The two volumes now submitted to the reader are a fulfilment of the promise made so long ago They contain versions of the Three Works which were specified, and, in addition, as Appendixes, four other shorter Treatises of Tâoism, Analyses of several of the Books of *K*wang-*ẓ*ze by Lin Hsî-*k*ung, a list of the stories which form so important a part of those Books, two Essays by two of the greatest Scholars of China, written the one in A D. 586 and illustrating the Tâoistic beliefs of that age, and the other in A D 1078 and dealing with the four Books of *K*wang-*ẓ*ze, whose genuineness is frequently called in question. The concluding Index is confined very much to Proper Names For Subjects the reader is referred to the Tables of Contents, the Introduction to the Books of *K*wang-*ẓ*ze (vol xxxix, pp. 127–163), and the Introductory Notes to the various Appendixes.

The Treatise of Actions and their Retributions exhibits to us the Tâoism of the eleventh century in its moral or ethical aspects; in the two earlier Works we see it rather as a philosophical speculation than as a religion in the ordinary sense of that term It was not till after the introduction of Buddhism into China in our first century that Tâoism began to organise itself as a

Religion, having its monasteries and nunneries, its images and rituals. While it did so, it maintained the superstitions peculiar to itself:—some, like the cultivation of the Tâo as a rule of life favourable to longevity, come down from the earliest times, and others which grew up during the decay of the *K*âu dynasty, and subsequently blossomed,—now in Mystical Speculation, now in the pursuits of Alchemy, now in the search for the pills of Immortality and the Elixir vitae, now in Astrological fancies; now in visions of Spirits and in Magical arts to control them, and finally in the terrors of its Purgatory and everlasting Hell. Its phases have been continually changing, and at present it attracts our notice more as a degraded adjunct of Buddhism than as a development of the speculations of Lâo-tze and *K*wang-tze. Up to its contact with Buddhism, it subsisted as an opposition to the Confucian system, which, while admitting the existence and rule of the Supreme Being, bases its teachings on the study of man's nature and the enforcement of the duties binding on all men from the moral and social principles of their constitution.

It is only during the present century that the Texts of Tâoism have begun to receive the attention which they deserve. Christianity was introduced into China by Nestorian missionaries in the seventh century, and from the Hsî-an monument, which was erected by their successors in 781, nearly 150 years after their first entrance, we perceive that they were as familiar with the books of Lâo-tze and *K*wang-tze as with the Confucian literature of the empire, but that monument is the only memorial of them that remains. In the thirteenth century the Roman Catholic Church sent its earliest missionaries to China, but we hardly know anything of their literary labours.

The great Romish missions which continue to the present day began towards the end of the sixteenth century, and there exists now in the India Office a translation of the Tâo Teh *K*ing in Latin, which was brought to England

by a Mr Matthew Raper, and presented by him to the Royal Society, of which he was a Fellow, on January 10th, 1788 The manuscript is in excellent preservation, but we do not know by whom the version was made It was presented, as stated in the Introduction, p 12, to Mr Raper by P. de Grammont, 'Missionarius Apostolicus, ex-Jesuita' The chief object of the translator or translators was to show that 'the Mysteries of the Most Holy Trinity and of the Incarnate God were anciently known to the Chinese nation' The version as a whole is of little value The reader will find, on pp 115, 116, its explanation of Lâo's seventy-second chapter,—the first morsel of it that has appeared in print

Protestant missions to China commenced in 1807, but it was not till 1868 that the Rev Dr Chalmers, a member of one of them, published his 'Speculations on Metaphysics, Polity, and Morality of "The Old Philosopher," Lao-Tsze' Meanwhile, Abel Rémusat had aroused the curiosity of scholars throughout Europe, in 1823, by his 'Memoir on the Life and Opinions of Lâo-Tseu, a Chinese Philosopher of the sixth century before our era, who professed the opinions commonly attributed to Pythagoras, to Plato, and to their disciples' Rémusat was followed by one who had received from him his first lessons in Chinese, and had become a truly great Chinese scholar,—the late Stanislas Julien He published in 1842 'a complete translation for the first time of this memorable Work, which is regarded with reason as the most profound, the most abstract, and the most difficult of all Chinese Literature' Dr Chalmers's translation was also complete, but his comments, whether original or from Chinese sources, were much fewer than those supplied by Julien Two years later, two German versions of the Treatise were published at Leipzig,—by Reinhold von Planckner and Victor von Strauss, differing much from each other, but both marked by originality and ability

I undertook myself, as stated above, in 1879 to translate for 'The Sacred Books of the East' the Texts of Tâoism

which appear in these volumes; and, as I could find time from my labours on 'The Texts of Confucianism,' I had written out more than one version of Lâo's work by the end of 1880 Though not satisfied with the result, I felt justified in exhibiting my general views of it in an article in the British Quarterly Review of July, 1883

In 1884 Mr F H Balfour published at Shanghai a version of 'Taoist Texts, Ethical, Political, and Speculative' His Texts were ten in all, the Tâo Teh *K*ing being the first and longest of them His version of this differed in many points from all previous versions, and Mr H A. Giles, of H M's Consular Service in China, vehemently assailed it and also Dr Chalmers's translation, in the China Review for March and April, 1886 Mr Giles, indeed, occasionally launched a shaft also at Julien and myself; but his main object in his article was to discredit the genuineness and authenticity of the Tâo Teh *K*ing itself 'The work,' he says, 'is undoubtedly a forgery. It contains, indeed, much that Lâo Tzû did say, but more that he did not' I replied, so far as was necessary, to Mr Giles in the same Review for January and February, 1888, and a brief summary of my reply is given in the second chapter of the Introduction in this volume My confidence has never been shaken for a moment in the Tâo Teh *K*ing as a genuine relic of Lâo-tze, one of the most original minds of the Chinese race

In preparing the version now published, I have used —

First, 'The Complete Works of the Ten Philosophers;'— a Sû-*k*âu reprint in 1804 of the best editions of the Philosophers, nearly all belonging more or less to the Tâoist school, included in it. It is a fine specimen of Chinese printing, clear and accurate The Treatise of Lâo-tze of course occupies the first place, as edited by Kwei Yû-kwang (better known as Kwei *K*ăn-shan) of the Ming dynasty. The Text and Commentary are those of Ho-shang Kung (Introd, p 7), along with the division of the whole into Parts and eighty-one chapters, and the titles of the several chapters, all attributed to him. Along the top of the page,

there is a large collection of notes from celebrated commentators and writers down to the editor himself.

Second, the Text and Commentary of Wang Pî (called also Fû-sze), who died A D 249, at the early age of twenty-four See Introduction, p 8

Third, 'Helps (lit Wings) to Lâo-ʒze,' by Ʒiâo Hung (called also *Z*âo-hâu), and prefaced by him in 1587. This is what Julien calls 'the most extensive and most important contribution to the understanding of Lâo-ʒze, which we yet possess' Its contents are selected from the ablest writings on the Treatise from Han Fei (Introd, p 5) downwards, closing in many chapters with the notes made by the compiler himself in the course of his studies Altogether the book sets before us the substance of the views of sixty-four writers on our short *K*ing Julien took the trouble to analyse the list of them, and found it composed of three emperors, twenty professed Tâoists, seven Buddhists, and thirty-four Confucianists or members of the Literati He says, 'These last constantly explain Lâo-ʒze according to the ideas peculiar to the School of Confucius, at the risk of misrepresenting him, and with the express intention of throttling his system,' then adding, 'The commentaries written in such a spirit have no interest for persons who wish to enter fully into the thought of Lâo-ʒze, and obtain a just idea of his doctrine I have thought it useless, therefore, to specify the names of such commentaries and their authors'

I have quoted these sentences of Julien, because of a charge brought by Mr. Balfour, in a prefatory note to his own version of the Tâo Teh *K*ing, against him and other translators 'One prime defect,' he says, though with some hesitation, 'lies at the root of every translation that has been published hitherto, and this is, that not one seems to have been based solely and entirely on commentaries furnished by members of the Tâoist school The Confucian element enters largely into all, and here, I think, an injustice has been done to Lâo-ʒze. To a Confucianist the Tâoist system is in every sense of the word a heresy, and

a commentator holding this opinion is surely not the best expositor. It is as a Grammarian rather than as a Philosopher that a member of the Jû Chiâ deals with the Tâo Teh *K*ing, he gives the sense of a passage according to the syntactical construction rather than according to the genius of the philosophy itself, and in attempting to explain the text by his own canons, instead of by the canons of Tâoism, he mistakes the superficial and apparently obvious meaning for the hidden and esoteric interpretation '

Mr Balfour will hardly repeat his charge of imperfect or erroneous interpretation against Julien, and I believe that it is equally undeserved by most, if not all, of the other translators against whom it is directed He himself adopted as his guide the 'Explanations of the Tâo Teh *K*ing,' current as the work of Lu Yen (called also Lu Ʒû, Lu Tung-pin, and Lu *Kh*un-yang), a Tâoist of the eighth century Through Mr. Balfour's kindness I have had an opportunity of examining this edition of Lâo's Treatise, and I am compelled to agree with the very unfavourable judgment on it pronounced by Mr. Giles as both 'spurious' and 'ridiculous' All that we are told of Lu Yen is very suspicious, much of it evidently false. The editions of our little book ascribed to him are many I have for more than twenty years possessed one with the title of 'The Meaning of the Tâo Teh *K*ing Explained by the TRUE Man of *Kh*un-yang,' being a reprint of 1690, and as different as possible from the work patronised by Mr Balfour

Fourth, the Thâi Shang Hwun Hsuan Tâo Teh *K*ăn *K*ing,—a work of the present dynasty, published at Shanghai, but when produced I do not know It is certainly of the Lu Ʒû type, and is worth purchasing as one of the finest specimens of block-printing It professes to be the production of 'The Immortals of the Eight Grottoes,' each of whom is styled 'a Divine Ruler (Tî *K*un)' The eighty-one chapters are equally divided for commentary among them, excepting that 'the Divine Ruler, the Universal Refiner,' has the last eleven assigned to him. The Text is everywhere broken up into short clauses, which are explained in

a very few characters by 'God, the True Helper,' the same, I suppose, who is also styled, 'The Divine Ruler, the True Helper,' and comments at length on chapters 31 to 40 I mention these particulars as an illustration of how the ancient Tâoism has become polytheistic and absurd The name 'God, the True Helper,' is a title, I imagine, given to Lu Ʒû With all this nonsense, the composite commentary is a good one, the work, evidently, of one hand One of several recommendatory Prefaces is ascribed to Wân *Khang*, the god of Literature, and he specially praises the work, as 'explaining the meaning by examination of the Text'

Fifth, a 'Collection of the Most Important Treatises of the Tâoist Fathers (Tâo Ʒû *K*ăn *K*wan *K*î Yâo)' This was reprinted in 1877 at *Kh*ang-*k*âu in *K*iang-sû; beginning with the Tâo Teh *K*ing, and ending with the Kan Ying Phien Between these there are fourteen other Treatises, mostly short, five of them being among Mr Balfour's 'Tâoist Texts' The Collection was edited by a Lû Yu, and the Commentary selected by him, in all but the last Treatise, was by a Lî Hsî-yueh, who appears to have been a recluse in a monastery on a mountain in the department of Pâo-ning, Sze-*kh*wan, if, indeed, what is said of him be not entirely fabulous

Sixth, the Commentary on the Tâo Teh *K*ing, by Wû *Kh*ăng (A D 1249–1333) of Lin *Kh*wan This has been of the highest service to me Wû *Kh*ăng was the greatest of the Yuan scholars He is one of the Literati quoted from occasionally by Ʒiâo Hung in his 'Wings,' but by no means so extensively as Julien supposes (Observations Détachées, p xli) My own copy of his work is in the 12th Section of the large Collection of the 'Yueh-yâ Hall,' published in 1853 Writing of Wû *Kh*ăng in 1865 (Proleg to the Shû, p. 36), I said that he was 'a bold thinker and a daring critic, handling his text with a freedom which I had not seen in any other Chinese scholar' The subsequent study of his writings has confirmed me in this opinion of him. Perhaps he might be characterised as an independent, rather than as a bold, thinker, and the daring

of his criticism must not be supposed to be without caution. (See Introd, p 9)

The Writings of *K*wang-tze have been studied by foreigners still less than the Treatise of Lâo-tze When I undertook in 1879 to translate them, no version of them had been published In 1881, however, there appeared at Shanghai Mr Balfour's 'The Divine Classic of Nan-hua (Introd, pp 11, 12), being the Works of Chuang Tsze, Tâoist Philosopher.' It was a 'bold' undertaking in Mr Balfour thus to commence his translations of Chinese Books with one of the most difficult of them. I fancy that he was himself convinced of this, and that his undertaking had been 'too bold,' by the criticism to which his work was subjected in the China Review by Mr Giles Nevertheless, it was no small achievement to be the first to endeavour to lift up the veil from *K*wang-tze Even a first translation, though imperfect, is not without benefit to others who come after, and are able to do better. In preparing the draft of my own version, which draft was finished in April, 1887, I made frequent reference to the volume of Mr Balfour.

Having exposed the errors of Mr Balfour, Mr. Giles proceeded to make a version of his own, which was published last year in London, with the title of 'CHUANG TZŬ, Mystic, Moralist, and Social Reformer' It was not, however, till I was well through with the revision of my draft version, that I supplied myself with a copy of his volume I did not doubt that Mr Giles's translation would be well and tersely done, and I preferred to do my own work independently and without the help which he would have afforded me In carrying my sheets through the press, I have often paused over my rendering of a passage to compare it with his, and I have pleasure in acknowledging the merits of his version The careful and competent reader will see and form his own judgment on passages and points where we differ

Before describing the editions of *K*wang-tze which I

have consulted, I must not omit to mention Professor Gabelentz's 'Treatise on the Speech or Style of *K*wang-ʒze,' as 'a Contribution to Chinese Grammar,' published at Leipzig in 1888. It has been a satisfaction to me to find myself on almost every point of usage in agreement with the views of so able a Chinese scholar

The works which I employed in preparing my version have been —

First, 'The True *K*ing of Nan-hwâ,' in 'The Complete Works of the Ten Philosophers,' which has been described above The Commentary which it supplies is that of Kwo Hsiang (Introd , pp 9, 10), with 'The Sounds and Meanings of the Characters' from Lû Teh Ming's 'Explanations of the Terms and Phrases of the Classics,' of our seventh century As in the case of the Tâo Teh *K*ing, the Ming editor has introduced at the top of his pages a selection of comments and notes from a great variety of scholars down to his own time

Second, 'Helps (Wings) to *K*wang-ʒze by Ʒiâo Hung,'— a kindred work to the one with a similar title on Lâo-ʒze, by the same author, and prefaced by him in 1588 The two works are constructed on the same lines. Ʒiâo draws his materials from forty-eight authorities, from Kwo Hsiang to himself He divides the several Books also into paragraphs, more or fewer according to their length, and the variety of subjects in them, and my version follows him in this lead with little or no change. He has two concluding Books, the one containing a collation of various readings, and the other a collection of articles on the history and genius of *K*wang-ʒze, and different passages of his Text

Third, the *K*wang-ʒze Hsueh or '*K*wang-ʒze made like Snow,' equivalent to our '*K*wang-ʒze Elucidated,' by a Lû Shû-*k*ih of Canton province, written in 1796. The different Books are preceded by a short summary of their subject-matter. The work goes far to fulfil the promise of its title

Fourth, *K*wang-ʒze Yin, meaning 'The Train of

Thought in *K*wang-ʒze Traced in its Phraseology.' My copy is a reprint, in 1880, of the Commentary of Lin Hsî-*k*ung, who lived from the Ming into the present dynasty, under the editorship of a Lû *Kh*û-wang of *K*iang-sû province The style is clear and elegant, but rather more concise than that of the preceding work. It leaves out the four disputed Books (XXVIII to XXXI), but all the others are followed by an elaborate discussion of their scope and plan

Fifth, 'The Nan-hwâ Classic of *K*wang-ʒze Explained,' published in 1621, by a Hsuan Ying or Ʒung (宣穎, 宣頴; the name is printed throughout the book, now in one of these ways, now in the other), called also Mâu-kung The commentary is carefully executed and ingenious, but my copy of the book is so incorrectly printed that it can only be used with caution Mr Balfour appears to have made his version mainly from the same edition of the work, and some of his grossest errors pointed out by Mr Giles arose from his accepting without question the misprints of his authority

Sixth, 'Independent Views of *K*wang-ʒze (莊子獨見),'—by Hû Wăn-ying, published in 1751 Occasionally, the writer pauses over a passage, which, he thinks, has defied all preceding students, and suggests the right explanation of it, or leaves it as inexplicable

It only remains for me to refer to the Repertories of 'Elegant Extracts,' called by the Chinese Kû Wăn, which abound in their literature, and where the masterpieces of composition are elucidated with more or less of critical detail and paraphrase I have consulted nearly a dozen of these collections, and would mention my indebtedness especially to that called Mêi *Kh*wan, which discusses passages from twelve of *K*wang-ʒze's books

When consulting the editions of Lin Hsî-*k*ung and Lû Shû-*k*ih, the reader is surprised by the frequency with which they refer to the 'old explanations' as 'incomplete and unsatisfactory,' often as 'absurd,' or 'ridiculous,' and he

finds on examination that they do not so express themselves without reason He is soon convinced that the translation of *K*wang-ʒze calls for the exercise of one's individual judgment, and the employment of every method akin to the critical processes by which the meaning in the books of other languages is determined It was the perception of this which made me prepare in the first place a draft version to familiarise myself with the peculiar style and eccentric thought of the author

From *K*wang-ʒze to the Tractate of 'Actions and their Retributions' the transition is great Translation in the latter case is as easy as it is difficult in the former It was Rémusat who in 1816 called attention to the Kan Ying Phien in Europe, as he did to the Tâo Teh *K*ing seven years later, and he translated the Text of it with a few Notes and Illustrative Anecdotes In 1828 Klaproth published a translation of it from the Man-châu version, and in 1830 a translation in English appeared in the Canton Register, a newspaper published at Macao In 1828 Julien published what has since been the standard version of it, with an immense amount of additional matter under the title—'Le Livre Des Récompenses et Des Peines, en Chinois et en Français, Accompagné de quatre cent Légendes, Anecdotes et Histoires, qui font connaître les Doctrines, les Croyances et les Mœurs de la Secte des Tâo-ssé'

In writing out my own version I have had before me —

First, 'The Thâi Shang Kan Ying Phien, with Plates and the Description of them,' a popular edition, as profusely furnished with anecdotes and stories as Julien's original, and all pictorially illustrated. The notes, comments, and corresponding sentences from the Confucian Classics are also abundant.

Second, 'The Thâi Shang Kan Ying Phien, with explanations collected from the Classics and Histories,'—a Cantonese reprint of an edition prepared in the *Kh*ien-lûng reign by a Hsiâ *K*iû-hsiâ

Third, the edition in the Collection of Tâoist Texts described above on p xvii, by Hsu Hsiû-teh It is decidedly Tâoistic, but without stories or pictures

Fourth, 'The Thâi Shang Kan Ying Phien *Kû*,' by Hui Tung, of the present dynasty. The Work follows the Commentary of Wû *Khăng* on the Tâo Teh *King* in the Collection of the Yueh-yâ Hall The preface of the author is dated in 1749 The Commentary, he tells us, was written in consequence of a vow, when his mother was ill, and he was praying for her recovery It contains many extracts from Ko Hung (Introduction, p 5, note), to whom he always refers by his nom de plume of Pao-phoh Ze, or 'Maintainer of Simplicity' He considers indeed this Tractate to have originated from him

I have thus set forth all that is necessary to be said here by way of preface For various information about the Treatises comprised in the Appendixes, the reader is referred to the preliminary notes, which precede the translation of most of them I have often sorely missed the presence of a competent native scholar who would have assisted me in the quest of references, and in talking over difficult passages Such a helper would have saved me much time but the result, I think, would scarcely have appeared in any great alteration of my versions

J L

OXFORD,
December 20, 1890

THE TEXTS OF TÂOISM.

THE TEXTS OF TÂOISM.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I

WAS TÂOISM OLDER THAN LÂO-ʒZE?

1 In writing the preface to the third volume of these Sacred Books of the East in 1879, I referred to Lâo-ʒze as 'the acknowledged founder' of the system of Tâoism Prolonged study and research, however, have brought me to the conclusion that there was a Tâoism earlier than his, and that before he wrote his Tâo Teh *King*, the principles taught in it had been promulgated, and the ordering of human conduct and government flowing from them inculcated.

Three Religions in China

For more than a thousand years 'the Three Religions' has been a stereotyped phrase in China, meaning what we call Confucianism, Tâoism, and Buddhism. The phrase itself simply means 'the Three Teachings,' or systems of instruction, leaving the subject-matter of each 'Teaching' to be learned by inquiry Of the three, Buddhism is of course the most recent, having been introduced into China only in the first century of our Christian era. Both the others were indigenous to the country, and are traceable to a much greater antiquity, so that it is a question to which the earlier origin should be assigned The years of Confucius's life lay between B C 551 and 478; but his own acknowledgment that he was 'a transmitter and not a maker,' and the testimony of his grandson, that 'he handed down the doctrines of Yâo and Shun (B C 2300), and elegantly displayed the regulations

of Wân and Wû (B C. 1200), taking them as his model,[1] are well known.

2 Lâo-ʒze's birth is said, in the most likely account of it, to have taken place in the third year of king Ting of the *K*âu dynasty, (B C) 604 He was thus rather more than fifty years older than Confucius The two men seem to have met more than once, and I am inclined to think that the name of Lâo-ʒze, as the designation of the other, arose from Confucius's styling him to his disciples 'The Old Philosopher' They met as Heads of different schools or schemes of thought, but did not touch, so far as we know, on the comparative antiquity of their views It is a peculiarity of the Tâo Teh *K*ing that any historical element in it is of the vaguest nature possible, and in all its chapters there is not a single proper name. Yet there are some references to earlier sages whose words the author was copying out, and to 'sentence-makers' whose maxims he was introducing to illustrate his own sentiments[1] In the most distant antiquity he saw a happy society in which his highest ideas of the Tâo were realised, and in the seventeenth chapter he tells us that in the earliest times the people did not know that there were their rulers, and when those rulers were most successful in dealing with them, simply said, 'We are what we are of ourselves' Evidently, men existed to Lâo-ʒze at first in a condition of happy innocence,—in what we must call a paradisiacal state, according to his idea of what such a state was likely to be

Peculiarity of the Tâo Teh *K*ing

When we turn from the treatise of Lâo-ʒze to the writings of *K*wang-ʒze, the greatest of his followers, we are

[1] The sixth chapter of Lâo's treatise, that about 'the Spirit of the Valley,' is referred to in Teh-ʒze (I, 1b), as being from Hwang Tî, from which the commentator Tû Tao-/ien (about A D 1300) takes occasion to say 'From which we know that Lâo-ʒze was accustomed to quote in his treatise passages from earlier records,—as when he refers to the remarks of "some sage," of "some ancient," of "the sentence makers," and of "some writer on war" In all these cases he is clearly introducing the words of earlier wise men The case is like that of Confucius when he said, "I am a transmitter and not a maker," &c' Found in Ʒiâo Hung, in loc

not left in doubt as to his belief in an early state of paradisiacal Tâoism Hwang Tî, the first year of whose reign is placed in B C 2697, is often introduced as a seeker of the Tâo, and is occasionally condemned as having been one of the first to disturb its rule in men's minds and break up 'the State of Perfect Unity' He mentions several sovereigns of whom we can hardly find a trace in the records of history as having ruled in the primeval period, and gives us more than one description of the condition of the world during that happy time [1]

I do not think that *K*wang-ʒze had any historical evidence for the statements which he makes about those early days, the men who flourished in them, and their ways His narratives are for the most part fictions, in which the names and incidents are of his own devising. They are no more true as matters of fact than the accounts of the characters in Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress are true, with reference to any particular individuals, but as these last are grandly true of myriads of minds in different ages, so may we read in *K*wang-ʒze's stories the thoughts of Tâoistic men beyond the restrictions of place and time He believed that those thoughts were as old as the men to whom he attributed them I find in his belief a ground for believing myself that to Tâoism, as well as to Confucianism, we ought to attribute a much earlier origin than the famous men whose names they bear Perhaps they did not differ so much at first as they came afterwards to do in the hands of Confucius and Lâo-ʒze, both great thinkers, the one more of a moralist, and the other more of a metaphysician When and how, if they were ever more akin than they came to be, their divergence took place, are difficult questions on which it may be well to make some remarks after we have tried to set forth the most important principles of Tâoism.

Those principles have to be learned from the treatise of Lâo-ʒze and the writings of *K*wang-ʒze We can hardly

[1] See in Books IX, X, and XII

say that the Tâoism taught in them is the Tâoism now current in China, or that has been current in it for many centuries, but in an inquiry into the nature and origin of religions these are the authorities that must be consulted for Tâoism, and whose evidence must be accepted The treatise, 'Actions and the Responses to them,' will show one of the phases of it at a much later period

CHAPTER II.

THE TEXTS OF THE TÂO TEH *K*ING AND *K*WANG-ZE SHÛ, AS REGARDS THEIR AUTHENTICITY AND GENUINENESS, AND THE ARRANGEMENT OF THEM

I. 1 I will now state briefly, first, the grounds on which I accept the Tâo Teh *K*ing as a genuine production of the age to which it has been assigned, and the truth of its authorship by Lâo-tze to whom it has been ascribed It would not have been necessary a few years ago to write as if these points could be called in question, but in 1886 Mr Herbert A Giles, of Her Majesty's Consular Service in China, and one of the ablest Chinese scholars living, vehemently called them in question in an article in the China Review for the months of March and April His strictures have been replied to, and I am not going to revive here the controversy which they produced, but only to state a portion of the evidence which satisfies my own mind on the two points just mentioned

2. It has been said above that the year B C 604 was, probably, that of Lâo-tze's birth The year of his death is not recorded. Sze-mâ *K*hien, the first great Chinese historian, who died in about B C 85, commences his 'Biographies' with a short account of Lâo-tze He tells us that the philosopher had been a curator of the Royal Library of *K*âu, and that, mourning over the decadence of the dynasty, he wished to withdraw from the world, and proceeded to the pass or defile of Hsien-ku [1],

The evidence of Sze-mâ *K*hien, the historian

[1] In the present district of Ling-pâo, Shan *K*âu, province of Ho-nan

leading from China to the west There he was recognised by the warden of the pass, Yin Hsî (often called Kwan Yin), himself a well-known Tâoist, who insisted on his leaving him a writing before he went into seclusion. Lâo-ʒze then wrote his views on 'The Tâo and its Characteristics,' in two parts or sections, containing more than 5000 characters, gave the manuscript to the warden, and went his way[1], 'nor is it known where he died' This account is strange enough, and we need not wonder that it was by and by embellished with many marvels It contains, however, the definite statements that Lâo-ʒze wrote the Tâo Teh *K*ing in two parts, and consisting of more than 5000 characters And that *Kh*ien was himself well acquainted with the treatise is apparent from his quotations from it, with, in almost every case, the specification of the author He thus adduces part of the first chapter, and a large portion of the last chapter but one His brief references also to Lâo-ʒze and his writings are numerous.

3 But between Lâo-ʒze and Sze-mâ *Kh*ien there were many Tâoist writers whose works remain I may specify of them Lieh-ʒze (assuming that his chapters, though not composed in their present form by him, may yet be accepted as fair specimens of his teaching); *K*wang-ʒze (of the fourth century B C We find him refusing to accept high office from king Wei of *Kh*û, B C 339–299), Han Fei, a voluminous author, who died by his own hand in B C 230, and Liû An, a scion of the Imperial House of Han, king of Hwâi-nan, and better known to us as Hwâi-nan ʒze, who also died by his own hand in B C 122 In the books of all these men we find quotations of many passages that are in our treatise. They are expressly said to be, many of them, quotations from Lâo-ʒze, Han Fei several times all but

Lieh-ʒze, Han Fei-ʒze, and other Tâoist authors

[1] In an ordinary Student's Manual I find a note with reference to this incident to which it may be worth while to give a place here —The warden, it is said, set before Lâo-ʒze a dish of tea, and this was the origin of the custom of tea-drinking between host and guest (see the 幼學故事尋源, ch. 7, on Food and Drink)

shows the book beneath his eyes To show how numerous the quotations by Han Fei and Liû An are, let it be borne in mind that the Tâo Teh *K*ing has come down to us as divided into eighty-one short chapters, and that the whole of it is shorter than the shortest of our Gospels. Of the eighty-one chapters, either the whole or portions of seventy-one are found in those two writers There are other authors not so decidedly Tâoistic, in whom we find quotations from the little book These quotations are in general wonderfully correct Various readings indeed there are, but if we were sure that the writers did trust to memory, their differences would only prove that copies of the text had been multiplied from the very first

Evidence of Pan Kû

In passing on from quotations to the complete text, I will clinch the assertion that *Kh*ien was well acquainted with our treatise, by a passage from the History of the Former Han Dynasty (B C 206–A D 24), which was begun to be compiled by Pan Kû, who died however in 92, and left a portion to be completed by his sister, the famous Pan *K*âo. The thirty-second chapter of his Biographies is devoted to Sze-mâ *Kh*ien, and towards the end it is said that 'on the subject of the Great Tâo he preferred Hwang and Lâo to the six *K*ing' 'Hwang and Lâo' must there be the writings of Hwang-Tî and Lâo-ʒze The association of the two names also illustrates the antiquity claimed for Tâoism, and the subject of note 1, p. 2

Catalogue of the Imperial Library of Han

4 We go on from quotations to complete texts, and turn, first, to the catalogue of the Imperial Library of Han, as compiled by Liû Hsin, not later than the commencement of our Christian era There are entered in it Tâoist works by thirty-seven different authors, containing in all 993 chapters or sections (phien) Î Yin, the premier of *Kh*ăng Thang (B C 1766), heads the list with fifty-one sections There are in it four editions of Lâo-ʒze's work with commentaries —by a Mr Lin, in four sections, a Mr Fû, in thirty-seven sections, a Mr Hsu, in six sections, and by Liû Hsiang, Hsin's own father, in four sections All these four works have since perished, but there they were in the Imperial Library before

our era began. *K*wang-ʒze is in the same list in fifty-two books or sections, the greater part of which have happily escaped the devouring tooth of time.

We turn now to the twentieth chapter of *Kh*ien's Biographies, in which he gives an account of Yo Î, the scion of a distinguished family, and who himself played a famous part, both as a politician and military leader, and became prince of Wang-*k*û under the kingdom of *K*âo in B C 279 Among his descendants was a Yo *Kh*ăn, who learned in *Kh*î 'the words,' that is, the Tâoistic writings 'of Hwang-Tî and Lâo-ʒze from an old man who lived on the Ho-side.' The origin of this old man was not known, but Yo *Kh*ăn taught what he learned from him to a Mr Ko, who again became preceptor to ʒhâo ʒhan, the chief minister of *Kh*î, and afterwards of the new dynasty of Han, dying in B C 190

5 Referring now to the catalogue of the Imperial Library of the dynasty of Sui (A D 589–618), we find that it contained many editions of Lâo's treatise with commentaries The first mentioned is 'The Tâo Teh *K*ing,' with the commentary of the old man of the Ho-side, in the time of the emperor Wăn of Han (B C 179–142) It is added in a note that the dynasty of Liang (A D 502–556) had possessed the edition of 'the old man of the Ho-side, of the time of the Warring States, but that with some other texts and commentaries it had disappeared' I find it difficult to believe that there had been two old men of the Ho-side [1], both teachers of Tâoism and commentators on our *K*ing, but I am willing to content myself with the more recent work, and accept the copy that has been current—say from B C 150, when Sze-mâ *Kh*ien could have been little more than a boy Tâoism was a favourite study with many of the Han emperors and their ladies Hwâi-nan ʒze, of whose many quotations from

The catalogue of the Sui dynasty

[1] The earlier old man of the Ho-side is styled in Chinese 河上丈人; the other 河上公, but the designations have the same meaning Some critical objections to the genuineness of the latter's commentary on the ground of the style are without foundation

the text of Lâo I have spoken, was an uncle of the emperor Wăn To the emperor *K*ing (B.C. 156–143), the son of Wăn, there is attributed the designation of Lâo's treatise as a *K*ing, a work of standard authority. At the beginning of his reign, we are told, some one was commending to him four works, among which were those of Lâo-ʒze and *K*wang-ʒze Deeming that the work of Hwang-ʒze and Lâo-ʒze was of a deeper character than the others, he ordered that it should be called a *K*ing, established a board for the study of Tâoism, and issued an edict that the book should be learned and recited at court, and throughout the country[1]. Thenceforth it was so styled We find Hwang-fû Mî (A D 215–282) referring to it as the Tâo Teh *K*ing

The second place in the Sui catalogue is given to the text and commentary of Wang Pî or Wang Fû-sze, an extraordinary scholar who died in A D 249, at the early age of twenty-four This work has always been much prized It was its text which Lû Teh-ming used in his 'Explanation of the Terms and Phrases of the Classics,' in the seventh century Among the editions of it which I possess is that printed in 1794 with the imperial moveable metal types

The work of Wang Pî

I need not speak of editions or commentaries subsequent to Wang Pî's They soon begin to be many, and are only not so numerous as those of the Confucian Classics.

6 All the editions of the book are divided into two parts, the former called Tâo, and the latter Teh, meaning the Qualities or Characteristics of the Tâo, but this distinction of subjects is by no means uniformly adhered to.

Divisions into parts, chapters, and number of characters in the text

I referred already to the division of the whole into eighty-one short chapters (37 + 44), which is by common tradition attributed to Ho-shang Kung, or 'The old man of the Ho-side' Another very early commentator, called Yen ʒun or Yen *K*un-phing, made a division into seventy-two chapters (40 + 32), under the influence, no doubt, of some

[1] See ʒiâo Hung's Wings or Helps, ch. v, p 11ᵃ

mystical considerations His predecessor, perhaps, had no better reason for his eighty-one, but the names of his chapters were, for the most part, happily chosen, and have been preserved Wû *Khăng* arranged the two parts in sixty-seven chapters (31 + 36) It is a mistake, however, to suppose, as even Mr. Wylie with all his general accuracy did[1], that Wû 'curtails the ordinary text to some extent.' He does not curtail, but only re-arranges according to his fashion, uniting some of Ho-shang Kung's chapters in one, and sometimes altering the order of their clauses.

Sze-mâ *Khien* tells us that, as the treatise came from Lâo-ʒze, it contained more than 5000 characters, that is, as one critic says, 'more than 5000 and fewer than 6000' Ho-shang Kung's text has 5350, and one copy 5590, Wang Pî's, 5683, and one copy 5610. Two other early texts have been counted, giving 5720 and 5635 characters respectively. The brevity arises from the terse conciseness of the style, owing mainly to the absence of the embellishment of particles, which forms so striking a peculiarity in the composition of Mencius and *K*wang-ʒze

In passing on to speak, secondly and more briefly, of the far more voluminous writings of *K*wang-ʒze, I may say that I do not know of any other book of so ancient a date as the Tâo Teh *K*ing, of which the authenticity of the origin and genuineness of the text can claim to be so well substantiated

II 7 In the catalogue of the Han Library we have the entry of '*K*wang-ʒze in fifty-two books or sections' By the time of the Sui dynasty, the editions of his work amounted to nearly a score The earliest commentary that has come down to us goes by the name of Kwo Hsiang's He was an officer and scholar of the Ʒin dynasty, who died about the year 312 Another officer, also of Ʒin, called Hsiang Hsiû, of rather an earlier date, had undertaken the same task, but left it incomplete, and his manuscripts coming (not, as it appears, by

The Books of *K*wang-ʒze

[1] Notes on Chinese Literature, p 173

any fraud) into Kwo's hands, he altered and completed them as suited his own views, and then gave them to the public. In the short account of Kwo, given in the twentieth chapter of the Biographies of the Jin history, it is said that several tens of commentators had laboured unsatisfactorily on *K*wang's writings before Hsiang Hsiû took them in hand As the joint result of the labours of the two men, however, we have only thirty-three of the fifty-two sections mentioned in the Han catalogue It is in vain that I have tried to discover how and when the other nineteen sections were lost In one of the earliest commentaries on the Tâo Teh *K*ing, that by Yen Jun, we have several quotations from *K*wang-tze which bear evidently the stamp of his handiwork, and are not in the current Books, but they would not altogether make up a single section We have only to be thankful that so large a proportion of the original work has been preserved Sû Shih (Jze-*k*an, and Tung-pho), it is well known, called in question the genuineness of Books 28 to 31[1]. Books 15 and 16 have also been challenged, and a paragraph here and there in one or other of the Books The various readings, according to a collation given by Jiâo Hung, are few

Importance to Tâoism of the Books of *K*wang tze

8 There can be no doubt that the Books of *K*wang-tze were hailed by all the friends of Tâoism It has been mentioned above that the names 'Hwang-Tî' and 'Lâo-tze' were associated together as denoting the masters of Tâoism, and the phrase, 'the words of Hwang-Tî and Lâo-tze,' came to be no more than a name for the Tâo Teh *K*ing. Gradually the two names were contracted into 'Hwang Lâo,' as in the passage quoted on p 6 from Pan Kû After the Han dynasty, the name Hwang gave place to *K*wang, and the names Lâo *K*wang, and, sometimes inverted, *K*wang Lâo, were employed to denote the system or the texts of Tâoism. In the account, for instance, of *K*î

[1] A brother of Shih, Sû *K*êh (Jze-yû and Ying-pin), wrote a remarkable commentary on the Tâo Teh *K*ing, but it was Shih who first discredited those four Books, in his Inscription for the temple of *K*wang-tze, prepared in 1078

Khang, in the nineteenth chapter of the Biographies of Ʒin, we have a typical Tâoist brought before us. When grown up, 'he loved Lâo and *K*wang,' and a visitor, to produce the most favourable impression on him, says, 'Lâo-ʒze and *K*wang *K*âu are my masters'

9 The thirty-three Books of *K*wang-ʒze are divided into three Parts, called Nêi, or 'the Inner,' Wâi, or 'the Outer,' and Ʒâ, 'the Miscellaneous' The first Part comprises seven Books, the second, fifteen, and the third, eleven 'Inner' may be understood as equivalent to esoteric or More Important The titles of the several Books are significant, and each expresses the subject or theme of its Book They are believed to have been prefixed by *K*wang-ʒze himself, and that no alteration could be made in the composition but for the worse 'Outer' is understood in the sense of supplementary or subsidiary The fifteen Books so called are 'Wings' to the previous seven Their titles were not given by the author, and are not significant of the Tâoistic truth which all the paragraphs unite, or should unite, in illustrating, they are merely some name or phrase taken from the commencement of the first paragraph in each Book,—like the names of the Books of the Confucian Analects, or of the Hebrew Pentateuch The fixing them originally is generally supposed to have been the work of Kwo Hsiang The eleven Miscellaneous Books are also supplementary to those of the first Part, and it is not easy to see why a difference was made between them and the fifteen that precede

Division of the Books into three Parts

10. *K*wang-ʒze's writings have long been current under the name of Nan Hwa *K*ăn *K*ing He was a native of the duchy of Sung, born in what was then called the district of Măng, and belonged to the state or kingdom of Liang or Wei As he grew up, he filled some official post in the city of Ʒhî-yuan,—the site of which it is not easy to determine with certainty In A D 742, the name of his birth-place was changed (but only for a time) to Nan-hwa, and an imperial order was issued that *K*wang-ʒze should thence-

The general title of *K*wang-ʒze's works

forth be styled 'The True Man of Nan-hwa,' and his Book, 'The True Book of Nan-hwa[1].' To be 'a True Man' is the highest Tâoistic achievement of a man, and our author thus canonised communicates his glory to his Book.

CHAPTER III

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THE NAME TÂO? AND THE CHIEF POINTS OF BELIEF IN TÂOISM

Meaning of the name Tâo

1 The first translation of the Tâo Teh *K*ing into a Western language was executed in Latin by some of the Roman Catholic missionaries, and a copy of it was brought to England by a Mr Matthew Raper, F R S, and presented by him to the Society at a meeting on the 10th January, 1788,—being the gift to him of P Jos de Grammont, 'Missionarius Apostolicus, ex-Jesuita' In this version Tâo is taken in the sense of Ratio, or the Supreme Reason of the Divine Being, the Creator and Governor

M Abel Rémusat, the first Professor of Chinese in Paris, does not seem to have been aware of the existence of the above version in London, but his attention was attracted to Lâo's treatise about 1820, and, in 1823, he wrote of the character Tâo, 'Ce mot me semble ne pas pouvoir être bien traduit, si ce n'est par le mot λόγος dans le triple sens de souverain Être, de raison, et de parole'

Rémusat's successor in the chair of Chinese, the late Stanislas Julien, published in 1842 a translation of the whole treatise Having concluded from an examination of it, and the earliest Tâoist writers, such as *K*wang-ʒze, Ho-kwan ʒze, and Ho-shang Kung, that the Tâo was devoid of action, of thought, of judgment, and of intelligence, he concluded that it was impossible to understand by it 'the Primordial Reason, or the Sublime Intelligence which created, and which governs the world,' and to

[1] See the Khang-hsî Thesaurus (佩文韻府), under 華.

this he subjoined the following note —'Quelque étrange que puisse paraître cette idée de Lâo-tze, elle n'est pas sans exemple dans l'histoire de la philosophie. Le mot nature n'a-t-il pas été employé par certains philosophes, que la religion et la raison condamnent, pour désigner une cause première, également dépourvue de pensée et d'intelligence?' Julien himself did not doubt that Lâo's idea of the character was that it primarily and properly meant 'a way,' and hence he translated the title Tâo Teh *King* by 'Le Livre de la Voie et de la Vertu,' transferring at the same time the name Tâo to the text of his version

The first English writer who endeavoured to give a distinct account of Tâoism was the late Archdeacon Hardwick, while he held the office of Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge In his 'Christ and other Masters' (vol ii, p. 67), when treating of the religions of China, he says, 'I feel disposed to argue that the centre of the system founded by Lâo-tze had been awarded to some energy or power resembling the "Nature" of modern speculators The indefinite expression Tâo was adopted to denominate an abstract cause, or the initial principle of life and order, to which worshippers were able to assign the attributes of immateriality, eternity, immensity, invisibility'

It was, probably, Julien's reference in his note to the use of the term nature, which suggested to Hardwick his analogy between Lâo-tze's Tâo, and 'the Nature of modern speculation' Canon Farrar has said, 'We have long personified under the name of Nature the sum total of God's laws as observed in the physical world, and now the notion of Nature as a distinct, living, independent entity seems to be ineradicable alike from our literature and our systems of philosophy[1]' But it seems to me that this metaphorical or mythological use of the word nature for the Cause and Ruler of it, implies the previous notion of Him, that is, of God, in the mind Does not this clearly appear in the words of Seneca?—'Vis illum (h e Jovem Deum) naturam

[1] Language and Languages, pp 184, 185

vocare, non peccabis.—hic est ex quo nata sunt omnia, cujus spiritu vivimus[1]'

In his translation of the Works of *K*wang-ʒze in 1881, Mr Balfour adopted Nature as the ordinary rendering of the Chinese Tâo He says, 'When the word is translated Way, it means the Way of Nature,—her processes, her methods, and her laws, when translated Reason, it is the same as lî,—the power that works in all created things, producing, preserving, and life-giving,—the intelligent principle of the world, when translated Doctrine, it refers to the True doctrine respecting the laws and mysteries of Nature' He calls attention also to the point that 'he uses NATURE in the sense of Natura naturans, while the Chinese expression wan wû (= all things) denotes Natura naturata' But this really comes to the metaphorical use of nature which has been touched upon above It can claim as its patrons great names like those of Aquinas, Giordano Bruno, and Spinoza, but I have never been able to see that its barbarous phraseology makes it more than a figure of speech[2]

The term Nature, however, is so handy, and often fits so appropriately into a version, that if Tâo had ever such a signification I should not hesitate to employ it as freely as Mr Balfour has done, but as it has not that signification, to try to put a non-natural meaning into it, only perplexes the mind, and obscures the idea of Lâo-ʒze.

Mr Balfour himself says (p xviii), 'The primary signification of Tâo is simply "road"' Beyond question this meaning underlies the use of it by the great master of Tâoism and by *K*wang-ʒze[3] Let the reader refer to the version of the twenty-fifth chapter of Lâo's treatise, and to

[1] Natur Quaest lib II, cap xlv

[2] Martineau's 'Types of Ethical Theory,' I, p 286, and his whole 'Conjectural History of Spinoza's Thought'

[3] 道 is equivalent to the Greek ἡ ὁδός, the way Where this name for the Christian system occurs in our Revised Version of the New Testament in the Acts of the Apostles, the literal rendering is adhered to, Way being printed with a capital W See Acts ix 2, xix 9, 23, xxii 4, xxiv 14, 22

the notes subjoined to it There Tâo appears as the spontaneously operating cause of all movement in the phenomena of the universe, and the nearest the writer can come to a name for it is 'the Great Tâo' Having established this name, he subsequently uses it repeatedly, see chh. xxxiv and liii In the third paragraph of his twentieth chapter, *K*'wang-tze uses a synonymous phrase instead of Lâo's 'Great Tâo,' calling it the 'Great Thû,' about which there can be no dispute, as meaning 'the Great Path,' 'Way,' or 'Course[1]' In the last paragraph of his twenty-fifth Book, *K*'wang-tze again sets forth the metaphorical origin of the name Tâo 'Tâo,' he says, 'cannot be regarded as having a positive existence, existences cannot be regarded as non-existent The name Tâo is a metaphor used for the purpose of description To say that it exercises some causation or that it does nothing, is speaking of it from the phase of a thing,—how can such language serve as a designation of it in its greatness? If words were sufficient for the purpose, we might in a day's time exhaust the subject of the Tâo Words not being sufficient, we may talk about it the whole day, and the subject of discourse will only have been a thing Tâo is the extreme to which things conduct us Neither speech nor silence is sufficient to convey the notion of it When we neither speak nor refrain from speech our speculations about it reach their highest point'

The Tâo therefore is a phenomenon, not a positive being, but a mode of being Lâo's idea of it may become plainer as we proceed to other points of his system. In the meantime, the best way of dealing with it in translating is to transfer it to the version, instead of trying to introduce an English equivalent for it

2 Next in importance to Tâo is the name Thien, meaning at first the vaulted sky or the open firmament of heaven In the Confucian Classics, and in the speech of the Chinese

[1] 大塗. The Khang-hsî dictionary defines thû by lû, road or way Medhurst gives 'road' Unfortunately, both Morrison and Williams overlooked this definition of the character Giles has also a note in loc, showing how this synonym settles the original meaning of Tâo in the sense of 'road'

people, this name is used metaphorically as it is by ourselves for the Supreme Being, with reference especially to His will and rule So it was that the idea of God arose among the Chinese fathers, so it was that they proceeded to fashion a name for God, calling Him Tî, and Shang Tî, 'the Ruler,' and 'the Supreme Ruler' The Tâoist fathers found this among their people, but in their idea of the Tâo they had already a Supreme Concept which superseded the necessity of any other The name Tî for God only occurs once in the Tâo Teh *K*ing, in the well-known passage of the fourth chapter, where, speaking of the Tâo, Lâo-tze says, 'I do not know whose Son it is, it might seem to be before God'

Usage of the term Thien

Nor is the name Thien very common We have the phrase, 'Heaven and Earth,' used for the two great constituents of the kosmos, owing their origin to the Tâo, and also for a sort of binomial power, acting in harmony with the Tâo, covering, protecting, nurturing and maturing all things Never once is Thien used in the sense of God, the Supreme Being In its peculiarly Tâoistic employment, it is more an adjective than a noun 'The Tâo of Heaven' means the Tâo that is Heavenly, the course that is quiet and undemonstrative, that is free from motive and effort, such as is seen in the processes of nature, grandly proceeding and successful without any striving or crying The Tâo of man, not dominated by this Tâo, is contrary to it, and shows will, purpose, and effort, till, submitting to it, it becomes 'the Tâo or Way of the Sages,' which in all its action has no striving

The characteristics both of Heaven and man are dealt with more fully by *K*wang than by Lâo In the conclusion of his eleventh Book, for instance, he says —'What do we mean by Tâo? There is the Tâo (or Way) of Heaven, and there is the Tâo of man Acting without action, and yet attracting all honour, is the Way of Heaven Doing and being embarrassed thereby is the Way of man The Way of Heaven should play the part of lord, the Way of man, the part of minister The two are far apart, and should be distinguished from each other'

In his next Book (par 2), *K*wang-ʒze tells us what he intends by 'Heaven '—'Acting without action,—this is what is called Heaven' Heaven thus takes its law from the Tâo 'The oldest sages and sovereigns attained to do the same,'—it was for all men to aim at the same achievement As they were successful, 'vacancy, stillness, placidity, tastelessness, quietude, silence, and non-action' would be found to be their characteristics, and they would go on to the perfection of the Tâo[1]

The employment of Thien by the Confucianists, as of Heaven by ourselves, must be distinguished therefore from the Tâoistic use of the name to denote the quiet but mighty influence of the impersonal Tâo, and to translate it by 'God' only obscures the meaning of the Tâoist writers This has been done by Mr. Giles in his version of *K*wang-ʒze, which is otherwise for the most part so good Everywhere on his pages there appears the great name 'God,'—a blot on his translation more painful to my eyes and ears than the use of 'Nature' for Tâo by Mr Balfour I know that Mr Giles's plan in translating is to use strictly English equivalents for all kinds of Chinese terms[2] The plan is good where there are in the two languages such strict equivalents, but in the case before us there is no ground for its application The exact English equivalent for the Chinese thien is our heaven The Confucianists often used thien metaphorically for the personal Being whom they denominated Tî (God) and Shang Tî (the Supreme God), and a translator may occasionally, in working on books of Confucian literature, employ our name God for it But neither Lâo nor *K*wang ever attached anything like our idea of God to it, and when one, in working on books of early Tâoist literature, translates thien by God, such a rendering must fail to produce in an English reader a correct apprehension of the meaning

There is also in *K*wang-ʒze a peculiar usage of the name Thien He applies it to the Beings whom he introduces as

[1] The Tâo Teh *K*ing, ch 25, and *K*wang-ʒze XIII, par 1

[2] See 'Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio,' vol 1, p 1, note 2

Peculiar usage of Thien in *K*wang-ʒze

Masters of the Tâo, generally with mystical appellations in order to set forth his own views Two instances from Book XI will suffice in illustration of this In par 4, Hwang-Tî does reverence to his instructor Kwang *Kh*ăng-ʒze [1], saying, 'In Kwang *Kh*ăng-ʒze we have an example of what is called Heaven,' which Mr Giles renders 'Kwang *Kh*ăng ʒze is surely God' In par 5, again, the mystical Yûn-*k*iang is made to say to the equally fabulous and mystical Hung-mung, 'O Heaven, have you forgotten me?' and, farther on, 'O Heaven, you have conferred on me (the knowledge of) your operation and revealed to me the mystery of it;' in both which passages Mr Giles renders thien by 'your Holiness'

But Mr Giles seems to agree with me that the old Tâoists had no idea of a personal God, when they wrote of Thien or Heaven On his sixty eighth page, near the beginning of Book VI, we meet with the following sentence, having every appearance of being translated from the Chinese text —'God is a principle which exists by virtue of its own intrinsicality, and operates without self-manifestation' By an inadvertence he has introduced his own definition of 'God' as if it were *K*wang-ʒze's, and though I can find no characters in the text of which I can suppose that he intends it to be the translation, it is valuable as helping us to understand the meaning to be attached to the Great Name in his volume

Mr Giles's own idea of the meaning of the name 'God' as the equivalent of Thien

I have referred above (p 16) to the only passage in Lâo's treatise, where he uses the name Tî or God in its highest sense, saying that 'the Tâo might seem to have been before Him' He might well say so, for in his first chapter he describes the Tâo, '(conceived of as) having no name, as the Originator of heaven and

The relation of the Tâo to Tî

[1] Kwang *Kh*ăng-ʒze heads the list of characters in Ko Hung's 'History of Spirit like Immortals (神仙傳),' written in our fourth century 'He was,' it is said, 'an Immortal of old, who lives on the hill of M'ung-thung in a grotto of rocks'

earth, and (conceived of as) having a name, as the Mother of all things.' The reader will also find the same predicates of the Tâo at greater length in his fifty-first chapter.

The character Tî is also of rare occurrence in *K*wang-ʒze excepting as applied to the five ancient Tîs In Bk III, par 4, and in one other place, we find it indicating the Supreme Being, but the usage is ascribed to the ancients In Bk XV, par 3, in a description of the human SPIRIT, its name is said to be 'Thung Tî,' which Mr Giles renders 'Of God,' Mr Balfour, 'One with God,' while my own version is 'The Divinity in Man' In Bk XII, par 6, we have the expression 'the place of God,' in Mr Giles, 'the kingdom of God,' in Mr Balfour, 'the home of God' In this and the former instance, the character seems to be used with the ancient meaning which had entered into the folk-lore of the people But in Bk VI, par 7, there is a passage which shows clearly the relative position of Tâo and Tî in the Tâoistic system, and having called attention to it, I will go on to other points Let the reader mark well the following predicates of the Tâo —'Before there were heaven and earth, from of old, there It was, securely existing From It came the mysterious existence of spirits, from It the mysterious existence of Tî (God) It produced heaven, It produced earth[1].' This says more than the utterance of Lâo —that 'the Tâo seemed to be before God,'—does it not say that Tâo was before God, and that He was what He is by virtue of Its operation?

No idea of Creation proper in Tâoism

3. Among the various personal names given to the Tâo are those of Ʒâo Hwâ, 'Maker and Transformer,' and Ʒâo Wû *K*ê, 'Maker of things.' Instances of both these names are found in Bk VI, parr 9, 10 'Creator' and 'God' have both been employed for them; but there is no idea of Creation in Tâoism

Again and again *K*wang-ʒze entertains the question of

[1] For this sentence we find in Mr Balfour —'Spirits of the dead, receiving It, become divine, the very gods themselves owe their divinity to its influence; and by it both Heaven and Earth were produced' The version of it by Mr Giles is too condensed —'Spiritual beings drew their spirituality therefrom, while the universe became what we see it now'

how it was at the first beginning of things Different views are stated In Bk II, par 4, he says —'Among the men of old their knowledge reached the extreme point What was that extreme point?

'Some held that at first there was not anything This is the extreme point,—the utmost limit to which nothing can be added

'A second class held that there was something, but without any responsive recognition of it (on the part of man)

'A third class held that there was such recognition, but there had not begun to be any expression of different opinions about it It was through the definite expression of different opinions about it that there ensued injury to the (doctrine of the) Tâo[1]'

The first of these three views was that which *K*wang-tze himself preferred The most condensed expression of it is given in Bk XII, par 8 —'In the Grand Beginning of all things there was nothing in all the vacancy of space, there was nothing that could be named[2] It was in this state that there arose the first existence, the first existence, but still without bodily shape From this things could be produced, (receiving) what we call their several characters That which had no bodily shape was divided, and then without intermission there was what we call the process of conferring (The two processes) continued to operate, and things were produced As they were completed, there appeared the distinguishing lines of each, which we call the bodily shape. That shape was the body preserving in it the spirit, and each had its peculiar manifestation which we call its nature'

Such was the genesis of things, the formation of heaven

[1] Compare also Bk XXII, parr 7, 8, and XXIII, par 10

[2] Mr Balfour had given for this sentence —'In the beginning of all things there was not even nothing There were no names, these arose afterwards' In his critique on Mr Balfour's version in 1882, Mr Giles proposed —'At the beginning of all things there was nothing, but this nothing had no name' He now in his own version gives for it, 'At the beginning of the beginning, even nothing did not exist Then came the period of the nameless,'—an improvement, certainly, on the other, but which can hardly be accepted as the correct version of the text

and earth and all that in them is, under the guidance of the Tâo It was an evolution and not a creation. How the Tâo itself came,—I do not say into existence, but into operation,—neither Lâo nor *K*wang ever thought of saying anything about We have seen that it is nothing material[1] It acted spontaneously of itself Its sudden appearance in the field of non-existence, Producer, Transformer, Beautifier, surpasses my comprehension. To Lâo it seemed to be before God I am compelled to accept the existence of God, as the ultimate Fact, bowing before it with reverence, and not attempting to explain it, the one mystery, the sole mystery of the universe

4 'The bodily shape was the body preserving in it the spirit, and each had its peculiar manifestation which we call its nature' So it is said in the passage quoted above from *K*wang-tze's twelfth Book, and the language shows how Tâoism, in a loose and indefinite way, considered man to be composed of body and spirit, associated together, yet not necessarily dependent on each other Little is found bearing on this tenet in the Tâo Teh *K*ing The concluding sentence of ch 33, 'He who dies and yet does not perish, has longevity,' is of doubtful acceptation More pertinent is the description of life as 'a coming forth,' and of death as 'an entering[2],' but *K*wang-tze expounds more fully, though after all unsatisfactorily, the teaching of their system on the subject

Man is composed of body and spirit

At the conclusion of his third Book, writing of the death of Lâo-tze, he says, 'When the master came, it was at the proper time, when he went away, it was the simple sequence (of his coming) Quiet acquiescence in what happens at its proper time, and quietly submitting (to its sequence), afford no occasion for grief or for joy. The ancients described (death) as the loosening of the cord on which God suspended (the life) What we can point to are the faggots that have been consumed, but the fire is transmitted elsewhere, and we know not that it is over and ended'

[1] The Tâo Teh *K*ing, ch. 14, et al

[2] Ch 50

It is, however, in connexion with the death of his own wife, as related in the eighteenth Book, that his views most fully—I do not say 'clearly'—appear We are told that when that event took place, his friend Huî-tze went to condole with him, and found him squatted on the ground, drumming on the vessel (of ice), and singing His friend said to him, 'When a wife has lived with her husband, brought up children, and then dies in her old age, not to wail for her is enough When you go on to drum on the vessel and sing, is it not an excessive (and strange) demonstration?' Kwang-tze replied, 'It is not so When she first died, was it possible for me to be singular, and not affected by the event? But I reflected on the commencement of her being, when she had not yet been born to life Not only had she no life, but she had no bodily form Not only had she no bodily form, but she had no breath Suddenly in this chaotic condition there ensued a change, and there was breath another change, and there was the bodily form, a further change, and she was born to life, a change now again, and she is dead The relation between those changes is like the procession of the four seasons,—spring, autumn, winter, and summer There she lies with her face up, sleeping in the Great Chamber[1], and if I were to fall sobbing and going on to wail for her, I should think I did not understand what was appointed for all I therefore restrained myself'

The next paragraph of the same Book contains another story about two ancient men, both deformed, who, when looking at the graves on Kwăn-lun, begin to feel in their own frames the symptoms of approaching dissolution One says to the other, 'Do you dread it?' and gets the reply, 'No Why should I dread it? Life is a borrowed thing The living frame thus borrowed is but so much dust Life and death are like day and night'

In every birth, it would thus appear, there is, somehow, a repetition of what it is said, as we have seen, took place at 'the Grand Beginning of all things,' when out of the

[1] That is, between heaven and earth

primal nothingness, the Tâo somehow appeared, and there was developed through its operation the world of things,—material things and the material body of man, which enshrines or enshrouds an immaterial spirit This returns to the Tâo that gave it and may be regarded indeed as that Tâo operating in the body during the time of life, and in due time receives a new embodiment

In these notions of Tâoism there was a preparation for the appreciation by its followers of the Buddhistic system when it came to be introduced into the country, and which forms a close connexion between the two at the present day, Tâoism itself constantly becoming less definite and influential on the minds of the Chinese people The Book which tells us of the death of *K*wang-tze's wife concludes with a narrative about Lieh-tze and an old bleached skull[1], and to this is appended a passage about the metamorphoses of things, ending with the statement that 'the panther produces the horse, and the horse the man, who then again enters into the great machinery (of evolution), from which all things come forth (at birth) and into which they re-enter (at death)' Such representations need not be characterised

The Tâo as promotive of longevity

5 Kû Hsî, 'the prince of Literature,' described the main object of Tâoism to be 'the preservation of the breath of life,' and Liû Mî, probably of our thirteenth century[2], in his 'Dispassionate Comparison of the Three Religions,' declares that 'its chief achievement is the prolongation of longevity' Such is the account of Tâoism ordinarily given by Confucian and Buddhist writers, but our authorities, Lâo and *K*wang, hardly bear out this representation of it as true of their time There are chapters of the Tâo Teh *K*ing which

[1] Quoted in the Amplification of the Sixteen Precepts or Maxims of the second emperor of the present dynasty by his son The words are from Dr Milne's version of 'the Sacred Edict,' p 137

[2] In his Index to the Tripiṭaka, Mr Bunyio Nanjio (p 359) assigns Liû Mî and his work to the Yuan dynasty In a copy of the work in my possession they are assigned to that of Sung The author, no doubt, lived under both dynasties,—from the Sung into the Yuan

presuppose a peculiar management of the breath, but the treatise is singularly free from anything to justify what Mr Balfour well calls 'the antics of the Kung-fû, or system of mystic and recondite calisthenics[1]' Lâo insists, however, on the Tâo as conducive to long life, and in *K*wang-tze we have references to it as a discipline of longevity, though even he mentions rather with disapproval 'those who kept blowing and breathing with open mouth, inhaling and exhaling the breath, expelling the old and taking in new, passing their time like the (dormant) bear, and stretching and twisting (their necks) like birds' He says that 'all this simply shows their desire for longevity, and is what the scholars who manage the breath, and men who nourish the body and wish to live as long as Phăng-tû, are fond of doing[2]' My own opinion is that the methods of the Tâo were first cultivated for the sake of the longevity which they were thought to promote, and that Lâo, discountenancing such a use of them, endeavoured to give the doctrine a higher character, and this view is favoured by passages in *K*wang-tze In the seventh paragraph, for instance, of his Book VI, speaking of parties who had obtained the Tâo, he begins with a prehistoric sovereign, who 'got it and by it adjusted heaven and earth' Among his other instances is Phăng-tû, who got it in the time of Shun, and lived on to the time of the five leading princes of *K*âu, —a longevity of more than 1800 years, greater than that ascribed to Methuselah! In the paragraph that follows there appears a Nu Yu, who is addressed by another famous Tâoist in the words, 'You are old, Sir, while your complexion is like that of a child,—how is it so?' and the reply is, 'I became acquainted with the Tâo'

I will adduce only one more passage of *K*wang In his eleventh Book, and the fourth paragraph, he tells us of interviews between Hwang-Tî, in the nineteenth year of his reign, which would be B C 2679, and his instructor Kwang *Kh*ăng-tze The Tâoist sage is not readily prevailed on

[1] See note on p 187 of his *K*wang-tze
[2] See Bk XV, par 1

to unfold the treasures of his knowledge to the sovereign, but at last his reluctance is overcome, and he says to him, 'Come, and I will tell you about the Perfect Tâo. Its essence is surrounded with the deepest obscurity, its highest reach is in darkness and silence There is nothing to be seen, nothing to be heard. When it holds the spirit in its arms in stillness, then the bodily form will of itself become correct You must be still, you must be pure, not subjecting your body to toil, not agitating your vital force—then you may live for long When your eyes see nothing, your ears hear nothing, and your mind knows nothing, your spirit will keep your body, and the body will live long Watch over what is within you, shut up the avenues that connect you with what is external,—much knowledge is pernicious I will proceed with you to the summit of the Grand Brilliance, where we come to the bright and expanding (element), I will enter with you the gate of the dark and depressing element. There heaven and earth have their Controllers, there the Yin and Yang have their Repositories Watch over and keep your body, and all things will of themselves give it vigour I maintain the (original) unity (of these elements) In this way I have cultivated myself for 1200 years, and my bodily form knows no decay' Add 1200 to 2679, and we obtain 3879 as the year B C of Kwang *Khăng*-tze's birth!

6 Lâo-tze describes some other and kindred results of cultivating the Tâo in terms which are sufficiently startling, and which it is difficult to accept In his fiftieth chapter he says, 'He who is skilful in managing his life travels on land without having to shun rhinoceros or tiger, and enters a host without having to avoid buff coat or sharp weapon The rhinoceros finds no place in him into which to thrust its horn, nor the tiger a place in which to fix its claws, nor the weapon a place to admit its point. And for what reason? Because there is in him no place of death.' To the same effect he says in his fifty-fifth chapter, 'He who has in himself abundantly the attributes (of the Tâo) is like an infant. Poisonous

Startling results of the Tâo

insects will not sting him, fierce beasts will not seize him, birds of prey will not strike him'

Such assertions startle us by their contrariety to our observation and experience, but so does most of the teaching of Tâoism What can seem more absurd than the declaration that 'the Tâo does nothing, and so there is nothing that it does not do?' And yet this is one of the fundamental axioms of the system The thirty-seventh chapter, which enunciates it, goes on to say, 'If princes and kings were able to maintain (the Tâo), all things would of themselves be transformed by them' This principle, if we can call it so, is generalised in the fortieth, one of the shortest chapters, and partly in rhyme —

'The movement of the Tâo
By contraries proceeds,
And weakness marks the course
Of Tâo's mighty deeds

All things under heaven sprang from it as existing (and named), that existence sprang from it as non-existent (and not named)'

Ho-shang Kung, or whoever gave their names to the chapters of the Tâo Teh *K*ing, styles this fortieth chapter 'Dispensing with the use (of means)' If the wish to use means arise in the mind, the nature of the Tâo as 'the Nameless Simplicity' has been vitiated, and this nature is celebrated in lines like those just quoted —

'Simplicity without a name
Is free from all external aim
With no desire, at rest and still,
All things go right, as of their will'

I do not cull any passages from *K*wang-tze to illustrate these points In his eleventh Book his subject is Government by 'Let-a-be and the exercise of Forbearance'

7. This Tâo ruled men at first, and then the world was in a paradisiacal state Neither of our authorities tells us how long this condition lasted, but as Lâo observes in his eighteenth chapter, 'the Tâo ceased to be observed' *K*wang-tze, however, gives us

The paradisiacal state

more than one description of what he considered the paradisiacal state was. He calls it 'the age of Perfect Virtue.' In the thirteenth paragraph of his twelfth Book he says, 'In this age, they attached no value to wisdom, nor employed men of ability Superiors were (but) as the higher branches of a tree, and the people were like the deer of the wild They were upright and correct, without knowing that to be so was Righteousness, they loved one another, without knowing that to do so was Benevolence, they were honest and leal-hearted, without knowing that it was Loyalty; they fulfilled their engagements, without knowing that to do so was Good Faith, in their movements they employed the services of one another, without thinking that they were conferring or receiving any gift Therefore their actions left no trace, and there was no record of their affairs'

Again, in the fourth paragraph of his tenth Book, addressing an imaginary interlocutor, he says, 'Are you, Sir, unacquainted with the age of Perfect Virtue?' He then gives the names of twelve sovereigns who ruled in it, of the greater number of whom we have no other means of knowing anything, and goes on —'In their times the people used knotted cords in carrying on their business They thought their (simple) food pleasant, and their (plain) clothing beautiful They were happy in their (simple) manners, and felt at rest in their (poor) dwellings (The people of) neighbouring states might be able to descry one another, the voices of their cocks and dogs might be heard from one to the other, they might not die till they were old, and yet all their life they would have no communication together In those times perfect good order prevailed.'

One other description of the primeval state is still more interesting It is in the second paragraph of Bk IX — 'The people had their regular and constant nature —they wove and made themselves clothes, they tilled the ground and got food This was their common faculty They were all one in this, and did not form themselves into separate classes, so were they constituted and left to their natural tendencies Therefore in the age of Perfect Virtue men walked along with slow and grave step, and with their

looks steadily directed forwards On the hills there were no footpaths nor excavated passages, on the lakes there were no boats nor dams All creatures lived in companies, and their places of settlement were made near to one another Birds and beasts multiplied to flocks and herds; the grass and trees grew luxuriant and long The birds and beasts might be led about without feeling the constraint, the nest of the magpie might be climbed to, and peeped into Yes, in the age of Perfect Virtue, men lived in common with birds and beasts, and were on terms of equality with all creatures, as forming one family,—how could they know among themselves the distinctions of superior men and small men? Equally without knowledge, they did not leave the path of their natural virtue, equally free from desires, they were in the state of pure simplicity In that pure simplicity, their nature was what it ought to be'

Such were the earliest Chinese of whom *K*wang-tze could venture to give any account If ever their ancestors had been in a ruder or savage condition, it must have been at a much antecedent time These had long passed out of such a state, they were tillers of the ground, and acquainted with the use of the loom They lived in happy relations with one another, and in kindly harmony with the tribes of inferior creatures But there is not the slightest allusion to any sentiment of piety as animating them individually, or to any ceremony of religion as observed by them in common This surely is a remarkable feature in their condition I call attention to it, but I do not dwell upon it

The decay of the Tâo before the growth of knowledge

8 But by the time of Lâo and *K*wang the cultivation of the Tâo had fallen into disuse The simplicity of life which it demanded, with its freedom from all disturbing speculation and action, was no longer to be found in individuals or in government It was the general decay of manners and of social order which unsettled the mind of Lâo, made him resign his position as a curator of the Royal Library, and determine to withdraw from China and hide himself

among the rude peoples beyond it. The cause of the deterioration of the Tâo and of all the evils of the nation was attributed to the ever-growing pursuit of knowledge, and of what we call the arts of culture It had commenced very long before;—in the time of Hwang-Tî, *K*wang says in one place[1], and in another he carries it still higher to Sui-zăn and Fu-hsî[2] There had been indeed, all along the line of history, a groping for the rules of life, as indicated by the constitution of man's nature. The results were embodied in the ancient literature which was the lifelong study of Confucius He had gathered up that literature, he recognised the nature of man as the gift of Heaven or God The monitions of God as given in the convictions of man's mind supplied him with a Tâo or Path of duty very different from the Tâo or Mysterious Way of Lâo All this was gall and wormwood to the dreaming librarian or brooding recluse, and made him say, 'If we could renounce our sageness and discard our wisdom, it would be better for the people a hundredfold If we could renounce our benevolence and discard our righteousness, the people would again become filial and kindly If we could renounce our artful contrivances and discard our (scheming for) gain, there would be no thieves nor robbers[3]'

We can laugh at this. Tâoism was wrong in its opposition to the increase of knowledge Man exists under a law of progress In pursuing it there are demanded discretion and justice Moral ends must rule over material ends, and advance in virtue be ranked higher than advance in science. So have good and evil, truth and error, to fight out the battle on the field of the world, and in all the range of time, but there is no standing still for the individual or for society Even Confucius taught his countrymen to set too high a value on the examples of antiquity The school of Lâo-tze fixing themselves in an unknown region beyond antiquity,—a prehistoric time between 'the Grand Beginning of all things' out of nothing, and the unknown commencement of societies of men,—has made no advance

[1] Bk XI, par 5 [2] Bk XVI, par 2
[3] Tâo Teh *K*ing, ch 19

but rather retrograded, and is represented by the still more degenerate Tâoism of the present day.

There is a short parabolic story of *K*wang-ʒze, intended to represent the antagonism between Tâoism and knowledge, which has always struck me as curious The last paragraph of his seventh Book is this —'The Ruler (or god Tî) of the Southern Ocean was Shû (that is, Heedless), the Ruler of the Northern Ocean was Hû (that is, Hasty), and the Ruler of the Centre was Hwun-tun (that is, Chaos) Shû and Hû were continually meeting in the land of Hwun-tun, who treated them very well They consulted together how they might repay his kindness, and said, "Men have all seven orifices for the purposes of seeing, hearing, eating, and breathing, while this (poor) Ruler alone has not one Let us try and make them for him" Accordingly they dug one orifice in him every day, and at the end of seven days Chaos died'

So it was that Chaos passed away before Light So did the nameless Simplicity of the Tâo disappear before Knowledge But it was better that the Chaos should give place to the Kosmos 'Heedless' and 'Hasty' did a good deed

9. I have thus set forth eight characteristics of the Tâoistic system, having respect mostly to what is peculiar and mystical in it I will now conclude my exhibition of it by bringing together under one head the practical lessons of its author for men individually, and for the administration of government. The praise of whatever excellence these possess belongs to Lâo himself *K*wang-ʒze devotes himself mainly to the illustration of the abstruse and difficult points

The practical lessons of Lâo-ʒze

First, it does not surprise us that in his rules for individual man, Lâo should place Humility in the foremost place A favourite illustration with him of the Tâo is water In his eighth chapter he says —'The highest excellence is like that of water The excellence of water appears in its benefiting all things, and in its occupying, without striving to the contrary, the low ground which all men dislike Hence (its way) is near to that of the Tâo.' To the same effect in the seventy-eighth

Humility

chapter —'There is nothing in the world more soft and weak than water, and yet for attacking things that are firm and strong there is nothing that can take precedence of it. Every one in the world knows that the soft overcomes the hard, and the weak the strong, but no one is able to carry it out in practice'

In his sixty-seventh chapter Lâo associates with Humility two other virtues, and calls them his three Precious Things or Jewels They are Gentleness, Economy, and Shrinking from taking precedence of others

Lâo's three Jewels

'With that Gentleness,' he says, 'I can be bold, with that Economy I can be liberal, Shrinking from taking precedence of others, I can become a vessel of the highest honour'

And in his sixty-third chapter, he rises to a still loftier height of morality He says, '(It is the way of the Tâo) to act without (thinking of) acting, to conduct affairs without (feeling) the trouble of them, to taste without discerning any flavour, to consider the small as great, and the few as many, and to recompense injury with kindness'

Rendering good for evil

Here is the grand Christian precept, 'Render to no man evil for evil If thine enemy hunger, feed him, if he thirst, give him drink Be not overcome with evil, but overcome evil with good' We know that the maxim made some noise in its author's lifetime; that the disciples of Confucius consulted him about it, and that he was unable to receive it[1] It comes in with less important matters by virtue of the Tâoistic 'rule of contraries' I have been surprised to find what little reference to it I have met with in the course of my Chinese reading I do not think that *K*wang-tze takes notice of it to illustrate it after his fashion There, however, it is in the Tâo Teh *K*ing. The fruit of it has yet to be developed

Second, Lâo laid down the same rule for the policy of the state as for the life of the individual He says in his sixty-first chapter, 'What makes a state great is its being like a low-lying, down-flowing stream,—it becomes the

[1] Confucian Analects, XIV, 36

centre to which tend all (the small states) under heaven' He then uses an illustration which will produce a smile — 'Take the case of all females. The female always overcomes the male by her stillness Stillness may be considered (a sort of) abasement' Resuming his subject, he adds, 'Thus it is that a great state, by condescending to small states, gains them for itself, and that small states, by abasing themselves to a great state, win it over to them In the one case the abasement tends to gaining adherents, in the other case, to procuring favour The great state only wishes to unite men together and nourish them, a small state only wishes to be received by, and to serve, the other Each gets what it desires, but the great state must learn to abase itself'

'All very well in theory,' some one will exclaim, 'but, the world has not seen it yet reduced to practice' So it is The fact is deplorable No one saw the misery arising from it, and exposed its unreasonableness more unsparingly, than *K*wang-tze But it was all in vain in his time, as it has been in all the centuries that have since rolled their course. Philosophy, philanthropy, and religion have still to toil on, 'faint, yet pursuing,' believing that the time will yet come when humility and love shall secure the reign of peace and good will among the nations of men

While enjoining humility, Lâo protested against war In his thirty-first chapter he says, 'Arms, however beautiful, are instruments of evil omen, hateful, it may be said, to all creatures They who have the Tâo do not like to employ them' Perhaps in his sixty-ninth chapter he allows defensive war, but he adds, 'There is no calamity greater than that of lightly engaging in war To do that is near losing the gentleness which is so precious Thus it is that when weapons are (actually) crossed, he who deplores the (situation) conquers'

There are some other points in the practical lessons of Tâoism to which I should like to call the attention of the reader, but I must refer him for them to the chapters of the Tâo Teh *K*ing, and the Books of *K*wang-tze. Its salient features have been set forth somewhat fully. Not-

withstanding the scorn poured so freely on Confucius by *K*wang-ʒze and other Tâoist writers, he proved in the course of time too strong for Lâo as the teacher of their people. The entrance of Buddhism, moreover, into the country in our first century, was very injurious to Tâoism, which still exists, but is only the shadow of its former self It is tolerated by the government, but not patronised as it was when emperors and empresses seemed to think more of it than of Confucianism It is by the spread of knowledge, which it has always opposed, that its overthrow and disappearance will be brought about ere long

CHAPTER IV

ACCOUNTS OF LÂO-ʒZE AND *K*WANG-ʒZE GIVEN BY SZE-MÂ *KH*IEN

It seems desirable, before passing from Lâo and *K*wang in this Introduction, to give a place in it to what is said about them by Sze-mâ *Kh*ien I have said that not a single proper name occurs in the Tâo Teh *K*ing. There is hardly an historical allusion in it Only one chapter, the twentieth, has somewhat of an autobiographical character It tells us, however, of no incidents of his life He appears alone in the world through his cultivation of the Tâo, melancholy and misunderstood, yet binding that Tâo more closely to his bosom

The Books of *K*wang-ʒze are of a different nature, abounding in pictures of Tâoist life, in anecdotes and narratives, graphic, argumentative, often satirical But they are not historical Confucius and many of his disciples, Lâo and members of his school, heroes and sages of antiquity, and men of his own day, move across his pages, but the incidents in connexion with which they are introduced are probably fictitious, and devised by him 'to point his moral or adorn his tale' His names of individuals and places are often like those of Bunyan in his Pilgrim's Progress or his Holy War, emblematic of their characters and the doctrines which he employs

them to illustrate He often comes on the stage himself, and there is an air of verisimilitude in his descriptions, possibly also a certain amount of fact about them, but we cannot appeal to them as historical testimony It is only to Sze-mâ *Khien* that we can go for this, he always writes in the spirit of an historian, but what he has to tell us of the two men is not much

And first, as to his account of Lâo-ʒze. When he wrote, about the beginning of the first century B C the Tâoist master was already known as Lâo-ʒze. *Khien*, however, tells us that his surname was Lî, and his name *R*, meaning 'Ear' which gave place after his death to Tan, meaning 'Long-eared,' from which we may conclude that he was named from some peculiarity in the form of his ears He was a native of the state of *Khû*, which had then extended far beyond its original limits, and his birth-place was in the present province of Ho-nan or of An-hui He was a curator in the Royal Library, and when Confucius visited the capital in the year B C 517, the two men met *Khien* says that Confucius's visit to Lo-yang was that he might question Lâo on the subject of ceremonies. He might have other objects in mind as well, but however that was, the two met Lî said to Khung, 'The men about whom you talk are dead, and their bones are mouldered to dust, only their words are left Moreover, when the superior man gets his opportunity, he mounts aloft, but when the time is against him, he is carried along by the force of circumstances[1] I have heard that a good merchant, though he have rich treasures safely stored, appears as if he were poor, and that the superior man, though his virtue be complete, is yet to outward seeming stupid Put away your proud air and many desires, your insinuating habit and wild will They are of no advantage to you,—this is all I have to tell you' Confucius is made to say to his disciples after the interview 'I know how

[1] Julien translates this by 'il erre à l'aventure' In 1861 I rendered it, 'He moves as if his feet were entangled' To one critic it suggests the idea of a bundle or wisp of brushwood rolled about over the ground by the wind

birds can fly, fishes swim, and animals run But the runner may be snared, the swimmer hooked, and the flyer shot by the arrow But there is the dragon —I cannot tell how he mounts on the wind through the clouds, and rises to heaven To-day I have seen Lâo-ʒze, and can only compare him to the dragon'

In this speech of Confucius we have, I believe, the origin of the name Lâo-ʒze, as applied to the master of Tâoism Its meaning is 'The Old Philosopher,' or 'The Old Gentleman[1]' Confucius might well so style Lî *R* At the time of this interview he was himself in his thirty-fifth year and the other was in his eighty-eighth *Khien* adds, 'Lâo-ʒze cultivated the Tao and its attributes, the chief aim of his studies being how to keep himself concealed and remain unknown He continued to reside at (the capital of) *K*âu, but after a long time, seeing the decay of the dynasty, he left it and went away to the barrier-gate, leading out of the kingdom on the north-west Yin Hsî, the warden of the gate, said to him, "You are about to withdraw yourself out of sight Let me insist on your (first) composing for me a book" On this, Lâo-ʒze wrote a book in two parts, setting forth his views on the Tâo and its attributes, in more than 5000 characters He then went away, and it is not known where he died He was a superior man who liked to keep himself unknown'

Khien finally traces Lâo's descendants down to the first century B C, and concludes by saying, 'Those who attach themselves to the doctrine of Lâo-ʒze condemn that of the Literati, and the Literati on their part condemn Lâo-ʒze, verifying the saying, "Parties whose principles are different cannot take counsel together" Lî *R* taught that by doing nothing others are as a matter of course trans-

[1] The characters may mean 'the old boy,' and so understood have given rise to various fabulous legends, that his mother had carried him in her womb for seventy two years (some say, for eighty-one), and that when born the child had the white hair of an old man Julien has translated the fabulous legend of Ko Hung of our fourth century about him By that time the legends of Buddhism about *S*âkyamuni had become current in China, and were copied and applied to Lâo-ʒze by his followers Looking at the meaning of the two names, I am surprised no one has characterized Lâo-ʒze as the Chinese Seneca

formed and that rectification in the same way ensues from being pure and still'

This morsel is all that we have of historical narrative about Lâo-ʒze. The account of the writing of the Tâo Teh *K*ing at the request of the warden of the barrier-gate has a doubtful and legendary appearance. Otherwise, the record is free from anything to raise suspicion about it It says nothing about previous existences of Lâo, and nothing of his travelling to the west, and learning there the doctrines which are embodied in his work He goes through the pass out of the domain of *K*âu, and died no one knowing where

It is difficult, however, to reconcile this last statement with a narrative in the end of *K*wang-ʒze's third Book There we see Lâo-ʒze dead, and a crowd of mourners wailing round the corpse, and giving extraordinary demonstrations of grief, which offend a disciple of a higher order, who has gone to the house to offer his condolences on the occasion. But for the peculiar nature of most of *K*wang's narratives, we should say, in opposition to *Kh*ien, that the place and time of Lâo's death were well known Possibly, however, *K*wang-ʒze may have invented the whole story, to give him the opportunity of setting forth what, according to his ideal of it, the life of a Tâoist master should be, and how even Lâo-ʒze himself fell short of it

Second, *Kh*ien's account of *K*wang-ʒze is still more brief He was a native, he tells us, of the territory of Măng, which belonged to the kingdom of Liang or Wei, and held an office, he does not say what, in the city of *Khî*-yuan *K*wang was thus of the same part of China as Lâo-ʒze, and probably grew up familiar with all his speculations and lessons He lived during the reigns of the kings Hui of Liang, Hsuan of *Khî*, and Wei of *Khû* We cannot be wrong therefore in assigning his period to the latter half of the third, and earlier part of the fourth century B C He was thus a contemporary of Mencius They visited at the same courts, and yet neither ever mentions the other They were the two ablest debaters of their day, and fond of exposing what they deemed heresy But it would only be

a matter of useless speculation to try to account for their never having come into argumentative collision.

Khien says 'Kwang had made himself well acquainted with all the literature of his time, but preferred the views of Lâo-ʒze, and ranked himself among his followers, so that of the more than ten myriads of characters contained in his published writings the greater part are occupied with metaphorical illustrations of Lâo's doctrines He made "The Old Fisherman," "The Robber *Kih*," and "The Cutting open Satchels," to satirize and expose the disciples of Confucius, and clearly exhibit the sentiments of Lâo Such names and characters as "Wei-lêi Hsu" and "Khang-sang ʒze" are fictitious, and the pieces where they occur are not to be understood as narratives of real events [1]

'But *K*wang was an admirable writer and skilful composer, and by his instances and truthful descriptions hit and exposed the Mohists and Literati The ablest scholars of his day could not escape his satire nor reply to it, while he allowed and enjoyed himself with his sparkling, dashing style, and thus it was that the greatest men, even kings and princes, could not use him for their purposes

'King Wei of *Khû*, having heard of the ability of *K*wang *K*âu, sent messengers with large gifts to bring him to his court, and promising also that he would make him his chief minister *K*wang-ʒze, however, only laughed and said to them, "A thousand ounces of silver are a great gain to me, and to be a high noble and minister is a most honourable position But have you not seen the victim-ox for the border sacrifice? It is carefully fed for several years, and robed with rich embroidery that it may be fit to enter the Grand Temple When the time comes for it to do so, it would prefer to be a little pig, but it cannot get to be so Go away quickly, and do not soil me with your presence

[1] Khang-sang ʒze is evidently the Kăng-sang *Khû* of *K*wang's Book XXIII Wei-lêi Hsu is supposed by Sze-mâ *K*ăng of the Thang dynasty, who called himself the Lesser Sze-mâ, to be the name of a Book, one, in that case, of the lost books of *K*wang But as we find the 'Hill of Wei-lêi' mentioned in Bk XXIII as the scene of Kăng-sang *Khû*'s Tâoistic labours and success, I suppose that *Khien*'s reference is to that The names are quoted by him from memory, or might be insisted on as instances of different readings

I had rather amuse and enjoy myself in the midst of a filthy ditch than be subject to the rules and restrictions in the court of a sovereign I have determined never to take office, but prefer the enjoyment of my own free will"'

Khien concludes his account of *Kwang-tze* with the above story, condensed by him, probably, from two of *Kwang's* own narratives in par 11 of Bk XVII, and 13 of XXXII, to the injury of them both Paragraph 14 of XXXII brings before us one of the last scenes of *Kwang-tze's* life, and we may doubt whether it should be received as from his own pencil It is interesting in itself, however, and I introduce it here 'When *Kwang-tze* was about to die, his disciples signified their wish to give him a grand burial "I shall have heaven and earth" he said, "for my coffin and its shell, the sun and moon for my two round symbols of jade, the stars and constellations for my pearls and jewels,—will not the provisions for my interment be complete? What would you add to them?" The disciples replied, "We are afraid that the crows and kites will eat our master" *Kwang-tze* rejoined, "Above, the crows and kites will eat me, below, the mole-crickets and ants will eat me, to take from those and give to these would only show your partiality"'

Such were among the last words of *Kwang-tze* His end was not so impressive as that of Confucius, but it was in keeping with the general magniloquence and strong assertion of independence that marked all his course

CHAPTER V

On the Tractate of Actions and their Retributions

1 The contrast is great between the style of the Tâo Teh *King* and the Books of *Kwang-tze* and that of the Kan Ying Phien, a translation of which is now submitted as a specimen of the Texts of Tâoism The works of Lâo and *Kwang* stand alone in the literature of the system What

Peculiar style and nature of the Kan Ying Phien

it was before Lâo cannot be ascertained, and in his chapters it comes before us not as a religion, but as a subject of philosophical speculation, together with some practical applications of it insisted on by Lâo himself The brilliant pages of *K*wang-ʒze contain little more than his ingenious defence of his master's speculations, and an aggregate of illustrative narratives sparkling with the charms of his composition, but in themselves for the most part unbelievable, often grotesque and absurd This treatise, on the other hand, is more of what we understand by a sermon or popular tract It eschews all difficult discussion, and sets forth a variety of traits of character and actions which are good, and a still greater variety of others which are bad, exhorting to the cultivation and performance of the former, and warning against the latter It describes at the outset the machinery to secure the record of men's doings, and the infliction of the certain retribution, and concludes with insisting on the wisdom of repentance and reformation At the same time it does not carry its idea of retribution beyond death, but declares that if the reward or punishment is not completed in the present life, the remainder will be received by the posterity of the good-doer and of the offender

A place is given to the treatise among the Texts of Tâoism in 'The Sacred Books of the East,' because of its popularity in China 'The various editions of it,' as observed by Mr Wylie, 'are innumerable, it has appeared from time to time in almost every conceivable size, shape, and style of execution Many commentaries have been written upon it, and it is frequently published with a collection of several hundred anecdotes, along with pictorial illustrations, to illustrate every paragraph seriatim It is deemed a great act of merit to aid by voluntary contribution towards the gratuitous distribution of this work[1]'

2. The author of the treatise is not known, but, as Mr. Wylie also observes, it appears to have been written during the Sung dynasty The earliest mention of it which I have met with is in the continua-

The origin of the treatise

[1] Notes on Chinese Literature, p 179

tion of Ma-twan Lin's encyclopedic work by Wang Khî, first published in 1586, the fourteenth year of the fourteenth emperor of the Ming dynasty In Wang's supplement to his predecessor's account of Tâoist works, the sixth notice is of 'a commentary on the Thâi Shang Kan Ying Phien by a Lî *Khang-ling*,' and immediately before it is a commentary on the short but well-known Yin Fû *King* by a Lû Tien, who lived 1042–1102 Immediately after it other works of the eleventh century are mentioned To that same century therefore we may reasonably refer the origin of the Kan Ying Phien

As to the meaning of the title, the only difficulty is with the two commencing characters Thâi Shang Julien left them untranslated, with the note, however, that they were 'l'abréviation de Thâi Shang Lâo *Kun*, expression honorifique par laquelle les Tâo-sze désignent Lâo-tze, le fondateur de leur secte[1]' This is the interpretation commonly given of the phrase, and it is hardly worth while to indicate any doubt of its correctness, but if the characters were taken, as I believe they were, from the beginning of the seventeenth chapter of the Tâo Teh *King*, I should prefer to understand them of the highest and oldest form of the Tâoistic teaching[2]

The meaning of the title

3 I quoted on page 13 the view of Hardwick, the Christian Advocate of Cambridge, that 'the indefinite expression

[1] See 'Le Livre des Recompense et des Peines en Chinois et en François' (London, 1835)

[2] The designation of Lâo tze as Thâi Shang Lâo *Kun* originated probably in the Thang dynasty It is on record that in 666 Kâo Tsung, the third emperor, went to Lâo-tze's temple at Po *Kâu* (the place of Lâo's birth, and still called by the same name, in the department of Fâng-yang in An-hui), and conferred on him the title of Thâi Shang Yuan Yuan Hwang Tî, 'The Great God, the Mysterious Originator, the Most High' 'Then,' says Mayers Manual, p 113, 'for the first time he was ranked among the gods as "Great Supreme, the Emperor (or Imperial God) of the Dark First Cause"' The whole entry is

至亳州尊老君爲太上元(or 玄)元皇帝

Later on, in 1014, we find *Kân* Tsung, the fourth Sung emperor, also visiting Po *Kâu*, and in Lâo's temple, which has by this time become 'the Palace of Grand Purity,' enlarging his title to Thâi Shang Lâo *Kun* Hwun Yuan Shang Teh Hwang Tî, 'The Most High, the Ruler Lâo, the Great God of Grand Virtue at the Chaotic Origin' But such titles are not easily translated

Tâo was adopted to denominate an abstract Cause, or the initial principle of life and order, to which worshippers were able to assign the attributes of immateriality, eternity, immensity, invisibility' His selection of the term worshippers in this passage was unfortunate. Neither Lâo nor *K*wang says anything about the worship of the Tâo, about priests or monks, about temples or rituals How could they do so, seeing that Tâo was not to them the name of a personal Being, nor 'Heaven' a metaphorical term equivalent to the Confucian Tî, 'Ruler,' or Shang Tî, 'Supreme Ruler' With this agnosticism as to God, and their belief that by a certain management and discipline of the breath life might be prolonged indefinitely, I do not see how anything of an organised religion was possible for the old Tâoists

Was the old Tâoism a religion?

The Tâoist proclivities of the founder of the *Kh*in dynasty are well known If his life had been prolonged, and the dynasty become consolidated, there might have arisen such a religion in connexion with Tâoism, for we have a record that he, as head of the Empire, had eight spirits[1] to which he offered sacrifices. *Kh*in, however, soon passed away, what remained in permanency from it was only the abolition of the feudal kingdom

4 We cannot here attempt to relate in detail the rise and growth of the *K*ang family in which the headship of Tâoism has been hereditary since our first Christian century, with the exception of one not very long interruption One of the earliest members of it, *K*ang Liang, must have been born not long after the death of *K*wang-tze, for he joined the party of Liû

The family of *K*ang

[1] The eight spirits were —1 The Lord of Heaven, 2 The Lord of Earth, 3 The Lord of War; 4 The Lord of the Yang operation, 5 The Lord of the Yin operation, 6 The Lord of the Moon, 7 The Lord of the Sun, and 8 The Lord of the Four Seasons See Mayers's C R Manual, pp 327, 328 His authority is the sixth of Sze-mâ *Kh*ien's monographs *Kh*ien seems to say that the worship of these spirits could be traced to Thâi Kung, one of the principal ministers of kings Wăn and Wû at the rise of the *K*âu dynasty in the twelfth century B C, and to whom in the list of Tâoist writings in the Imperial Library of Han, no fewer than 237 phien are ascribed

Pang, the founder of the dynasty of Han, in B.C 208, and by his wisdom and bravery contributed greatly to his success over the adherents of *Khin*, and other contenders for the sovereignty of the empire Abandoning then a political career, he spent the latter years of his life in a vain quest for the elixir of life

Among Liang's descendants in our first century was a *K*ang Tâo-ling, who, eschewing a career in the service of the state, devoted himself to the pursuits of alchemy, and at last succeeded in compounding the grand elixir or pill, and at the age of 123 was released from the trammels of the mortal body, and entered on the enjoyment of immortality, leaving to his descendants his books, talismans and charms, his sword, mighty against spirits, and his seal Tâo-ling stands out, in Tâoist accounts, as the first patriarch of the system, with the title of Thien Shih, 'Master or Preceptor of Heaven' Hsuan Jung of the Thang dynasty in 748, confirmed the dignity and title in the family, and in 1016 the Sung emperor *K*ăn Jung invested its representative with large tracts of land near the Lung-hû mountain in *K*iang-hsî The present patriarch—for I suppose the same man is still alive—made a journey from his residence not many years ago, and was interviewed by several foreigners in Shanghai The succession is said to be perpetuated by the transmigration of the soul of *K*ang Tâo-ling into some infant or youthful member of the family, whose heirship is supernaturally revealed as soon as the miracle is effected[1]

This superstitious notion shows the influence of Buddhism on Tâoism It has been seen from the eighteenth of the Books of *K*wang-tze what affinities there were between Tâoism and the Indian system, and there can be no doubt that the introduction of the latter into China did more than anything else to affect the development of the Tâoistic system As early as the time of Confucius there were recluses in the country, men who had withdrawn from the world, disgusted with its

Influence of Buddhism on Tâoism

[1] See Mayers's C R Manual, Part I, article 35

vanities and in despair from its disorders Lâo would appear to have himself contemplated this course When their representatives of our early centuries saw the Buddhists among them with their images, monasteries, and nunneries, their ritual and discipline, they proceeded to organise themselves after a similar fashion They built monasteries and nunneries, framed images, composed liturgies, and adopted a peculiar mode of tying up their hair The 'Three Precious Ones' of Buddhism, emblematic to the initiated of Intelligence personified in Buddha, the Law, and the Community or Church, but to the mass of the worshippers merely three great idols, styled by them Buddha Past, Present, and To Come these appeared in Tâoism as the 'Three Pure Ones,' also represented by three great images, each of which receives the title of 'His Celestial Eminence,' and is styled the 'Most High God (Shang Tî)' The first of them is a deification of Chaos, the second, of Lâo-tze, and the third of I know not whom or what, perhaps of the Tâo

But those Three Pure Ones have been very much cast into the shade, as the objects of popular worship and veneration, by Yu Hwang Tî or Yu Hwang Shang Tî This personage appears to have been a member of the Kang clan, held to be a magician and venerated from the time of the Thang dynasty, but deified in 1116 by the Sung emperor Hui Tsung at the instigation of a charlatan Lin Ling-sû, a renegade Buddhist monk He is the god in the court of heaven to whom the spirits of the body and of the hearth in our treatise proceed at stated times to report for approval or condemnation the conduct of men

Since the first publication of the Kan Ying Phien, the tenets of Buddhism have been still further adopted by the teachers of Tâoism, and shaped to suit the nature of their own system I have observed that the idea of retribution in our treatise does not go beyond the present life, but the manifestoes of Tâoism of more recent times are much occupied with descriptions of the courts of purgatory and threatenings of the everlasting misery of hell to those whom their sufferings in those courts

fail to wean from their wickedness Those manifestoes are published by the mercy of Yu Hwang Shang Tî that men and women may be led to repent of their faults and make atonement for their crimes They emanate from the temples of the tutelary deities[1] which are found throughout the empire, and especially in the walled cities, and are under the charge of Tâoist monks A visitor to one of the larger of these temples may not only see the pictures of the purgatorial courts and other forms of the modern superstitions, but he will find also astrologers, diviners, geomancers, physiognomists, et id genus omne, plying their trades or waiting to be asked to do so, and he will wonder how it has been possible to affiliate such things with the teachings of Lâo-tze

Other manifestoes of a milder form, and more like our tractate, are also continually being issued as from one or other of what are called the state gods, whose temples are all in the charge of the same monks In the approximation which has thus been going on of Tâoism to Buddhism, the requirement of celibacy was long resisted by the professors of the former, but recent editions of the Penal Code[2] contain sundry regulations framed to enforce celibacy, to bind the monks and nuns of both systems to the observance of the Confucian maxims concerning filial piety, and the sacrificial worship of the dead, and also to restrict the multiplication of monasteries and nunneries Neither Lâo nor *K*wang was a celibate or recommended celibacy The present patriarch, as a married man, would seem to be able still to resist the law

[1] Called *K'h*ăng Hwang Miâo, 'Wall and Moat Temples,' Palladia of the city

[2] See Dr Eitel's third edition of his 'Three Lectures on Buddhism,' pp 36–45 (Hongkong Lane, Crawford & Co, 1884) The edition of the Penal Code to which he refers is of 1879

THE TÂO TEH *KING*,

OR

THE TÂO

AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

THE TÂO TEH *KING*.

PART I.

Ch 1 1. The Tâo that can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Tâo The name that can be named is not the enduring and unchanging name.

2. (Conceived of as) having no name, it is the Originator of heaven and earth, (conceived of as) having a name, it is the Mother of all things

3 Always without desire we must be found,
If its deep mystery we would sound,
But if desire always within us be,
Its outer fringe is all that we shall see.

4 Under these two aspects, it is really the same, but as development takes place, it receives the different names Together we call them the Mystery. Where the Mystery is the deepest is the gate of all hat is subtle and wonderful

體道, 'Embodying the Tâo' The author sets forth, as well as the difficulty of his subject would allow him, the nature of the Tâo in itself, and its manifestation. To understand the Tâo one must be partaker of its nature.

Par 3 suggests the words of the apostle John, 'He that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love' Both the Tâo, Lâo-tze's ideal in the absolute, and its Teh, or operation, are comprehended in this chapter, the latter being the Tâo with the name, the Mother of all things See pages 12, 13 in the Introduction on the translation of the term Tâo

2 1 All in the world know the beauty of the beautiful, and in doing this they have (the idea of)

what ugliness is, they all know the skill of the skilful, and in doing this they have (the idea of) what the want of skill is

2 So it is that existence and non-existence give birth the one to (the idea of) the other, that difficulty and ease produce the one (the idea of) the other, that length and shortness fashion out the one the figure of the other, that (the ideas of) height and lowness arise from the contrast of the one with the other, that the musical notes and tones become harmonious through the relation of one with another, and that being before and behind give the idea of one following another

3 Therefore the sage manages affairs without doing anything, and conveys his instructions without the use of speech

4. All things spring up, and there is not one which declines to show itself, they grow, and there is no claim made for their ownership, they go through their processes, and there is no expectation (of a reward for the results). The work is accomplished, and there is no resting in it (as an achievement)

The work is done, but how no one can see,
'Tis this that makes the power not cease to be

養身, 'The Nourishment of the Person' But many of Ho-shang Kung's titles are more appropriate than this

The chapter starts with instances of the antinomies, which suggest to the mind each of them the existence of its corresponding opposite, and the author finds in them an analogy to the 'contraries' which characterize the operation of the Tâo, as stated in chapter 40 He then proceeds to describe the action of the sage in par. 3 as in accordance with this law of contraries, and, in par 4, that of heaven

and earth, or what we may call nature, in the processes of the vegetable world.

Par. 2 should be rhymed, but I could not succeed to my satisfaction in the endeavour to rhyme it Every one who can read Chinese will see that the first four members rhyme The last two rhyme also, the concluding 隨 being pronounced so,—see the Khang-hsî dictionary in voc

3. 1. Not to value and employ men of superior ability is the way to keep the people from rivalry among themselves, not to prize articles which are difficult to procure is the way to keep them from becoming thieves, not to show them what is likely to excite their desires is the way to keep their minds from disorder

2 Therefore the sage, in the exercise of his government, empties their minds, fills their bellies, weakens their wills, and strengthens their bones

3 He constantly (tries to) keep them without knowledge and without desire, and where there are those who have knowledge, to keep them from presuming to act (on it) When there is this abstinence from action, good order is universal

安民, 'Keeping the People at Rest' The object of the chapter is to show that government according to the Tâo is unfavourable to the spread of knowledge among the people, and would keep them rather in the state of primitive simplicity and ignorance, thereby securing their restfulness and universal good order Such is the uniform teaching of Lâo-tze and his great follower *K*wang-tze, and of all Tâoist writers

4 1. The Tâo is (like) the emptiness of a vessel, and in our employment of it we must be on our guard against all fulness How deep and unfa-

thomable it is, as if it were the Honoured Ancestor of all things!

2 We should blunt our sharp points, and unravel the complications of things, we should attemper our brightness, and bring ourselves into agreement with the obscurity of others. How pure and still the Tâo is, as if it would ever so continue!

3 I do not know whose son it is It might appear to have been before God

無源, 'The Fountainless' There is nothing before the Tâo, it might seem to have been before God And yet there is no demonstration by it of its presence and operation It is like the emptiness of a vessel The second character = 沖 = 盅,—see Khang-hsî on the latter The practical lesson is, that in following the Tâo we must try to be like it

5 1 Heaven and earth do not act from (the impulse of) any wish to be benevolent, they deal with all things as the dogs of grass are dealt with The sages do not act from (any wish to be) benevolent they deal with the people as the dogs of grass are dealt with.

2. May not the space between heaven and earth be compared to a bellows?

'Tis emptied, yet it loses not its power.
'Tis moved again, and sends forth air the more
Much speech to swift exhaustion lead we see,
Your inner being guard, and keep it free

虛用, 'The Use of Emptiness' Quiet and unceasing is the operation of the Tâo, and effective is the rule of the sage in accordance with it

The grass-dogs in par 1 were made of straw tied up in the shape of dogs, and used in praying for rain, and after-

wards, when the sacrifice was over, were thrown aside and left uncared for Heaven and earth and the sages dealt so with all things and with the people, but the illustration does not seem a happy one Both Kwang-tze and Hwâi-nan mention the grass dogs See especially the former, XIV, 25 a b In that Book there is fully developed the meaning of this chapter The illustration in par 2 is better The Chinese bellows is different to look at from ours, but the principle is the same in the construction of both The par concludes in a way that lends some countenance to the later Tâoism's dealing with the breath

6 The valley spirit dies not, aye the same,
The female mystery thus do we name
Its gate, from which at first they issued forth,
Is called the root from which grew heaven and earth
Long and unbroken does its power remain,
Used gently, and without the touch of pain

成象, 'The Completion of Material Forms' This title rightly expresses the import of this enigmatical chapter, but there is a foundation laid in it for the development of the later Tâoism, which occupies itself with the prolongation of life by the management of the breath (氣) or vital force

'The valley' is used metaphorically as a symbol of 'emptiness' or 'vacancy,' and 'the spirit of the valley' is the something invisible, yet almost personal, belonging to the Tâo, which constitutes the Teh (德) in the name of our King 'The spirit of the valley' has come to be a name for the activity of the Tâo in all the realm of its operation 'The female mystery' is the Tâo with a name of chapter 1, which is 'the Mother of all things' All living beings have a father and mother The processes of generation and production can hardly be imaged by us but by a recognition of this fact, and so Lâo-tze thought of the existing realm of nature—of life—as coming through an

evolution (not a creation) from the primal air or breath, dividing into two, and thence appearing in the forms of things, material and immaterial The chapter is found in Lieh-ʒze (I, 1 b) quoted by him from a book of Hwang-Tî, and here Lâo-ʒze has appropriated it, and made it his own See the Introduction, p 2

7 1. Heaven is long-enduring and earth continues long The reason why heaven and earth are able to endure and continue thus long is because they do not live of, or for, themselves This is how they are able to continue and endure

2 Therefore the sage puts his own person last, and yet it is found in the foremost place, he treats his person as if it were foreign to him, and yet that person is preserved Is it not because he has no personal and private ends, that therefore such ends are realised?

韜光, 'Sheathing the Light.' The chapter teaches that one's best good is realised by not thinking of it, or seeking for it Heaven and earth afford a pattern to the sage, and the sage affords a pattern to all men

8 1 The highest excellence is like (that of) water The excellence of water appears in its benefiting all things, and in its occupying, without striving (to the contrary), the low place which all men dislike. Hence (its way) is near to (that of) the Tâo

2 The excellence of a residence is in (the suitability of) the place, that of the mind is in abysmal stillness, that of associations is in their being with the virtuous, that of government is in its securing good order, that of (the conduct of) affairs is in its ability, and that of (the initiation of) any movement is in its timeliness.

3 And when (one with the highest excellence) does not wrangle (about his low position), no one finds fault with him.

易性, 'The Placid and Contented Nature' Water, as an illustration of the way of the Tâo, is repeatedly employed by Lâo-tze

The various forms of what is excellent in par 2 are brought forward to set forth the more, by contrast, the excellence of the humility indicated in the acceptance of the lower place without striving to the contrary.

9 1 It is better to leave a vessel unfilled, than to attempt to carry it when it is full. If you keep feeling a point that has been sharpened, the point cannot long preserve its sharpness.

2 When gold and jade fill the hall, their possessor cannot keep them safe When wealth and honours lead to arrogancy, this brings its evil on itself When the work is done, and one's name is becoming distinguished, to withdraw into obscurity is the way of Heaven

運夷, but I cannot give a satisfactory rendering of this title The teaching of the chapter is, that fulness and complacency in success are contrary to the Tâo

The first clauses of the two sentences in par 1, 持而盈之, 揣而銳之=盈而持之, 銳而揣之, are instances of the 'inverted' style not uncommon in the oldest composition 'The way of Heaven'='the Heavenly Tâo' exemplified by man

10. 1. When the intelligent and animal souls are held together in one embrace, they can be kept from separating. When one gives undivided attention to the (vital) breath, and brings it to the utmost degree of pliancy, he can become as a (tender)

babe When he has cleansed away the most mysterious sights (of his imagination), he can become without a flaw.

2 In loving the people and ruling the state, cannot he proceed without any (purpose of) action? In the opening and shutting of his gates of heaven, cannot he do so as a female bird? While his intelligence reaches in every direction, cannot he (appear to) be without knowledge?

3 (The Tâo) produces (all things) and nourishes them, it produces them and does not claim them as its own, it does all, and yet does not boast of it, it presides over all, and yet does not control them This is what is called 'The mysterious Quality' (of the Tâo)

能爲, 'Possibilities' This chapter is one of the most difficult to understand and translate in the whole work Even Ku Hsi was not able to explain the first member satisfactorily The text of that member seems well supported, but I am persuaded the first clause of it is somehow corrupt

The whole seems to tell what can be accomplished by one who is possessed of the Tâo In par 3 he appears free from all self-consciousness in what he does, and of all self-satisfaction in the results of his doing The other two paragraphs seem to speak of what he can do under the guidance of the Tâo for himself and for others He can by his management of his vital breath bring his body to the state of Tâoistic perfection, and keep his intelligent and animal souls from being separated, and he can rule men without purpose and effort 'The gates of heaven' in par 2 is a Tâoistic phrase for the nostrils as the organ of the breath,—see the commentary of Ho-shang Kung

11 The thirty spokes unite in the one nave, but it is on the empty space (for the axle), that the

use of the wheel depends. Clay is fashioned into vessels, but it is on their empty hollowness, that their use depends The door and windows are cut out (from the walls) to form an apartment, but it is on the empty space (within), that its use depends Therefore, what has a (positive) existence serves for profitable adaptation, and what has not that for (actual) usefulness

無用, 'The Use of what has no Substantive Existence' The three illustrations serve to set forth the freedom of the Tâo from all pre-occupation and purpose, and the use of what seems useless

12 1 Colour's five hues from th' eyes their sight will take,
Music's five notes the ears as deaf can make,
The flavours five deprive the mouth of taste,
The chariot course, and the wild hunting waste
Make mad the mind, and objects rare and strange,
Sought for, men's conduct will to evil change

2 Therefore the sage seeks to satisfy (the craving of) the belly, and not the (insatiable longing of the) eyes He puts from him the latter, and prefers to seek the former

檢欲, 'The Repression of the Desires' Government in accordance with the Tâo seeks to withdraw men from the attractions of what is external and pleasant to the senses and imagination, and to maintain the primitive simplicity of men's ways and manners Compare chap 2 The five colours are Black, Red, Green or Blue, White, and Yellow, the five notes are those of the imperfect Chinese musical scale, our G, A, B, D, E, the five tastes are Salt, Bitter, Sour, Acrid, and Sweet

I am not sure that Wang Pî has caught exactly the author's idea in the contrast between satisfying the belly

and satisfying the eyes, but what he says is ingenious. 'In satisfying the belly one nourishes himself, in gratifying the eyes he makes a slave of himself.'

13. 1 Favour and disgrace would seem equally to be feared, honour and great calamity, to be regarded as personal conditions (of the same kind)

2. What is meant by speaking thus of favour and disgrace? Disgrace is being in a low position (after the enjoyment of favour) The getting that (favour) leads to the apprehension (of losing it), and the losing it leads to the fear of (still greater calamity) —this is what is meant by saying that favour and disgrace would seem equally to be feared

And what is meant by saying that honour and great calamity are to be (similarly) regarded as personal conditions? What makes me liable to great calamity is my having the body (which I call myself), if I had not the body, what great calamity could come to me?

3. Therefore he who would administer the kingdom, honouring it as he honours his own person, may be employed to govern it, and he who would administer it with the love which he bears to his own person may be entrusted with it

厭恥, 'Loathing Shame' The chapter is difficult to construe, and some disciples of *K*ûû Hsî had to ask him to explain it as in the case of ch 10 His remarks on it are not to my mind satisfactory Its object seems to be to show that the cultivation of the person according to the Tâo, is the best qualification for the highest offices, even for the government of the world Par 3 is found in *K*wang-tze (XI, 18 b) in a connexion which suggests this view of the chapter It may be observed, however, that in him the position of the verbal characters in the two clauses

of the paragraph is the reverse of that in the text of Ho-shang Kung, so that we can hardly accept the distinction of meaning of the two characters given in his commentary, but must take them as synonyms Professor Gabelentz gives the following version of *K*wang-tze 'Darum, gebraucht er seine Person achtsam in der Verwaltung des Reiches, so mag man ihm die Reichsgewalt anvertrauen; liebend (schonend) übertragen'

14 1 We look at it, and we do not see it, and we name it 'the Equable' We listen to it, and we do not hear it, and we name it 'the Inaudible' We try to grasp it, and do not get hold of it, and we name it 'the Subtle.' With these three qualities, it cannot be made the subject of description, and hence we blend them together and obtain The One

2. Its upper part is not bright, and its lower part is not obscure Ceaseless in its action, it yet cannot be named, and then it again returns and becomes nothing This is called the Form of the Formless, and the Semblance of the Invisible, this is called the Fleeting and Indeterminable

3 We meet it and do not see its Front, we follow it, and do not see its Back When we can lay hold of the Tâo of old to direct the things of the present day, and are able to know it as it was of old in the beginning, this is called (unwinding) the clue of Tâo.

贊玄, 'The Manifestation of the Mystery' The subject of par 1 is the Tâo, but the Tâo in its operation, and not the primal conception of it, as entirely distinct from things, which rises before the mind in the second paragraph The Chinese characters which I have translated 'the Equable,' 'the Inaudible,' and 'the Subtle,' are now pronounced Î, Hî, and Wei, and in 1823 Rémusat fancied that they were

intended to give the Hebrew tetragrammaton יהוה which he thought had come to Lâo-tze somehow from the West, or been found by him there It was a mere fancy or dream, and still more so is the recent attempt to revive the notion by Victor von Strauss in 1870, and Dr Edkins in 1884 The idea of the latter is specially strange, maintaining, as he does, that we should read the characters according to their old sounds Lâo-tze has not in the chapter a personal Being before his mind, but the procedure of his mysterious Tâo, the course according to which the visible phenomena take place, incognisable by human sense and capable of only approximate description by terms appropriate to what is within the domain of sense See the Introduction, pp. 14, 15

15 1 The skilful masters (of the Tâo) in old times, with a subtle and exquisite penetration, comprehended its mysteries, and were deep (also) so as to elude men's knowledge As they were thus beyond men's knowledge, I will make an effort to describe of what sort they appeared to be.

2 Shrinking looked they like those who wade through a stream in winter, irresolute like those who are afraid of all around them, grave like a guest (in awe of his host), evanescent like ice that is melting away, unpretentious like wood that has not been fashioned into anything, vacant like a valley, and dull like muddy water

3 Who can (make) the muddy water (clear)? Let it be still, and it will gradually become clear Who can secure the condition of rest? Let movement go on and the condition of rest will gradually arise.

4 They who preserve this method of the Tâo do not wish to be full (of themselves) It is through their not being full of themselves that they can

afford to seem worn and not appear new and complete

顯德, 'The Exhibition of the Quality,' that is, of the Tâo, which has been set forth in the preceding chapter Its practical outcome is here described in the masters of it of old, who in their own weakness were yet strong in it, and in their humility were mighty to be co-workers with it for the good of the world.

The variety of the readings in par 4 is considerable, but not so as to affect the meaning This par is found in Hwâi-nan (XII, 23 a) with an unimportant variation From the illustration to which it is subjoined he understood the fulness, evidently as in ch 9, as being that of a vessel filled to overflowing Both here and there such fulness is used metaphorically of a man overfull of himself, and then Lâo-tze slides into another metaphor, that of a worn-out garment The text of par 3 has been variously tampered with I omit the 乃 of the current copies, after the example of the editors of the great recension of the Yung-lo period (A D 1403–1424) of the Ming dynasty

16. 1 The (state of) vacancy should be brought to the utmost degree, and that of stillness guarded with unwearying vigour. All things alike go through their processes of activity, and (then) we see them return (to their original state) When things (in the vegetable world) have displayed their luxuriant growth, we see each of them return to its root This returning to their root is what we call the state of stillness, and that stillness may be called a reporting that they have fulfilled their appointed end

2 The report of that fulfilment is the regular, unchanging rule. To know that unchanging rule is to be intelligent, not to know it leads to wild movements and evil issues The knowledge of that unchanging rule produces a (grand) capacity and forbearance, and

that capacity and forbearance lead to a community (of feeling with all things) From this community of feeling comes a kingliness of character, and he who is king-like goes on to be heaven-like In that likeness to heaven he possesses the Tâo Possessed of the Tâo, he endures long, and to the end of his bodily life, is exempt from all danger of decay.

歸根, 'Returning to the Root' The chapter exhibits the operation of the Tâo in nature, in man, and in government, an operation silent, but all-powerful, unaccompanied with any demonstration of its presence, but great in its results

An officer receives a charge or commission from his superior (受命), when he reports the execution of it he is said 復命 So all animate things, including men, receive their charge from the Tâo as to their life, and when they have fulfilled it they are represented as reporting that fulfilment, and the fulfilment and report are described as their unchanging rule, so that they are the Tâo's impassive instruments, having no will or purpose of their own,—according to Lâo-tze's formula of 'doing nothing and yet doing all things (無爲而無不爲)'

The getting to possess the Tâo, or to be an embodiment of it, follows the becoming Heaven or Heaven-like, and this is in accordance with the saying in the fourth chapter that 'the Tâo might seem to have been before God' But, in *K*wang-tze especially, we often find the full possessor and displayer of the Tâo spoken of as 'Heaven' The last sentence, that he who has come to the full possession of the Tâo is exempt from all danger of decay, is generally illustrated by a reference to the utterances in ch 50, as if Lâo-tze did indeed see in the Tâo a preservative against death

17. 1 In the highest antiquity, (the people) did not know that there were (their rulers) In the next age they loved them and praised them. In the

next they feared them, in the next they despised them Thus it was that when faith (in the Tâo) was deficient (in the rulers) a want of faith in them ensued (in the people).

2. How irresolute did those (earliest rulers) appear, showing (by their reticence) the importance which they set upon their words! Their work was done and their undertakings were successful, while the people all said, 'We are as we are, of ourselves!'

淳風, 'The Unadulterated Influence' The influence is that of the Tâo, as seen in the earliest and paradisiacal times The two chapters that follow are closely connected with this, showing how the silent, passionless influence of the Tâo was gradually and injuriously superseded by 'the wisdom of the world,' in the conduct of government In the first sentence there is a small various reading of 不 for 下, but it does not affect the meaning of the passage The first clause of par 2 gives some difficulty, 其貴言, 'they made their words valuable or precious,' i e 'they seldom spake,' cp 1 Sam iii 1

18 1 When the Great Tâo (Way or Method) ceased to be observed, benevolence and righteousness came into vogue (Then) appeared wisdom and shrewdness, and there ensued great hypocrisy

2 When harmony no longer prevailed throughout the six kinships, filial sons found their manifestation, when the states and clans fell into disorder, loyal ministers appeared.

俗薄, 'The Decay of Manners' A sequel to the preceding chapter, and showing also how the general decay of manners afforded opportunity for the display of certain virtues by individuals Observe 'the Great Tâo,' occurring here for the first time as the designation of 'the Tâo'

19. 1 If we could renounce our sageness and discard our wisdom, it would be better for the people a hundredfold If we could renounce our benevolence and discard our righteousness, the people would again become filial and kindly If we could renounce our artful contrivances and discard our (scheming for) gain, there would be no thieves nor robbers

2 Those three methods (of government)
Thought olden ways in elegance did fail
And made these names their want of worth to veil,
But simple views, and courses plain and true
Would selfish ends and many lusts eschew

還淳, 'Returning to the Unadulterated Influence' The chapter desires a return to the simplicity of the Tâo, and shows how superior the result would be to that of the more developed systems of morals and government which had superseded it It is closely connected with the two chapters that precede Lâo-tze's call for the renunciation of the methods of the sages and rulers in lieu of his fancied paradisiacal state is repeated ad nauseam by *K*wang-tze

20 1 When we renounce learning we have no troubles

The (ready) 'yes,' and (flattering) 'yea;'—
Small is the difference they display
But mark their issues, good and ill,—
What space the gulf between shall fill?

What all men fear is indeed to be feared, but how wide and without end is the range of questions (asking to be discussed)!

2 The multitude of men look satisfied and pleased, as if enjoying a full banquet, as if mounted on a tower in spring I alone seem listless and still, my desires having as yet given no indication of their

presence I am like an infant which has not yet smiled. I look dejected and forlorn, as if I had no home to go to The multitude of men all have enough and to spare I alone seem to have lost everything My mind is that of a stupid man, I am in a state of chaos

Ordinary men look bright and intelligent, while I alone seem to be benighted They look full of discrimination, while I alone am dull and confused I seem to be carried about as on the sea, drifting as if I had nowhere to rest All men have their spheres of action, while I alone seem dull and incapable, like a rude borderer (Thus) I alone am different from other men, but I value the nursing-mother (the Tâo)

異俗, 'Being Different from Ordinary Men' The chapter sets forth the difference to external appearance which the pursuit and observance of the Tâo produces between its votaries and others, and Lâo-tze speaks in it as himself an example of the former In the last three chapters he has been advocating the cause of the Tâo against the learning and philosophy of the other school of thinkers in the country Here he appears as having renounced learning, and found an end to the troubles and anxieties of his own mind, but at the expense of being misconceived and misrepresented by others Hence the chapter has an autobiographical character

Having stated the fact following the renunciation of learning, he proceeds to dwell upon the troubles of learning in the rest of par 1 Until the votary of learning knows everything, he has no rest But the instances which he adduces of this are not striking nor easily understood I cannot throw any light on the four lines about the 'yes' and the 'yea'

Confucius (Ana XVI, viii) specifies three things of which the superior man stands in awe, and these and others of

a similar nature may have been the things which Lâo-tze had in his mind The nursing-mother at the end is, no doubt, the Tâo in operation, 'with a name,' as in ch I; 'the mysterious virtue' of chapters 51 and 52

21 The grandest forms of active force
From Tâo come, their only source
Who can of Tâo the nature tell?
Our sight it flies, our touch as well
Eluding sight, eluding touch,
The forms of things all in it crouch,
Eluding touch, eluding sight,
There are their semblances, all right.
Profound it is, dark and obscure,
Things' essences all there endure
Those essences the truth enfold
Of what, when seen, shall then be told
Now it is so, 'twas so of old
Its name—what passes not away,
So, in their beautiful array,
Things form and never know decay

How know I that it is so with all the beauties of existing things? By this (nature of the Tâo)

虛心, 'The Empty Heart' But I fail to see the applicability of the title The subject of the chapter is the Tâo in its operation This is the significance of the 德 in the first clause or line, and to render it by 'virtue,' as Julien and Chalmers do, only serves to hide the meaning Julien, however, says that 'the virtue is that of the Tâo, and he is right in taking 從, the last character of the second line, as having the sense of 'from,' 'the source from,' and not, as Chalmers does, in the sense of 'following'

Lâo-tze's mind is occupied with a very difficult subject—to describe the production of material forms by the Tâo, how or from what, he does not say What I have rendered 'semblances,' Julien 'les images,' and Chalmers 'forms,'

seems, as the latter says, in some way to correspond to the 'Eternal Ideas' of Plato in the Divine Mind But Lâo-tze had no idea of 'personality' in the Tâo

22. 1 The partial becomes complete, the crooked, straight, the empty, full, the worn out, new He whose (desires) are few gets them, he whose (desires) are many goes astray

2 Therefore the sage holds in his embrace the one thing (of humility), and manifests it to all the world He is free from self-display, and therefore he shines, from self-assertion, and therefore he is distinguished, from self-boasting, and therefore his merit is acknowledged, from self-complacency, and therefore he acquires superiority. It is because he is thus free from striving that therefore no one in the world is able to strive with him

3 That saying of the ancients that 'the partial becomes complete' was not vainly spoken —all real completion is comprehended under it

益謙, 'The Increase granted to Humility' This title rightly expresses the subject-matter of the chapter I cannot translate the first clause otherwise than I have done It was an old saying, which Lâo-tze found and adopted Whether it was intended to embrace all the cases which are mentioned may be questioned, but he employs it so as to make it do so

'The emptiness' which becomes full is literally the hollowness of a cavity in the ground which is sure to be filled by overflowing water,—see Mencius, IV, ii, 18 'The worn out' is explained by the withered foliage of a tree, which comes out new and fresh in the next spring I have taken the first sentence of par 2 as Wû K'ăng does,—see his commentary in loc

23 1. Abstaining from speech marks him who is obeying the spontaneity of his nature A violent

wind does not last for a whole morning; a sudden rain does not last for the whole day To whom is it that these (two) things are owing? To Heaven and Earth If Heaven and Earth cannot make such (spasmodic) actings last long, how much less can man!

2. Therefore when one is making the Tâo his business, those who are also pursuing it, agree with him in it, and those who are making the manifestation of its course their object agree with him in that, while even those who are failing in both these things agree with him where they fail

3 Hence, those with whom he agrees as to the Tâo have the happiness of attaining to it, those with whom he agrees as to its manifestation have the happiness of attaining to it, and those with whom he agrees in their failure have also the happiness of attaining (to the Tâo) (But) when there is not faith sufficient (on his part), a want of faith (in him) ensues (on the part of the others)

✓虛無 'Absolute Vacancy' This, I think, is the meaning of the title, 'Emptiness and Nothingness,' an entire conformity to the Tâo in him who professes to be directed by it Such an one will be omnipotent in his influence in all others The Tao in him will restrain all (spasmodic) loquacity Those who are described in par 2 as 'failing' are not to be thought of as bad men, men given up, as Julien has it, au crime They are simply ordinary men, who have failed in their study of the Tâo and practice of it, but are won to truth and virtue by the man whom the author has in mind As we might expect, however, the mention of such men has much embarrassed the commentators

Compare the concluding sentence with the one at the end of par 1 in ch. 17.

24 He who stands on his tiptoes does not stand firm, he who stretches his legs does not walk (easily) (So), he who displays himself does not shine, he who asserts his own views is not distinguished, he who vaunts himself does not find his merit acknowledged, he who is self-conceited has no superiority allowed to him Such conditions, viewed from the standpoint of the Tâo, are like remnants of food, or a tumour on the body, which all dislike Hence those who pursue (the course) of the Tâo do not adopt and allow them

苦恩, 'Painful Graciousness.' The chapter should be so designated This concludes the subject of the two previous chapters,—pursuing the course, the course of the unemotional Tâo without vain effort or display

The remnants of food were not used as sacrificial offerings,—see the Lî *Kî* (vol xxvii, p 82) In what I have rendered by 'a tumour attached to the body,' the 行 is probably, by a mistake, for 形,—see a quotation by Wû *Khăng* from Sze-mâ *Khien* 'Which all dislike' is, literally, 'Things are likely to dislike them,' the 'things' being 'spirits and men,' as Wû explains the term

25 1 There was something undefined and complete, coming into existence before Heaven and Earth How still it was and formless, standing alone, and undergoing no change, reaching everywhere and in no danger (of being exhausted)! It may be regarded as the Mother of all things

2 I do not know its name, and I give it the designation of the Tâo (the Way or Course). Making an effort (further) to give it a name I call it The Great

3 Great, it passes on (in constant flow) Passing

on, it becomes remote Having become remote, it returns Therefore the Tâo is great, Heaven is great, Earth is great, and the (sage) king is also great In the universe there are four that are great, and the (sage) king is one of them

4 Man takes his law from the Earth, the Earth takes its law from Heaven, Heaven takes its law from the Tâo The law of the Tâo is its being what it is

象 玄 'Representations of the Mystery' In this chapter Tâo approaches very near to give an answer to the question as to what the Tao is, and yet leaves the reader disappointed He commences by calling it 'a thing (物);' but that term does not necessitate our regarding it as 'material' We have seen in the preceding chapter that it is used to signify 'spirits and men' Nor does his going on to speak of it as 'chaotic (混成)' necessarily lead us to conceive it as made up of the 'material elements of things,' we have the same term applied in ch 14 to the three immaterial constituents there said to be blended in the idea of it

'He does not know its name' and he designates it by the term denoting a course or way (Tao, 道) and indicating the phenomenal attribute, the method in which all phenomena come before our observation in their development or evolution And to distinguish it from all other methods of evolution, he would call it 'the Great Method,' and so he employs that combination as its name in ch 18 and elsewhere, but it cannot be said that this name has fully maintained itself in the writings of his followers But understood thus, he here says, as in ch 1, that it is 'the Mother of all things' And yet, when he says that 'it was before Heaven and Earth were produced,' he comes very near his affirmations in chapters 1 and 4, that 'the nameless Tao was the beginning (or originating cause) of Heaven and Earth,' and 'might seem to have been before

God' Was he groping after God if haply he might find Him? I think he was, and he gets so far as to conceive of Him as 'the Uncaused Cause,' but comes short of the idea of His personality The other subordinate causes which he mentions all get their force or power from the Tâo, but after all the Tâo is simply a spontaneity, evolving from itself, and not acting from a personal will, consciously in the direction of its own wisdom and love 'Who can by searching find out God? Who can find out the Almighty to perfection?'

The predicate of the Tâo in the chapter, most perplexing to myself, is 'It returns,' in par 3 'It flows away, far away, and comes back,'—are not the three statements together equal to 'It is everywhere?'

26 1 Gravity is the root of lightness, stillness, the ruler of movement

2 Therefore a wise prince, marching the whole day, does not go far from his baggage waggons Although he may have brilliant prospects to look at, he quietly remains (in his proper place), indifferent to them How should the lord of a myriad chariots carry himself lightly before the kingdom? If he do act lightly, he has lost his root (of gravity), if he proceed to active movement, he will lose his throne.

重德, 'The Quality of Gravity' Gravity and stillness are both attributes of the Tâo, and he who cultivates it must not give way to lightness of mind, or hasty action

The rule for a leader not to separate from his baggage waggons is simply the necessity of adhering to gravity I have adopted from Han Fei the reading of 'the wise prince' for 'the sage,' which is found in Ho-shang Kung, and later on the reading of 'has lost his root' for his 'loses his ministers,' though the latter is found also in Han Fei

27. 1 The skilful traveller leaves no traces of his wheels or footsteps, the skilful speaker says nothing that can be found fault with or blamed, the skilful reckoner uses no tallies, the skilful closer needs no bolts or bars, while to open what he has shut will be impossible, the skilful binder uses no strings or knots, while to unloose what he has bound will be impossible. In the same way the sage is always skilful at saving men, and so he does not cast away any man, he is always skilful at saving things, and so he does not cast away anything This is called 'Hiding the light of his procedure.'

2 Therefore the man of skill is a master (to be looked up to) by him who has not the skill, and he who has not the skill is the helper of (the reputation of) him who has the skill If the one did not honour his master, and the other did not rejoice in his helper, an (observer), though intelligent, might greatly err about them This is called 'The utmost degree of mystery'

巧用, 'Dexterity in Using,' that is, in the application of the Tâo This is the substance of the chapter, celebrating the effective but invisible operation of the Tâo, and the impartial exercise of it for the benefit of all men and all things

I have given the most natural construction of the two characters at the end of par 1, the only possible construction of them, so far as I can see, suitable to the context The action of the Tâo (non-acting and yet all-efficient) and that of the sage in accordance with it, are veiled by their nature from the sight of ordinary men

It is more difficult to catch the scope and point of par 2 If there were not the conditions described in it, it would be hard for even an intelligent onlooker to distinguish between the man who had the skill and the man without it, between

him who possessed the Tâo, and him who had it not, which would be strange indeed

28 1. Who knows his manhood's strength,
Yet still his female feebleness maintains,
As to one channel flow the many drains,
All come to him, yea, all beneath the sky.
Thus he the constant excellence retains,—
The simple child again, free from all stains

Who knows how white attracts,
Yet always keeps himself within black's shade,
The pattern of humility displayed,
Displayed in view of all beneath the sky,
He in the unchanging excellence arrayed,
Endless return to man's first state has made

Who knows how glory shines,
Yet loves disgrace, nor e'er for it is pale,
Behold his presence in a spacious vale,
To which men come from all beneath the sky
The unchanging excellence completes its tale,
The simple infant man in him we hail

2 The unwrought material, when divided and distributed, forms vessels The sage, when employed, becomes the Head of all the Officers (of government), and in his greatest regulations he employs no violent measures

反樸, 'Returning to Simplicity' The chapter sets forth humility and simplicity, an artless freedom from all purpose, as characteristic of the man of Tâo, such as he was in the primeval time 'The sage' in par 2 may be 'the Son of Heaven,'—the Head of all rule in the kingdom, or the feudal lord in a state

29 1. If any one should wish to get the kingdom for himself, and to effect this by what he does, I see

that he will not succeed The kingdom is a spirit-like thing, and cannot be got by active doing He who would so win it destroys it, he who would hold it in his grasp loses it.

2. The course and nature of things is such that

What was in front is now behind,
What warmed anon we freezing find
Strength is of weakness oft the spoil,
The store in ruins mocks our toil

Hence the sage puts away excessive effort, extravagance, and easy indulgence

無爲. 'Taking no Action' All efforts made with a purpose are sure to fail The nature of the Tâo necessitates their doing so, and the uncertainty of things and events teaches the same lesson

That the kingdom or throne is a 'spirit-like vessel' has become a common enough saying among the Chinese Julien has, 'L'Empire est comme un vase divin,' but I always shrink from translating 神 by 'divine' Its English analogue is 'spirit,' and the idea in the text is based on the immunity of spirit from all material law, and the uncertain issue of attempts to deal with it according to ordinary methods Wû *Khăng* takes the phrase as equivalent to 'superintended by spirits,' which is as inadmissible as Julien's 'divin' The Tâo forbids action with a personal purpose, and all such action is sure to fail in the greatest things as well as in the least

30. 1 He who would assist a lord of men in harmony with the Tâo will not assert his mastery in the kingdom by force of arms Such a course is sure to meet with its proper return

2 Wherever a host is stationed, briars and thorns spring up. In the sequence of great armies there are sure to be bad years

3. A skilful (commander) strikes a decisive blow, and stops. He does not dare (by continuing his operations) to assert and complete his mastery He will strike the blow, but will be on his guard against being vain or boastful or arrogant in consequence of it He strikes it as a matter of necessity, he strikes it, but not from a wish for mastery

4. When things have attained their strong maturity they become old This may be said to be not in accordance with the Tâo and what is not in accordance with it soon comes to an end.

儉武, 'A Caveat against War' War is contrary to the spirit of the Tâo, and, as being so, is productive of misery, and leads to early ruin It is only permissible in a case of necessity, and even then its spirit and tendencies must be guarded against

In translating 果 by 'striking a decisive blow,' I have, no doubt, followed Julien's 'frapper un coup décisif' The same 果 occurs six times in par 3, followed by 而, and Jiâo Hung says that in all but the first instance the 而 should be taken as equivalent to 於, so that we should have to translate, 'He is determined against being vain,' &c But there is no necessity for such a construction of 而

'Weakness' and not 'strength' is the character of the Tâo, hence the lesson in par. 4

31 1 Now arms, however beautiful, are instruments of evil omen, hateful, it may be said, to all creatures Therefore they who have the Tâo do not like to employ them

2 The superior man ordinarily considers the left hand the most honourable place, but in time of war the right hand Those sharp weapons are instruments of evil omen, and not the instruments of the

superior man,—he uses them only on the compulsion of necessity Calm and repose are what he prizes, victory (by force of arms) is to him undesirable To consider this desirable would be to delight in the slaughter of men, and he who delights in the slaughter of men cannot get his will in the kingdom

3 On occasions of festivity to be on the left hand is the prized position, on occasions of mourning, the right hand The second in command of the army has his place on the left, the general commanding in chief has his on the right,—his place, that is, is assigned to him as in the rites of mourning He who has killed multitudes of men should weep for them with the bitterest grief, and the victor in battle has his place (rightly) according to those rites

偃武, 'Stilling War' The chapter continues the subject of the preceding The imperially-appointed editors of Wang Pî's Text and Commentary (1765) say that from the beginning of par 2 to the end, there is the appearance of text and commentary being mixed together, but they make no alteration in the text as it is found in Ho-shang Kung, and in all other ancient copies

The concluding sentence will suggest to some readers the words of the Duke of Wellington, that to gain a battle was the saddest thing next to losing it

32 1 The Tâo, considered as unchanging, has no name

2. Though in its primordial simplicity it may be small, the whole world dares not deal with (one embodying) it as a minister If a feudal prince or the king could guard and hold it, all would spontaneously submit themselves to him

3. Heaven and Earth (under its guidance) unite together and send down the sweet dew, which, with-

out the directions of men, reaches equally everywhere as of its own accord.

4 As soon as it proceeds to action, it has a name When it once has that name, (men) can know to rest in it When they know to rest in it, they can be free from all risk of failure and error

5 The relation of the Tâo to all the world is like that of the great rivers and seas to the streams from the valleys

聖德 Chalmers translates this by 'sagely virtue' But I cannot adopt that rendering, and find it difficult to supply a better The 'virtue' is evidently the Attribute of the Tâo come out from the condition of the Absolute, and capable of being named In the former state it has no name; in the latter, it has Par 1 and the commencement of par 4 must both be explained from ch 1

The 'primordial simplicity' in par 2 is the Tâo in its simplest conception, alone, and by itself, and the 始制 in par 4 is that Tâo come forth into operation and become Teh, the Teh which affords a law for men From this to the end of the paragraph is very obscure I have translated from the text of Wang Pî The text of Ho-shang Kung is different, and he comments upon it as it stands, but to me it is inexplicable

33 1 He who knows other men is discerning, he who knows himself is intelligent. He who overcomes others is strong, he who overcomes himself is mighty He who is satisfied with his lot is rich, he who goes on acting with energy has a (firm) will

2 He who does not fail in the requirements of his position, continues long, he who dies and yet does not perish, has longevity

辨德, 'Discriminating between (different) Attributes' The teaching of the chapter is that the possession of the

Tâo confers the various attributes which are here most distinguished It has been objected to it that elsewhere the Tâo is represented as associated with dulness and not intelligence, and with weakness and not with strength But these seem to be qualities viewed from without, and acting on what is beyond itself Inwardly, its qualities are the very opposite, and its action has the effect of enlightening what is dark, and overcoming what is strong

More interesting are the predicates in par 2 Jiâo Hung gives the comment on it of the Indian monk, Kumâragiva, 'one of the four suns of Buddhism,' and who went to China in A D 401 'To be alive and yet not alive may well be called long, to die and yet not be dead may well be called longevity' He also gives the views of Lû Năng-shih (A D 1042–1102) that the freedom from change of Lieh-tze, from death of K'wang-tze, and from extinction of the Buddhists, have all the same meaning as the concluding saying of Lao-tze here, that the human body is like the covering of the caterpillar or the skin of the snake, that we occupy it but for a passing sojourn No doubt, Lâo-tze believed in another life for the individual after the present Many passages in K'wang-tze indicate the same faith

34 1 All-pervading is the Great Tâo! It may be found on the left hand and on the right

2 All things depend on it for their production, which it gives to them, not one refusing obedience to it When its work is accomplished, it does not claim the name of having done it It clothes all things as with a garment, and makes no assumption of being their lord,—it may be named in the smallest things All things return (to their root and disappear), and do not know that it is it which presides over their doing so,—it may be named in the greatest things

3. Hence the sage is able (in the same way) to accomplish his great achievements It is through

his not making himself great that he can accomplish them.

任成, 'The Task of Achievement' The subject is the greatness of what the Tâo, called here by Lâo's own name for it in ch 25, does, and the unconscious simplicity with which it does it, and then the achievements of the sage who is permeated by the Tâo Par 2 is descriptive of the influence of the Tâo in the vegetable world The statements and expressions are much akin to those in parts of chapters 2, 10, and 51, and for Ho-shang Kung's difficult reading of 不名有 some copies give 而不居, as in chapter 2

35 1 To him who holds in his hands the Great Image (of the invisible Tâo), the whole world repairs. Men resort to him, and receive no hurt, but (find) rest, peace, and the feeling of ease

2 Music and dainties will make the passing guest stop (for a time) But though the Tâo as it comes from the mouth, seems insipid and has no flavour, though it seems not worth being looked at or listened to, the use of it is inexhaustible

仁德, 'The Attribute of Benevolence' But there seems little appropriateness in this title The subject of the chapter is the inexhaustible efficacy of the Tâo for the good of the world

The Great Image (of the invisible Tâo) is a name for the Tâo in its operation, as in chapters 14 and 41. He who embodies this in his government will be a centre of attraction for all the world Or the 天下往 may be taken as a predicate of the holder of the Great Image —'If he go all under heaven teaching the Tâo' Both constructions are maintained by commentators of note In par 2 the attraction of the Tâo is contrasted with that of ordinary pleasures and gratifications

36 1. When one is about to take an inspiration, he is sure to make a (previous) expiration; when he is going to weaken another, he will first strengthen him, when he is going to overthrow another, he will first have raised him up, when he is going to despoil another, he will first have made gifts to him —this is called 'Hiding the light (of his procedure).'

2 The soft overcomes the hard, and the weak the strong

3. Fishes should not be taken from the deep, instruments for the profit of a state should not be shown to the people

微明, 'Minimising the Light,' equivalent, as Wû *Khăng* has pointed out, to the 襲明 of ch 27

The gist of the chapter is to be sought in the second paragraph, where we have two instances of the action of the Tâo by contraries, supposed always to be for good

But there is a difficulty in seeing the applicability to this of the cases mentioned in par 1 The first case, indeed, is merely a natural phenomenon, having no moral character, but the others, as they have been illustrated from historical incidents, by Han Fei and others at least, belong to schemes of selfish and unprincipled ambitious strategy, which it would be injurious to Lâo-tze to suppose that he intended

Par 3 is the most frequently quoted of all the passages in our *King*, unless it be the first part of ch 1 Fishes taken from the deep, and brought into shallow water, can be easily taken or killed; that is plain enough 'The sharp instruments of a state' are not its 'weapons of war,' nor its 'treasures,' nor its 'instruments of government,' that is, its rewards and punishments, though this last is the interpretation often put on them, and sustained by a foolish reference to an incident, real or coined, in the history of the dukedom of Sung. The lî *khî* are 'contrivances for gain,' machines, and other methods to increase the wealth of a state, but, according to the principles of Lâo-tze, really injurious to it These should not be shown to the people,

whom the Tâoistic system would keep in a state of primitive simplicity and ignorance This interpretation is in accordance with the meaning of the characters, and with the general teaching of Tâoism In no other way can I explain the paragraph so as to justify the place undoubtedly belonging to it in the system

37. 1 The Tâo in its regular course does nothing (for the sake of doing it), and so there is nothing which it does not do

2 If princes and kings were able to maintain it, all things would of themselves be transformed by them

3 If this transformation became to me an object of desire, I would express the desire by the nameless simplicity

Simplicity without a name
Is free from all external aim
With no desire, at rest and still,
All things go right as of their will

爲政, 'The Exercise of Government' This exercise should be according to the Tâo, doing without doing, governing without government

The subject of the third paragraph is a feudal prince or the king, and he is spoken of in the first person, to give more vividness to the style, unless the 吾, 'I,' may, possibly, be understood of Lâo-tze himself personating one of them

PART II

38 1 (Those who) possessed in highest degree the attributes (of the Tâo) did not (seek) to show them, and therefore they possessed them (in fullest measure) (Those who) possessed in a lower degree those attributes (sought how) not to lose them, and therefore they did not possess them (in fullest measure)

2 (Those who) possessed in the highest degree those attributes did nothing (with a purpose), and had no need to do anything (Those who) possessed them in a lower degree were (always) doing, and had need to be so doing

3 (Those who) possessed the highest benevolence were (always seeking) to carry it out, and had no need to be doing so (Those who) possessed the highest righteousness were (always seeking) to carry it out, and had need to be so doing

4 (Those who) possessed the highest (sense of) propriety were (always seeking) to show it, and when men did not respond to it, they bared the arm and marched up to them

5 Thus it was that when the Tâo was lost, its attributes appeared, when its attributes were lost, benevolence appeared; when benevolence was lost, righteousness appeared, and when righteousness was lost, the proprieties appeared.

6. Now propriety is the attenuated form of leal-heartedness and good faith, and is also the commencement of disorder, swift apprehension is

(only) a flower of the Tâo, and is the beginning of stupidity

7 Thus it is that the Great man abides by what is solid, and eschews what is flimsy, dwells with the fruit and not with the flower It is thus that he puts away the one and makes choice of the other

論德, 'About the Attributes,' of Tâo, that is It is not easy to render teh here by any other English term than 'virtue,' and yet there would be a danger of its thus misleading us in the interpretation of the chapter

The 'virtue' is the activity or operation of the Tâo, which is supposed to have come out of its absoluteness Even Han Fei so defines it here,—'Teh is the meritorious work of the Tâo'

In par 5 we evidently have a résumé of the preceding paragraphs, and, as it is historical, I translate them in the past tense, though what took place on the early stage of the world may also be said to go on taking place in the experience of every individual With some considerable hesitation I have given the subjects in those paragraphs in the concrete, in deference to the authority of Ho-shang Kung and most other commentators The former says, 'By "the highest teh" is to be understood the rulers of the greatest antiquity, without name or designation, whose virtue was great, and could not be surpassed' Most ingenious, and in accordance with the Tâoistic system, is the manner in which Wû *Khăng* construes the passage, and I am surprised that it has not been generally accepted By 'the higher teh' he understands 'the Tâo,' that which is prior to and above the Teh (上德者, 在德之上, 道也), by 'the lower teh,' benevolence, that which is after and below the Teh, by 'the higher benevolence,' the Teh which is above benevolence, by 'the higher righteousness,' the benevolence which is above righteousness, and by 'the higher propriety,' the righteousness which is above propriety Certainly in the summation of these four paragraphs which we have in the fifth, the

subjects of them would appear to have been in the mind of Lâo-tze as thus defined by Wû

In the remainder of the chapter he goes on to speak depreciatingly of ceremonies and knowledge, so that the whole chapter must be understood as descriptive of the process of decay and deterioration from the early time in which the Tâo and its attributes swayed the societies of men

39 1 The things which from of old have got the One (the Tâo) are—

Heaven which by it is bright and pure,
Earth rendered thereby firm and sure,
Spirits with powers by it supplied,
Valleys kept full throughout their void,
All creatures which through it do live,
Princes and kings who from it get
The model which to all they give

All these are the results of the One (Tâo)

2 If heaven were not thus pure, it soon would rend,
If earth were not thus sure, 'twould break and bend,
Without these powers, the spirits soon would fail,
If not so filled, the drought would parch each vale,
Without that life, creatures would pass away,
Princes and kings, without that moral sway,
However grand and high, would all decay

3 Thus it is that dignity finds its (firm) root in its (previous) meanness, and what is lofty finds its stability in the lowness (from which it rises) Hence princes and kings call themselves 'Orphans,' 'Men of small virtue,' and as 'Carriages without a nave' Is not this an acknowledgment that in their considering themselves mean they see the foundation of

their dignity? So it is that in the enumeration of the different parts of a carriage we do not come on what makes it answer the ends of a carriage They do not wish to show themselves elegant-looking as jade, but (prefer) to be coarse-looking as an (ordinary) stone.

法本, 'The Origin of the Law' In this title there is a reference to the Law given to all things by the Tâo, as described in the conclusion of chapter 25 And the Tâo affords that law by its passionless, undemonstrative nature through which in its spontaneity, doing nothing for the sake of doing, it yet does all things

The difficulty of translation is in the third paragraph The way in which princes and kings speak depreciatingly of themselves is adduced as illustrating how they have indeed got the spirit of the Tâo, and I accept the last epithet as given by Ho-shang Kung, 'naveless' (轂), instead of 穀 (='the unworthy') which is found in Wang Pî, and has been adopted by nearly all subsequent editors To see its appropriateness here we have only to refer back to chapter 11, where the thirty spokes, and the nave, empty to receive the axle, are spoken of, and it is shown how the usefulness of the carriage is derived from that emptiness of the nave This also enables us to give a fair and consistent explanation of the difficult clause which follows, in which also I have followed the text of Ho-shang Kung For his 車, Wang Pî has 輿, which also is found in a quotation of it by Hwâi-nan Ʒze, but this need not affect the meaning In the translation of the clause we are assisted by a somewhat similar illustration about a horse in the twenty-fifth of *K*wang-ʒze's Books, par 10

40. 1 The movement of the Tâo
By contraries proceeds,
And weakness marks the course
Of Tâo's mighty deeds.

2. All things under heaven sprang from It as existing (and named), that existence sprang from It as non-existent (and not named)

去用, 'Dispensing with the Use (of Means),'—with their use, that is, as it appears to us The subject of the brief chapter is the action of the Tâo by contraries, leading to a result the opposite of what existed previously, and by means which might seem calculated to produce a contrary result

In translating par 2 I have followed Jiâo Hung, who finds the key to it in ch 1 Having a name, the Tâo is 'the Mother of all things,' having no name, it is 'the Originator of Heaven and Earth' But here is the teaching of Lâo-tze —'If Tâo seems to be before God,' Tâo itself sprang from nothing

41 1 Scholars of the highest class, when they hear about the Tâo, earnestly carry it into practice. Scholars of the middle class, when they have heard about it, seem now to keep it and now to lose it Scholars of the lowest class, when they have heard about it, laugh greatly at it. If it were not (thus) laughed at, it would not be fit to be the Tâo

2 Therefore the sentence-makers have thus expressed themselves —

'The Tâo, when brightest seen, seems light to lack,
Who progress in it makes, seems drawing back,
Its even way is like a rugged track
Its highest virtue from the vale doth rise,
Its greatest beauty seems to offend the eyes,
And he has most whose lot the least supplies
Its firmest virtue seems but poor and low,
Its solid truth seems change to undergo,
Its largest square doth yet no corner show,
A vessel great, it is the slowest made,

Loud is its sound, but never word it said,
A semblance great, the shadow of a shade'

3 The Tâo is hidden, and has no name, but it is the Tâo which is skilful at imparting (to all things what they need) and making them complete

同異, 'Sameness and Difference.' The chapter is a sequel of the preceding, and may be taken as an illustration of the Tâo's proceeding by contraries

Who the sentence-makers were whose sayings are quoted we cannot tell, but it would have been strange if Lâo-tze had not had a large store of such sentences at his command The fifth and sixth of those employed by him here are found in Lieh-tze (II 15 a), spoken by Lâo in reproving Yang Kû, and in VII, 3 a, that heretic appears quoting an utterance of the same kind, with the words, 'according to an old saying (古語有之)'

42 1 The Tâo produced One, One produced Two Two produced Three, Three produced All things All things leave behind them the Obscurity (out of which they have come), and go forward to embrace the Brightness (into which they have emerged), while they are harmonised by the Breath of Vacancy

2. What men dislike is to be orphans, to have little virtue, to be as carriages without naves, and yet these are the designations which kings and princes use for themselves So it is that some things are increased by being diminished, and others are diminished by being increased

3 What other men (thus) teach, I also teach The violent and strong do not die their natural death. I will make this the basis of my teaching

道化, 'The Transformations of the Tâo' In par 2 we

have the case of the depreciating epithets given to themselves by kings and princes, which we found before in ch 39, and a similar lesson is drawn from it Such depreciation leads to exaltation, and the contrary course of self-exaltation leads to abasement This latter case is stated emphatically in par 3, and Lâo-tze says that it was the basis of his teaching So far therefore we have in this chapter a repetition of the lesson that 'the movement of the Tâo is by contraries,' and that its weakness is the sure precursor of strength But the connexion between this lesson and what he says in par 1 it is difficult to trace Up to this time at least it has baffled myself The passage seems to give us a cosmogony 'The Tâo produced One' We have already seen that the Tâo is 'The One' Are we to understand here that the Tâo and the One were one and the same? In this case what would be the significance of the 生 ('produced')?– that the Tâo which had been previously non-existent' now became existent,' or capable of being named? This seems to be the view of Sze-mâ Kwang (A D 1009-1086)

The most singular form which this view assumes is in one of the treatises on our King, attributed to the Tâoist patriarch Lu (呂祖道德經解), that 'the One is Heaven, which was formed by the congealing of the Tâo' According to another treatise, also assigned to the same Lu (道德眞經合解), the One was 'the primordial ether,' the Two, 'the separation of that into its Yin and Yang constituents,' and the Three, 'the production of heaven earth, and man by these' In quoting the paragraph Hwai-nan Tze omits 道生一, and commences with 一生二, and his glossarist, Kâo Yu, makes out the One to be the Tâo, the Two to be Spiritual Intelligences (神明), and the Three to be the Harmonising Breath From the mention of the Yin and Yang that follows, I believe that Lâo-tze intended by the Two these two qualities or elements in the primordial ether, which would be 'the One' I dare not hazard a guess as to what 'the Three' were

43 1 The softest thing in the world dashes against and overcomes the hardest, that which has no (substantial) existence enters where there is no crevice I know hereby what advantage belongs to doing nothing (with a purpose)

2 There are few in the world who attain to the teaching without words, and the advantage arising from non-action

徧用, 'The Universal Use (of the action in weakness of the Tâo)' The chapter takes us back to the lines of ch 40, that

'Weakness marks the course
Of Tâo's mighty deeds'

By 'the softest thing in the world' it is agreed that we are to understand 'water,' which will wear away the hardest rocks 'Dashing against and overcoming' is a metaphor taken from hunting Ho-shang Kung says that 'what has no existence' is the Tâo, it is better to understand by it the unsubstantial air (氣) which penetrates everywhere, we cannot see how

Compare par 2 with ch 2, par 3

44 1 Or fame or life,
Which do you hold more dear?
Or life or wealth,
To which would you adhere?
Keep life and lose those other things,
Keep them and lose your life —which brings
Sorrow and pain more near?

2 Thus we may see,
Who cleaves to fame
Rejects what is more great,
Who loves large stores
Gives up the richer state

3 Who is content
Needs fear no shame
Who knows to stop
Incurs no blame
From danger free
Long live shall he

立戒, 'Cautions.' The chapter warns men to let nothing come into competition with the value which they set on the Tao. The Tao is not named, indeed, but the idea of it was evidently in the writer's mind.

The whole chapter rhymes after a somewhat peculiar fashion, familiar enough, however, to one who is acquainted with the old rhymes of the Book of Poetry.

45. 1 Who thinks his great achievements poor
Shall find his vigour long endure.
Of greatest fulness, deemed a void,
Exhaustion ne'er shall stem the tide.
Do thou what's straight still crooked deem,
Thy greatest art still stupid seem,
And eloquence a stammering scream.

2 Constant action overcomes cold, being still overcomes heat. Purity and stillness give the correct law to all under heaven.

洪德, 'Great or Overflowing Virtue.' The chapter is another illustration of the working of the Tao by contraries.

According to Wû Kêng, the action which overcomes cold is that of the Yang element in the developing primordial ether, and the stillness which overcomes heat is that of the contrary Yin element. These may have been in Lâo-tze's mind, but the statements are so simple as hardly to need any comment. Wu further says that the purity and stillness are descriptive of the condition of non-action.

46. 1 When the Tâo prevails in the world, they send back their swift horses to (draw) the dung-carts.

When the Tâo is disregarded in the world, the war-horses breed in the border lands

2 There is no guilt greater than to sanction ambition, no calamity greater than to be discontented with one's lot, no fault greater than the wish to be getting. Therefore the sufficiency of contentment is an enduring and unchanging sufficiency

儉欲, 'The Moderating of Desire or Ambition' The chapter shows how the practice of the Tâo must conduce to contentment and happiness

In translating par 1 I have, after Wû *Khăng*, admitted a 車 after the 糞, his chief authority for doing so being that it is so found in a poetical piece by *K'ang* Hăng (A D 78–139) *Kû* Hsî also adopted this reading (朱子大全, XVIII, 7 a) In par 2 Han Ying has a tempting variation of 多欲 for 可欲, but I have not adopted it because the same phrase occurs elsewhere

47 1 Without going outside his door, one understands (all that takes place) under the sky, without looking out from his window, one sees the Tâo of Heaven The farther that one goes out (from himself), the less he knows

2 Therefore the sages got their knowledge without travelling; gave their (right) names to things without seeing them, and accomplished their ends without any purpose of doing so

鑒遠, 'Surveying what is Far-off' The chapter is a lesson to men to judge of things according to their internal conviction of similar things in their own experience Short as the chapter is, it is somewhat mystical The phrase, 'The Tâo or way of Heaven, occurs in it for the first time, and it is difficult to lay down its precise meaning Lâo-tze would seem to teach that man is a microcosm, and that, if

he understand the movements of his own mind, he can understand the movements of all other minds There are various readings, of which it is not necessary to speak

I have translated par 2 in the past tense, and perhaps the first should also be translated so Most of it is found in Han Ying, preceded by 'formerly' or 'anciently'

48 1 He who devotes himself to learning (seeks) from day to day to increase (his knowledge), he who devotes himself to the Tâo (seeks) from day to day to diminish (his doing)

2 He diminishes it and again diminishes it, till he arrives at doing nothing (on purpose) Having arrived at this point of non-action, there is nothing which he does not do

3 He who gets as his own all under heaven does so by giving himself no trouble (with that end) If one take trouble (with that end), he is not equal to getting as his own all under heaven

忘知, 'Forgetting Knowledge,'—the contrast between Learning and the Tâo It is only by the Tâo that the world can be won

Jiâo Hung commences his quotations of commentary on this chapter with the following from Kumâragiva on the second par — He carries on the process of diminishing till there is nothing coarse about him which is not put away He puts it away till he has forgotten all that was bad in it He then puts away all that is fine about him He does so till he has forgotten all that was good in it But the bad was wrong and the good is right Having diminished the wrong, and also diminished the right, the process is carried on till they are both forgotten Passion and desire are both cut off, and his virtue and the Tâo are in such union that he does nothing but though he does nothing, he allows all things to do their own doing, and all things are done' Such is a Buddhistic view of the passage, not very intelligible, and which I do not endorse

In a passage in the 'Narratives of the School' (Bk IX, Art 2), we have a Confucian view of the passage —'Let perspicacity, intelligence, shrewdness, and wisdom be guarded by stupidity, and the service of the possessor will affect the whole world, let them be guarded by complaisance, and his daring and strength will shake the age, let them be guarded by timidity, and his wealth will be all within the four seas, let them be guarded by humility, and there will be what we call the method of "diminishing it, and diminishing it again"' But neither do I endorse this

My own view of the scope of the chapter has been given above in a few words The greater part of it is found in Kwang-tze

49 1 The sage has no invariable mind of his own, he makes the mind of the people his mind

2 To those who are good (to me), I am good, and to those who are not good (to me), I am also good,—and thus (all) get to be good To those who are sincere (with me), I am sincere, and to those who are not sincere (with me), I am also sincere,—and thus (all) get to be sincere

3 The sage has in the world an appearance of indecision, and keeps his mind in a state of indifference to all. The people all keep their eyes and ears directed to him, and he deals with them all as his children

任德, 'The Quality of Indulgence' The chapter shows how that quality enters largely into the dealing of the sage with other men, and exercises over them a transforming influence, dominated as it is in him by the Tâo

My version of par 1 is taken from Dr Chalmers A good commentary on it was given by the last emperor but one of the earlier of the two great Sung dynasties, in the period A D 1111–1117 —'The mind of the sage is free from preoccupation and able to receive, still, and able to respond'

In par 2 I adopt the reading of 得 ('to get) instead of

the more common 德 ('virtue' or 'quality') There is a passage in Han Ying (IX, 3 b, 4 a), the style of which, most readers will probably agree with me in thinking was moulded on the text before us, though nothing is said of any connexion between it and the saying of Lâo-tze I must regard it as a sequel to the conversation between Confucius and some of his disciples about the principle (Lâo's principle) that Injury should be recompensed with Kindness,' as recorded in the Con Ana, XIV, 36 We read —'Tze-lû said, 'When men are good to me, I will also be good to them, when they are not good to me, I will also be not good to them" Tze-kung said, 'When men are good to me, I will also be good to them, when they are not good to me I will simply lead them on, forwards it may be or backwards" Yen Hui said, 'When men are good to me, I will also be good to them, when they are not good to me I will still be good to them' The views of the three disciples being thus different, they referred the point to the Master, who said, "The words of Tze-lu are such as might be expected among the (wild tribes of) the Man and the Mo, those of Tze-kung, such as might be expected among friends, those of Hui, such as might be expected among relatives and near connexions" This is all The Master was still far from Lâo-tze's standpoint, and that of his own favourite disciple, Yen Hui

50 1 Men come forth and live, they enter (again) and die

2 Of every ten three are ministers of life (to themselves), and three are ministers of death

3 There are also three in every ten whose aim is to live, but whose movements tend to the land (or place) of death And for what reason? Because of their excessive endeavours to perpetuate life

4 But I have heard that he who is skilful in managing the life entrusted to him for a time travels on the land without having to shun rhinoceros or

tiger, and enters a host without having to avoid buff coat or sharp weapon The rhinoceros finds no place in him into which to thrust its horn, nor the tiger a place in which to fix its claws, nor the weapon a place to admit its point And for what reason? Because there is in him no place of death

貴生, 'The Value set on Life' The chapter sets forth the Tâo as an antidote against decay and death

In par 1 life is presented to us as intermediate between two non-existences The words will suggest to many readers those in Job i 21

In pars 2 and 3 I translate the characters 十有三 by 'three in ten,' instead of by 'thirteen,' as Julien and other translators have done The characters are susceptible of either translation according to the tone in which we read the 有 They were construed as I have done by Wang Pî, and many of the best commentators have followed in his wake 'The ministers of life to themselves' would be those who eschewed all things, both internal and external, tending to injure health, 'the ministers of death,' those who pursued courses likely to cause disease and shorten life, the third three would be those who thought that by mysterious and abnormal courses they could prolong life, but only injured it Those three classes being thus disposed of, there remains only one in ten rightly using the Tâo, and he is spoken of in the next paragraph

This par 4 is easy of translation, and the various readings in it are unimportant, differing in this respect from those in par 3 But the aim of the author in it is not clear In ascribing such effects to the possession of the Tâo, is he 'trifling,' as Dr Chalmers thinks? or indulging the play of his poetical fancy? or simply saying that the Tâoist will keep himself out of danger?

51 1 All things are produced by the Tâo, and nourished by its outflowing operation They receive their forms according to the nature of each, and are

completed according to the circumstances of their condition Therefore all things without exception honour the Tâo, and exalt its outflowing operation

2 This honouring of the Tâo and exalting of its operation is not the result of any ordination, but always a spontaneous tribute

3. Thus it is that the Tâo produces (all things), nourishes them, brings them to their full growth, nurses them, completes them, matures them, maintains them, and overspreads them

4 It produces them and makes no claim to the possession of them, it carries them through their processes and does not vaunt its ability in doing so, it brings them to maturity and exercises no control over them,—this is called its mysterious operation

養德, 'The Operation (of the Tâo) in Nourishing Things' The subject of the chapter is the quiet passionless operation of the Tâo in nature, in the production and nourishing of things throughout the seasons of the year,—a theme dwelt on by Lâo-tze, in II, 4, X. 3, and other places

The Tâo is the subject of all the predicates in par 1, and what seem the subjects in all but the first member should be construed adverbially

On par 2 Wû Ăh-tăng says that the honour of the Son of Heaven is derived from his appointment by God, and that then the nobility of the feudal princes is derived from him, but in the honour given to the Tâo and the nobility ascribed to its operation, we are not to think of any external ordination There is a strange reading of two of the members of par 3 in Wang Pî, viz 亭之毒之 for 成之熟之 This is quoted and predicated of 'Heaven,' in the Nestorian Monument of Hsî-an in the eighth century

52 1 (The Tâo) which originated all under the sky is to be considered as the mother of them all

2. When the mother is found, we know what her children should be. When one knows that he is his mother's child, and proceeds to guard (the qualities of) the mother that belong to him, to the end of his life he will be free from all peril

3. Let him keep his mouth closed, and shut up the portals (of his nostrils), and all his life he will be exempt from laborious exertion Let him keep his mouth open, and (spend his breath) in the promotion of his affairs, and all his life there will be no safety for him

4 The perception of what is small is (the secret of) clear-sightedness, the guarding of what is soft and tender is (the secret of) strength

5. Who uses well his light,
Reverting to its (source so) bright,
Will from his body ward all blight,
And hides the unchanging from men's sight

歸元, 'Returning to the Source' The meaning of the chapter is obscure, and the commentators give little help in determining it As in the preceding chapter, Lâo-tze treats of the operation of the Tâo on material things, he seems in this to go on to the operation of it in man, or how he, with his higher nature, should ever be maintaining it in himself

For the understanding of paragraph 1 we must refer to the first chapter of the treatise, where the Tâo, 'having no name,' appears as 'the Beginning' or 'First Cause' of the world, and then, 'having a name,' as its 'Mother' It is the same thing or concept in both of its phases, the ideal or absolute, and the manifestation of it in its passionless doings The old Jesuit translators render this par by 'Mundus principium et causam suam habet in Divino 有, seu actione Divinae sapientiae quae dici potest ejus mater' So far I may assume that they agreed with me in understanding that the subject of the par was the Tâo

Par 2 lays down the law of life for man thus derived from the Tâo The last clause of it is given by the same translators as equivalent to 'Unde fit ut post mortem nihil ei timendum sit,'—a meaning which the characters will not bear But from that clause, and the next par, I am obliged to conclude that even in Lâo-tze's mind there was the germ of the sublimation of the material frame which issued in the asceticism and life-preserving arts of the later Tâoism

Par 3 seems to indicate the method of 'guarding the mother in man,' by watching over the breath, the proto-plastic 'one' of ch 42, the ethereal matter out of which all material things were formed The organs of this breath in man are the mouth and nostrils (nothing else should be understood here by 兌 and 門,—see the explanations of the former in the last par of the fifth of the appendixes to the Yî in vol xvi p 432), and the management of the breath is the mystery of the esoteric Buddhism and Tâoism

In par 4 'The guarding what is soft' is derived from the use of 'the soft lips' in hiding and preserving the hard and strong teeth

Par 5 gives the gist of the chapter —Man's always keeping before him the ideal of the Tâo, and, without purpose, simply doing whatever he finds to do, Tâo-like and powerful in all his sphere of action

I have followed the reading of the last character but one, which is given by Jiâo Hung instead of that found in Ho-shang Kung and Wang Pî

53 1. If I were suddenly to become known, and (put into a position to) conduct (a government) according to the Great Tâo, what I should be most afraid of would be a boastful display

2. The great Tâo (or way) is very level and easy, but people love the by-ways

3 Their court(-yards and buildings) shall be well kept, but their fields shall be ill-cultivated, and their granaries very empty They shall wear elegant and

ornamented robes, carry a sharp sword at their girdle, pamper themselves in eating and drinking, and have a superabundance of property and wealth,—such (princes) may be called robbers and boasters. This is contrary to the Tâo surely!

益證, 'Increase of Evidence.' The chapter contrasts government by the Tâo with that conducted in a spirit of ostentation and by oppression.

In the 'I' of paragraph 1 does Lâo-tze speak of himself? I think he does. Wû *Khăng* understands it of 'any man,' i.e. any one in the exercise of government,—which is possible. What is peculiar to my version is the pregnant meaning given to 有知, common enough in the mouth of Confucius. I have adopted it here because of a passage in Liû Hsiang's Shwo-wăn (XX, 13 b), where Lâo-tze is made to say 'Excessive is the difficulty of practising the Tâo at the present time,' adding that the princes of his age would not receive it from him. On the 'Great Tâo,' see chapters 25, 34, et al. From the twentieth book of Han Fei (12 b and 13 a) I conclude that he had the whole of this chapter in his copy of our *King*, but he broke it up, after his fashion, into fragmentary utterances, confused and confounding. He gives also some remarkable various readings, one of which (竽, instead of Ho-shang Kung and Wang Pi's 夸, character 48) is now generally adopted. The passage is quoted in the Khang-hsî dictionary under 竽 with this reading.

54 1. What (Tâo's) skilful planter plants
Can never be uptorn,
What his skilful arms enfold,
From him can ne'er be borne.
Sons shall bring in lengthening line,
Sacrifices to his shrine.

2. Tâo when nursed within one's self,
His vigour will make true,

And where the family it rules
  What riches will accrue!
The neighbourhood where it prevails
  In thriving will abound,
And when 'tis seen throughout the state,
  Good fortune will be found.
Employ it the kingdom o'er,
  And men thrive all around

3 In this way the effect will be seen in the person, by the observation of different cases, in the family, in the neighbourhood, in the state, and in the kingdom

4 How do I know that this effect is sure to hold thus all under the sky? By this (method of observation)

修觀, 'The Cultivation (of the Tâo), and the Observation (of its Effects)' The sentiment of the first paragraph is found in the twenty-seventh and other previous chapters,—that the noiseless and imperceptible acting of the Tâo is irresistible in its influence, and this runs through to the end of the chapter with the additional appeal to the influence of its effects The introduction of the subject of sacrifices, a religious rite, though not presented to the Highest Object, will strike the reader as peculiar in our King.

The Teh mentioned five times in par 2 is the 'virtue' of the Tâo embodied in the individual, and extending from him in all the spheres of his occupation, and is explained differently by Han Fei according to its application, and his example I have to some extent followed

The force of pars 3 and 4 is well given by Ho-shang Kung On the first clause he says, 'Take the person of one who cultivates the Tâo, and compare it with that of one who does not cultivate it,—which is in a state of decay? and which is in a state of preservation?'

55. 1. He who has in himself abundantly the attributes (of the Tâo) is like an infant. Poisonous insects will not sting him, fierce beasts will not seize him, birds of prey will not strike him.

2. (The infant's) bones are weak and its sinews soft, but yet its grasp is firm It knows not yet the union of male and female, and yet its virile member may be excited,—showing the perfection of its physical essence All day long it will cry without its throat becoming hoarse,—showing the harmony (in its constitution).

3 To him by whom this harmony is known,
(The secret of) the unchanging (Tâo) is shown,
And in the knowledge wisdom finds its throne.
All life-increasing arts to evil turn,
Where the mind makes the vital breath to burn,
(False) is the strength, (and o'er it we should mourn)

4 When things have become strong, they (then) become old, which may be said to be contrary to the Tâo Whatever is contrary to the Tâo soon ends

玄符, 'The Mysterious Charm,' meaning, apparently, the entire passivity of the Tâo

With pars 1 and 2, compare what is said about the infant in chapters 10 and 20, and about the immunity from dangers such as here described of the disciple of the Tâo in ch 50 My 'evil' in the second triplet of par 3 has been translated by 'felicity,' but a reference to the Khang-hsi dictionary will show that the meaning which I give to 祥 is well authorised It is the only meaning allowable here The third and fourth 曰 in this par appear in Ho-shang Kung's text as 日, and he comments on the clauses accord-

ingly; but 曰 is now the received reading Some light is thrown on this paragraph and the next by an apocryphal conversation attributed to Lâo-tze in Liû Hsiang's Shwo-wăn, X, 4 a

56 1 He who knows (the Tâo) does not (care to) speak (about it), he who is (ever ready to) speak about it does not know it.

2. He (who knows it) will keep his mouth shut and close the portals (of his nostrils) He will blunt his sharp points and unravel the complications of things, he will attemper his brightness, and bring himself into agreement with the obscurity (of others). This is called 'the Mysterious Agreement'

3 (Such an one) cannot be treated familiarly or distantly, he is beyond all consideration of profit or injury, of nobility or meanness —he is the noblest man under heaven

玄德, 'The Mysterious Excellence' The chapter gives us a picture of the man of Tâo, humble and retiring, oblivious of himself and of other men, the noblest man under heaven

Par 1 is found in *K*wang-tze (XIII, 20 b), not expressly mentioned, as taken from Lâo-tze, but at the end of a string of sentiments, ascribed to 'the Master,' some of them, like the two clauses here, no doubt belonging to him, and the others, probably *K*wang-tze's own

Par 2 is all found in chapters 4 and 52, excepting the short clause in the conclusion

57 1 A state may be ruled by (measures of) correction, weapons of war may be used with crafty dexterity, (but) the kingdom is made one's own (only) by freedom from action and purpose

2. How do I know that it is so? By these

facts —In the kingdom the multiplication of prohibitive enactments increases the poverty of the people, the more implements to add to their profit that the people have, the greater disorder is there in the state and clan; the more acts of crafty dexterity that men possess, the more do strange contrivances appear, the more display there is of legislation, the more thieves and robbers there are

3 Therefore a sage has said, 'I will do nothing (of purpose), and the people will be transformed of themselves, I will be fond of keeping still, and the people will of themselves become correct. I will take no trouble about it, and the people will of themselves become rich, I will manifest no ambition, and the people will of themselves attain to the primitive simplicity'

淳風, 'The Genuine Influence' The chapter shows how government by the Tâo is alone effective, and of universal application, contrasting it with the failure of other methods

After the 'weapons of war' in par 1, one is tempted to take 'the sharp implements' in par 2 as such weapons, but the meaning which I finally adopted, especially after studying chapters 36 and 80, seems more consonant with Lâo-tze's scheme of thought. In the last member of the same par, Ho-shang Kung has the strange reading of 法物, and uses it in his commentary, but the better text of 法令 is found both in Hwâi-nan and Sze-mâ *Khien*, and in Wang Pî

We do not know if the writer were quoting any particular sage in par 3, or referring generally to the sages of the past,—men like the 'sentence-makers' of ch 41

58 1 The government that seems the most unwise,
Oft goodness to the people best supplies,

That which is meddling, touching everything,
Will work but ill, and disappointment bring

Misery!—happiness is to be found by its side! Happiness!—misery lurks beneath it! Who knows what either will come to in the end?

2 Shall we then dispense with correction? The (method of) correction shall by a turn become distortion, and the good in it shall by a turn become evil The delusion of the people (on this point) has indeed subsisted for a long time.

3. Therefore the sage is (like) a square which cuts no one (with its angles), (like) a corner which injures no one (with its sharpness) He is straightforward, but allows himself no license, he is bright, but does not dazzle

順化, 'Transformation according to Circumstances,' but this title does not throw light on the meaning of the chapter, nor are we helped to an understanding of it by Han Fei, with his additions and comments (XI, 3 b, 4 b), nor by Hwâi-nan with his illustrations (XII, 21 a, b) The difficulty of it is increased by its being separated from the preceding chapter of which it is really the sequel It contrasts still further government by the Tâo, with that by the method of correction The sage is the same in both chapters, his character and government both marked by the opposites or contraries which distinguish the procedure of the Tâo, as stated in ch 40

59 1 For regulating the human (in our constitution) and rendering the (proper) service to the heavenly, there is nothing like moderation

2. It is only by this moderation that there is effected an early return (to man's normal state) That early return is what I call the repeated accumulation of the attributes (of the Tâo) With that

repeated accumulation of those attributes, there comes the subjugation (of every obstacle to such return) Of this subjugation we know not what shall be the limit, and when one knows not what the limit shall be, he may be the ruler of a state

3 He who possesses the mother of the state may continue long His case is like that (of the plant) of which we say that its roots are deep and its flower stalks firm —this is the way to secure that its enduring life shall long be seen

守道, 'Guarding the Tâo' The chapter shows how it is the guarding of the Tâo that ensures a continuance of long life, with vigour and success The abuse of it and other passages in our *King* helped on, I must believe, the later Tâoist dreams about the elixir vitae and life-preserving pills The whole of it, with one or two various readings, is found in Han Fei (VI, 4 b–6 a), who speaks twice in his comments of 'The Book'

Par 1 has been translated, 'In governing men and in serving Heaven, there is nothing like moderation' But by 'Heaven' there is not intended 'the blue sky' above us, nor any personal Power above it, but the Tâo embodied in our constitution, the Heavenly element in our nature The 'moderation' is the opposite of what we call 'living fast,' 'burning the candle at both ends'

In par 2 I must read 復, instead of the more common 服 I find it in Lû Teh-ming, and that it is not a misprint in him appears from his subjoining that it is pronounced like 服 Its meaning is the same as in 復歸其明 in ch 52, par 5 Teh is not 'virtue' in our common meaning of the term, but 'the attributes of the Tâo,' as almost always with Lâo-tze

In par 3 'the mother of the state' is the Tâo as in ch 1, and especially in ch 52, par 1

60. 1 Governing a great state is like cooking small fish

2 Let the kingdom be governed according to the Tâo, and the manes of the departed will not manifest their spiritual energy. It is not that those manes have not that spiritual energy, but it will not be employed to hurt men It is not that it could not hurt men, but neither does the ruling sage hurt them

3 When these two do not injuriously affect each other, their good influences converge in the virtue (of the Tâo)

居位, 'Occupying the Throne,' occupying it, that is, according to the Tâo, noiselessly and purposelessly, so that the people enjoy their lives, free from all molestation seen and unseen

Par 1 That is, in the most quiet and easy manner The whole of the chapter is given and commented on by Han Fei (VI, 6a–7b), but very unsatisfactorily

The more one thinks and reads about the rest of the chapter, the more does he agree with the words of Julien — 'It presents the frequent recurrence of the same characters, and appears as insignificant as it is unintelligible, if we give to the Chinese characters their ordinary meaning'—The reader will observe that we have here the second mention of spirits (the manes, Chalmers, 'the ghosts,' Julien, les démons) See ch 39

Whatever Lâo-tze meant to teach in par 2, he laid in it a foundation for the superstition of the later and present Tâoism about the spirits of the dead,—such as appeared a few years ago in the 'tail-cutting' scare

61 1 What makes a great state is its being (like) a low-lying, down-flowing (stream),—it becomes the centre to which tend (all the small states) under heaven

2 (To illustrate from) the case of all females —the female always overcomes the male by her stillness Stillness may be considered (a sort of) abasement

3 Thus it is that a great state, by condescending to small states, gains them for itself, and that small states, by abasing themselves to a great state, win it over to them. In the one case the abasement leads to gaining adherents, in the other case to procuring favour

4 The great state only wishes to unite men together and nourish them, a small state only wishes to be received by, and to serve, the other. Each gets what it desires, but the great state must learn to abase itself

謙德, 'The Attribute of Humility,'—a favourite theme with Lâo-tze, and the illustration of it from the low-lying stream to which smaller streams flow is also a favourite subject with him The language can hardly but recall the words of a greater than Lâo-tze.—'He that humbleth himself shall be exalted'

62 1 Tâo has of all things the most honoured place
No treasures give good men so rich a grace,
Bad men it guards, and doth their ill efface

2. (Its) admirable words can purchase honour, (its) admirable deeds can raise their performer above others Even men who are not good are not abandoned by it

3. Therefore when the sovereign occupies his place as the Son of Heaven, and he has appointed his three ducal ministers, though (a prince) were to send in a round symbol-of-rank large enough to fill both the hands, and that as the precursor of the team of horses (in the court-yard), such an offering would not be equal to (a lesson of) this Tâo, which one might present on his knees.

4. Why was it that the ancients prized this Tâo

so much? Was it not because it could be got by seeking for it, and the guilty could escape (from the stain of their guilt) by it? This is the reason why all under heaven consider it the most valuable thing

爲道, 'Practising the Tâo' 貴道, 'The value set on the Tâo,' would have been a more appropriate title The chapter sets forth that value in various manifestations of it

Par 1. For the meaning of 奧, see Confucian Analects, III, ch 13

Par 2 I am obliged to adopt the reading of the first sentence of this paragraph given by Hwâi-nan, 美言可以市尊, 美行可以加人,—see especially his quotation of it in XVIII, 10 a, as from a superior man, I have not found his reading anywhere else

Par 3 is not easily translated, or explained See the rules on presenting offerings at the court of a ruler or the king, in vol xxvii of the 'Sacred Books of the East,' p. 84, note 3, and also a narrative in the 30 *K*wan under the thirty-third year of duke Hsî

63 1. (It is the way of the Tâo) to act without (thinking of) acting, to conduct affairs without (feeling the) trouble of them, to taste without discerning any flavour, to consider what is small as great, and a few as many, and to recompense injury with kindness

2 (The master of it) anticipates things that are difficult while they are easy, and does things that would become great while they are small All difficult things in the world are sure to arise from a previous state in which they were easy, and all great things from one in which they were small Therefore the sage, while he never does what is great, is able on that account to accomplish the greatest things

3 He who lightly promises is sure to keep but little faith, he who is continually thinking things easy is sure to find them difficult Therefore the sage sees difficulty even in what seems easy, and so never has any difficulties

思始, 'Thinking in the Beginning' The former of these two characters is commonly misprinted 恩, and this has led Chalmers to mistranslate them by 'The Beginning of Grace' The chapter sets forth the passionless method of the Tâo, and how the sage accordingly accomplishes his objects easily by forestalling in his measures all difficulties In par 1 the clauses are indicative, and not imperative, and therefore we have to supplement the text in translating in some such way, as I have done They give us a cluster of aphorisms illustrating the procedure of the Tâo 'by contraries,' and conclude with one, which is the chief glory of Lâo-tze's teaching, though I must think that its value is somewhat diminished by the method in which he reaches it It has not the prominence in the later teaching of Tâoist writers which we should expect, nor is it found (so far as I know) in *K*wang-tze, Han Fei, or Hwâi-nan It is quoted, however, twice by Liû Hsiang,—see my note on par 2 of ch 49

It follows from the whole chapter that the Tâoistic 'doing nothing' was not an absolute quiescence and inaction, but had a method in it

64 1 That which is at rest is easily kept hold of, before a thing has given indications of its presence, it is easy to take measures against it, that which is brittle is easily broken, that which is very small is easily dispersed Action should be taken before a thing has made its appearance, order should be secured before disorder has begun.

2 The tree which fills the arms grew from the tiniest sprout, the tower of nine storeys rose from a

(small) heap of earth, the journey of a thousand lî commenced with a single step

3. He who acts (with an ulterior purpose) does harm, he who takes hold of a thing (in the same way) loses his hold. The sage does not act (so), and therefore does no harm, he does not lay hold (so), and therefore does not lose his hold (But) people in their conduct of affairs are constantly ruining them when they are on the eve of success If they were careful at the end, as (they should be) at the beginning, they would not so ruin them

4. Therefore the sage desires what (other men) do not desire, and does not prize things difficult to get, he learns what (other men) do not learn, and turns back to what the multitude of men have passed by. Thus he helps the natural development of all things, and does not dare to act (with an ulterior purpose of his own)

守微, 'Guarding the Minute.' The chapter is a continuation and enlargement of the last Wû *Khăng*, indeed, unites the two, blending them together with some ingenious transpositions and omissions, which it is not necessary to discuss Compare the first part of par 3 with the last part of par 1, ch 29

65 1 The ancients who showed their skill in practising the Tâo did so, not to enlighten the people, but rather to make them simple and ignorant

2 The difficulty in governing the people arises from their having much knowledge He who (tries to) govern a state by his wisdom is a scourge to it, while he who does not (try to) do so is a blessing.

3 He who knows these two things finds in them also his model and rule. Ability to know this

model and rule constitutes what we call the mysterious excellence (of a governor) Deep and far-reaching is such mysterious excellence, showing indeed its possessor as opposite to others, but leading them to a great conformity to him.

淳德, 'Pure, unmixed Excellence' The chapter shows the powerful and beneficent influence of the Tâo in government, in contrast with the applications and contrivances of human wisdom Compare ch 19 My 'simple and ignorant' is taken from Julien More literally the translation would be 'to make them stupid' My 'scourge' in par 2 is also after Julien's 'fléau'

66 1 That whereby the rivers and seas are able to receive the homage and tribute of all the valley streams, is their skill in being lower than they,—it is thus that they are the kings of them all So it is that the sage (ruler), wishing to be above men, puts himself by his words below them, and, wishing to be before them, places his person behind them

2 In this way though he has his place above them, men do not feel his weight, nor though he has his place before them, do they feel it an injury to them.

3 Therefore all in the world delight to exalt him and do not weary of him Because he does not strive, no one finds it possible to strive with him.

後己, 'Putting one's self Last' The subject is the power of the Tâo, by its display of humility in attracting men The subject and the way in which it is illustrated are frequent themes in the *King* See chapters 8, 22, 39, 42, 61, et al

The last sentence of par 3 is found also in ch 22. There seem to be no quotations from the chapter in Han Fei or Hwâi-nan, but Wû *Khăng* quotes passages from Tung

*K*ung-shû (of the second century B C.), and Yang Hsiung (B C. 53–A.D 18), which seem to show that the phraseology of it was familiar to them The former says —'When one places himself in his qualities below others, his person is above them, when he places them behind those of others, his person is before them,' the other, 'Men exalt him who humbles himself below them, and give the precedence to him who puts himself behind them'

67 1 All the world says that, while my Tâo is great, it yet appears to be inferior (to other systems of teaching) Now it is just its greatness that makes it seem to be inferior If it were like any other (system), for long would its smallness have been known!

2 But I have three precious things which I prize and hold fast The first is gentleness, the second is economy, and the third is shrinking from taking precedence of others

3. With that gentleness I can be bold, with that economy I can be liberal, shrinking from taking precedence of others, I can become a vessel of the highest honour Now-a-days they give up gentleness and are all for being bold, economy, and are all for being liberal; the hindmost place, and seek only to be foremost,—(of all which the end is) death

4. Gentleness is sure to be victorious even in battle, and firmly to maintain its ground. Heaven will save its possessor, by his (very) gentleness protecting him

三寶, 'The Three Precious Things' This title is taken from par 2, and suggests to us how the early framer of these titles intended to express by them the subject-matter of their several chapters The three things are the three distinguishing qualities of the possessor of the Tâo, the

three great moral qualities appearing in its followers, for qualities, we may venture to say, of the Tâo itself do same phrase is now the common designation of Buddh in China,—the Tri-ratna or Ratna-traya, 'the Precio Buddha,' 'the Precious Law,' and 'the Precious Priesthood (or rather Monkhood) or Church,' appearing also in the 'Tri-*sarana*,' or 'formula of the Three Refuges,' what Dr Eitel calls 'the most primitive formula fidei of the early Buddhists, introduced before Southern and Northern Buddhism separated' I will not introduce the question of whether Buddhism borrowed this designation from Tâoism, after its entrance into China It is in Buddhism the formula of a peculiar Church or Religion, in Tâoism a rule for the character, or the conduct which the Tâo demands from all men 'My Tâo' in par 1 is the reading of Wang Pî, Ho-shang Kung's text is simply 我 Wang Pî's reading is now generally adopted

The concluding sentiment of the chapter is equivalent to the saying of Mencius (VII, ii, IV, 2), 'If the ruler of a state love benevolence, he will have no enemy under heaven' 'Heaven' is equivalent to 'the Tâo,' the course of events,—Providence, as we should say

68 He who in (Tâo's) wars has skill
Assumes no martial port,
He who fights with most good will
To rage makes no resort
He who vanquishes yet still
Keeps from his foes apart,
He whose hests men most fulfil
Yet humbly plies his art

Thus we say, 'He ne'er contends,
And therein is his might'
Thus we say, 'Men's wills he bends,
That they with him unite'
Thus we say, 'Like Heaven's his ends,
No sage of old more bright'

Kuan 天, 'Matching Heaven.' The chapter describes the (B C. of the practiser of the Tâo as accomplished like that of it ıeaven, without striving or crying He appears under pl figure of a mailed warrior (士) of the ancient chariot ab he chapter is a sequel of the preceding, and is joined on to it by Wû *Khăng*, as is also the next.

69 1. A master of the art of war has said, 'I do not dare to be the host (to commence the war), I prefer to be the guest (to act on the defensive) I do not dare to advance an inch, I prefer to retire a foot' This is called marshalling the ranks where there are no ranks; baring the arms (to fight) where there are no arms to bare, grasping the weapon where there is no weapon to grasp, advancing against the enemy where there is no enemy

2 There is no calamity greater than lightly engaging in war To do that is near losing (the gentleness) which is so precious Thus it is that when opposing weapons are (actually) crossed, he who deplores (the situation) conquers

玄用, 'The Use of the Mysterious (Tâo).' Such seems to be the meaning of the title The chapter teaches that, if war were carried on, or rather avoided, according to the Tâo, the result would be success Lâo-tze's own statements appear as so many paradoxes They are examples of the procedure of the Tâo by 'contraries,' or opposites

We do not know who the master of the military art referred to was Perhaps the author only adopted the style of quotation to express his own sentiments

70 1 My words are very easy to know, and very easy to practise, but there is no one in the world who is able to know and able to practise them.

2 There is an originating and all-comprehending

(principle) in my words, and an authoritative law for the things (which I enforce) It is because they do not know these, that men do not know me

3. They who know me are few, and I am on that account (the more) to be prized It is thus that the sage wears (a poor garb of) hair cloth, while he carries his (signet of) jade in his bosom.

知難, 'The Difficulty of being (rightly) Known' The Tâo comprehends and rules all Lâo-tze's teaching, as the members of a clan were all in the loins of their first father (宗), and continue to look up to him, and the people of a state are all under the direction of their ruler, yet the philosopher had to complain of not being known Lâo-tze's principle and rule or ruler was the Tâo His utterance here is very important Compare the words of Confucius in the Analects, XIV, ch 37, et al

Par 2 is twice quoted by Hwâi-nan, though his text is not quite the same in both cases

71 1 To know and yet (think) we do not know is the highest (attainment), not to know (and yet think) we do know is a disease

2 It is simply by being pained at (the thought of) having this disease that we are preserved from it The sage has not the disease He knows the pain that would be inseparable from it, and therefore he does not have it

知病, 'The Disease of Knowing' Here, again, we have the Tâo working 'by contraries,'—in the matter of knowledge. Compare par 1 with Confucius's account of what knowledge is in the Analects, II, ch 17 The par 1 is found in one place in Hwâi-nan, lengthened out by the addition of particles, but the variation is unimportant In another place, however, he seems to have had the correct text before him

Par 2 is in Han Fei also lengthened out, but with an

important variation (不 病 for 病 病), and I cannot construe his text His 不 is probably a transcriber's error

72 1 When the people do not fear what they ought to fear, that which is their great dread will come on them

2 Let them not thoughtlessly indulge themselves in their ordinary life, let them not act as if weary of what that life depends on

3 It is by avoiding such indulgence that such weariness does not arise

4 Therefore the sage knows (these things) of himself, but does not parade (his knowledge), loves, but does not (appear to set a) value on, himself And thus he puts the latter alternative away and makes choice of the former

愛 己, 'Loving one's Self' This title is taken from the expression in par 4, and the object of the chapter seems to be to show how such loving should be manifested, and to enforce the lesson by the example of the 'sage,' the true master of the Tâo

In par 1 'the great dread' is death, and the things which ought to be feared and may be feared, are the indulgences of the appetites and passions, which, if not eschewed, tend to shorten life and accelerate the approach of death

Pars 2 and 3 are supplementary to 1 For 狹, the second character of Ho-shang Kung s text in par 2, Wang Pi reads 狎, which has the same name as the other, and according to the Khang-hsî dictionary, the two characters are interchangeable I have also followed Wû *Khăng* in adopting 狎 for the former of the two 厭 in par 3 Wû adopted this reading from a commentator Liû of Lu-ling It gives a good meaning, and is supported by the structure of other sentences made on similar lines

In par 4 'the sage' must be 'the ruler who is a sage' a master of the Tâo, 'the king' of ch. 25 He 'loves himself,' i e his life, and takes the right measures to prolong his life, but without any demonstration that he is doing so

The above is, I conceive, the correct explanation of the chapter, but as to the Chinese critics and foreign translators of it, it may be said, 'Quot homines, tot sententiae' In illustration of this I venture to subjoin what is found on it in the old version of the Jesuit missionaries which has not been previously printed —

Prima explicatio juxta interpretes

1 Populus, ubi jam principis iram non timet, nihil non audet ut jugum excutiat, resque communis ad extremum discrimen adducitur

2 Ambitio principis non faciat teriam angustiorem, et vectigalium magnitudine alendo populo insufficientem; numquam populus patriae pertaesus alias terras quaeret

3 Vitae si non taedet, neque patrii soli taedebit

4 Quare sanctus sibi semper attentus potentiam suam non ostentat

5 Quia vere se amat, non se pretiosum facit, vel quia sibi recte consulit non se talem aestimat cujus felicitati et honori infelices populi unice servire debeant, immo potius eum se reputat qui populorum felicitati totum se debeat impendere

6 Ergo illud resecat, istud amplectitur

Alia explicatio

1 Populus si non ita timet principis majestatem, sed facile ad eum accedit, majestas non minuitur, immo ad summum pervenit

2 Vectigalibus terra si non opprimitur, suâ quisque contentus alias terras non quaeret si se non vexari populus experitur

3 Vitae si non taedet, nec patrii soli taedebit

4 Quare sanctus majestatis fastum non affectat, immo similem se caeteris ostendit

5 Sibi recte consulens, populorum amans, non se pretiosum et inaccessibilem facit

6 Quidquid ergo timorem incutere potest, hoc evitat, quod amorem conciliat et benignitatem, se demonstrat hoc eligi et ultro amplectitur

73. 1 He whose boldness appears in his daring (to do wrong, in defiance of the laws) is put to death, he whose boldness appears in his not daring (to do so) lives on. Of these two cases the one appears to be advantageous, and the other to be injurious But

When Heaven's anger smites a man,
Who the cause shall truly scan?

On this account the sage feels a difficulty (as to what to do in the former case)

2. It is the way of Heaven not to strive, and yet it skilfully overcomes, not to speak, and yet it is skilful in (obtaining) a reply, does not call, and yet men come to it of themselves Its demonstrations are quiet, and yet its plans are skilful and effective. The meshes of the net of Heaven are large, far apart, but letting nothing escape

任爲, 'Allowing Men to take their Course' The chapter teaches that rulers should not be hasty to punish, especially by the infliction of death Though they may seem to err in leniency, yet Heaven does not allow offenders to escape

While Heaven hates the ill-doer, yet we must not always conclude from Its judgments that every one who suffers from them is an ill-doer, and the two lines which rhyme, and illustrate this point, are equivalent to the sentiment in our Old Book, 'Clouds and darkness are round about Him' They are ascribed to Lâo-tze by Lieh-tze (VI, 7 a), but, it has been said, that they are quoted by him 'in an entirely different connexion' But the same text in two

different sermons may be said to be in different connexions In Lieh-ʒze and our *King* the lines have the same meaning, and substantially the same application Indeed *Kang Kan*, of our fourth century, the commentator of Lieh-ʒze, quotes the comment of Wang Pî on this passage, condensing it into, 'Who can know the mind of Heaven? Only the sage can do so'

74 1 The people do not fear death, to what purpose is it to (try to) frighten them with death? If the people were always in awe of death, and I could always seize those who do wrong, and put them to death, who would dare to do wrong?

2 There is always One who presides over the infliction of death He who would inflict death in the room of him who so presides over it may be described as hewing wood instead of a great carpenter Seldom is it that he who undertakes the hewing, instead of the great carpenter, does not cut his own hands!

制惑, 'Restraining Delusion' The chapter sets forth the inefficiency of capital punishment, and warns rulers against the infliction of it Who is it that superintends the infliction of death? The answer of Ho-shang Kung is very clear —'It is Heaven, which, dwelling on high and ruling all beneath, takes note of the transgressions of men' There is a slight variation in the readings of the second sentence of par 2 in the texts of Ho-shang Kung and Wang Pî, and the reading adopted by Ʒiâo Hung differs a little from them both, but the meaning is the same in them all

This chapter and the next are rightly joined on to the preceding by Wû *Khăng*

75 1 The people suffer from famine because of the multitude of taxes consumed by their superiors. It is through this that they suffer famine

2 The people are difficult to govern because of the (excessive) agency of their superiors (in governing them) It is through this that they are difficult to govern.

3. The people make light of dying because of the greatness of their labours in seeking for the means of living It is this which makes them think light of dying Thus it is that to leave the subject of living altogether out of view is better than to set a high value on it

貪損, 'How Greediness Injures' The want of the nothing-doing Tâo leads to the multiplication of exactions by the government, and to the misery of the people, so as to make them think lightly of death The chapter is a warning for both rulers and people

It is not easy to determine whether rulers, or people, or both, are intended in the concluding sentence of par 2

76 1 Man at his birth is supple and weak, at his death, firm and strong (So it is with) all things Trees and plants, in their early growth, are soft and brittle, at their death, dry and withered

2 Thus it is that firmness and strength are the concomitants of death, softness and weakness, the concomitants of life

3 Hence he who (relies on) the strength of his forces does not conquer, and a tree which is strong will fill the out-stretched arms, (and thereby invites the feller)

4 Therefore the place of what is firm and strong is below, and that of what is soft and weak is above

戒强, 'A Warning against (trusting in) Strength' To trust in one's force is contrary to the Tâo, whose strength is more in weakness and humility

In par 1 the two characters which I have rendered by

'(so it is with) all things' are found in the texts of both Ho-shang Kung and Wang Pî, but Wû *Khăng* and Jiâo Hung both reject them I should also have neglected them, but they are also found in Liû Hsiang's Shwo Wăn (X, 4 a), with all the rest of pars 1 and 2, as from Lâo-tze They are an anakoluthon, such as is elsewhere found in our *King*, e g. 天下之牝 in ch 21, par 2

The 'above' and 'below' in par 4 seem to be merely a play on the words, as capable of meaning 'more and less honourable'

77. 1 May not the Way (or Tâo) of Heaven be compared to the (method of) bending a bow? The (part of the bow) which was high is brought low, and what was low is raised up (So Heaven) diminishes where there is superabundance, and supplements where there is deficiency

2. It is the Way of Heaven to diminish superabundance, and to supplement deficiency It is not so with the way of man He takes away from those who have not enough to add to his own superabundance

3. Who can take his own superabundance and therewith serve all under heaven? Only he who is in possession of the Tâo!

4 Therefore the (ruling) sage acts without claiming the results as his, he achieves his merit and does not rest (arrogantly) in it —he does not wish to display his superiority

天道, 'The Way of Heaven,' but the chapter contrasts that way, unselfish and magnanimous, with the way of man, selfish and contracted, and illustrates the point by the method of stringing a bow This must be seen as it is done in China fully to understand the illustration I have known great athletes in this country tasked to the utmost

of their strength to adjust and bend a large Chinese bow from Peking

The 'sage' of par 4 is the 'King' of ch 25 Compare what is said of him with ch 2, par 4, et al

78 1 There is nothing in the world more soft and weak than water, and yet for attacking things that are firm and strong there is nothing that can take precedence of it,—for there is nothing (so effectual) for which it can be changed.

2 Every one in the world knows that the soft overcomes the hard, and the weak the strong, but no one is able to carry it out in practice

3 Therefore a sage has said,

'He who accepts his state's reproach,
Is hailed therefore its altars' lord,
To him who bears men's direful woes
They all the name of King accord'

4 Words that are strictly true seem to be paradoxical

任信, 'Things to be Believed' It is difficult to give a short and appropriate translation of this title The chapter shows how the most unlikely results follow from action according to the Tao

Par 1 Water was Lâo-tze's favourite emblem of the Tao Compare chapters 8, 66 et al

Par 2 Compare ch 36, par 2

Par 3 Of course we do not know who the sage was from whom Lâo-tze got the lines of this paragraph They may suggest to some readers the lines of Burns, as they have done to me —

'The honest man, though e'er so poor,
Is king o men for a' that'

But the Tâoist of Lâo-tze is a higher ideal than Burns's honest man

Par 4 is separated from this chapter, and made to begin the next by Wû *Khăng*

79 1 When a reconciliation is effected (between two parties) after a great animosity, there is sure to be a grudge remaining (in the mind of the one who was wrong) And how can this be beneficial (to the other)?

2 Therefore (to guard against this), the sage keeps the left-hand portion of the record of the engagement, and does not insist on the (speedy) fulfilment of it by the other party (So), he who has the attributes (of the Tâo) regards (only) the conditions of the engagement, while he who has not those attributes regards only the conditions favourable to himself

3 In the Way of Heaven, there is no partiality of love, it is always on the side of the good man

任契, 'Adherence to Bond or Covenant' The chapter shows, but by no means clearly, how he who holds fast to the Tâo will be better off in the end than he who will rather try to secure his own interests

Par 1 presents us with a case which the statements of the chapter are intended to meet —two disputants, one good, and the other bad, the latter, though apparently reconciled, still retaining a grudge, and ready to wreak his dissatisfaction, when he has an opportunity The 爲 ='for,' 'for the good of'

Par 2 is intended to solve the question The terms of a contract or agreement were inscribed on a slip of wood, which was then divided into two, each party having one half of it At the settlement, if the halves perfectly fitted to each other, it was carried through The one who had the right in the dispute has his part of the agreement, but does not insist on it, and is forbearing, the other insists on the conditions being even now altered in his favour The

characters by which this last case is expressed, are very enigmatical, having reference to the satisfaction of the government dues of Lâo-ʒze's time,—a subject into which it would take much space to go

Par 3 decides the question by the action of Heaven, which is only another name for the course of the Tâo

80 1 In a little state with a small population, I would so order it, that, though there were individuals with the abilities of ten or a hundred men, there should be no employment of them, I would make the people, while looking on death as a grievous thing, yet not remove elsewhere (to avoid it)

2 Though they had boats and carriages, they should have no occasion to ride in them, though they had buff coats and sharp weapons, they should have no occasion to don or use them

3 I would make the people return to the use of knotted cords (instead of the written characters)

4 They should think their (coarse) food sweet; their (plain) clothes beautiful, their (poor) dwellings places of rest, and their common (simple) ways sources of enjoyment

5 There should be a neighbouring state within sight, and the voices of the fowls and dogs should be heard all the way from it to us, but I would make the people to old age, even to death, not have any intercourse with it

獨立, 'Standing Alone' The chapter sets forth what Lâo-ʒze conceived the ancient government of simplicity was, and what he would have government in all time to be He does not use the personal pronoun 'I' as the subject of the thrice-recurring 使, but it is most natural to suppose that he is himself that subject, and he modestly supposes himself in charge of a little state and a small

population The reader can judge for himself of the consummation that would be arrived at, — a people rude and uninstructed, using quippos, abstaining from war and all travelling, kept aloof from intercourse even with their neighbours, and without the appliances of what we call civilisation

The text is nearly all found in Sze-mâ *Khien* and *Kwang-tze* The first member of par 1, however, is very puzzling The old Jesuit translators, Julien, Chalmers, and V von Strauss, all differ in their views of it Wû *Khăng* and Tiâo Hung take what I have now rendered by 'abilities,' as meaning 'implements of agriculture,' but their view is based on a custom of the Han dynasty, which is not remote enough for the purpose, and on the suppression, after Wang Pî, of a 人 in Ho-shang Kung's text

81 1 Sincere words are not fine, fine words are not sincere Those who are skilled (in the Tâo) do not dispute (about it), the disputatious are not skilled in it Those who know (the Tâo) are not extensively learned, the extensively learned do not know it

2 The sage does not accumulate (for himself) The more that he expends for others, the more does he possess of his own, the more that he gives to others, the more does he have himself

3 With all the sharpness of the Way of Heaven, it injures not, with all the doing in the way of the sage he does not strive

顯質, 'The Manifestation of Simplicity' The chapter shows how quietly and effectively the Tâo proceeds, and by contraries in a way that only the master of it can understand The author, says Wû *Khăng*, 'sums up in this the subject-matter of the two Parts of his Treatise, showing that in all its five thousand characters, there is nothing beyond what is here said'

Par 2 suggests to Dr Chalmers the well-known lines of Bunyan as an analogue of it —

'A man there was, though some did count him mad,
The more he gave away, the more he had'

Wû *K'h*ăng brings together two sentences from *K*wang-ʒze (XXXIII, 21 b, 22 a), written evidently with the characters of this text in mind, which, as from a Tâoist mint, are a still better analogue, and I venture to put them into rhyme —

'Amassing but to him a sense of need betrays,
He hoards not, and thereby his affluence displays'

I have paused long over the first pair of contraries in par 3 (利 and 害) Those two characters primarily mean 'sharpness' and 'wounding by cutting,' they are also often used in the sense of 'being beneficial,' and 'being injurious,'—'contraries,' both of them Which 'contrary' had Lâo-ʒze in mind? I must think the former though differing in this from all previous translators The Jesuit version is, 'Celestis Tâo natura ditat omnes nemini nocet,' Julien's, 'Il est utile aux êtres, et ne leur nuit point,' Chalmers's, 'Benefits and does not injure,' and V von Strauss's, 'Des Himmels Weise ist wolthun und nicht beschadigen'

THE

WRITINGS OF *K*WANG-ƷZE.

THE

WRITINGS OF *K*WANG-ƷZE.

INTRODUCTION.

Brief Notices of the different Books

Book I Hsiâo-yâo Yû

The three characters which form the title of this Book have all of them the ideagram 彳 (*K*o), which gives the idea, as the Shwo Wăn explains it, of 'now walking, now halting' We might render the title by 'Sauntering or Rambling at Ease,' but it is the untroubled enjoyment of the mind which the author has in view And this enjoyment is secured by the Tâo, though that character does not once occur in the Book *K*wang-ƷZe illustrates his thesis first by the cases of creatures, the largest and the smallest, showing that however different they may be in size, they should not pass judgment on one another, but may equally find their happiness in the Tâo From this he advances to men, and from the cases of Yung-ƷZe and Lieh-ƷZe proceeds to that of one who finds his enjoyment in himself, independent of every other being or instrumentality, and we have the three important definitions of the accomplished Tâoist, as 'the Perfect Man,' 'the Spirit-like Man,' and 'the Sagely Man' Those definitions are then illustrated,—the third in Yâo and Hsu Yû, and the second in the conversation between *K*ien Wû and Lien Shû The description given in this conversation of the spirit-like man is very startling and contains statements that are true only of Him who is a 'Spirit,' 'the Blessed and only Potentate,' 'Who covereth Himself with light as with a garment, Who stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain,

Who layeth the beams of His chambers in the waters, Who maketh the clouds His chariot, Who walketh on the wings of the wind,' 'Who rideth on a cherub,' 'Who inhabiteth eternity' The most imaginative and metaphorical expressions in the Tâo Teh *K*ing about the power of the possessor of the Tâo are tame, compared with the language of our author I call attention to it here, as he often uses the same extravagant style There follows an illustration of 'the Perfect Man,' which is comparatively feeble, and part of it, so far as I can see, inappropriate, though Lin Hsî-*k*ung says that all other interpretations of the sentences are ridiculous

In the seventh and last paragraph we have two illustrations that nothing is really useless, if only used Tâoistically, 'to the same effect,' says Jiâo Hung, 'as Confucius in the Analects, XVII, ii' They hang loosely, however, from what precedes

An old view of the Book was that *K*wang-tze intended himself by the great phăng, 'which,' says Lû Shû-*k*ih, 'is wide of the mark'

Book II *Kh*î Wû Lun

Mr Balfour has translated this title by 'Essay on the Uniformity of All Things,' and, the subject of the Book being thus misconceived, his translation of it could not fail to be very incorrect The Chinese critics, I may say without exception, construe the title as I have done The second and third characters, Wû Lun, are taken together, and mean 'Discussions about Things,' equivalent to our 'Controversies' They are under the government of the first character *Kh*î, used as a verb, with the signification of 'Harmonising,' or 'Adjusting' Let me illustrate this by condensing a passage from the 'Supplementary Commentary of a Mr *K*ang, a sub-secretary of the Imperial Chancery,' of the Ming dynasty (張學士補註) He says, 'What *K*wang-tze calls "Discussions about Things" has reference to the various branches of the numerous schools, each of which has its own views, conflicting with

the views of the others' He goes on to show that if they would only adopt the method pointed out by *K*wang-tze, 'their controversies would be adjusted (物論齊),' now using the first *Khî* in the passive voice

This then was the theme of our author in this Book It must be left for the reader to discover from the translation how he pursues it I pointed out a peculiarity in the former Book, that though the idea of the Tâo underlies it all, the term itself is never allowed to appear Not only does the same idea underlie this Book, but the name is frequently employed The Tâo is the panacea for the evils of controversy, the solvent through the use of which the different views of men may be made to disappear

That the Tâo is not a Personal name in the conception of *K*wang-tze is seen in several passages We have not to go beyond the phenomena of nature to discover the reason of their being what they are, nor have we to go beyond the bigoted egoism and vainglorious ness of controversialists to find the explanation of their discussions, various as these are, and confounding like the sounds of the wind among the trees of a forest To man neither in nature nor in the sphere of knowledge, is there any other 'Heaven' but what belongs to his own mind That is his only 'True Ruler' *If there be any other, we do not see His form, nor* any traces of His acting Things come about in their proper course We cannot advance any proof of Creation Whether we assume that there was something 'in the beginning' or nothing, we are equally landed in contradiction and absurdity Let us stop at the limit of what we know, and not try to advance a step beyond it

Towards the end of the Book our author's agnosticism seems to reach its farthest point All human experience is spoken of as a dream or as 'illusion' He who calls another a dreamer does not know that he is not dreaming himself One and another commentator discover in such utterances something very like the Buddhist doctrine that all life is but so much illusion (象) This notion has its consummation in the story with which the Book concludes

*K*wang-tze had dreamt that he was a butterfly When he awoke, and was himself again, he did not know whether he, *K*wang *K*âu, had been dreaming that he was a butterfly, or was now a butterfly dreaming that it was *K*wang *K*âu And yet he adds that there must be a difference between *K*âu and a butterfly, but he does not say what that difference is But had he ever dreamt that he was a butterfly, so as to lose the consciousness of his personal identity as *K*wang *K*âu? I do not think so One may, perhaps, lose that consciousness in the state of insanity, but the language of Young is not sufficiently guarded when he writes of

'Dreams, where thought, in fancy's maze, runs mad'

When dreaming, our thoughts are not conditioned by the categories of time and space but the conviction of our identity is never lost

BOOK III YANG SHANG *K*U

'The Lord of Life' is the Tâo It is to this that we are indebted for the origin of life and for the preservation of it Though not a Personal Being, it is here spoken of as if it were,—'the Lord of Life,' just as in the preceding Book it is made to appear as 'a True Governor,' and a True Ruler' But how can we nourish the Tâo? The reply is, By avoiding all striving to do so, by a passionless, unstraining performance of what we have to do in our position in life simply allowing the Tâo to guide and nourish us, without doing anything to please ourselves or to counteract the tendency of our being to decay and death

Par 1 exhibits the injury arising from not thus nourishing the life, and sets forth the rule we are to pursue

Par 2 illustrates the observance of the rule by the perfect skill with which the cook of the ruler Wăn-hui of Wei cut up the oxen for his employer without trouble to himself, or injury to his knife

Par 3 illustrates the result of a neglect of one of the cautions in par 1 to a certain master of the Left, who had brought on himself dismemberment in the loss of one of his feet

Par 4 shows how even Lâo-tze had failed in nourishing 'the Lord of Life' by neglecting the other caution, and allowing in his good-doing an admixture of human feeling, which produced in his disciples a regard for him that was inconsistent with the nature of the Tâo, and made them wail for him excessively on his death This is the most remarkable portion of the Book, and it is followed by a sentence which implies that the existence of man's spirit continues after death has taken place His body is intended by the 'faggots' that are consumed by the fire That fire represents the spirit which may be transferred elsewhere

Some commentators dwell on the analogy between this and the Buddhistic transrotation of births, which latter teaching, however, they do not seem to understand Others say that 'the nourishment of the Lord of Life' is simply acting as Yu did when he conveyed away the flooded waters 'by doing that which gave him no trouble,'—see Mencius, IV, II, 26

In *K'*wang-tze there are various other stories of the same character as that about king Wăn-hui's cook,—e g XIX, 3 and XXII, 9. They are instances of the dexterity acquired by habit, and should hardly be pressed into the service of the doctrine of the Tâo

Book IV *Zăn K'ifn* Shih

A man has his place among other men in the world, he is a member, while he lives, of the body of humanity And as he has his place in society, so also he has his special duties to discharge, according to his position, and his relation to others Tâoist writers refer to this Book as a proof of the practical character of the writings of *K'*wang-tze

They are right to a certain extent in doing so, but the cases of relationship which are exhibited and prescribed for are of so peculiar a character, that the Book is of little value as a directory of human conduct and duty In the first two paragraphs we have the case of Yen Hui, who wishes to go to Wei, and tiy to reform the character and government of its oppressive ruler, in the third and fourth, that of the duke of Sheh, who has been entrusted by the king of *Khû* with a difficult mission to the court of *Khî*, which is occasioning him much anxiety and apprehension, and in the fifth, that of a Yen Ho, who is about to undertake the office of teacher to the son of duke Ling of Wei, a young man with a very bad natural disposition The other four paragraphs do not seem to come in naturally after these three cases, being occupied with two immense and wonderful trees, the case of a poor deformed cripple, and the lecture for the benefit of Confucius by 'the madman of *Khû*' In all these last paragraphs, the theme is the usefulness, to the party himself at least, of being of no use

Confucius is the principal speaker in the first four paragraphs In what he says to Yen Hui and the duke of Sheh there is much that is shrewd and good, but we prefer the practical style of his teachings, as related by his own disciples in the Confucian Analects Possibly, it was the object of *Kwang-tze* to exhibit his teaching, as containing, without his being aware of it, much of the mystical character of the Tâoistic system His conversation with the duke of Sheh, however, is less obnoxious to this charge than what he is made to say to Yen Hui The adviser of Yen Ho is a *Ku* Po-yu, a disciple of Confucius, who still has a place in the sage's temples

In the conclusion, the Tâoism of our author comes out in contrast with the methods of Confucius His object in the whole treatise, perhaps, was to show how 'the doing nothing, and yet thereby doing everything,' was the method to be pursued in all the intercourses of society

BOOK V TEH *KHUNG* FÛ

The fû (符) consisted in the earliest times of two slips of bamboo made with certain marks, so as to fit to each other exactly, and held by the two parties to any agreement or covenant By the production and comparison of the slips, the parties verified their mutual relation, and the claim of the one and the obligation of the other were sufficiently established 'Seal' seems the best translation of the character in this title

By 'virtue' (德) we must understand the characteristics of the Tâo Where those existed in their full proportions in any individual, there was sure to be the evidence or proof of them in the influence which he exerted in all his intercourse with other men, and the illustration of this is the subject of this Book, in all its five paragraphs That influence is the 'Seal' set on him, proving him to be a true child of the Tâo

The heroes, as I may call them, of the first three paragraphs are all men who had lost their feet, having been reduced to that condition as a punishment, just or unjust, of certain offences, and those of the last two are distinguished by their extraordinary ugliness or disgusting deformity But neither the loss of their feet nor their deformities trouble the serenity of their own minds, or interfere with the effects of their teaching and character upon others, so superior is their virtue to the deficiencies in their outward appearance

Various brief descriptions of the Tâo are interspersed in the Book The most remarkable of them are those in par 1, where it appears as 'that in which there is no element of falsehood,' and as 'the author of all the Changes or Transformations' in the world The sentences where these occur are thus translated by Mr Balfour —'He seeks to know Him in whom is nothing false He would not be affected by the instability of creation, even if his life were involved in the general destruction, he would yet hold firmly to his faith (in God)' And he observes in a

note, that the first short sentence 'is explained by the commentators as referring to *K*ăn Ʒâi (眞 宰), the term used by the Tâoist school for God' But we met with that name and synonyms of it in Book II, par 2, as appellations of the Tâo, coupled with the denial of its personality *K*ăn Ʒâi, 'the True Governor or Lord,' may be used as a designation for god or God, but the Tâoist school denies the existence of a Personal Being, to whom we are accustomed to apply that name

Hui-ʒze, the sophist and friend of *K*wang-ʒze, is introduced in the conclusion as disputing with him the propriety of his representing the Master of the Tâo as being still 'a man,' and is beaten down by him with a repetition of his assertions and a reference to some of Hui-ʒze's well-known peculiarities What would *K*wang-ʒze have said, if his opponent had affirmed that his instances were all imaginary, and that no man had ever appeared who could appeal to his possession of such a 'seal' to his virtues and influence as he described?

Lû Fang-wăng compares with the tenor of this Book what we find in Mencius, VII, 1, 21, about the nature of the superior man The analogy between them, however, is very faint and incomplete

Book VI Tâ Ʒung Shih

So I translate the title of this Book, taking Ʒung as a verb, and Ʒung Shih as = 'The Master who is Honoured' Some critics take Ʒung in the sense of 'Originator,' in which it is employed in the Tâo Teh *K*ing, lxx 2 Whichever rendering be adopted, there is no doubt that the title is intended to be a designation of the Tâo, and no one of our author's Books is more important for the understanding of his system of thought

The key to it is found in the first of its fifteen paragraphs. There are in man two elements,—the Heavenly or Tâoistic, and the human The disciple of the Tâo, recognising them both, cultivates what he knows as a man

so as to become entirely conformed to the action of the Tâo, and submissive in all the most painful experiences in his lot, which is entirely ordered by it A seal will be set on the wisdom of this course hereafter, when he has completed the period of his existence on earth, and returns to the state of non-existence, from which the Tâo called him to be born as a man In the meantime he may attain to be the True man possessing the True knowledge

Our author then proceeds to give his readers in five paragraphs his idea of the True Man Mr Balfour says that this name is to be understood 'in the esoteric sense, the partaking of the essence of divinity,' and he translates it by 'the Divine Man' But we have no right to introduce here the terms 'divine' and 'divinity' Nan-hwâi (VII, 5 b) gives a short definition of the name which is more to the point —'What we call "the True Man" is one whose nature is in agreement with the Tao (所謂眞人者性合于道也,' and the commentator adds in a note, 'Such men as Fû-hsî, Hwang-Tî, and Lâo Tan' The Khang-hsî dictionary commences its account of the character 眞 or True' by a definition of the True Man taken from the Shwo Wăn as a 仙人, 'a recluse of the mountain whose bodily form has been changed, and who ascends to heaven,' but when that earliest dictionary was made Tâoism had entered into a new phase, different from what it had in the time of our author The most prominent characteristic of the True Man is that he is free from all exercise of thought and purpose, a being entirely passive in the hands of the Tâo In par 3 seven men are mentioned, good and worthy men, but inferior to the True

Having said what he had to say of the True Man, Kwang-tze comes in the seventh paragraph to speak directly of the Tâo itself, and describes it with many wonderful predicates which exalt it above our idea of God,—a concept and not a personality He concludes by mentioning a number of ancient personages who had got the Tâo, and by it wrought wonders, beginning with a Shih-wei, who preceded Fû-hsî, and ending with Fû Yueh, the minister of

Wû-ting, in the fourteenth century B C , and who finally became a star in the eastern portion of the zodiac Phăng Ȝû is also mentioned as living, through his possession of the Tâo, from the twenty-third century B C to the seventh or later The sun and moon and the constellation of the Great Bear are also mentioned as its possessors, and the fabulous Being called the Mother of the Western King The whole passage is perplexing to the reader to the last degree

The remaining paragraphs are mostly occupied with instances of learning the Tâo, and of its effects in making men superior to the infirmities of age and the most terrible deformities of person and calamities of penury, as 'Tranquillity' under all that might seem most calculated to disturb it Very strange is the attempt at the conclusion of par 8 apparently to trace the genesis of the knowledge of the Tâo Confucius is introduced repeatedly as the expounder of Tâoism, and made to praise it as the ne plus ultra of human attainment

Book VII Ying Tî Wang

The first of the three characters in this title renders the translation of it somewhat perplexing Ying has different meanings according as it is read in the first tone or in the third In the first tone it is the symbol of what is right, or should be, in the third tone of answering or responding to I prefer to take it here in the first tone As Kwo Hsiang says, 'One who is free from mind or purpose of his own, and loves men to become transformed of themselves, is fit to be a Ruler or a King,' and as Ȝhui *K*wan, another early commentator, says, 'He whose teaching is that which is without words, and makes men in the world act as if they were oxen or horses, is fit to be a Ruler or a King' This then is the object of the Book—to describe that government which exhibits the Tâo equally in the rulers and the ruled, the world of men all happy and good without purpose or effort

It consists of seven paragraphs The first shows us the model ruler in him of the line of Thâi, whom I have not

succeeded in identifying The second shows us men under such a rule, uncontrolled and safe like the bird that flies high beyond the reach of the archer, and the mouse secure in its deep hole from its pursuers The teacher in this portion is *Khieh*-yu, known in the Confucian school as 'the madman of *Khû*,' and he delivers his lesson in opposition to the heresy of a *Z*ăh-*k*ung Shih, or 'Noon Beginning' In the third paragraph the speakers are 'a nameless man,' and a Thien Kăn, or 'Heaven Root' In the fourth paragraph Lâo-ʒze himself appears upon the stage, and lectures a Yang ʒze-*k*u, the Yang *K*û of Mencius He concludes by saying that 'where the intelligent kings took their stand could not be fathomed, and they found their enjoyment in (the realm of) nonentity'

The fifth paragraph is longer, and tells us of the defeat of a wizard, a physiognomist in *K*ăng, by Hû-ʒze, the master of the philosopher Lieh-ʒze, who is thereby delivered from the glamour which the cheat was throwing round him I confess to not being able to understand the various processes by which Hû-ʒze foils the wizard and makes him run away The whole story is told, and at greater length, in the second book of the collection ascribed to Lieh-ʒze, and the curious student may like to look at the translation of that work by Mr Ernst Faber (Der Naturalismus bei den alten Chinesen sowohl nach der Seite des Pantheismus als des Sensualismus, oder die Sammtlichen Werke des Philosophen Licius, 1877) The effect of the wizard's defeat on Lieh-ʒze was great He returned in great humility to his house, and did not go out of it for three years He did the cooking for his wife, and fed the pigs as if he were feeding men He returned to pure simplicity, and therein continued to the end of his life But I do not see the connexion between this narrative and the government of the Rulers and Kings

The sixth paragraph is a homily by our author himself on 'non-action' It contains a good simile, comparing the mind of the perfect man to a mirror, which reflects faithfully what comes before it, but does not retain any image of it, when the mind is gone

The last paragraph is an ingenious and interesting allegory relating how the gods of the southern and northern seas brought Chaos to an end by boring holes in him Thereby they destroyed the primal simplicity, and according to Tâoism did Chaos an injury! On the whole I do not think that this Book, with which the more finished essays of *K'wang-tze* come to an end, is so successful as those that precede it

BOOK VIII PHIEN MÂU

This Book brings us to the Second Part of the writings of our author, embracing in all fifteen Books Of the most important difference between the Books of the First and the other Parts some account has been given in the Introductory Chapter We have here to do only with the different character of their titles Those of the seven preceding Books are so many theses, and are believed to have been prefixed to them by *K'wang-tze* himself, those of this Book and the others that follow are believed to have been prefixed by Kwo Hsiang, and consist of two or three characters taken from the beginning, or near the beginning of the several Books, after the fashion of the names of the Books in the Confucian Analects, in the works of Mencius, and in our Hebrew Scriptures Books VIII to XIII are considered to be supplementary to VII by Aû-yang Hsiû

The title of this eighth Book, Phien Mâu has been rendered by Mr Balfour, after Dr Williams 'Double Thumbs' But the Mâu, which may mean either the Thumb or the Great Toe, must be taken in the latter sense being distinguished in this paragraph and elsewhere from *K'ih* 'a finger,' and expressly specified also as belonging to the foot The character phien, as used here, is defined in the Khang-hsi dictionary as 'anything additional growing out as an appendage or excrescence, a growing out at the side' This would seem to justify the translation of it by 'double' But in paragraph 3, while the extra finger increases the number of the fingers, this growth on the foot is represented as diminishing the number of the toes I must consider

the phien therefore as descriptive of an appendage by which the great toe was united to one or all of the other toes, and can think of no better rendering of the title than what I have given It is told in the Zo K'wan (twenty-third year of duke Hsî) that the famous duke Wăn of Zin had phien hsieh, that is, that his ribs presented the appearance of forming one bone So much for the title

The subject-matter of the Book seems strange to us,—that, according to the Tâo, benevolence and righteousness are not natural growths of humanity, but excrescences on it, like the extra finger on the hand, and the membranous web of the toes The weakness of the Tâoistic system begins to appear K'wang-tze's arguments in support of his position must be pronounced very feeble The ancient Shun is introduced as the first who called in the two great virtues to distort and vex the world, keeping society for more than a thousand years in a state of uneasy excitement Of course he assumes that prior to Shun, he does not say for how long a time (and in other places he makes decay to have begun earlier), the world had been in a state of paradisiacal innocence and simplicity, under the guidance of the Tâo, untroubled by any consideration of what was right and what was wrong, men passively allowing their nature to have its quiet development, and happy in that condition All culture of art or music is wrong, and so it is wrong and injurious to be striving to manifest benevolence and to maintain righteousness

He especially singles out two men, one of the twelfth century B C, the famous Po-î, who died of hunger rather than acknowledge the dynasty of K'âu, and one of a more recent age, the robber Shih, a great leader of brigands, who brought himself by his deeds to an untimely end, and he sees nothing to choose between them We must give our judgment for the teaching of Confucianism in preference to that of Tâoism, if our author can be regarded as a fair expositor of the latter He is ingenious in his statements and illustrations, but he was, like his master Lâo-tze, only a dreamer

Book IX Mâ Thî

'Horses' and 'Hoofs' are the first two characters of the Text, standing there in the relation of regent and regimen The account of the teaching of the Book given by Lin Hsî-*k*ung is so concise that I will avail myself of it He says —

'Governing men is like governing horses They may be governed in such a way as shall be injurious to them, just as Po-lâo governed the horse,—contrary to its true nature His method was not different from that of the (first) potter and carpenter in dealing with clay and wood,—contrary to the nature of those substances Notwithstanding this, one age after another has celebrated the skill of those parties,—not knowing what it is that constitutes the good and skilful government of men Such government simply requires that men be made to fulfil their regular constant nature,—the qualities which they all possess in common, with which they are constituted by Heaven, and then be left to themselves It was this which constituted the age of perfect virtue, but when the sages insisted on the practice of benevolence, righteousness, ceremonies, and music, then the people began to be without that perfect virtue Not that they were in themselves different from what they had been, but those practices do not really belong to their regular nature, they arose from their neglecting the characteristics of the Tâo, and abandoning their natural constitution,—it was the case of the skilful artisan cutting and hacking his raw materials in order to form vessels from them There is no ground for doubting that Po-lâo's management of horses gave them that knowledge with which they went on to play the part of thieves, or that it was the sages' government of the people which made them devote themselves to the pursuit of gain,—it is impossible to deny the error of those sages

'There is but one idea in the Book from the beginning to the end,—it is an amplification of the expression in the preceding Book that "all men have their regular and con-

stant constitution," and is the most easily construed of all *K*wang-tze's compositions In consequence, however, of the wonderful touches of his pencil in describing the sympathy between men and other creatures in their primal state, some have imagined that there is a waste and embellishment of language, and doubted whether the Book is really his own, but thought it was written by some one in imitation of his style I apprehend that no other hand would easily have attained to such a mastery of that style'

There is no possibility of adjudicating definitely on the suspicion of the genuineness of the Book thus expressed in Hsî-*k*ung's concluding remarks The same suspicion arose in my own mind in the process of translation My surprise continues that our author did not perceive the absurdity of his notions of the primal state of men, and of his condemnation of the sages

Book X *Khu Khih*

It is observed by the commentator Kwei *K*ăn-*kh*uan that one idea runs through this Book —that the most sage and wise men have ministered to theft and robbery, and that if there were an end of sageness and wisdom, the world would be at rest Between it and the previous Book there is a general agreement in argument and object, but in this the author expresses himself with greater vehemence, and almost goes to excess in his denunciation of the institutions of the sages

The reader will agree with these accounts of the Book *K*wang-tze at times becomes weak in his attempts to establish his points To my mind the most interesting portions of this Book and the last one are the full statements which we have in them of the happy state of men when the Tâo maintained its undisputed sway in the world, and the names of many of the early Tâoistic sovereigns How can we suppose that anything would be gained by a return to the condition of primitive innocence and simplicity? The antagonism between Tâoism and Confucianism comes out in this Book very decidedly

The title of the Book is taken from two characters in the first clause of the first paragraph

Book XI Jâi Yû

The two characters of the title are taken from the first sentence of the Text, but they express the subject of the Book more fully than the other titles in this Part do, and almost entitle it to a place in Part I It is not easy to translate them, and Mr Balfour renders them by 'Leniency towards Faults,' probably construing Jâi as equivalent to our preposition 'in,' which it often is But *K*wang-tze uses both Jâi and Yû as verbs, or blends them together, the chief force of the binomial compound being derived from the significance of the Jâi Jai is defined by Jhun (存), which gives the idea of 'preserving' or 'keeping intact,' and Yû by Khwan (寬), 'being indulgent' or 'forbearing' The two characters are afterwards exchanged for other two, wû wei (無爲), 'doing nothing,' 'inaction,' a grand characteristic of the Tâo

The following summary of the Book is taken from Hsuan Ying's explanations of our author —'The two characters Jâi Yû express the subject-matter of the Book, and "governing" points out the opposite error as the disease into which men are prone to fall Let men be, and the tendencies of their nature will be at rest, and there will be no necessity for governing the world Try to govern it, and the world will be full of trouble, and men will not be able to rest in the tendencies of their nature These are the subjects of the first two paragraphs

'In the third paragraph we have the erroneous view of Jhui *K*hu that by government it was possible to make men's minds good He did not know that governing was a disturbing meddling with the minds of men, and how Lâo-tze set forth the evil of such government, going on till it be irretrievable This long paragraph vigorously attacks the injury done by governing

'In the fourth paragraph, when Hwang-Tî questions

Kwang *Khăng*-tze, the latter sets aside his inquiry about the government of the world, and tells him about the government of himself, and in the fifth, when Yun *Kiang* asks Hung Mung about governing men, the latter tells him about the nourishing of the heart These two great paragraphs set forth clearly the subtlest points in the policy of Let-a-be Truly it is not an empty name

'In the two last paragraphs, *Kwang* in his own words and way sets forth, now by affirmation and now by negation, the meaning of all that precedes'

This summary of the Book will assist the reader in understanding it For other remarks that will be helpful, I must refer him to the notes appended to the Text The Book is not easy to understand or to translate, and a remark found in the *Kiâ-khing* edition of 'the Ten Philosophers,' by Lû Hsiû-fû, who died in 1279, was welcome to me, 'If you cannot understand one or two sentences of *Kwang*-tze, it does not matter.'

Book XII Thien Tî

The first two characters of the Book are adopted as its name,—Thien Tî, 'Heaven and Earth' These are employed not so much as the two greatest material forms in the universe, but as the Great Powers whose influences extend to all below and upon them Silently and effectively, with entire spontaneity, their influence goes forth and a rule and pattern is thus given to those on whom the business of the government of the world devolves The one character 'Heaven' is employed throughout the Book as the denomination of this purposeless spontaneity which yet is so powerful

Lû Shû-*kih* says —'This Book also sets forth clearly how the rulers of the world ought simply to act in accordance with the spontaneity of the virtue of Heaven, abjuring sageness and putting away knowledge, and doing nothing —in this way the Tâo or proper Method of Government will be attained to As to the coercive methods of Mo Ti

and Hui-tze, they only serve to distress those who follow them'

This object of the Book appears, more or less distinctly, in most of the illustrative paragraphs, though, as has been pointed out in the notes upon it, several of them must be considered to be spurious Paragraphs 6, 7, and 11 are thus called in question, and, as most readers will feel, with reason From 13 to the end, the paragraphs are held to be one long paragraph where *K*wang-tze introduces his own reflections in an unusual style, but the genuineness of the whole, so far as I have observed, has not been called in question

BOOK XIII THIEN TÂO

'Thien Tâo,' the first two characters of the first paragraph and prefixed to the Book as the name of it, are best translated by 'The Way of Heaven' meaning the noiseless spontaneity, which characterises all the operations of nature, proceeding silently, yet 'perfecting all things' As the rulers of the world attain to this same way in their government, and the sages among men attain to it in their teachings, both government and doctrine arrive at a corresponding perfection 'The joy of Heaven' and 'the joy of Men' are both realised There ought to be no purpose or will in the universe 'Vacancy, stillness, placidity, tasteless-ness, quietude, silence, and non-action, this is the perfection of the Tâo and its characteristics'

Our author dwells especially on doing-nothing or non-action as the subject-matter of the Book But as the world is full of doing, he endeavours to make a distinction between the Ruling Powers and those subordinate to and employed by them, to whom doing or action and purpose, though still without the thought of self, are necessary, and by this distinction he seems to me to give up the peculiarity of his system, so that some of the critics, especially Aû-yang Hsiû, are obliged to confess that these portions of the Book are unlike the writing of *K*wang-tze Still the antagonism of Tâoism to Confucianism is very apparent

throughout Of the illustrative paragraphs, the seventh, relating the churlish behaviour of Lâo-tze to Confucius, and the way in which he subsequently argues with him and snubs him, is very amusing The eighth paragraph, relating the interview between Lâo and Shih-*khăng* *Khî*, is very strange The allusions in it to certain incidents and peculiarities in Lâo's domestic life make us wish that we had fuller accounts of his history, and the way in which he rates his disciple shows him as a master of the language of abuse

The concluding paragraph about duke Hwan of *Khî* is interesting, but I can only dimly perceive its bearing on the argument of the Book

Book XIV Thien Yun

The contrast between the movement of the heavens (天運), and the resting of the earth (地處), requires the translation of the characters of the title by 'The Revolution of Heaven' But that idea does not enter largely into the subject-matter of the Book 'The whole,' says Hsuan Ying, 'consists of eight paragraphs, the first three of which show that under the sky there is nothing which is not dominated by the Tâo, with which the Tîs and the Kings have only to act in accordance, while the last five set forth how the Tâo is not to be found in the material forms and changes of things, but in a spirit-like energy working imperceptibly, developing and controlling all phenomena'

I have endeavoured in the notes on the former three paragraphs to make their meaning less obscure and unconnected than it is on a first perusal The five illustrative paragraphs are, we may assume, all of them factitious, and can hardly be received as genuine productions of *K'wang-tze* In the sixth paragraph, or at least a part of it, Lin Hsî-*kung* acknowledges the hand of the forger, and not less unworthy of credence are in my opinion the rest of it and much of the other four paragraphs If they may be

taken as from the hand of our author himself, he was too much devoted to his own system to hold the balance of judgment evenly between Lâo and Khung

Book XV Kiio Î

I can think of no better translation for 刻意, the two first characters of the Book, and which appear as its title than our 'Ingrained Ideas,' notions, that is, held as firmly as if they were cut into the substance of the mind They do not belong to the whole Book, however, but only to the first member of the first paragraph That paragraph describes six classes of men, only the last of which are the right followers of the Tâo,—the Sages, from the Tâoistic point of view, who again are in the last sentence of the last paragraph identified with 'the True Men' described at length in the sixth Book The fifth member of this first paragraph is interesting as showing how there was a class of Tâoists who cultivated the system with a view to obtain longevity by their practices in the management of the breath, yet our author does not accord to them his full approbation, while at the same time the higher Tâoism appears in the last paragraph, as promoting longevity without the management of the breath *Khû* Po-hsiû, in his commentary on *Kwang-tze*, which was published in 1210, gives Po-î and Shu-*khî* as instances of the first class spoken of here, Confucius and Mencius, of the second, Î Yin and Fû Yueh, of the third, *Khâo* Fû and Hsu Yû, as instances of the fourth Of the fifth class he gives no example, but that of Phăng Zû mentioned in it

That which distinguishes the genuine sage, the True Man of Tâoism, is his pure simplicity in pursuing the Way, as it is seen in the operation of Heaven and Earth, and nourishing his spirit accordingly, till there ensues an ethereal amalgamation between his Way and the orderly operation of Heaven This subject is pursued to the end of the Book The most remarkable predicate of the spirit so trained is that in the third paragraph,—that 'Its name is the

same as Tî or God;' on which none of the critics has been able to throw any satisfactory light Balfour's version is —'Its name is called "One with God,"' Giles's, 'Its name is then "Of God,"' the 'then' being in consequence of his view that the subject is 'man's spiritual existence before he is born into the world of mortals' My own view of the meaning appears in my version

Lin Hsî-*k*ung, however, calls the genuineness of the whole Book into question, and thinks it may have proceeded from the same hand as Book XIII They have certainly one peculiarity in common,—many references to sayings which cannot be traced, but are introduced by the formula of quotation, 'Therefore, it is said'

Book XVI Shan Hsing

'Rectifying or Correcting the Nature' is the meaning of the title, and expresses sufficiently well the subject-matter of the Book It was written to expose the 'vulgar' learning of the time as contrary to the principles of the true Tâoism, that learning being, according to Lû Shû-*k*ih, 'the teachings of Hui-tze and Kung-sun Lung' It is to be wished that we had fuller accounts of these But see in Book XXXIII

Many of the critics are fond of comparing the Book with the 21st chapter of the 7th Book of Mencius, part 1,—where that philosopher sets forth 'Man's own nature as the most important thing to him, and the source of his true enjoyment,' which no one can read without admiration But we have more sympathy with Mencius's fundamental views about our human nature, than with those of *K*wang-tze and his Tâoism Lin Hsî-*k*ung is rather inclined to doubt the genuineness of the Book Though he admires its composition, and admits the close and compact sequence of its sentences, there is yet something about it that does not smack of *K*wang-tze's style Rather there seems to me to underlie it the antagonism of Lâo and *K*wang to the learning of the Confucian school The only characteristic

of our author which I miss, is the illustrative stories of which he is generally so profuse In this the Book agrees with the preceding

BOOK XVII *Khiû* SHUI

Khiû Shui, or 'Autumn Waters,' the first two characters of the first paragraph of this Book, are adopted as its title Its subject, in that paragraph, however, is not so much the waters of autumn, as the greatness of the Tâo in its spontaneity, when it has obtained complete dominion over man No illustration of the Tâo is so great a favourite with Lâo-tze as water, but he loved to set it forth in its quiet, onward movement, always seeking the lowest place, and always exercising a beneficent influence But water is here before *K*wang-tze in its mightiest volume,—the inundated Ho and the all but boundless magnitude of the ocean , and as he takes occasion from those phenomena to deliver his lessons, I translate the title by 'The Floods of Autumn'

To adopt the account of the Book given by Lû Shû-*k*ih —'This Book,' he says, 'shows how its spontaneity is the greatest characteristic of the Tâo, and the chief thing inculcated in it is that we must not allow the human element to extinguish in our constitution the Heavenly

'First, using the illustrations of the Ho and the Sea, our author gives us to see the Five Tîs and the Kings of the Three dynasties as only exhibiting the Tâo in a small degree, while its great development is not to be found in outward form and appliances so that it cannot be described in words, and it is difficult to find its point of commencement, which indeed appears to be impracticable, while still by doing nothing the human may be united with the Heavenly, and men may bring back their True condition By means of the conversations between the guardian spirit of the Ho and *Zo* (the god) of the Sea this subject is exhaustively treated

Next (in paragraph 8), the khwei, the millepede, and other subjects illustrate how the mind is spirit-like in its spontaneity and doing nothing The case of Confucius (in par 9) shows the same spontaneity, transforming violence.

Kung-sun Lung (in par 10), refusing to comply with that spontaneity, and seeking victory by his sophistical reasonings, shows his wisdom to be only like the folly of the frog in the well The remaining three paragraphs bring before us *K*wang-tze by the spontaneity of his Tâo, now superior to the allurements of rank, then, like the phœnix flying aloft, as enjoying himself in perfect ease, and finally, as like the fishes, in the happiness of his self-possession' Such is a brief outline of this interesting chapter Many of the critics would expunge the ninth and tenth paragraphs as unworthy of *K*wang-tze, the former as misrepresenting Confucius, the latter as extolling himself I think they may both be allowed to stand as from his pencil.

Book XVIII *K*'ih Lo

The title of this Book, *K*'ih Lo, or 'Perfect Enjoyment,' may also be received as describing the subject-matter of it But the author does not tell us distinctly what he means by 'Perfect Enjoyment' It seems to involve two elements,—freedom from trouble and distress, and freedom from the fear of death What men seek for as their chief good would only be to him burdens He does not indeed altogether condemn them, but his own quest is the better and more excellent way His own enjoyment is to be obtained by means of doing nothing, that is, by the Tâo; of which passionless and purposeless action is a chief characteristic, and is at the same time the most effective action, as is illustrated in the operation of heaven and earth

Such is the substance of the first paragraph The second is interesting as showing how his principle controlled *K*wang-tze on the death of his wife Paragraph 3 shows us two professors of Tâoism delivered by it from the fear of their own death Paragraph 4 brings our author before us talking to a skull, and then the skull's appearance to him in a dream and telling him of the happiness of the state after death Paragraph 5 is occupied with Confucius and his favourite disciple Yen Hui It stands by itself, unconnected with the rest of the Book, and its

genuineness is denied by some commentators The last paragraph, found in an enlarged form in the Books ascribed to Lieh-tze, has as little to do as the fifth with the general theme of the Book, and is a strange anticipation in China of the transmotation or transformation system of Buddhism

Indeed, after reading this Book, we cease to wonder that Tâoism and Buddhism should in many practices come so near each other

Book XIX TÂ SHÂNG

I have been inclined to translate the title of this Book by 'The Fuller Understanding of Life,' with reference to what is said in the second Book on 'The Nourishment of the Lord of Life' There the Life before the mind of the writer is that of the Body, here he extends his view also to the Life of the Spirit The one subject is not kept however, with sufficient distinctness apart from the other, and the profusion of illustrations, taken, most of them, from the works of Lieh-tze, is perplexing

To use the words of Lû Shû-*k*ih —'This Book shows how he who would skilfully nourish his life must maintain his spirit complete, and become one with Heaven These two ideas preside in it throughout In par 2, the words of the Warden Yin show that the spirit kept complete is beyond the reach of harm In 3, the illustration of the hunchback shows how the will must be maintained free from all confusion In 4 that of the ferryman shows that to the completeness of the spirit there is required the disregard of life or death In 5 and 6, the words of Thien Khâu-*k*ih convey a warning against injuring the life by the indulgence of sensual desires In 7, the sight of a sprite by duke Hwan unsettles his spirit In 8, the gamecock is trained so as to preserve the spirit unagitated In 9, we see the man in the water of the cataract resting calmly in his appointed lot In 10, we have the maker of the bell-stand completing his work as he did in accordance with the mind of Heaven All these instances show how the

spirit is nourished The reckless charioteering of Tung Ye in par 11, not stopping when the strength of his horses was exhausted, and the false pretext of Sun Hsiû, clear as at noon-day, are instances of a different kind, while in the skilful Shui, hardly needing the application of his mind, and fully enjoying himself in all things, his movements testify of his harmony with Heaven, and his spiritual completeness'

BOOK XX SHAN MÛ

It requires a little effort to perceive that Shan Mû, the title of this Book, does not belong to it as a whole, but only to the first of its nine paragraphs That speaks of a large tree which our author once saw on a mountain The other paragraphs have nothing to do with mountain trees, large or small As the last Book might be considered to be supplementary to 'the Nourishment of Life,' discussed in Book III, so this is taken as having the same relation to Book IV, which treats of 'Man in the World, associated with other men It shows by its various narratives, some of which are full of interest, how by a strict observance of the principles and lessons of the Tâo a man may preserve his life and be happy, may do the right thing and enjoy himself and obtain the approbation of others in the various circumstances in which he may be placed The themes both of Books I and IV blend together in it Paragraph 8 has more the character of an apologue than most of Kwang-tze's stories

BOOK XXI THIEN TZE-FANG

Thien Tze-fang is merely the name of one of the men who appear in the first paragraph That he was a historical character is learned from the 'Plans of the Warring States,' XIV, art 6, where we find him at the court of the marquis Wăn of Wei (B C 424–387), acting as counsellor to that ruler Thien was his surname, Tze-fang his designa-

tion, and Wû-*k*âi his name He has nothing to do with any of the paragraphs but the first

It is not easy to reduce all the narratives or stories in the Book to one category The fifth, seventh, and eighth, indeed, are generally rejected as spurious, or unworthy of our author, and the sixth and ninth are trivial, though the ninth bears all the marks of his graphic style Paragraphs 3 and 4 are both long and important A common idea in them and in 1, 2, and 10 seems to be that the presence and power of the Tâo cannot be communicated by words, and are independent of outward condition and circumstances

BOOK XXII. *K*IH PEI YÛ

With this Book the Second Part of *K*wang-*ts*ze's Essays or Treatises ends 'All the Books in it,' says Lû Shû-*k*ih, 'show the opposition of Tâoism to the pursuit of knowledge as enjoined in the Confucian and other schools, and this Book may be regarded as the deepest, most vehement, and clearest of them all' The concluding sentences of the last paragraph and Lâo-*ts*ze's advice to Confucius in par 5, to 'sternly repress his knowledge,' may be referred to as illustrating the correctness of Lû's remark

Book seventeenth is commonly considered to be the most eloquent of *K*wang-*ts*ze's Treatises, but this twenty-second Book is not inferior to it in eloquence, and it is more characteristic of his method of argument The way in which he runs riot in the names with which he personifies the attributes of the Tâo, is a remarkable instance of the subtle manner in which he often brings out his ideas, and in no other Book does he set forth more emphatically what his own idea of the Tâo was, though the student often fails to be certain that he has exactly caught the meaning

The title, let it be observed, belongs only to the first paragraph The *K*ih in it must be taken in the sense of 'knowledge,' and not of 'wisdom'

BOOK XXIII. KĂNG-SANG *KHÛ*

It is not at all certain that there ever was such a personage as Kăng-sang *Khû*, who gives its name to the Book In his brief memoir of *K*wang-ʒze, Sze-mâ *Kh*ien spells, as we should say, the first character of the surname differently, and for the Kăng (庚), employs Khang (亢), adding his own opinion, that there was nothing in reality corresponding to the account given of the characters in this and some other Books They would be therefore the inventions of *K*wang-ʒze, devised by him to serve his purpose in setting forth the teaching of Lâo-ʒze It may have been so, but the value of the Book would hardly be thereby affected

Lû Shû-*k*ih gives the following very brief account of the contents Borrowing the language of Mencius concerning Yen Hui and two other disciples of Confucius as compared with the sage, he says, 'Kăng-sang *Khû* had all the members of Lâo-ʒze, but in small proportions To outward appearance he was above such as abjure sagehood and put knowledge away, but still he was unable to transform Nan-yung *Khû*, whom therefore he sent to Lâo-ʒze, and he announced to him the doctrine of the Tâo that everything was done by doing nothing'

The reader will see that this is a very incomplete summary of the contents of the Book We find in it the Tâoistic ideal of the 'Perfect Man,' and the discipline both of body and mind through the depths of the system by means of which it is possible for a disciple to become such

BOOK XXIV HSU WÛ-KWEI

This Book is named from the first three characters in it, the surname and name of Hsu Wû-kwei, who plays the most important part in the first two paragraphs, and does not further appear He comes before us as a well-known recluse of Wei, who visits the court to offer his counsels to the marquis of the state But whether there ever was such

a man, or whether he was only a creation of *K*wang-ʒze, we cannot, so far as I know, tell

Scattered throughout the Book are the lessons so common with our author against sagehood and knowledge, and on the quality of doing nothing and thereby securing the doing of everything The concluding chapter is one of the finest descriptions in the whole Work of the Tâo and of the Tâoistic idea of Heaven 'There are in the Book,' says Lû Fang, 'many dark and mysterious expressions It is not to be read hastily, but the more it is studied, the more flavour will there be found in it'

Book XXV ʒEH-YANG

This Book is named from the first two characters in it,-'ʒeh-yang,' which again are the designation of a gentleman of Lû, called Phăng Yang, who comes before us in *Khû*, seeking for an introduction to the king of that state with the view, we may suppose, of giving him good counsel Whether he ever got the introduction which he desired we do not know The mention of him only serves to bring in three other individuals all belonging to *Khû*, and the characters of two of them, but we hear no more of ʒeh-yang The second and third paragraphs are, probably, sequels to the first, but his name does not appear

The paragraphs from 4 to 9 have more or less interest in themselves, but it is not easy to trace in them any sequence of thought The tenth and eleventh are more important The former deals with 'the Talk of the Hamlets and Villages' the common sentiments of men, which, correct and just in themselves, are not to be accepted as a sufficient expression of the Tâo, the latter sets forth how the name Tâo itself is only a metaphorical term, used for the purpose of description, as if the Tâo were a thing, and not capable, therefore, from its material derivation of giving adequate expression to our highest notion of what it is

'The Book,' says Lû Shû-*k*ih, 'illustrates how the Great Tâo cannot be described by any name, that men ought to

stop where they do not really know, and not try to find it in any phenomenon, or in any event or thing They must forget both speech and silence, and then they may approximate to the idea of the Great Tâo'

Book XXVI Wâi Wû

The first two characters of the first paragraph are again adopted as the title of the Book,—Wâi Wû, 'External Things,' and the lesson supposed to be taught in it is that expressed in the first sentence, that the influence of external things on character and condition cannot be determined beforehand It may be good, it may be evil Mr Balfour has translated the two characters by 'External Advantages' Hû Wân-ying interprets them of 'External Disadvantages' The things may in fact be either of these What seems useless may be productive of the greatest services, and what men deem most advantageous may turn out to be most hurtful to them

What really belongs to man is the Tâo That is his own, sufficient for his happiness, and cannot be taken from him, if he prize it and cultivate it But if he neglect it, and yield to external influences unfavourable to it, he may become bad, and suffer all that is most hateful to him and injurious

Readers must judge for themselves of the way in which the subject is illustrated in the various paragraphs Some of the stories are pertinent enough, others are wide of the mark The second, third, and fourth paragraphs are generally held to be spurious, poor in composition, and not at all to the point' If my note on the 'six faculties of perception' in par 9 be correct, we must admit in it a Buddhistic hand, modifying the conceptions of *K*wang-tzze after he had passed away

Book XXVII Yu Yen

Yu Yen, 'Metaphorical Words,' stand at the commencement of the Book, and have been adopted as its name

They might be employed to denote its first paragraph, but are not applicable to the Book as a whole Nor let the reader expect to find even here any disquisition on the nature of the metaphor as a figure of speech Translated literally, 'Yu Yen' are 'Lodged Words,' that is, Ideas that receive their meaning or character from their environment, the narrative or description in which they are deposited

K'wang-*tze* wished, I suppose, to give some description of the style in which he himself wrote —now metaphorical, now abounding in quotations, and throughout moulded by his Tâoistic views This last seems to be the meaning of his *K*'ih Yen,—literally, 'Cup, or Goblet, Words,' that is words, common as the water constantly supplied in the cup, but all moulded by the Tâoist principle, the element of and from Heaven blended in man's constitution and that should direct and guide his conduct The best help in the interpretation of the paragraph is derived from a study of the difficult second Book, as suggested in the notes

Of the five paragraphs that follow the first, the second relates to the change of views, which, it is said, took place in Confucius, the third, to the change of feeling in *Zăng*-*tze* in his poverty and prosperity, the fourth, to changes of character produced in his disciple by the teachings of Tung-kwo *Ze*-*khi*, the fifth, to the changes in the appearance of the shadow produced by the ever-changing substance, and the sixth, to the change of spirit and manner produced in Yang *K*'û by the stern lesson of Lâo-*tze*

Various other lessons, more or less appropriate and important, are interspersed

Some critics argue that this Book must have originally been one with the thirty-second, which was made into two by the insertion between its Parts of the four spurious intervening Books, but this is uncertain and unlikely

BOOK XXVIII *Z*ANG WANG

*Z*ang Wang, explaining the characters as I have done,

fairly indicates the subject-matter of the Book Not that we have a king in every illustration, but the personages adduced are always men of worth, who decline the throne, or gift, or distinction of whatever nature, proffered to them, and feel that they have something better to live for

A persuasion, however, is widely spread, that this Book and the three that follow are all spurious The first critic of note to challenge their genuineness was Sû Shih (better known as Sû Tung-pho, A D 1036–1101), and now, some of the best editors, such as Lin Hsî-*k*ung, do not admit them into their texts, while others who are not bold enough to exclude them altogether, do not think it worth their while to discuss them seriously Hû Wăn-ying, for instance, says, 'Their style is poor and mean, and they are, without doubt, forgeries I will not therefore trouble myself with comments of praise or blame upon them The reader may accept or reject them at his pleasure'

But something may be said for them Sze-mâ *Kh*ien seems to have been acquainted with them all In his short biographical notice of *K*wang-tze, he says, 'He made the Old Fisherman, the Robber *K*ih, and the Cutting Open Satchels, to defame and calumniate the disciples of Confucius' *Kh*ien does not indeed mention our present Book along with XXX and XXXI, but it is less open to objection on the ground he mentions than they are I think if it had stood alone, it would not have been condemned

Book XXIX Tâo *K*ih

It has been seen above that Sze-mâ *Kh*ien expressly ascribes the Book called 'the Robber *K*ih' to *K*wang-tze *Kh*ien refers also in another place to *K*ih, adducing the facts of his history in contrast with those about Confucius' favourite disciple Yen Hui as inexplicable on the supposition of a just and wise Providence We must conclude therefore that the Book existed in *Kh*ien's time, and that he had read it On the other hand it has been shown that Confucius could not have been on terms

of friendship with Liû-hsiâ *K*î, and all that is related of his brother the robber wants substantiation That such a man ever existed appears to me very doubtful Are we to put down the whole of the first paragraph then as a jeu d'esprit on the part of *K*wang-tze, intended to throw ridicule on Confucius and what our author considered his pedantic ways? It certainly does so and we are amused to hear the sage outcrowed by the robber

In the other two paragraphs we have good instances of *K*wang-tze's 'metaphorical expressions,' his coinage of names for his personages, more or less ingeniously indicating their characters, but in such cases the element of time or chronology does not enter, and it is the anachronism of the first paragraph which constitutes its chief difficulty

The name of 'Robber *K*ih' may be said to be a coinage, and that a famous robber was popularly indicated by the name appears from its use by Mencius (III, ii, ch 10, 3), to explain which the commentators have invented the story of a robber so-called in the time of Hwang-Tî, in the twenty-seventh century B C ! Was there really such a legend? and did *K*wang-tze take advantage of it to apply the name to a notorious and disreputable brother of Liû-hsiâ *K*î? Still there remain the anachronisms in the paragraph which have been pointed out On the whole we must come to a conclusion rather unfavourable to the genuineness of the Book But it must have been forged at a very early time, and we have no idea by whom

Book XXX. Yuh *K*iln

We need not suppose that anything ever occurred in *K*wang-tze's experience such as is described here The whole narrative is metaphorical, and that he himself is made to play the part in it which he describes, only shows how the style of writing in which he indulged was ingrained into the texture of his mind We do not know that there ever was a ruler of *K*âo who indulged in the love of the

sword-fight, and kept about him a crowd of vulgar bravoes such as the story describes We may be assured that our author never wore the bravo's dress or girt on him the bravo's sword The whole is a metaphorical representation of the way in which a besotted ruler might be brought to a feeling of his degradation, and recalled to a sense of his duty and the way in which he might fulfil it The narrative is full of interest and force I do not feel any great difficulty in accepting it as the genuine composition of *K*wang-tze Who but himself could have composed it? Was it a good-humoured caricature of him by an able Confucian writer to repay him for the ridicule he was fond of casting on the sage?

Book XXXI Yu-fû

'The Old Fisherman' is the fourth of the Books in the collection of the writings of *K*wang-tze to which, since the time of Sû Shih, the epithet of 'spurious' has been attached by many My own opinion, however, has been already intimated that the suspicions of the genuineness of those Books have been entertained on insufficient grounds, and so far as 'the Old Fisherman' is concerned, I am glad that it has come down to us, spurious or genuine There may be a certain coarseness in 'the Robber *K*'ih,' which makes us despise Confucius or laugh at him, but the satire in this Book is delicate and we do not like the sage the less when he walks up the bank from the stream where he has been lectured by the fisherman The pictures of him and his disciples in the forest, reading and singing on the Apricot Terrace, and of the old man slowly impelling his skiff to the land and then as quietly impelling it away till it is lost among the reeds, are delicious, there is nothing finer of its kind in the volume What hand but that of *K*wang-tze, so light in its touch and yet so strong, both incisive and decisive, could have delineated them?

BOOK XXXII LIEH YU-KHÂU

Lieh Yu-khâu, the surname and name of Lieh-tze, with which the first paragraph commences, have become current as the name of the Book, though they have nothing to do with any but that one paragraph, which is found also in the second Book of the writings ascribed to Lieh-tze There are some variations in the two Texts, but they are so slight that we cannot look on them as proofs that the two passages are narratives of independent origin

Various difficulties surround the questions of the existence of Lieh-tze, and of the work which bears his name They will be found distinctly and dispassionately stated and discussed in the 146th chapter of the Catalogue of the *Khien-lung* Imperial Library. The writers seem to me to make it out that there was such a man, but they do not make it clear when he lived, or how his writings assumed their present form There is a statement of Liû Hsiang that he lived in the time of duke Mû of *Kăng* (B C 627–606), but in that case he must have been earlier than Lâo-tze himself, whom he very frequently quotes The writers think that Liû's 'Mû of *Kăng*' should be Mû of Lû (B C 409–377), which would make him not much anterior to Mencius and *Kwang*-tze, but this is merely an ingenious conjecture As to the composition of his chapters, they are evidently not at first hand from Lieh, but by some one of his disciples, whether they were current in *Kwang*-tze's days, and he made use of various passages from them, or those passages were *Kwang*-tze's originally, and taken from him by the followers of Lieh-tze and added to what fragments they had of their master's teaching,—these are points which must be left undetermined

Whether the narrative about Lieh be from *Kwang*-tze or not, its bearing on his character is not readily apprehended, but, as we study it, we seem to understand that his master Wû-*zăn* condemned him as not having fully attained to the Tâo, but owing his influence with others

mainly to the manifestation of his merely human qualities And this is the lesson which our author keeps before him, more or less distinctly, in all his paragraphs As Lû Shû-*k*ih says —

'This Book also sets forth Doing Nothing as the essential condition of the Tâo Lieh-ʒze, frightened at the respect shown to him by the soup-vendors, and yet by his human doings drawing men to him, disowns the rule of the heavenly, Hwan of *K*ăng, thinking himself different from other men, does not know that Heaven recompenses men according to their employment of the heavenly in them, the resting of the sages in their proper rest shows how the ancients pursued the heavenly and not the human, the one who learned to slay the Dragon, but afterwards did not exercise his skill, begins with the human, but afterwards goes on to the heavenly, in those who do not rest in the heavenly, and perish by the inward war, we see how the small men do not know the secret of the Great Repose, Ʒhâo Shang, glorying in the carriages which he had acquired is still farther removed from the heavenly, when Yen Ho shows that the sage, in imparting his instructions, did not follow the example of Heaven in diffusing its benefits, we learn that it is only the Doing Nothing of the True Man which is in agreement with Heaven, the difficulty of knowing the mind of man, and the various methods required to test it, show the readiness with which, when not under the rule of Heaven, it seems to go after what is right, and the greater readiness with which it again revolts from it, in Khao-fû, the Correct, we have one indifferent to the distinctions of rank, and from him we advance to the man who understands the great condition appointed for him, and is a follower of Heaven, then comes he who plays the thief under the chin of the Black Dragon, running the greatest risks on a mere peradventure of success, a resolute opponent of Heaven, and finally we have *K*wang-ʒze despising the ornaments of the sacrificial ox, looking in the same way at the worms beneath and the kites overhead, and regarding himself as quite independent

of them thus giving us an example of the embodiment of the spiritual and of harmony with Heaven'

So does this ingenious commentator endeavour to exhibit the one idea in the Book, and show the unity of its different paragraphs

Book XXXIII Thien Hsiâ

The Thien Hsiâ with which this Book commences is in regimen, and cannot be translated so as to give an adequate idea of the scope of the Book, or even of the first paragraph to which it belongs The phrase itself means literally 'under heaven or the sky,' and is used as a denomination of 'the kingdom,' and even more widely of 'the world' or 'all men' 'Historical Phases of Tâoist Teaching' would be nearly descriptive of the subject-matter of the Book, but may be objected to on two grounds —first, that a chronological method is not observed, and next, that the concluding paragraph can hardly be said to relate to Tâoism at all but to the sophistical teachers, which abounded in the age of Kwang-tze

Par 1 sketches with a light hand the nature of Tâoism and the forms which it assumed from the earliest times to the era of Confucius as imperfectly represented by him and his school

Par 2 introduces us to the system of Mo Ti and his school as an erroneous form of Taoism and departing, as it continued, farther and farther from the old model

Par 3 deals with a modification of Mohism, advocated by scholars who are hardly heard of elsewhere

Par 4 treats of a further modification of this modified Mohism, held by scholars whose Tao was not the true Tâo, and whose right" was really "wrong"'

Par 5 goes back to the era of Lâo-tze, and mentions him and Kwan Yin as the men who gave to the system of Tâo a grand development

Par 6 sets forth Kwang-tze as following in their steps and going beyond them, the brightest luminary of the system.

Par 7 leaves Tâoism, and brings up Hui Shih and other sophists

Whether the Book should be received as from Kwang-tze himself or from some early editor of his writings is 'a vexed question' If it did come from his pencil, he certainly had a good opinion of himself It is hard for a foreign student at this distant time to be called on for an opinion on the one side or the other

THE

WRITINGS OF *K*WANG-ZE.

BOOK I

PART I. SECTION I.

Hsiâo-yâo Yû, or 'Enjoyment in Untroubled Ease.'[1]

1. In the Northern Ocean there is a fish, the name of which is Khwăn[2],—I do not know how many li in size. It changes into a bird with the name of Phăng, the back of which is (also)—I do not know how many lî in extent. When this bird rouses itself and flies, its wings are like clouds all round the sky. When the sea is moved (so as to bear it along), it prepares to remove to the Southern Ocean. The Southern Ocean is the Pool of Heaven.

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[1] See notice on pp. 127, 128 on the Title and Subject-matter of the Book.

[2] The khwăn and the phăng are both fabulous creatures, far transcending in size the dimensions ascribed by the wildest fancy of the West to the kraken and the roc. *K*wang-ze represents them as so huge by way of contrast to the small creatures which he is intending to introduce,—to show that size has nothing to do with the Tâo, and the perfect enjoyment which the possession of it affords. The passage is a good specimen of the Yu Yen (寓言), metaphorical or parabolical narratives or stories, which are the chief characteristic of our author's writings; but the reader must keep in mind that the idea or lesson in its 'lodging' is generally of a Taoistic nature.

There is the (book called) *Khî* Hsieh [1],—a record of marvels We have in it these words —'When the phăng is removing to the Southern Ocean it flaps (its wings) on the water for 3000 lî Then it ascends on a whirlwind 90,000 lî, and it rests only at the end of six months' (But similar to this is the movement of the breezes which we call) the horses of the fields, of the dust (which quivers in the sunbeams), and of living things as they are blown against one another by the air [2] Is its azure the proper colour of the sky? Or is it occasioned by its distance and illimitable extent? If one were looking down (from above), the very same appearance would just meet his view

2 And moreover, (to speak of) the accumulation of water,—if it be not great, it will not have strength to support a large boat Upset a cup of water in a cavity, and a straw will float on it as if it were a boat Place a cup in it, and it will stick fast,—the water is shallow and the boat is large (So it is with) the accumulation of wind, if it be not great, it will not have strength to support great wings Therefore (the phăng ascended to) the height of 90,000 lî, and there was such a mass of wind beneath it, thenceforth the accumulation of wind was sufficient As it seemed to bear the blue sky on its back, and there was nothing to obstruct or arrest its course, it could pursue its way to the South

[1] There may have been a book with this title, to which *Kwang-sze* appeals, as if feeling that what he had said needed to be substantiated

[2] This seems to be interjected as an afterthought, suggesting to the reader that the phăng, soaring along at such a height, was only an exaggerated form of the common phenomena with which he was familiar

A cicada and a little dove laughed at it, saying, 'We make an effort and fly towards an elm or sapan-wood tree, and sometimes before we reach it, we can do no more but drop to the ground. Of what use is it for this (creature) to rise 90,000 lî, and make for the South?' He who goes to the grassy suburbs[1], returning to the third meal (of the day), will have his belly as full as when he set out; he who goes to a distance of 100 lî will have to pound his grain where he stops for the night; he who goes a thousand lî, will have to carry with him provisions for three months. What should these two small creatures know about the matter? The knowledge of that which is small does not reach to that which is great; (the experience of) a few years does not reach to that of many. How do we know that it is so? The mushroom of a morning does not know (what takes place between) the beginning and end of a month; the short-lived cicada does not know (what takes place between) the spring and autumn. These are instances of a short term of life. In the south of *Khû*[2] there is the (tree) called Ming-ling[3], whose spring is 500 years, and its autumn the same; in high antiquity there was that called Tâ-*khun*[4],

[1] In Chinese, Mang Shang; but this is not the name of any particular place. The phrase denotes the grassy suburbs (from their green colour), not far from any city or town.

[2] The great state of the South, having its capital Ying in the present Hû-pei, and afterwards the chief competitor with *Khin* for the sovereignty of the kingdom.

Taken by some as the name of a tortoise.

[4] This and the Ming-ling tree, as well as the mushroom mentioned above, together with the khwăn and phăng, are all mentioned in the fifth Book of the writings of Lieh-tze, referred to in the next paragraph.

whose spring was 8000 years, and its autumn the same And Phăng Zû[1] is the one man renowned to the present day for his length of life —if all men were (to wish) to match him, would they not be miserable?

3 In the questions put by Thang[2] to Kî we have similar statements —'In the bare and barren north there is the dark and vast ocean,—the Pool of Heaven In it there is a fish, several thousand lî in breadth, while no one knows its length Its name is the khwăn. There is (also) a bird named the phăng, its back is like the Thâi mountain, while its wings are like clouds all round the sky On a whirlwind it mounts upwards as on the whorls of a goat's horn for 90,000 lî, till, far removed from the cloudy vapours, it bears on its back the blue sky, and then it shapes its course for the South, and proceeds to the ocean there' A quail by the side of a marsh laughed at it, and said, 'Where is it going to? I spring up with a bound, and come down again when I have reached but a few fathoms, and then fly about among the brushwood and bushes, and

[1] Or 'the patriarch Phăng' Confucius compared himself to him (Analects, VII, 1),—'our old Phăng,' and Kû Hsî thinks he was a worthy officer of the Shang dynasty Whoever he was, the legends about him are a mass of Tâoistic fables At the end of the Shang dynasty (B C 1123) he was more than 767 years old, and still in unabated vigour We read of his losing 49 wives and 54 sons, and that he still left two sons, Wû and I, who died in Fû-kien, and gave their names to the Wû-î, or Bû-î hills, from which we get our Bohea tea! See Mayers' 'Chinese Reader's Manual,' p 175

[2] The founder of the Shang dynasty (B C 1766–1754) In Lieh-ze his interlocutor is called Hsiâ Ko, and Ze-kî

this is the perfection of flying Where is that creature going to ?' This shows the difference between the small and the great

Thus it is that men, whose wisdom is sufficient for the duties of some one office, or whose conduct will secure harmony in some one district, or whose virtue is befitting a ruler so that they could efficiently govern some one state, are sure to look on themselves in this manner (like the quail), and yet Yung-tze[1] of Sung[1] would have smiled and laughed at them (This Yung-tze), though the whole world should have praised him, would not for that have stimulated himself to greater endeavour, and though the whole world should have condemned him, would not have exercised any more repression of his course, so fixed was he in the difference between the internal (judgment of himself) and the external (judgment of others), so distinctly had he marked out the bounding limit of glory and disgrace Here, however, he stopped His place in the world indeed had become indifferent to him, but still he had not planted himself firmly (in the right position)

There was Lieh-tze[2], who rode on the wind and pursued his way, with an admirable indifference (to

[1] We can hardly tell who this Yung-tze was Sung was a duchy, comprehending portions of the present provinces of Ho-nan, An-hui, and K'iang-sû

[2] See note on the title of Book XXXII Whether there ever was a personage called Lieh tze or Lieh Yu-khâu, and what is the real character of the writings that go under his name, are questions that cannot be more than thus alluded to in a note He is often introduced by K'wang-tze, and many narratives are common to their books Here he comes before us, not as a thinker and writer, but as a semi-supernatural being, who has only not yet attained to the highest consummations of the Tâo

all external things), returning, however, after fifteen days, (to his place) In regard to the things that (are supposed to) contribute to happiness, he was free from all endeavours to obtain them, but though he had not to walk, there was still something for which he had to wait But suppose one who mounts on (the ether of) heaven and earth in its normal operation, and drives along the six elemental energies of the changing (seasons), thus enjoying himself in the illimitable,—what has he to wait for[1]? Therefore it is said, 'The Perfect man has no (thought of) self, the Spirit-like man, none of merit, the Sagely-minded man, none of fame[1]'

4 Yâo[2], proposing to resign the throne to Hsu Yû[3], said, 'When the sun and moon have come forth, if the torches have not been put out, would it not be difficult for them to give light? When the seasonal rains are coming down, if we still keep watering the ground, will not our toil be labour lost for all the good it will do? Do you, Master, stand forth (as sovereign), and the kingdom will (at once) be well governed If I still (continue to) preside over it, I must look on myself as vainly occupying the place,—I beg to resign the throne to you' Hsu

[1] The description of a master of the Tâo, exalted by it, unless the predicates about him be nothing but the ravings of a wild extravagance, above mere mortal man In the conclusion, however, he is presented under three different phrases, which the reader will do well to keep in mind

[2] The great sovereign with whom the documents of the Shû *King* commence —B C 2357–2257

[3] A counsellor of Yâo, who is once mentioned by Sze-mâ *Khien* in his account of Po-î,—in the first Book of his Biographies (列傳) Hsu Yû is here the instance of 'the Sagely man,' with whom the desire of a name or fame has no influence

Yû said, 'You, Sir, govern the kingdom, and the kingdom is well governed If I in these circumstances take your place, shall I not be doing so for the sake of the name? But the name is but the guest of the reality,—shall I be playing the part of the guest? The tailor-bird makes its nest in the deep forest, but only uses a single branch, the mole[1] drinks from the Ho, but only takes what fills its belly Return and rest in being ruler,—I will have nothing to do with the throne Though the cook were not attending to his kitchen, the representative of the dead and the officer of prayer would not leave their cups and stands to take his place'

5 *K*ien Wû[2] asked Lien Shû[2], saying, 'I heard *K'h*eh-yu[3] talking words which were great, but had nothing corresponding to them (in reality),—once gone, they could not be brought back I was frightened by them,—they were like the Milky Way[4] which cannot be traced to its beginning or end They had no connexion with one another, and were not akin to the experiences of men' 'What were his words?' asked Lien Shû, and the other replied, (He said) that 'Far away on the hill of Kû-shih[5] there dwelt a Spirit-like man whose flesh and skin

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[1] Some say the tapir

[2] Known to us only through *K*wang-tze

[3] 'The madman of *K'h*û' of the Analects, XVIII, 5, who eschews intercourse with Confucius See Hwang-fû Mi's account of him, under the surname and name of Lû Thung, in his Notices of Eminent Tâoists, I, 25

[4] Literally, 'the Ho and the Han,' but the name of those rivers combined was used to denote 'the Milky Way'

[5] See the Khang-hsî Thesaurus under the character 射 All which is said about the hill is that it was 'in the North Sea'

were (smooth) as ice and (white) as snow, that his manner was elegant and delicate as that of a virgin, that he did not eat any of the five grains, but inhaled the wind and drank the dew, that he mounted on the clouds, drove along the flying dragons, rambling and enjoying himself beyond the four seas, that by the concentration of his spirit-like powers he could save men from disease and pestilence, and secure every year a plentiful harvest.' These words appeared to me wild and incoherent and I did not believe them 'So it is,' said Lien Shû 'The blind have no perception of the beauty of elegant figures, nor the deaf of the sound of bells and drums But is it only the bodily senses of which deafness and blindness can be predicated? There is also a similar defect in the intelligence, and of this your words supply an illustration in yourself That man, with those attributes, though all things were one mass of confusion, and he heard in that condition the whole world crying out to him to be rectified, would not have to address himself laboriously to the task, as if it were his business to rectify the world Nothing could hurt that man, the greatest floods, reaching to the sky, could not drown him, nor would he feel the fervour of the greatest heats melting metals and stones till they flowed, and scorching all the ground and hills From the dust and chaff of himself, he could still mould and fashion Yâos and Shuns[1], — how should he be willing to occupy himself with things[2]?'

[1] Shun was the successor of Yâo in the ancient kingdom

[2] All this description is to give us an idea of the 'Spirit-like man' We have in it the results of the Tâo in its fullest embodiment

6. A man of Sung, who dealt in the ceremonial caps (of Yin)[1], went with them to Yueh[2], the people of which cut off their hair and tattooed their bodies, so that they had no use for them Yâo ruled the people of the kingdom, and maintained a perfect government within the four seas Having gone to see the four (Perfect) Ones[3] on the distant hill of Kû-shih, when (he returned to his capital) on the south of the Făn water[4], his throne appeared no more to his deep-sunk oblivious eyes[5]

7 Hui-tze[6] told Kwang-tze, saying, 'The king of Wei[7] sent me some seeds of a large calabash, which I sowed The fruit, when fully grown, could contain five piculs (of anything) I used it to contain water,

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[1] See the Lî Kî, IX, iii, 3

[2] A state, part of the present province of Kieh-kiang

[3] Said to have been Hsu Yû mentioned above, with Nieh Khueh, Wang Î, and Phî-î, who will by and by come before us

[4] A river in Shan-hsî, on which was the capital of Yâo ,—a tributary of the Ho

[5] This paragraph is intended to give us an idea of 'the Perfect man,' who has no thought of himself The description, however, is brief and tame, compared with the accounts of Hsu Yû and of 'the Spirit-like man'

[6] Or Hui Shih, the chief minister of 'king Hui of Liang (or Wei), (B C 370–333),' with an interview between whom and Mencius the works of that philosopher commence He was a friend of Kwang-tze, and an eccentric thinker, and in Book XXXIII there is a long account of several of his views I do not think that the conversations about 'the great calabash and 'the great tree' really took place, Kwang-tze probably invented them, to illustrate his point that size had nothing to do with the Tâo and that things which seemed useless were not really so when rightly used

[7] Called also Liang from the name of its capital Wei was one of the three states (subsequently kingdoms), into which the great fief of Tsin was divided about B C 400

but it was so heavy that I could not lift it by myself I cut it in two to make the parts into drinking vessels, but the dried shells were too wide and unstable and would not hold (the liquor), nothing but large useless things! Because of their uselessness I knocked them to pieces!' Kwang-tze replied, 'You were indeed stupid, my master, in the use of what was large. There was a man of Sung who was skilful at making a salve which kept the hands from getting chapped, and (his family) for generations had made the bleaching of cocoon-silk their business A stranger heard of it, and proposed to buy the art of the preparation for a hundred ounces of silver The kindred all came together, and considered the proposal "We have," said they, "been bleaching cocoon-silk for generations, and have only gained a little money Now in one morning we can sell to this man our art for a hundred ounces,—let him have it" The stranger accordingly got it and went away with it to give counsel to the king of Wû[1], who was then engaged in hostilities with Yueh The king gave him the command of his fleet, and in the winter he had an engagement with that of Yueh, on which he inflicted a great defeat[2], and was invested with a portion of territory taken from Yueh The keeping the hands from getting chapped was the same in both cases, but in the one case it led to the investiture (of the possessor of the salve), and

[1] A great and ancient state on the sea-board, north of Yueh The name remains in the district of Wû-kiang in the prefecture of Sû-kâu

[2] The salve gave the troops of Wû a great advantage in a war on the Kiang, especially in winter

in the other it had only enabled its owners to continue their bleaching The difference of result was owing to the different use made of the art Now you, Sir, had calabashes large enough to hold five piculs,—why did you not think of making large bottle-gourds of them, by means of which you could have floated over rivers and lakes, instead of giving yourself the sorrow of finding that they were useless for holding anything Your mind, my master, would seem to have been closed against all intelligence!'

Hui-tze said to K'wang-tze, 'I have a large tree, which men call the Ailantus[1]. Its trunk swells out to a large size, but is not fit for a carpenter to apply his line to it, its smaller branches are knotted and crooked, so that the disk and square cannot be used on them Though planted on the wayside, a builder would not turn his head to look at it Now your words, Sir, are great, but of no use,—all unite in putting them away from them' K'wang-tze replied, 'Have you never seen a wild cat or a weasel? There it lies, crouching and low, till the wanderer approaches, east and west it leaps about, avoiding neither what is high nor what is low, till it is caught in a trap, or dies in a net. Again there is the Yak[2], so large that it is like a cloud hanging in the sky It is large indeed, but it cannot catch mice You, Sir, have a large tree and are troubled because it is of no use,—why do you not plant it in a tract where there is nothing else, or in a wide and barren wild?

[1] The Ailantus glandulosa, common in the north of China, called 'the fetid tree,' from the odour of its leaves

[2] The bos grunniens of Thibet, the long tail of which is in great demand for making standards and chowries

There you might saunter idly by its side, or in the enjoyment of untroubled ease sleep beneath it Neither bill nor axe would shorten its existence, there would be nothing to injure it What is there in its uselessness to cause you distress?'

BOOK II.

PART I SECTION II

Khî Wû Lun, or 'The Adjustment of Controversies[1]'

1 Nan-kwo Ʒze-*khî*[2] was seated, leaning forward on his stool He was looking up to heaven and breathed gently, seeming to be in a trance, and to have lost all consciousness of any companion (His disciple), Yen *Khăng* Ʒze-yû[3], who was in attendance and standing before him, said, 'What is this? Can the body be made to become thus like a withered tree, and the mind to become like slaked lime? His appearance as he leans forward on the stool to-day is such as I never saw him have before in the same position' Ʒze-*khî* said, 'Yen, you do well to ask such a question, I had just now lost myself[4], but how should you understand it? You

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[1] See pp 128–130

[2] Nan-kwo, 'the southern suburb,' had probably been the quarter where Ʒze-*khî* had resided, and is used as his surname He is introduced several times by *Kwang*-ʒze in his writings — Books IV, 7, XXVII 4, and perhaps elsewhere

[3] We have the surname of this disciple, Yen (顏), his name, Yen (偃), his honorary or posthumous epithet (*Khăng*), and his ordinary appellation, Ʒze-yû The use of the epithet shows that he and his master had lived before our author

[4] 'He had lost himself,' that is, he had become unconscious of all around him, and even of himself, as if he were about to enter

may have heard the notes[1] of Man, but have not heard those of Earth, you may have heard the notes of Earth, but have not heard those of Heaven'

Ze-yû said, 'I venture to ask from you a description of all these' The reply was, 'When the breath of the Great Mass (of nature) comes strongly, it is called Wind Sometimes it does not come so, but when it does, then from a myriad apertures there issues its excited noise;—have you not heard it in a prolonged gale? Take the projecting bluff of a mountain forest,—in the great trees, a hundred spans round, the apertures and cavities are like the nostrils, or the mouth, or the ears, now square, now round like a cup or a mortar, here like a wet footprint, and there like a large puddle (The sounds issuing from them are like) those of fretted water, of the arrowy whizz, of the stern command, of the inhaling of the breath, of the shout, of the gruff note, of the deep wail, of the sad and piping note. The first notes are slight, and those that follow deeper, but in harmony with them. Gentle winds produce a small response, violent winds a great one When the fierce gusts have passed away, all the apertures

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into the state of 'an Immortal,' a mild form of the Buddhistic samâdhi But his attitude and appearance were intended by Kwang-ze to indicate what should be the mental condition in reference to the inquiry pursued in the Book,—a condition, it appears to me, of agnosticism See the account of Lâo-ze in a similar trance in Book XXI, par 4

[1] The Chinese term here (lâi) denotes a reed or pipe, with three holes, by a combination of which there was formed the rudimentary or reed organ Our author uses it for the sounds or notes heard in nature, various as the various opinions of men in their discussions about things.

are empty (and still),—have you not seen this in the bending and quivering of the branches and leaves?'

Ze-yû said, 'The notes of Earth then are simply those which come from its myriad apertures, and the notes of Man may just be compared to those which (are brought from the tubes of) bamboo,—allow me to ask about the notes of Heaven[1].' Ze-*khî* replied, 'When (the wind) blows, (the sounds from) the myriad apertures are different, and (its cessation) makes them stop of themselves. Both of these things arise from (the wind and the apertures) themselves—should there be any other agency that excites them?'

2. Great knowledge is wide and comprehensive, small knowledge is partial and restricted. Great speech is exact and complete, small speech is (merely) so much talk[2]. When we sleep, the soul communicates with (what is external to us), when we awake, the body is set free. Our intercourse with others then leads to various activity, and daily there is the striving of mind with mind. There are hesitancies, deep difficulties, reservations, small apprehensions causing restless distress, and great

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[1] The sounds of Earth have been described fully and graphically. Of the sounds of Man very little is said, but they form the subject of the next paragraph. Nothing is said in answer to the disciple's inquiry about the notes of Heaven. It is intimated, however, that there is no necessity to introduce any foreign Influence or Power like Heaven in connexion with the notes of Earth. The term Heaven, indeed, is about to pass with our author into a mere synonym of Tâo, the natural 'course' of the phenomena of men and things.

[2] Words are the 'sounds' of Man; and knowledge is the 'wind' by which they are excited.

apprehensions producing endless fears Where their utterances are like arrows from a bow, we have those who feel it their charge to pronounce what is right and what is wrong, where they are given out like the conditions of a covenant, we have those who maintain their views, determined to overcome. (The weakness of their arguments), like the decay (of things) in autumn and winter, shows the failing (of the minds of some) from day to day, or it is like their water which, once voided, cannot be gathered up again Then their ideas seem as if fast bound with cords, showing that the mind is become like an old and dry moat, and that it is nigh to death, and cannot be restored to vigour and brightness

Joy and anger, sadness and pleasure, anticipation and regret, fickleness and fixedness, vehemence and indolence, eagerness and tardiness,—(all these moods), like music from an empty tube, or mushrooms from the warm moisture, day and night succeed to one another and come before us, and we do not know whence they sprout Let us stop! Let us stop! Can we expect to find out suddenly how they are produced?

If there were not (the views of) another, I should not have mine, if there were not I (with my views), his would be uncalled for —this is nearly a true statement of the case, but we do not know what it is that makes it be so It might seem as if there would be a true Governor[1] concerned in it, but we do not find

[1] 'A true Governor' would be a good enough translation for 'the true God' But Kwang-tze did not admit any supernatural Power or Being as working in man His true Governor was the Tâo, and this will be increasingly evident as we proceed with the study of his Books

any trace (of his presence and acting) That such an One could act so I believe, but we do not see His form He has affections, but He has no form

Given the body, with its hundred parts, its nine openings, and its six viscera, all complete in their places, which do I love the most? Do you love them all equally? or do you love some more than others? Is it not the case that they all perform the part of your servants and waiting women? All of them being such, are they not incompetent to rule one another? or do they take it in turns to be now ruler and now servants? There must be a true Ruler (among them)[1] whether by searching you can find out His character or not, there is neither advantage nor hurt, so far as the truth of His operation is concerned When once we have received the bodily form complete, its parts do not fail to perform their functions till the end comes In conflict with things or in harmony with them, they pursue their course to the end, with the speed of a galloping horse which cannot be stopped,—is it not sad? To be constantly toiling all one's lifetime, without seeing the fruit of one's labour, and to be weary and worn out with his labour, without knowing where he is going to —is it not a deplorable case? Men may say, 'But it is not death,' yet of what advantage is this? When the body is decomposed, the mind will be the same along with it —must not the case be pronounced very deplorable[2]? Is the life

[1] The name 'Ruler' is different from 'Governor' above, but they both indicate the same concept in the author's mind

[2] The proper reply to this would be that the mind is not dissolved with the body, and Kwang-tzû's real opinion, as we shall find, was that life and death were but phases in the phenomenal

of man indeed enveloped in such darkness? Is it I alone to whom it appears so? And does it not appear to be so to other men?

3 If we were to follow the judgments of the predetermined mind, who would be left alone and without a teacher[1]? Not only would it be so with those who know the sequences (of knowledge and feeling) and make their own selection among them, but it would be so as well with the stupid and unthinking. For one who has not this determined mind, to have his affirmations and negations is like the case described in the saying, 'He went to Yueh to-day, and arrived at it yesterday[2].' It would be making what was not a fact to be a fact. But even the spirit-like Yu[3] could not have known how to do this, and how should one like me be able to do it?

But speech is not like the blowing (of the wind); the speaker has (a meaning in) his words. If, however, what he says, be indeterminate (as from a mind not made up), does he then really speak or not? He thinks that his words are different from the chirpings of fledgelings; but is there any distinction between them or not? But how can the Tâo be so obscured, that there should be 'a True' and 'a False' in it? How can speech be so obscured that there should be 'the Right' and 'the Wrong' about them? Where shall the Tâo go to that it will not

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development. But the course of his argument suggests to us the question here, 'Is life worth living?'

[1] This 'teacher' is 'the Tâo'.

[2] Expressing the absurdity of the case. This is one of the sayings of Hui-ze,—see Book XXXIII, par. 7.

[3] The successor and counsellor of Shun, who coped with and remedied the flood of Yâo.

be found? Where shall speech be found that it will be inappropriate? Tâo becomes obscured through the small comprehension (of the mind), and speech comes to be obscure through the vain-gloriousness (of the speaker). So it is that we have the contentions between the Literati[1] and the Mohists[2], the one side affirming what the other denies, and vice versâ. If we would decide on their several affirmations and denials, no plan is like bringing the (proper) light (of the mind)[3] to bear on them.

All subjects may be looked at from (two points of view),—from that and from this. If I look at a thing from another's point of view, I do not see it, only as I know it myself, do I know it. Hence it is said, 'That view comes from this, and this view is a consequence of that'—which is the theory that that view and this—(the opposite views)—produce each the other.[4] Although it be so, there is affirmed now life and now death, now death and now life, now the admissibility of a thing and now its inadmissibility, now its inadmissibility and now its admissibility. (The disputants) now affirm and now deny, now deny and now affirm. Therefore the sagely man does not pursue this method, but views things in the light of (his) Heaven[5] (-ly nature), and hence forms his judgment of what is right.

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[1] The followers of Confucius.

[2] The disciples of Mih-tze, or Mih Tî, the heresiarch, whom Mencius attacked so fiercely,—see Mencius, V, i, 5, et al. His era must be assigned between Confucius and Mencius.

[3] That is, the perfect mind, the principle of the Tâo.

[4] As taught by Hui-tze,—see XXXIII, 7, but it is doubtful if the quotation from Hui's teaching be complete.

[5] Equivalent to the Tâo. See on the use in Lâo-tze and Kwang-tze of the term 'Heaven,' in the Introduction, pp. 16–18.

This view is the same as that, and that view is the same as this But that view involves both a right and a wrong, and this view involves also a right and a wrong —are there indeed, or are there not the two views, that and this? They have not found their point of correspondency which is called the pivot of the Tâo As soon as one finds this pivot, he stands in the centre of the ring (of thought), where he can respond without end to the changing views,—without end to those affirming, and without end to those denying Therefore I said, 'There is nothing like the proper light (of the mind)'

4 By means of a finger (of my own) to illustrate that the finger (of another) is not a finger is not so good a plan as to illustrate that it is not so by means of what is (acknowledged to be) not a finger, and by means of (what I call) a horse to illustrate that (what another calls) a horse is not so, is not so good a plan as to illustrate that it is not a horse, by means of what is (acknowledged to be) not a horse[1]. (All things in) heaven and earth may be (dealt with as) a finger, (each of) their myriads may be (dealt with as) a horse Does a thing seem so to me? (I say that) it is so Does it seem not so to me? (I say that) it is not so A path is formed by (constant)

[1] The language of our author here is understood to have reference to the views of Kung-sun Lung, a contemporary of Hui-ze, and a sophist like him One of his treatises or arguments had the title of 'The White Horse,' and another that of 'Pointing to Things' If these had been preserved, we might have seen more clearly the appropriateness of the text here But the illustration of the monkeys and their actions shows us the scope of the whole paragraph to be that controversialists, whose views are substantially the same, may yet differ, and that with heat, in words

treading on the ground A thing is called by its name through the (constant) application of the name to it How is it so? It is so because it is so How is it not so? It is not so, because it is not so. Everything has its inherent character and its proper capability There is nothing which has not these Therefore, this being so, if we take a stalk of grain[1] and a (large) pillar, a loathsome (leper) and (a beauty like) Hsî Shih[2], things large and things insecure, things crafty and things strange,—they may in the light of the Tâo all be reduced to the same category (of opinion about them)

It was separation that led to completion, from completion ensued dissolution But all things, without regard to their completion and dissolution, may again be comprehended in their unity,—it is only the far reaching in thought who know how to comprehend them in this unity This being so, let us give up our devotion to our own views, and occupy ourselves with the ordinary views These ordinary views are grounded on the use of things (The study of that) use leads to the comprehensive judgment, and that judgment secures the success (of the inquiry) That success gained, we are near (to the object of our search), and there we stop When we stop, and yet we do not know how it is so, we have what is called the Tâo

When we toil our spirits and intelligence, obstin-

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[1] The character in the text means both 'a stalk of grain' and 'a horizontal beam' Each meaning has its advocates here

[2] A famous beauty, a courtezan presented by the king of Yueh to his enemy, the king of Wû, and who hastened on his progress to ruin and death, she herself perishing at the same time

ately determined (to establish our own view), and do not know the agreement (which underlies it and the views of others), we have what is called 'In the morning three' What is meant by that 'In the morning three?' A keeper of monkeys, in giving them out their acorns, (once) said, 'In the morning I will give you three (measures) and in the evening four' This made them all angry, and he said, 'Very well In the morning I will give you four and in the evening three' His two proposals were substantially the same, but the result of the one was to make the creatures angry, and of the other to make them pleased —an illustration of the point I am insisting on Therefore the sagely man brings together a dispute in its affirmations and denials, and rests in the equal fashioning of Heaven[1] Both sides of the question are admissible

5 Among the men of old their knowledge reached the extreme point What was that extreme point? Some held that at first there was not anything This is the extreme point, the utmost point to which nothing can be added[2] A second class held that there was something, but without any responsive recognition[3] of it (on the part of men)

A third class held that there was such recognition, but there had not begun to be any expression of different opinions about it

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[1] Literally, 'the Heaven-Mould or Moulder,'—another name for the Tâo, by which all things are fashioned

[2] See the same passage in Book XXIII, par 10

[3] The ordinary reading here is făng (封), 'a boundary' or 'distinctive limit' Lin Hsî-*k*ung adopts the reading 對, 'a response,' and I have followed him

It was through the definite expression of different opinions about it that there ensued injury to (the doctrine of) the Tâo It was this injury to the (doctrine of the) Tâo which led to the formation of (partial) preferences. Was it indeed after such preferences were formed that the injury came? or did the injury precede the rise of such preferences? If the injury arose after their formation, *K'*âo's method of playing on the lute was natural If the injury arose before their formation, there would have been no such playing on the lute as *K'*âo's[1]

*K'*âo Wăn's playing on the lute, Shih Kwang's indicating time with his staff, and Hui-ʒze's (giving his views), while leaning against a dryandra tree (were all extraordinary) The knowledge of the three men (in their several arts) was nearly perfect, and therefore they practised them to the end of their lives. They loved them because they were different from those of others They loved them and wished to make them known to others But as they could not be made clear, though they tried to make them so, they ended with the obscure (discussions) about 'the hard' and 'the white' And their sons[2], moreover, with all the threads of their fathers' compositions, yet to the end of their lives accomplished nothing If they, proceeding in this way, could be said to have succeeded, then am I also successful,

[1] *K'*âo Wăn and Shih Kwang were both musicians of the state of Ʒin Shih, which appears as Kwang's surname, was his denomination as 'music-master' It is difficult to understand the reason why *K'*wang-ʒze introduces these men and their ways, or how it helps his argument.

[2] Perhaps we should read here 'son,' with special reference to the son of Hui-ʒze

if they cannot be pronounced successful, neither I nor any other can succeed

Therefore the scintillations of light from the midst of confusion and perplexity are indeed valued by the sagely man, but not to use one's own views and to take his position on the ordinary views is what is called using the (proper) light

6 But here now are some other sayings[1] —I do not know whether they are of the same character as those which I have already given, or of a different character. Whether they be of the same character or not when looked at along with them, they have a character of their own, which cannot be distinguished from the others But though this be the case, let me try to explain myself

There was a beginning There was a beginning before that beginning[2] There was a beginning previous to that beginning before there was the beginning

There was existence, there had been no existence There was no existence before the beginning of that no existence[2] There was no existence previous to the no existence before there was the beginning of the no existence If suddenly there was non-existence, we do not know whether it was really anything existing, or really not existing Now I have said what I have said, but I do not know whether what I have said be really anything to the point or not

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[1] Referring, I think, to those below commencing 'There was a beginning'

[2] That is, looking at things from the standpoint of an original non-existence, and discarding all considerations of space and time

Under heaven there is nothing greater than the tip of an autumn down, and the Thâi mountain is small There is no one more long-lived than a child which dies prematurely, and Phăng Zû did not live out his time. Heaven, Earth, and I were produced together, and all things and I are one Since they are one, can there be speech about them? But since they are spoken of as one, must there not be room for speech? One and Speech are two, two and one are three Going on from this (in our enumeration), the most skilful reckoner cannot reach (the end of the necessary numbers), and how much less can ordinary people do so! Therefore from non-existence we proceed to existence till we arrive at three, proceeding from existence to existence, to how many should we reach? Let us abjure such procedure, and simply rest here[1]

7 The Tâo at first met with no responsive recognition. Speech at first had no constant forms of expression Because of this there came the demarcations (of different views) Let me describe those demarcations —they are the Left and the Right[2], the Relations and their Obligations[3], Classifications[4]

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[1] On this concluding clause, Zuo Hung says —'Avoiding such procedure, there will be no affirmations and denials (no contraries) The phrase 因是已 occurs in the Book several times, and interpreters have missed its meaning from not observing that 是已 serve merely as a final particle, and often have the 因 added to them, without affecting its meaning' See also Wang Yin on the usages of 因 in the 皇清經解, ch 1208, art 6

[2] That is, direct opposites

[3] Literally, 'righteousnesses,' the proper way of dealing with the relations

[4] Literally, 'separations'

and their Distinctions, Emulations and Contentions These are what are called 'the Eight Qualities' Outside the limits of the world of men[1], the sage occupies his thoughts, but does not discuss about anything, inside those limits he occupies his thoughts, but does not pass any judgments In the *Khun Khiû*[2], which embraces the history of the former kings, the sage indicates his judgments, but does not argue (in vindication of them) Thus it is that he separates his characters from one another without appearing to do so, and argues without the form of argument How does he do so? The sage cherishes his views in his own breast, while men generally state theirs argumentatively, to show them to others. Hence we have the saying, 'Disputation is a proof of not seeing clearly'

The Great Tâo[3] does not admit of being praised The Great Argument does not require words Great Benevolence is not (officiously) benevolent Great Disinterestedness does not vaunt its humility Great Courage is not seen in stubborn bravery

The Tâo that is displayed is not the Tâo Words that are argumentative do not reach the point Benevolence that is constantly exercised does not accomplish its object Disinterestedness that vaunts its purity is not genuine Courage that is most stub-

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[1] Literally, 'the six conjunctions,' meaning the four cardinal points of space, with the zenith and nadir, sometimes a name for the universe of space Here we must restrict the meaning as I have done

[2] 'The Spring and Autumn,'—Confucius's Annals of Lû, here complimented by *Kwang-ze* See in Mencius, IV, ii, 21

[3] Compare the Tâo Teh *King*, ch 25, et al.

born is ineffectual These five seem to be round (and complete), but they tend to become square (and immovable)[1] Therefore the knowledge that stops at what it does not know is the greatest Who knows the argument that needs no words, and the Way that is not to be trodden[2]?

He who is able to know this has what is called 'The Heavenly Treasure-house[3]' He may pour into it without its being filled, he may pour from it without its being exhausted, and all the while he does not know whence (the supply) comes This is what is called 'The Store of Light[3]'

Therefore of old Yâo asked Shun, saying, 'I wish to smite (the rulers of) Sung, Kwei, and Hsu-âo[4] Even when standing in my court, I cannot get them out of my mind How is it so?' Shun replied, 'Those three rulers live (in their little states) as if they were among the mugwort and other brushwood, —how is it that you cannot get them out of your mind? Formerly, ten suns came out together, and all things were illuminated by them,—how much should (your) virtue exceed (all) suns!'

8 Nieh *K'h*ueh[5] asked Wang Î[5], saying, 'Do you know, Sir, what all creatures agree in approving and

[1] Compare the use of 方 in the Shû *K*ing, I, iii, 11

[2] The classic of Lâo, in chaps 1, 2

[3] Names for the Tâo

[4] Three small states Is Yâo's wish to smite an instance of the 'quality' of 'emulation' or jealousy?

[5] Both Tâoistic worthies of the time of Yâo, supposed to have been two of the Perfect Ones whom Yâo visited on the distant hill of Kû-shih (I, par 6) According to Hwang Mî, Wang Î was the teacher of Nieh *K'h*ueh, and he again of Hsu Yû

affirming?' 'How should I know it?' was the reply 'Do you know what it is that you do not know?' asked the other again, and he got the same reply He asked a third time,—'Then are all creatures thus without knowledge?' and Wang Î answered as before, (adding however), 'Notwithstanding, I will try and explain my meaning How do you know that when I say "I know it," I really (am showing that) I do not know it, and that when I say "I do not know it," I really am showing that I do know it[1].' And let me ask you some questions —'If a man sleep in a damp place, he will have a pain in his loins, and half his body will be as if it were dead, but will it be so with an eel? If he be living in a tree, he will be frightened and all in a tremble, but will it be so with a monkey? And does any one of the three know his right place? Men eat animals that have been fed on grain and grass, deer feed on the thick-set grass, centipedes enjoy small snakes, owls and crows delight in mice, but does any one of the four know the right taste? The dog-headed monkey finds its mate in the female gibbon, the elk and the axis deer cohabit, and the eel enjoys itself with other fishes Mâo Shiang[2] and Lî Kî[2] were accounted by men to be most beautiful, but when fishes saw them, they dived deep in the water from them, when birds, they flew from them aloft, and

[1] Compare par 1 of Book XXII

[2] Two famous beauties,—the former, a contemporary of Hsî Shih (par 4, note 2), and like her also, of the state of Yueh, the latter, the daughter of a barbarian chief among the Western Jung She was captured by duke Hsien of Sin, in B C 672 He subsequently made her his wife,—to the great injury of his family and state

when deer saw them, they separated and fled away[1] But did any of these four know which in the world is the right female attraction? As I look at the matter, the first principles of benevolence and righteousness and the paths of approval and disapproval are inextricably mixed and confused together.—how is it possible that I should know how to discriminate among them?'

Nieh *Khueh* said (further), 'Since you, Sir, do not know what is advantageous and what is hurtful, is the Perfect man also in the same way without the knowledge of them?' Wang Î replied, 'The Perfect man is spirit-like Great lakes might be boiling about him, and he would not feel their heat, the Ho and the Han might be frozen up, and he would not feel the cold, the hurrying thunderbolts might split the mountains, and the wind shake the ocean, without being able to make him afraid Being such, he mounts on the clouds of the air, rides on the sun and moon, and rambles at ease beyond the four seas Neither death nor life makes any change in him, and how much less should the considerations of advantage and injury do so[2]!'

9. *Khu* Zhiâo-tze[3] asked *Khang*-wû Tze[3], saying,

[1] Not thinking them beautiful, as men did, but frightened and repelled by them

[2] Compare Book I, pars 3 and 5.

[3] We know nothing of the former of these men, but what is mentioned here, the other appears also in Book XXV, 6, q v If 'the master' that immediately follows be Confucius they must have been contemporary with him The *Khû* in *Khang*-wû's reply would seem to make it certain 'the master' was Confucius, but the oldest critics, and some modern ones as well, think that *Khang*-wû's name was also *Khû* But this view is attended with more

'I heard the Master (speaking of such language as the following) —"The sagely man does not occupy himself with worldly affairs He does not put himself in the way of what is profitable, nor try to avoid what is hurtful, he has no pleasure in seeking (for anything from any one), he does not care to be found in (any established) Way, he speaks without speaking, he does not speak when he speaks, thus finding his enjoyment outside the dust and dirt (of the world)" The Master considered all this to be a shoreless flow of mere words, and I consider it to describe the course of the Mysterious Way —What do you, Sir, think of it?' *Khang*-wû Ze replied, 'The hearing of such words would have perplexed even Hwang-Tî, and how should *Khiû* be competent to understand them? And you, moreover, are too hasty in forming your estimate (of their meaning) You see the egg, and (immediately) look out for the cock (that is to be hatched from it), you see the bow, and (immediately) look out for the dove (that is to be brought down by it) being roasted I will try to explain the thing to you in a rough way, do you in the same way listen to me

'How could any one stand by the side of the sun and moon, and hold under his arm all space and all time? (Such language only means that the sagely man) keeps his mouth shut, and puts aside questions that are uncertain and dark, making his inferior capacities unite with him in honouring (the One Lord) Men in general bustle about and toil, the

difficulties than the other By the clause interjected in the translation after the first 'Master,' I have avoided the incongruity of ascribing the long description of Tâoism to Confucius

sagely man seems stupid and to know nothing[1] He blends ten thousand years together in the one (conception of time), the myriad things all pursue their *spontaneous course, and they are all before him as* doing so

'How do I know that the love of life is not a delusion? and that the dislike of death is not like a young person's losing his way, and not knowing that he is (really) going home? Lî *K*î[2] was a daughter of the border Warden of Âi When (the ruler of) the state of Ǯin first got possession of her, she wept till the tears wetted all the front of her dress But when she came to the place of the king[3], shared with him his luxurious couch, and ate his grain-and-grass-fed meat, then she regretted that she had wept How do I know that the dead do not repent of their former craving for life?

'Those who dream of (the pleasures of) drinking may in the morning wail and weep, those who dream of wailing and weeping may in the morning be going out to hunt When they were dreaming they did not know it was a dream, in their dream they may even have tried to interpret it[4] but when they awoke they knew that it was a dream And

[1] Compare Lâo-ǯze's account of himself in his Work, ch 20

[2] See note 2 on page 191 The lady is there said to have been the daughter of a barbarian chief, here she appears as the child of the border Warden of Âi But her maiden surname of *K*î (姬) shows her father must have been a scion of the royal family of *K*âu Had he forsaken his wardenship, and joined one of the Tî tribes, which had adopted him as its chief?

[3] Ǯin was only a marquisate How does *K*wang-ǯze speak of its ruler as 'a king?'

[4] This could not be, a man does not come to himself in his dream, and in that state try to interpret it

there is the great awaking, after which we shall know that this life was a great dream[1] All the while, the stupid think they are awake, and with nice discrimination insist on their knowledge, now playing the part of rulers, and now of grooms Bigoted was that *Khiû*! He and you are both dreaming I who say that you are dreaming am dreaming myself These words seem very strange, but if after ten thousand ages we once meet with a great sage who knows how to explain them, it will be as if we met him (unexpectedly) some morning or evening

10 'Since you made me enter into this discussion with you, if you have got the better of me and not I of you, are you indeed right, and I indeed wrong? If I have got the better of you and not you of me, am I indeed right and you indeed wrong? Is the one of us right and the other wrong? are we both right or both wrong? Since we cannot come to a mutual and common understanding, men will certainly continue in darkness on the subject

'Whom shall I employ to adjudicate in the matter? If I employ one who agrees with you, how can he, agreeing with you, do so correctly? And the same may be said, if I employ one who agrees with me It will be the same if I employ one who differs from us both or one who agrees with us both. In this way I and you and those others would all not be able to come to a mutual understanding, and shall we then wait for that (great sage)? (We need not do so) To wait on others to learn how conflicting opinions are changed is simply like not so

[1] Compare XVIII, par 4

waiting at all The harmonising of them is to be found in the invisible operation of Heaven, and by following this on into the unlimited past It is by this method that we can complete our years (without our minds being disturbed)[1]

'What is meant by harmonising (conflicting opinions) in the invisible operation of Heaven? There is the affirmation and the denial of it, and there is the assertion of an opinion and the rejection of it If the affirmation be according to the reality of the fact, it is certainly different from the denial of it — there can be no dispute about that If the assertion of an opinion be correct, it is certainly different from its rejection —neither can there be any dispute about that Let us forget the lapse of time, let us forget the conflict of opinions Let us make our appeal to the Infinite, and take up our position there[2]'

11 The Penumbra asked the Shadow[3], saying, 'Formerly you were walking on, and now you have stopped, formerly you were sitting, and now you have risen up —how is it that you are so without stability?' The Shadow replied, 'I wait for the movements of something else to do what I do, and that something else on which I wait waits further

[1] See this passage again in Book XXVII, par 1, where the phrase which I have called here 'the invisible operation of Heaven,' is said to be the same as 'the Heavenly Mould or Moulder,' that is, the Heavenly Fashioner, one of the Tâoistic names for the Tâo

[2] That is, all things being traced up to the unity of the Tâo we have found the pivot to which all conflicting opinions, all affirmations, all denials, all positions and negatives converge, and bring to bear on them the proper light of the mind Compare paragraph 3

[3] A story to the same effect as this here, with some textual variations, occurs in Book XXVII, immediately after par 1 referred to above

on another to do as it does[1] My waiting,—is it for the scales of a snake, or the wings of a cicada[2]? How should I know why I do one thing, or do not do another[3]?

'Formerly, I, *K*wang *K*âu, dreamt that I was a butterfly, a butterfly flying about, feeling that it was enjoying itself I did not know that it was *K*âu. Suddenly I awoke, and was myself again, the veritable *K*âu. I did not know whether it had formerly been *K*âu dreaming that he was a butterfly, or it was now a butterfly dreaming that it was *K*âu But between *K*âu and a butterfly there must be a difference[4]. This is a case of what is called the Transformation of Things[4]'

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[1] The mind cannot rest in second causes, and the first cause, if there be one, is inscrutable

[2] Even these must wait for the will of the creature, but the case of the shadow is still more remarkable

[3] I have put this interrogatively, as being more graphic, and because of the particle 耶, which is generally, though not necessarily, interrogative

[4] Hsuan Ying, in his remarks on these two sentences, brings out the force of the story very successfully —'Looking at them in their ordinary appearance, there was necessarily a difference between them, but in the delusion of the dream each of them appeared the other, and they could not distinguish themselves! *K*âu could be a butterfly, and the butterfly could be *K*âu,—we may see that in the world all traces of that and this may pass away, as they come under the influence of transformations' For the phrase, 'the transformation of things,' see in Book XI, par 5, et al But the Tâoism here can hardly be distinguished from the Buddhism that holds that all human experience is merely so much mâya or illusion

BOOK III

PART I SECTION III

Yang Shang K'û, or 'Nourishing the Lord of Life[1]'

1 There is a limit to our life, but to knowledge there is no limit With what is limited to pursue after what is unlimited is a perilous thing, and when, knowing this, we still seek the increase of our knowledge, the peril cannot be averted[2] There should not be the practice of what is good with any thought of the fame (which it will bring), nor of what is evil with any approximation to the punishment (which it will incur)[3] —an accordance with the Central Element (of our nature)[4] is the regular way to preserve the body, to maintain the life, to nourish our parents, and to complete our term of years

2 His cook[5] was cutting up an ox for the ruler Wăn-hui[5] Whenever he applied his hand, leaned forward with his shoulder, planted his foot, and em-

[1] See pp 130, 131

[2] Under what is said about knowledge here there lies the objection of Tâoists to the Confucian pursuit of knowledge as the means for the right conduct of life, instead of the quiet simplicity and self-suppression of their own system

[3] This is the key to the three paragraphs that follow But the text of it is not easily construed The 'doing good' and the 'doing evil' are to be lightly understood

[4] A name for the Tâo

[5] 'The ruler Wăn-hui' is understood to be 'king Hui of Liang (or Wei),' with the account of an interview between whom and Mencius the works of that philosopher commence

ployed the pressure of his knee, in the audible ripping off of the skin, and slicing operation of the knife, the sounds were all in regular cadence Movements and sounds proceeded as in the dance of 'the Mulberry Forest[1]' and the blended notes of 'the *K*ing Shâu[1].' The ruler said, 'Ah! Admirable! That your art should have become so perfect!' (Having finished his operation), the cook laid down his knife, and replied to the remark, 'What your servant loves is the method of the Tâo, something in advance of any art When I first began to cut up an ox, I saw nothing but the (entire) carcase After three years I ceased to see it as a whole Now I deal with it in a spirit-like manner, and do not look at it with my eyes The use of my senses is discarded, and my spirit acts as it wills Observing the natural lines, (my knife) slips through the great crevices and slides through the great cavities, taking advantage of the facilities thus presented My art avoids the membranous ligatures, and much more the great bones

'A good cook changes his knife every year,—(it may have been injured) in cutting, an ordinary cook changes his every month,—(it may have been) broken Now my knife has been in use for nineteen years, it has cut up several thousand oxen, and yet its edge is as sharp as if it had newly come from the whetstone There are the interstices of the joints, and the edge of the knife has no (appreciable) thickness, when that which is so thin enters where the interstice is, how easily it moves along! The

[1] Two pieces of music, ascribed to *K*hăng Thang and Hwang-Tî

blade has more than room enough. Nevertheless, whenever I come to a complicated joint, and see that there will be some difficulty, I proceed anxiously and with caution, not allowing my eyes to wander from the place, and moving my hand slowly. Then by a very slight movement of the knife, the part is quickly separated, and drops like (a clod of) earth to the ground. Then standing up with the knife in my hand, I look all round, and in a leisurely manner, with an air of satisfaction, wipe it clean, and put it in its sheath.' The ruler Wăn-hui said, 'Excellent! I have heard the words of my cook, and learned from them the nourishment of (our) life.'

3. When Kung-wăn Hsien[1] saw the Master of the Left, he was startled, and said, 'What sort of man is this? How is it he has but one foot? Is it from Heaven? or from Man?' Then he added[2], 'It must be from Heaven, and not from Man. Heaven's making of this man caused him to have but one foot. In the person of man, each foot has its marrow. By this I know that his peculiarity is from Heaven, and not from Man. A pheasant of the marshes has to take ten steps to pick up a mouthful of food, and thirty steps to get a drink, but it does not seek to be nourished in a coop. Though its spirit would (there) enjoy a royal abundance, it does not think (such confinement) good.'

[1] There was a family in Wei with the double surname Kung-wăn. This would be a scion of it.

[2] This is Hsien still speaking. We have to understand his reasoning ad sensum and not ad verbum. The master of the Left had done 'evil,' so as to incur the punishment from which he suffered, and had shown himself less wise than a pheasant.

4 When Lâo Tan died[1], *Khin* Shih[2] went to condole (with his son), but after crying out three times, he came out The disciples[3] said to him, 'Were you not a friend of the Master?' 'I was,' he replied, and they said, 'Is it proper then to offer your condolences merely as you have done?' He said, 'It is At first I thought he was the man of men, and now I do not think so When I entered a little ago and expressed my condolences, there were the old men wailing as if they had lost a son, and the young men wailing as if they had lost their mother In his attracting and uniting them to himself in such a way there must have been that which made them involuntarily express their words (of condolence), and involuntarily wail, as they were doing And this was a hiding from himself of his Heaven (-nature), and an excessive indulgence of his (human) feelings,—a forgetting of what he had received (in being born), what the ancients called the punishment due to neglecting the Heaven (-nature)[4] When the Master came[5], it was at the proper time, when he went away, it was the simple sequence (of his coming) Quiet acquiescence in what happens at its proper time, and quietly submitting (to its ceasing) afford no occasion for grief or for joy[6] The ancients described (death) as the loosening of the

[1] Then the account that Lâo-tze went westwards, and that nothing is known as to where he died, must be without foundation

[2] Nothing more is known of this person

[3] Probably the disciples of Lâo-tze

[4] Lâo had gone to an excess in his 'doing good,' as if he were seeking reputation

[5] Into the world

[6] See *K*wang-tze's remarks and demeanour on the death of his wife, in Book XVIII

cord on which God suspended (the life)[1]. What we can point to are the faggots that have been consumed, but the fire is transmitted (elsewhere), and we know not that it is over and ended[2]

[1] This short sentence is remarkable by the use of the character Tî (帝), 'God,' in it, a usage here ascribed to the ancients

[2] The concluding sentence might stand as a short paragraph by itself The 'faggots' are understood to represent the body, and the 'fire' the animating spirit The body perishes at death as the faggots are consumed by the fire But the fire may be transmitted to other faggots, and so the spirit may migrate, and be existing elsewhere

BOOK IV

PART I SECTION IV

Zăn Kien Shih, or 'Man in the World, Associated with other Men[1].'

1. Yen Hui[2] went to see Kung-nî[3], and asked leave to take his departure 'Where are you going to?' asked the Master 'I will go to Wei[4]' was the reply. 'And with what object?' 'I have heard that the ruler of Wei[5] is in the vigour of his years, and consults none but himself as to his course He deals with his state as if it were a light matter, and has no perception of his errors He thinks lightly of his people's dying, the dead are lying all over the country as if no smaller space could contain them, on the plains[6] and about the marshes, they are as thick as heaps of fuel The people know not where to turn to I have heard you, Master, say, "Leave the state that is well

[1] See pp 131, 132

[2] The favourite disciple of Confucius, styled also Sze-yuan

[3] Of course, Confucius,—his designation or married name

[4] A feudal state, embracing portions of the present provinces of Ho-nan, Kih-lî, and Shan-tung There was another state, which we must also call Wei in English, though the Chinese characters of them are different,—one of the fragments of the great state of Sin, more to the west

[5] At this time the marquis Yuan, known to us by his posthumous title of duke Ling,—see Book XXV, 9

[6] Adopting Lin's reading of 野 instead of the common 平

governed, go to the state where disorder prevails[1]" At the door of a physician there are many who are ill I wish through what I have heard (from you) to think out some methods (of dealing with Wei), if peradventure the evils of the state may be cured.'

*K*ung-nî said, 'Alas! The risk is that you will go only to suffer in the punishment (of yourself)! The right method (in such a case) will not admit of any admixture With such admixture, the one method will become many methods Their multiplication will embarrass you That embarrassment will make you anxious However anxious you may be, you will not save (yourself) The perfect men of old first had (what they wanted to do) in themselves, and afterwards they found (the response to it) in others If what they wanted in themselves was not fixed, what leisure had they to go and interfere with the proceedings of any tyrannous man?

'Moreover, do you know how virtue is liable to be dissipated, and how wisdom proceeds to display itself? Virtue is dissipated in (the pursuit of) the name for it, and wisdom seeks to display itself in the striving with others In the pursuit of the name men overthrow one another, wisdom becomes a weapon of contention Both these things are instruments of evil, and should not be allowed to have free course in one's conduct Supposing one's virtue to be great and his sincerity firm, if he do not comprehend the spirit of those (whom he wishes to influence), and supposing he is free from the

[1] Compare in the Analects, VIII, xiii, 2, where a different lesson is given, but Confucius may at another time have spoken as Hui says

disposition to strive for reputation, if he do not comprehend their minds,—when in such a case he forcibly insists on benevolence and righteousness, setting them forth in the strongest and most direct language, before the tyrant, then he, hating (his reprover's) possession of those excellences, will put him down as doing him injury. He who injures others is sure to be injured by them in return You indeed will hardly escape being injured by the man (to whom you go)!

'Further, if perchance he takes pleasure in men of worth and hates those of an opposite character, what is the use of your seeking to make yourself out to be different (from such men about him)? Before you have begun to announce (your views), he, as king and ruler, will take advantage of you, and immediately contend with you for victory. Your eyes will be dazed and full of perplexity, you will try to look pleased with him, you will frame your words with care, your demeanour will be conformed to his, you will confirm him in his views In this way you will be adding fire to fire, and water to water, increasing, as we may express it, the evils (which you deplore) To these signs of deferring to him at the first there will be no end You will be in danger, seeing he does not believe you, of making your words more strong, and you are sure to die at the hands of such a tyrant

'And formerly *K*ieh[1] killed Kwan Lung-făng[2], and *K*âu[3] killed the prince Pî-kan[4] Both of

[1] The tyrant with whom the dynasty of Hsiâ ended

[2] A worthy minister of *K*ieh

[3] The tyrant with whom the dynasty of Shang or Yin ended

[4] A half-brother of *K*âu, the tyrant of the Yin dynasty

these cultivated their persons, bending down in sympathy with the lower people to comfort them suffering (as they did) from their oppressors, and on their account opposing their superiors On this account, because they so ordered their conduct, their rulers compassed their destruction —such regard had they for their own fame (Again), Yâo anciently attacked (the states of) Shung-kih [1] and Hsu-âo [1], and Yu attacked the ruler of Hû [1] Those states were left empty, and with no one to continue their population, the people being exterminated They had engaged in war without ceasing, their craving for whatever they could get was insatiable And this (ruler of Wei) is, like them, one who craves after fame and greater substance,—have you not heard it? Those sages were not able to overcome the thirst for fame and substance,—how much less will you be able to do so! Nevertheless you must have some ground (for the course which you wish to take), pray try and tell it to me'

Yen Hui said, 'May I go, doing so in uprightness and humility, using also every endeavour to be uniform (in my plans of operation)?' 'No, indeed!' was the reply 'How can you do so? This man makes a display[2] of being filled to overflowing (with virtue), and has great self-conceit His feelings are not to be determined from his countenance Ordinary men do not (venture to) oppose him, and he proceeds from the way in which he affects them

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[1] See in par 7, Book II, where Hsu-âo is mentioned, though not Shung-kih See the Shû, III, ii

[2] I take 陽 here as = 佯,—a meaning given in the Khang-hsî dictionary

to seek still more the satisfaction of his own mind He may be described as unaffected by the (small lessons of) virtue brought to bear on him from day to day, and how much less will he be so by your great lessons? He will be obstinate, and refuse to be converted He may outwardly agree with you, but inwardly there will be no self-condemnation,—how can you (go to him in this way and be successful)?'

(Yen Hui) rejoined, 'Well then, while inwardly maintaining my straightforward intention, I will outwardly seem to bend to him I will deliver (my lessons), and substantiate them by appealing to antiquity Inwardly maintaining my straightforward intention, I shall be a co-worker with Heaven When I thus speak of being a co-worker with Heaven, it is because I know that (the sovereign, whom we style) the son of Heaven, and myself, are equally regarded by Heaven as Its sons And should I then, as if my words were only my own, be seeking to find whether men approved of them, or disapproved of them? In this way men will pronounce me a (sincere and simple[1]) boy This is what is called being a co-worker with Heaven

'Outwardly bending (to the ruler), I shall be a co-worker with other men To carry (the memorandum tablet to court)[2], to kneel, and to bend the body reverentially —these are the observances of ministers. They all employ them, and should I presume not to do so? Doing what other men do, they would have no occasion to blame me This

[1] Entirely unsophisticated, governed by the Tâo

[2] See the Lî *Kî*, XI, ii, 16, 17

is what is called being a fellow-worker with other men

'Fully declaring my sentiments and substantiating them by appealing to antiquity, I shall be a co-worker with the ancients Although the words in which I convey my lessons may really be condemnatory (of the ruler), they will be those of antiquity, and not my own In this way, though straightforward, I shall be free from blame This is what is called being a co-worker with antiquity May I go to Wei in this way, and be successful?' 'No indeed!' said Kung-nî 'How can you do so? You have too many plans of proceeding, and have not spied out (the ruler's character). Though you firmly adhere to your plans, you may be held free from transgression, but this will be all the result How can you (in this way) produce the transformation (which you desire)? All this only shows (in you) the mind of a teacher!'

2 Yen Hui said, 'I can go no farther, I venture to ask the method from you' Kung-nî replied, 'It is fasting[1], (as) I will tell you (But) when you have the method, will you find it easy to practise it? He who thinks it easy will be disapproved of by the bright Heaven' Hui said, 'My family is poor For months together we have no spirituous drink, nor do we taste the proscribed food or any strong-smelling vegetables[2],—can this be regarded as fasting?' The reply was, 'It is the fasting appropriate to sacrificing, but it is not the fasting

[1] The term is emphatic, as Confucius goes on to explain

[2] Such as onions and garlic, with horse, dog, cow, goose, and pigeon

of the mind' 'I venture to ask what that fasting of the mind is,' said Hui, and Kung-nî answered, 'Maintain a perfect unity in every movement of your will You will not wait for the hearing of your ears about it, but for the hearing of your mind You will not wait even for the hearing of your mind, but for the hearing of the spirit[1] Let the hearing (of the ears) rest with the ears. Let the mind rest in the verification (of the rightness of what is in the will) But the spirit is free from all pre-occupation and so waits for (the appearance of) things Where the (proper) course is[2], there is freedom from all pre-occupation,—such freedom is the fasting of the mind' Hui said[3], 'Before it was possible for me to employ (this method), there I was, the Hui that I am, now, that I can employ it, the Hui that I was has passed away Can I be said to have obtained this freedom from pre-occupation?' The Master replied, 'Entirely I tell you that you can enter and be at ease in the enclosure (where he is), and not come into collision with the reputation (which belongs to him) If he listen to your counsels, let him hear your notes, if he will not listen, be silent Open no (other) door, employ no other medicine, dwell with him (as with a friend) in the same apartment, and as if you had no other option, and you will not be far from success in your object Not to move a step is easy, to walk without treading on the ground is difficult In acting after the manner of men, it is easy to fall

[1] The character in the text for 'spirit' here is 氣, 'the breath

[2] The Tâo

[3] 'Said,' probably, after having made trial of this fasting

into hypocrisy, in acting after the manner of Heaven, it is difficult to play the hypocrite I have heard of flying with wings, I have not heard of flying without them. I have heard of the knowledge of the wise, I have not heard of the knowledge of the unwise Look at that aperture (left in the wall),—the empty apartment is filled with light through it Felicitous influences rest (in the mind thus emblemed), as in their proper resting place Even when they do not so rest, we have what is called (the body) seated and (the mind) galloping abroad The information that comes through the ears and eyes is comprehended internally, and the knowledge of the mind becomes something external —(when this is the case), the spiritual intelligences will come, and take up their dwelling with us, and how much more will other men do so! All things thus undergo a transforming influence This was the hinge on which Yu and Shun moved, it was this which Fû-hsî[1] and *K*î-*k*hu[2] practised all their lives how much more should other men follow the same rule!'

3 Ʒze-kâo[3], duke of Sheh, being about to proceed on a mission to *K*hî, asked *K*ung-nî, saying, 'The king is sending me, *K*û-liang[3], on a mission which

[1] Often spoken of as Fo-hî, the founder of the Chinese kingdom His place in chronology should be assigned to him more than B C 3000 rather than under that date

[2] A predecessor of Fû-hsî, a sovereign of the ancient paradisiacal time

[3] The name of Sheh remains in Sheh-hsien, a district of the department Nan-yang, Ho-nan Its governor, who is the subject of this narrative, was a Shăn *K*û-liang, styled Ʒze-kâo He was

is very important *Khî* will probably treat me as his commissioner with great respect, but it will not be in a hurry (to attend to the business) Even an ordinary man cannot be readily moved (to action), and how much less the prince of a state! I am very full of apprehension You, Sir, once said to me that of all things, great or small, there were few which, if not conducted in the proper way[1], could be brought to a happy conclusion, that, if the thing were not successful, there was sure to be the evil of being dealt with after the manner of men[2], that, if it were successful, there was sure to be the evil of constant anxiety[3], and that, whether it succeeded or not, it was only the virtuous man who could secure its not being followed by evil In my diet I take what is coarse, and do not seek delicacies,—a man whose cookery does not require him to be using cooling drinks This morning I received my charge, and in the evening I am drinking iced water,—am I not feeling the internal heat (and discomfort)? Such is my state before I have actually engaged in the affair;—I am already suffering from conflicting anxieties And if the thing do not succeed, (the king) is sure to deal with me after the manner of men The evil is twofold, as a minister, I am not able to bear the burden (of the mission) Can

not a duke, but as the counts of *Khû* had usurped the name of king, they gave high-sounding names to all their ministers and officers

[1] Or, 'according to the Tâo'

[2] As a criminal, punished by his sovereign

[3] Anxiety 'night and day,' or 'cold and hot' fits of trouble,—a peculiar usage of Yin Yang.

you, Sir, tell me something (to help me in the case)?'

*K*ung-nî replied, 'In all things under heaven there are two great cautionary considerations —the one is the requirement implanted (in the nature)[1], the other is the conviction of what is right The love of a son for his parents is the implanted requirement, and can never be separated from his heart, the service of his ruler by a minister is what is right, and from its obligation there is no escaping anywhere between heaven and earth These are what are called the great cautionary considerations Therefore a son finds his rest in serving his parents without reference to or choice of place, and this is the height of filial duty In the same way a subject finds his rest in serving his ruler, without reference to or choice of the business, and this is the fullest discharge of loyalty When men are simply obeying (the dictates of) their hearts, the considerations of grief and joy are not readily set before them. They know that there is no alternative to their acting as they do, and rest in it as what is appointed, and this is the highest achievement of virtue He who is in the position of a minister or of a son has indeed to do what he cannot but do Occupied with the details of the business (in hand), and forgetful of his own person, what leisure has he to think of his pleasure in living or his dislike of death? You, my master, may well proceed on your mission.

'But let me repeat to you what I have heard —In

[1] The Ming of the text here is that in the first sentence of the *K*ung Yung

all intercourse (between states), if they are near to each other, there should be mutual friendliness, verified by deeds, if they are far apart, there must be sincere adherence to truth in their messages Those messages will be transmitted by internuncios. But to convey messages which express the complacence or the dissatisfaction of the two parties is the most difficult thing in the world If they be those of mutual complacence, there is sure to be an overflow of expressions of satisfaction, if of mutual dissatisfaction, an overflow of expressions of dislike But all extravagance leads to reckless language, and such language fails to command belief When this distrust arises, woe to the internuncio! Hence the Rules for Speech[1] say, "Transmit the message exactly as it stands, do not transmit it with any overflow of language, so is (the internuncio) likely to keep himself whole"

4 'Moreover, skilful wrestlers begin with open trials of strength, but always end with masked attempts (to gain the victory), as their excitement grows excessive, they display much wonderful dexterity Parties drinking according to the rules at first observe good order, but always end with disorder, as their excitement grows excessive, their fun becomes uproarious[2]. In all things it is so People are at first sincere, but always end with becoming rude, at the commencement things are treated as trivial,

[1] Probably a Collection of Directions current at the time, and which led to the name of Yang Hsiung's Treatise with the same name in our first century

[2] See the Shih, II, vii, 6.

but as the end draws near, they assume great proportions Words are (like) the waves acted on by the wind, the real point of the matters (discussed by them) is lost The wind and waves are easily set in motion, the success of the matter of which the real point is lost is easily put in peril. Hence quarrels are occasioned by nothing so much as by artful words and one-sided speeches The breath comes angrily, as when a beast, driven to death, wildly bellows forth its rage On this animosities arise on both sides Hasty examination (of the case) eagerly proceeds, and revengeful thoughts arise in their minds,—they do not know how Since they do not know how such thoughts arise, who knows how they will end? Hence the Rules for Speech[1] say, "Let not an internuncius depart from his instructions Let him not urge on a settlement If he go beyond the regular rules, he will complicate matters. Departing from his instructions and urging on a settlement imperils negotiations A good settlement is proved by its lasting long, and a bad settlement cannot be altered,—ought he not to be careful?"

'Further still, let your mind find its enjoyment in the circumstances of your position, nourish the central course which you pursue, by a reference to your unavoidable obligations This is the highest object for you to pursue, what else can you do to fulfil the charge (of your father and ruler)[2]. The best thing you can do is to be prepared to sacrifice your life, and this is the most difficult thing to do.'

[1] See above, on preceding page

[2] Not meaning the king of *Khû*, but the Tâo, whose will was to be found in his nature and the conditions of his lot

5 Yen Ho[1], being about to undertake the office of Teacher of the eldest son of duke Ling of Wei, consulted Ku Po-yu[2] 'Here,' said he, 'is this (young) man, whose natural disposition is as bad as it could be If I allow him to proceed in a bad way, it will be at the peril of our state, if I insist on his proceeding in a right way, it will be at the peril of my own person. His wisdom is just sufficient to know the errors of other men, but he does not know how he errs himself What am I to do in such a case?' Ku Po-yu replied, 'Good indeed is your question! Be on your guard, be careful, see that you keep yourself correct! Your best plan will be, with your person to seek association with him, and with your mind to try to be in harmony with him, and yet there are dangers connected with both of these things While seeking to keep near to him, do not enter into his pursuits, while cultivating a harmony of mind with him, do not show how superior you are to him If in your personal association you enter into his pursuits, you will fall with him and be ruined, you will tumble down with a crash If in maintaining a harmony with his mind, you show how different you are from him, he will think you do so for the reputation and the name, and regard you as a creature of evil omen! If you find him to be a mere boy, be you with him as another boy, if you find him one of those who will not have their ground marked out in the ordinary way, do you humour

[1] A member of the Yen family of Lû We shall meet with him again in Books XIX, XXVIII, and XXXII

[2] A minister of Wei, a friend and favourite of Confucius

[3] Compare in the Kung Yung, ii, ch 24

him in this characteristic[1], if you find him to be free from lofty airs, show yourself to be the same,—(ever) leading him on so as to keep him free from faults

'Do you not know (the fate of) the praying mantis? It angrily stretches out its arms, to arrest the progress of the carriage, unconscious of its inability for such a task, but showing how much it thinks of its own powers Be on your guard, be careful If you cherish a boastful confidence in your own excellence, and place yourself in collision with him, you are likely to incur the fate (of the mantis)

'Do you not know how those who keep tigers proceed? They do not dare to supply them with living creatures, because of the rage which their killing of them will excite. They do not (even) dare to give them their food whole, because of the rage which their rending of it will excite They watch till their hunger is appeased, (dealing with them) from their knowledge of their natural ferocity Tigers are different from men, but they fawn on those who feed them, and do so in accordance with their nature When any of these are killed by them, it is because they have gone against that nature

'Those again who are fond of horses preserve their dung in baskets, and their urine in jars If musquitoes and gadflies light on them, and the grooms brush them suddenly away, the horses break their bits, injure (the ornaments on) their heads, and smash those on their breasts The more care that is taken of them, the more does their fond-

[1] Equivalent to 'Do not cross him in his peculiarities'

ness (for their attendants) disappear. Ought not caution to be exercised (in the management of them)?'

6 A (master) mechanic, called Shih, on his way to *Khi*, came to *Khu*-yuan[1], where he saw an oak-tree, which was used as the altar for the spirits of the land It was so large that an ox standing behind it could not be seen It measured a hundred spans round, and rose up eighty cubits on the hill before it threw out any branches, after which there were ten or so, from each of which a boat could be hollowed out People came to see it in crowds as in a market place, but the mechanic did not look round at it, but held on his way without stopping One of his workmen, however, looked long and admiringly at it, and then ran on to his master, and said to him, 'Since I followed you with my axe and bill, I have never seen such a beautiful mass of timber as this Why would you, Sir, not look round at it, but went on without stopping?' 'Have done,' said Mr. Shih, 'and do not speak about it It is quite useless A boat made from its wood would sink, a coffin or shell would quickly rot, an article of furniture would soon go to pieces, a door would be covered with the exuding sap, a pillar would be riddled by insects, the material of it is good for nothing, and hence it is that it has attained to so great an age[2]'

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[1] The name of a place, of a road, of a bend in the road, of a hill All these accounts of the name are found in different editions of our author, showing that the locality had not been identified

[2] No one has thought it worth cutting down

When Mr. Shih was returning, the altar-oak appeared to him in a dream, and said, 'What other tree will you compare with me? Will you compare me to one of your ornamental trees? There are hawthorns, pear-trees, orange-trees, pummelo-trees, gourds and other low fruit-bearing plants When their fruits are ripe, they are knocked down from them, and thrown among the dirt[1] The large branches are broken, and the smaller are torn away. So it is that their productive ability makes their lives bitter to them, they do not complete their natural term of existence, but come to a premature end in the middle of their time, bringing on themselves the destructive treatment which they ordinarily receive It is so with all things I have sought to discover how it was that I was so useless, —I had long done so, till (the effort) nearly caused my death, and now I have learned it —it has been of the greatest use to me Suppose that I had possessed useful properties, should I have become of the great size that I am? And moreover you and I are both things,—how should one thing thus pass its judgment on another? how is it that you a useless man know all this about me a useless tree?' When Mr Shih awoke, he kept thinking about his dream, but the workman said, 'Being so taken with its uselessness, how is it that it yet acts here as the altar for the spirits of the land?' 'Be still,' was the master's reply, 'and do not say a word It simply happened to grow here, and thus those who do not know it do not speak ill of it as an evil thing If it were not used as the altar, would it be in danger of

[1] This is the indignity intended

being cut down? Moreover, the reason of its being preserved is different from that of the preservation of things generally, is not your explaining it from the sentiment which you have expressed wide of the mark?'

7 Nan-po ƷZE-*khî*[1] in rambling about the Heights of Shang[2], saw a large and extraordinary tree The teams of a thousand chariots might be sheltered under it, and its shade would cover them all! ƷZE-*khî* said, 'What a tree is this! It must contain an extraordinary amount of timber! When he looked up, however, at its smaller branches, they were so twisted and crooked that they could not be made into rafters and beams, when he looked down to its root, its stem was divided into so many rounded portions that neither coffin nor shell could be made from them He licked one of its leaves, and his mouth felt torn and wounded The smell of it would make a man frantic, as if intoxicated, for more than three whole days together 'This, indeed,' said he, 'is a tree good for nothing, and it is thus that it has attained to such a size Ah! and spirit-like men acknowledge this worthlessness (and its result)[3]'

In Sung there is the district of *K*ing-shih[4], in which catalpae, cypresses, and mulberry trees grow well Those of them which are a span or two or rather more in circumference[5] are cut down by persons who want to make posts to which to tie their

[1] Probably the Nan-kwo ƷZE-*khî* at the beginning of the second Book

[2] In the present department of Kwei-teh, Ho-nan

[3] A difficult sentence to construe

[4] In what part of the duchy we do not know

[5] See Mencius, VI, i, 13

monkeys, those which are three or four spans round are cut down by persons who want beams for their lofty and famous houses, and those of seven or eight spans are cut down by noblemen and rich merchants who want single planks for the sides of their coffins The trees in consequence do not complete their natural term of life, and come to a premature end in the middle of their growth under the axe and bill,—this is the evil that befalls them from their supplying good timber

In the same way the *K'ieh*[1] (book) specifies oxen that have white foreheads, pigs that have turned-up snouts, and men that are suffering from piles, and forbids their being sacrificed to the Ho The wizards know them by these peculiarities and consider them to be inauspicious, but spirit-like men consider them on this account to be very fortunate

8 There was the deformed object Shû[2] His chin seemed to hide his navel, his shoulders were higher than the crown of his head, the knot of his hair pointed to the sky, his five viscera were all compressed into the upper part of his body, and his two thigh bones were like ribs By sharpening needles and washing clothes he was able to make a living By sifting rice and cleaning it, he was able to support ten individuals When the government was calling out soldiers, this poor Shû would bare his arms among the others, when it had any great service to be undertaken, because of his constant ailments, none of the work was assigned to him, when it was

[1] Probably the name of an old work on sacrifices But was there ever a time in China when human sacrifices were offered to the Ho, or on any altar?

[2] One of *K'wang-tze*'s creations

giving out grain to the sick, he received three *k*ung, and ten bundles of firewood If this poor man, so deformed in body, was still able to support himself, and complete his term of life, how much more may they do so, whose deformity is that of their faculties[1]!

9 When Confucius went to *Kh*û[2], *Kh*ieh-yû, the madman of *Kh*û[3], as he was wandering about, passed by his door, and said, 'O Phoenix, O Phoenix, how is your virtue degenerated! The future is not to be waited for, the past is not to be sought again! When good order prevails in the world, the sage tries to accomplish all his service, when disorder prevails, he may preserve his life, at the present time, it is enough if he simply escape being punished Happiness is lighter than a feather, but no one knows how to support it, calamity is heavier than the earth, and yet no one knows how to avoid it Give over! give over approaching men with the lessons of your virtue! You are in peril! you are in peril, hurrying on where you have marked out the ground against your advance! I avoid publicity, I avoid publicity, that my path may not be injured I pursue my course, now going backwards, now crookedly, that my feet may not be hurt[4]

[1] The deficiency of their faculties—here mental faculties—would assimilate them to the useless trees in the last two paragraphs, whose uselessness only proved useful to them

[2] The great state of the south, having its capital in the present Hû-pei

[3] See the Analects XVIII, v

[4] The madman would seem to contrast his own course with that of Confucius, but the meaning is very uncertain, and the text cannot be discussed fully in these short notes. There is a jingle

'The mountain by its trees weakens itself[1] The grease which ministers to the fire fries itself The cinnamon tree can be eaten, and therefore it is cut down. The varnish tree is useful, and therefore incisions are made in it All men know the advantage of being useful, but no one knows the advantage of being useless'

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of rhyme also in the sentence, and some critics find something like this in them

'Ye ferns, ye thorny ferns, O injure not my way!
To save my feet, I backward turn, or winding stray!'

[1] Literally, 'robs itself,'—exhausts its moisture or productive strength

BOOK V

PART I SECTION V

Teh *Kh*ung Fû, or 'The Seal of Virtue Complete[1]'

1 In Lû[2] there was a Wang Thâi[3] who had lost both his feet[4], while his disciples who followed and went about with him were as numerous as those of *K*ung-nî *Kh*ang *K*î[5] asked *K*ung-nî about him, saying, 'Though Wang Thâi is a cripple, the disciples who follow him about divide Lû equally with you, Master When he stands, he does not teach them, when he sits, he does not discourse to them But they go to him empty, and come back full Is there indeed such a thing as instruction without words[6]? and while the body is imperfect, may the mind be complete? What sort of man is he?'

*K*ung-nî replied, 'This master is a sage I have

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[1] See pp 133, 134

[2] The native state of Confucius, part of the present Shan-tung

[3] A Tâoist of complete virtue, but probably there was not really such a person. Our author fabricates him according to his fashion

[4] The character uh (兀) does not say that he had lost both his feet, but I suppose that such is the meaning, because of what is said of Toeless below that 'he walked on his heels to see Confucius' The feet must have been amputated, or mutilated rather (justly or unjustly), as a punishment, but *K*wang-3ze wished to say nothing on that point

[5] Perhaps a disciple of Confucius,—not elsewhere mentioned as such

[6] See the Tâo Teh *K*ing, ch 2

only been too late in going to him I will make him my teacher, and how much more should those do so who are not equal to me! Why should only the state of Lû follow him? I will lead on all under heaven with me to do so' *Kh*ang *K*î rejoined, 'He is a man who has lost his feet, and yet he is known as the venerable Wang[1],—he must be very different from ordinary men What is the peculiar way in which he employs his mind?' The reply was, 'Death and life are great considerations, but they could work no change in him Though heaven and earth were to be overturned and fall, they would occasion him no loss His judgment is fixed regarding that in which there is no element of falsehood[2], and, while other things change, he changes not The transformations of things are to him the developments prescribed for them, and he keeps fast hold of the author of them[2]'

*Kh*ang *K*î said, 'What do you mean?' 'When we look at things,' said *K*ung-nî, 'as they differ, we see them to be different, (as for instance) the liver and the gall, or *Kh*û and Yueh, when we look at them, as they agree, we see them all to be a unity So it is with this (Wang Thâi) He takes no knowledge of the things for which his ears and eyes are the appropriate organs, but his mind delights itself in the harmony of (all excellent) qualities He looks at the unity which belongs to things, and does not perceive where they have suffered loss He looks

[1] Literally, 'the Senior,' often rendered 'Teacher'

[2] 'That in which there is no element of falsehood' is the Tâo, which also is the 'Author' of all the changes that take place in time and space See the Introductory Note on the title and subject of the Book.

on the loss of his feet as only the loss of so much earth'

*Kh*ang *K*î said, 'He is entirely occupied with his (proper) self[1] By his knowledge he has discovered (the nature of) his mind, and to that he holds as what is unchangeable[1], but how is it that men make so much of him?' The reply was, 'Men do not look into running water as a mirror, but into still water,—it is only the still water that can arrest them all, and keep them (in the contemplation of their real selves) Of things which are what they are by the influence of the earth, it is only the pine and cypress which are the best instances,—in winter as in summer brightly green[2] Of those which were what they were by the influence of Heaven[3], the most correct examples were Yâo and Shun, fortunate in (thus) maintaining their own life correct, and so as to correct the lives of others

'As a verification of the (power of) the original endowment, when it has been preserved, take the result of fearlessness,—how the heroic spirit of a single brave soldier has been thrown into an army of nine hosts[4] If a man only seeking for fame and able in this way to secure it can produce such an effect, how much more (may we look for a greater

[1] Wang Thâi saw all things in the Tâo, and the Tâo in all things Comp Book XI, par 7, et al

[2] Notwithstanding his being a cripple He forgets that circumstance himself, and all others forget it, constrained and won by his embodiment of the Tâo What follows is an illustration of this, exaggerated indeed, but not so extravagantly as in many other passages

[3] In the Tâoistic meaning of the term

[4] The royal army consisted of six hosts, that of a great feudal prince of three 'Nine hosts'=a very great army

result) from one whose rule is over heaven and earth, and holds all things in his treasury, who simply has his lodging in the six members[1] of his body, whom his ears and eyes serve but as conveying emblematic images of things, who comprehends all his knowledge in a unity, and whose mind never dies! If such a man were to choose a day on which he would ascend far on high, men would (seek to) follow him there But how should he be willing to occupy himself with other men?'

2 Shăn-thû *K*iâ[2] was (another) man who had lost his feet Along with Ʒze-*kh*ân[3] of *K*ăng[3] he studied under the master Po-hwăn Wû-zăn[4] Ʒze-*kh*ân said to him (one day), 'If I go out first, do you remain behind, and if you go out first, I will remain behind' Next day they were again sitting together on the same mat in the hall, when Ʒze-*kh*ân spoke the same words to him, adding, 'Now I am about to go out, will you stay behind or not? Moreover, when you see one of official rank (like myself), you do not try to get out of his way,—do you consider yourself equal to one of official rank?' Shăn-thû *K*iâ replied, 'In our Master's school is there indeed such recognition required of official rank? You are one, Sir, whose pleasure is in your official rank, and would therefore take precedence of other men I

[1] The arms, legs, head, and trunk

[2] Another cripple introduced by our author to serve his purpose

[3] Kung-sun *K*hiâo, a good and able minister of *K*ăng, an earldom forming part of the present Ho-nan He was a contemporary of Confucius, who wept when he heard of his death in B C 522 He was a scion of the ruling house, which again was a branch of the royal family of *K*âu

[4] A Tâoist teacher See XXI, par 9, XXXII, par 1

have heard that when a mirror is bright, the dust does not rest on it, when dust rests on it the mirror is not bright When one dwells long with a man of ability and virtue, he comes to be without error. There now is our teacher whom you have chosen to make you greater than you are, and when you still talk in this way, are you not in error?' Ze-*khân* rejoined, 'A (shattered) object as you are, you would still strive to make yourself out as good as Yâo! If I may form an estimate of your virtue, might it not be sufficient to lead you to the examination of yourself?' The other said, 'Most criminals, in describing their offences, would make it out that they ought not to have lost (their feet) for them, few would describe them so as to make it appear that they should not have preserved their feet. They are only the virtuous who know that such a calamity was unavoidable, and therefore rest in it as what was appointed for them When men stand before (an archer like) Î[1] with his bent bow, if they are in the middle of his field, that is the place where they should be hit, and if they be not hit, that also was appointed There are many with their feet entire who laugh at me because I have lost my feet, which makes me feel vexed and angry But when I go to our teacher, I throw off that feeling, and return (to a better mood),—he has washed, without my knowing it, the other from me by (his instructions in) what is good I have attended him now for nineteen years, and have not known that I am without my feet Now, you, Sir, and I have for the object of our study the

[1] A famous archer of antiquity in the twenty-second century B C, or perhaps earlier

(virtue) which is internal, and not an adjunct of the body, and yet you are continually directing your attention to my external body,—are you not wrong in this?' Ze-*kh*ân felt uneasy, altered his manner and looks, and said, 'You need not, Sir, say anything more about it'

3 In Lû there was a cripple, called Shû-shan the Toeless[1], who came on his heels to see *K*ung-nî *K*ung-nî said to him, 'By your want of circumspection in the past, Sir, you have incurred such a calamity,—of what use is your coming to me now?' Toeless said, 'Through my ignorance of my proper business and taking too little care of my body, I came to lose my feet But now I am come to you, still possessing what is more honourable than my feet, and which therefore I am anxious to preserve entire There is nothing which Heaven does not cover, and nothing which Earth does not sustain, you, Master, were regarded by me as doing the part of Heaven and Earth,—how could I know that you would receive me in such a way?' Confucius rejoined, 'I am but a poor creature But why, my master, do you not come inside, where I will try to tell you what I have learned?' When Toeless had gone out, Confucius said, 'Be stimulated to effort, my disciples This toeless cripple is still anxious to learn to make up for the evil of his former conduct, —how much more should those be so whose conduct has been unchallenged!'

Mr Toeless, however, told Lâo Tan (of the inter-

[1] 'Toeless' is a sort of nickname Shû-shan or Shû hill was, probably, where he dwelt —'Toeless of Shû hill'

view), saying, 'Khung *K*hiû, I apprehend, has not yet attained to be a Perfect man What has he to do with keeping a crowd of disciples around him? He is seeking to have the reputation of being an extraordinary and marvellous man, and does not know that the Perfect man considers this to be as handcuffs and fetters to him' Lâo Tan said, 'Why did you not simply lead him to see the unity of life and death and that the admissible and inadmissible belong to one category, so freeing him from his fetters? Would this be possible?' Toeless said, 'It is the punishment inflicted on him by Heaven[1] How can he be freed from it?'

4 Duke Âi of Lû[2] asked *K*ung-nî, saying, 'There was an ugly man in Wei, called Âi-thâi Tho[3] His father-in-law, who lived with him, thought so much of him that he could not be away from him His wife when she saw him (ugly as he was), represented to her parents, saying, "I had more than ten times rather be his concubine than the wife of any other man!" He was never heard to take the lead in discussion, but always seemed to be of the same opinion with others He had not the position of a ruler, so as to be able to save men from death He had no revenues, so as to be able to satisfy men's craving for food He was ugly enough, moreover, to scare

[1] 'Heaven' here is a synonym of Tâo Perhaps the meaning is 'unavoidable,' it is so in the Tâoistic order of things

[2] It was in the sixteenth year of duke Âi that Confucius died Âi was marquis of Lû from B C 494 to 468

[3] The account of Âi-thâi Tho is of course *K*wang-tze's own fabrication Âi-thâi is understood to be descriptive of his ugliness and Tho to be his name

[4] Perhaps this was spoken by his wife before their marriage

the whole world He agreed with men instead of trying to lead them to adopt his views, his knowledge did not go beyond his immediate neighbourhood[1] And yet his father-in-law and his wife were of one mind about him in his presence (as I have said),—he must have been different from other men I called him, and saw him Certainly he was ugly enough to scare the whole world He had not lived with me, however, for many months, when I was drawn to the man, and before he had been with me a full year, I had confidence in him The state being without a chief minister, I (was minded) to commit the government to him He responded to my proposal sorrowfully, and looked undecided as if he would fain have declined it I was ashamed of myself (as inferior to him), but finally gave the government into his hands In a little time, however, he left me and went away I was sorry and felt that I had sustained a loss, and as if there were no other to share the pleasures of the kingdom with me What sort of man was he?'

*K*ung-nî said, 'Once when I was sent on a mission to *Khû*, I saw some pigs sucking at their dead mother After a little they looked with rapid glances, when they all left her, and ran away They felt that she did not see them, and that she was no longer like themselves What they had loved in their mother was not her bodily figure, but what had given animation to her figure When a man dies in battle, they do not at his interment employ the usual appendages

[1] One sees dimly the applicability of this illustration to the case in hand What made Âi-thâi Tho so much esteemed was his mental power, quite independent of his ugly person

of plumes[1] as to supplying shoes to one who has lost his feet, there is no reason why he should care for them,—in neither case is there the proper reason for their use[1]. The members of the royal harem do not pare their nails nor pierce their ears[2], when a man is newly married, he remains (for a time) absent from his official duties, and unoccupied with them[2]. That their bodies might be perfect was sufficient to make them thus dealt with,—how much greater results should be expected from men whose mental gifts are perfect! This Âi-thâi Tho was believed by men, though he did not speak a word, and was loved by them, though he did no special service for them. He made men appoint him to the government of their states, afraid only that he would not accept the appointment. He must have been a man whose powers were perfect, though his realisation of them[3] was not manifested in his person.'

Duke Âi said, 'What is meant by saying that his powers were complete?' Kung-nî replied, 'Death and life, preservation and ruin, failure and success, poverty and wealth, superiority and inferiority, blame and praise, hunger and thirst, cold and heat,—these are the changes of circumstances, the operation of our appointed lot. Day and night they succeed to one another before us, but there is no wisdom

[1] See the Lî Kî, VIII, i, 7, but the applicability of these two illustrations is not so clear.

[2] These two have force as in 'reasoning from the less to the greater.' With the latter of the two compare the mosaical provision in Deuteronomy xxiv. 5.

[3] 'Powers' are the capacities of the nature,—the gift of the Tâo. 'Virtue' is the realisation or carrying out of those capacities.

able to discover to what they owe their origination They are not sufficient therefore to disturb the harmony (of the nature), and are not allowed to enter into the treasury of intelligence To cause this harmony and satisfaction ever to be diffused, while the feeling of pleasure is not lost from the mind, to allow no break to arise in this state day or night, so that it is always spring-time[1] in his relations with external things, in all his experiences to realise in his mind what is appropriate to each season (of the year)[2] — these are the characteristics of him whose powers are perfect'

'And what do you mean by the realisation of these powers not being manifested in the person?' (pursued further the duke) The reply was, 'There is nothing so level as the surface of a pool of still water It may serve as an example of what I mean All within its circuit is preserved (in peace), and there comes to it no agitation from without The virtuous efficacy is the perfect cultivation of the harmony (of the nature) Though the realisation of this be not manifested in the person, things cannot separate themselves (from its influence)'

Some days afterwards duke Âi told this conversation to Min-tze[3], saying, 'Formerly it seemed to me the work of the sovereign to stand in court with his face to the south, to rule the kingdom, and to pay good heed to the accounts of the people concerned, lest any should come to a (miserable) death,—this

[1] Specially the season of complacent enjoyment

[2] So, in Lin Hsî-*k*ung, but the meaning has to be forced out of the text

[3] The disciple Min Sun or Min Tze-*k*hien

I considered to be the sum (of his duty) Now that I have heard that description of the Perfect man, I fear that my idea is not the real one, and that, by employing myself too lightly, I may cause the ruin of my state I and Khung *Khiû* are not on the footing of ruler and subject, but on that of a virtuous friendship'

5 A person who had no lips, whose legs were bent so that he could only walk on his toes, and who was (otherwise) deformed [1], addressed his counsels to duke Ling of Wei, who was so pleased with him, that he looked on a perfectly formed man as having a lean and small neck in comparison with him Another who had a large goitre like an earthenware jar [1] addressed his counsels to duke Hwan of *Khî* [2], who was so pleased with him that he looked on a perfectly formed man as having a neck lean and small in comparison with him [3] So it is that when one's virtue is extraordinary, (any deficiency in) his bodily form may be forgotten When men do not forget what is (easily) forgotten, and forget what is not (easily) forgotten, we have a case of real oblivion Therefore the sagely man has that in which his mind finds its enjoyment, and (looks on) wisdom as (but) the shoots from an old stump, agreements with others are to him but so much glue, kindnesses are

[1] These two men are undoubtedly inventions of *K*wang-ƷZE They are brought before us, not by surnames and names, but by their several deformities

[2] The first of the five presiding chiefs, marquis of *Khî* from B C 685 to 643

[3] Lin Hsî-*k*ung wonders whether the story of the man who was so taken with the charms of a one-eyed courtesan, that he thought other women all had an eye too many, was taken from this!

(but the arts of) intercourse, and great skill is (but as) merchants' wares The sagely man lays no plans,—of what use would wisdom be to him? He has no cutting and hacking to do,—of what use would glue be to him? He has lost nothing,—of what use would arts of intercourse be to him? He has no goods to dispose of,—what need has he to play the merchant? (The want of) these four things are the nourishment of (his) Heavenly (nature), that nourishment is its Heavenly food Since he receives this food from Heaven, what need has he for anything of man's (devising)? He has the bodily form of man, but not the passions and desires of (other) men He has the form of man, and therefore he is a man Being without the passions and desires of men, their approvings and disapprovings are not to be found in him How insignificant and small is (the body) by which he belongs to humanity! How grand and great is he in the unique perfection of his Heavenly (nature)!

Hui-tze said to *K*wang-tze, 'Can a man indeed be without desires and passions?' The reply was, 'He can' 'But on what grounds do you call him a man, who is thus without passions and desires?' *K*wang-tze said, 'The Tâo[1] gives him his personal appearance (and powers), Heaven[2] gives him his bodily form, how should we not call him a man?' Hui-tze rejoined, 'Since you call him a man, how

[1] Lû Shû-*k*ih maintains here that 'the Tâo' and 'Heaven' have the same meaning, nor does he make any distinction between mâo (貌), 'the personal appearance,' and hsing (形), 'the figure,' or 'bodily form'

[2] Compare in the Tâo Teh *K*ing expressions in li, 2, and lv, 5

can he be without passions and desires?' The reply was, 'You are misunderstanding what I mean by passions and desires What I mean when I say that he is without these is, that this man does not by his likings and dislikings do any inward harm to his body,—he always pursues his course without effort, and does not (try to) increase his (store of) life' Hui-tze rejoined, 'If there were not that increasing of (the amount) of life, how would he get his body[1]?' Kwang-tze said, 'The Tâo gives him his personal appearance (and powers), Heaven gives him his bodily form, and he does not by his likings and dislikings do any internal harm to his body But now you, Sir, deal with your spirit as if it were something external to you, and subject your vital powers to toil You sing (your ditties), leaning against a tree, you go to sleep, grasping the stump of a rotten dryandra tree Heaven selected for you the bodily form (of a man), and you babble about what is strong and what is white[2]'

[1] Apparently a gross meaning attached by Hui-tze to Kwang-tze's words

[2] Kwang-tze beats down his opponent, and contemptuously refers to some of his well-known peculiarities,—as in II, par 5, XXXIII, par 7, and elsewhere

BOOK VI

PART I SECTION VI

Tâ Zung Shih, or 'The Great and Most Honoured Master[1]'

1 He who knows the part which the Heavenly[2] (in him) plays, and knows (also) that which the Human[2] (in him ought to) play, has reached the perfection (of knowledge) He who knows the part which the Heavenly plays (knows) that it is naturally born with him, he who knows the part which the Human ought to play (proceeds) with the knowledge which he possesses to nourish it in the direction of what he does not (yet) know[3] —to complete one's natural term of years and not come to an untimely end in the middle of his course is the fulness of knowledge Although it be so, there is an evil (attending this condition) Such knowledge still awaits the confirmation of it as correct, it does so because it is not yet determined[4] How do we know that what

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[1] See pp 134–136

[2] Both 'Heaven' and 'Man' here are used in the Tâoistic sense,—the meaning which the terms commonly have both with Lâo and K'wang

[3] The middle member of this sentence is said to be the practical outcome of all that is said in the Book, conducting the student of the Tâo to an unquestioning submission to the experiences in his lot, which are beyond his comprehension, and approaching nearly to what we understand by the Christian virtue of Faith

[4] That is, there may be the conflict, to the end of life, between

we call the Heavenly (in us) is not the Human? and that what we call the Human is not the Heavenly? There must be the True man[1], and then there is the True knowledge

2 What is meant by 'the True Man[2]?' The True men of old did not reject (the views of) the few, they did not seek to accomplish (their ends) like heroes (before others), they did not lay plans to attain those ends[3]. Being such, though they might make mistakes, they had no occasion for repentance, though they might succeed, they had no self-complacency Being such, they could ascend the loftiest heights without fear, they could pass through water without being made wet by it, they could go into fire without being burnt, so it was

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faith and fact, so graphically exhibited in the Book of Job, and compendiously described in the seventy-third Psalm

[1] Here we meet with the True Man, a Master of the Tâo He is the same as the Perfect Man, the Spirit-like Man, and the Sagely Man (see pp 127, 128), and the designation is sometimes interchanged in the five paragraphs that follow with 'the Sagely Man' Mr Balfour says here that this name 'is used in the esoteric sense —"partaking of the essence of divinity,"' and he accordingly translates 眞人 by 'the divine man' But he might as well translate any one of the other three names in the same way The Shwo Wăn dictionary defines the name by 仙人, 'a recluse of the mountain, whose bodily form has been changed, and who ascends to heaven,' but when this account was made, Tâoism had entered into a new phase, different from what it had in the time of our author

[2] In this description of 'the True Man,' and in what follows, there is what is grotesque and what is exaggerated (see note on the title of the first Book, p 127) The most prominent characteristic of him was his perfect comprehension of the Tâo and participation of it

[3] 士 has here the sense of 事

that by their knowledge they ascended to and reached the Tâo[1].

The True men of old did not dream when they slept, had no anxiety when they awoke, and did not care that their food should be pleasant Their breathing came deep and silently The breathing of the true man comes (even) from his heels, while men generally breathe (only) from their throats When men are defeated in argument, their words come from their gullets as if they were vomiting Where lusts and desires are deep, the springs of the Heavenly are shallow

The True men of old knew nothing of the love of life or of the hatred of death Entrance into life occasioned them no joy, the exit from it awakened no resistance Composedly they went and came They did not forget what their beginning had been, and they did not inquire into what their end would be They accepted (their life) and rejoiced in it, they forgot (all fear of death), and returned (to their state before life)[1] Thus there was in them what is called the want of any mind to resist the Tâo, and of all attempts by means of the Human to assist the Heavenly Such were they who are called the True men

3 Being such, their minds were free from all thought[2], their demeanour was still and unmoved,

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[1] Was not this the state of non-existence? We cannot say of Pantâoism However we may describe that, the Tâo operates in nature, but is not identical with it

[2] 心忘 appears in the common editions as 心志, which must have got into the text at a very early time 'The mind forgetting,' or 'free from all thought and purpose,' appears every-

their foreheads beamed simplicity Whatever coldness came from them was like that of autumn, whatever warmth came from them was like that of spring Their joy and anger assimilated to what we see in the four seasons They did in regard to all things what was suitable, and no one could know how far their action would go Therefore the sagely man might, in his conduct of war, destroy a state without losing the hearts of the people [1], his benefits and favours might extend to a myriad generations without his being a lover of men Hence he who tries to share his joys with others is not a sagely man, he who manifests affection is not benevolent, he who observes times and seasons (to regulate his conduct) is not a man of wisdom, he to whom profit and injury are not the same is not a superior man, he who acts for the sake of the name of doing so, and loses his (proper) self is not the (right) scholar, and he who throws away his person in a way which is not the true (way) cannot command the service of others Such men as Hû Pû-*k*ieh, Wû Kwang, Po-î, Shû-*k*hî, the count of *K*î, Hsu-yu, *K*î Thâ, and Shăn-thû Tî, all did service for other men, and sought to secure for them what they desired, not seeking their own pleasure [2]

where in the Book as a characteristic of the True Man Not a few critics contend that it was this, and not the Tâo of which it is a quality, that *K*wang-*z*ze intended by the 'Master' in the title

[1] Such antithetic statements are startling, but they are common with both Lâo *z*ze and our author

[2] The seven men mentioned here are all adduced, I must suppose, as instances of good and worthy men, but still inferior to the True Man Of Hû Pû-*k*ieh all that we are told is that he was 'an ancient worthy' One account of Wû Kwang is that he was of the time of Hwang-Tî, with ears seven inches long, another, that he

4. The True men of old presented the aspect of judging others aright, but without being partisans; of feeling their own insufficiency, but being without flattery or cringing Their peculiarities were natural to them, but they were not obstinately attached to them, their humility was evident, but there was nothing of unreality or display about it Their placidity and satisfaction had the appearance of joy, their every movement seemed to be a necessity to them Their accumulated attractiveness drew men's looks to them, their blandness fixed men's attachment to their virtue They seemed to accommodate themselves to the (manners of their age), but with a certain severity, their haughty indifference was beyond its control Unceasing seemed their endeavours to keep (their mouths) shut, when they looked down, they had forgotten what they wished to say

They considered punishments to be the substance (of government, and they never incurred it), ceremonies to be its supporting wings (and they always observed them), wisdom (to indicate) the time (for action, and they always selected it), and virtue to be accordance (with others), and they were all-accordant Considering punishments to be the substance (of government), yet their generosity appeared in the (manner of their) infliction of death. Considering ceremonies to be its supporting wings, they pursued

was of the time of Thang, of the Shang dynasty Po-î and Shû-*khî* are known to us from the Analects, and also the count of *Khî*, whose name, it is said, was Hsu-yu I can find nothing about *Kî* Thâ,—his name in Jiâo Hung's text is 紀他沱. Shăn-thû Tî was of the Yin dynasty, a contemporary of Thang He drowned himself in the Ho Most of these are referred to in other places

by means of them their course in the world Considering wisdom to indicate the time (for action), they felt it necessary to employ it in (the direction of) affairs Considering virtue to be accordance (with others), they sought to ascend its height along with all who had feet (to climb it) (Such were they), and yet men really thought that they did what they did by earnest effort [1]

5 In this way they were one and the same in all their likings and dislikings Where they liked, they were the same, where they did not like, they were the same In the former case where they liked, they were fellow-workers with the Heavenly (in them), in the latter where they disliked, they were co-workers with the Human in them The one of these elements (in their nature) did not overcome the other Such were those who are called the True men

Death and life are ordained, just as we have the constant succession of night and day,—in both cases from Heaven Men have no power to do anything in reference to them,—such is the constitution of things [2]. There are those who specially regard Heaven [3] as their father, and they still love It (distant as It is) [3],—how much more should they love

[1] All this paragraph is taken as illustrative of the True man's freedom from thought or purpose in his course

[2] See note 3 on par 1, p 236

[3] Love is due to a parent, and so such persons should love Heaven There is in the text here, I think, an unconscious reference to the earliest time, before the views of the earliest Chinese diverged to Theism and Tâoism We cannot translate the 身 here

That which stands out (Superior and Alone)[1] Some specially regard their ruler as superior to themselves, and will give their bodies to die for him,—how much more should they do so for That which is their true (Ruler)[1] When the springs are dried up, the fishes collect together on the land Than that they should moisten one another there by the damp about them, and keep one another wet by their slime, it would be better for them to forget one another in the rivers and lakes[2] And when men praise Yâo and condemn K'ieh, it would be better to forget them both, and seek the renovation of the Tâo

6 There is the great Mass (of nature),—I find the support of my body on it, my life is spent in toil on it, my old age seeks ease on it, at death I find rest in it,—what makes my life a good makes my death also a good[3] If you hide away a boat in the ravine of a hill, and hide away the hill in a lake, you will say that (the boat) is secure, but at midnight there shall come a strong man and carry it off on his back, while you in the dark know nothing about it You may hide away anything, whether small or great, in the most suitable place, and yet it shall disappear from it But if you could hide the world in the world[4], so that there was nowhere to which it could be removed, this would be the grand reality of the

[1] The great and most honoured Master,—the Tâo

[2] This sentence contrasts the cramping effect on the mind of Confucianism with the freedom given by the doctrine of the Tâo

[3] The Tâo does this The whole paragraph is an amplification of the view given in the preceding note

[4] The Tâo cannot be taken away It is with its possessor, an 'ever-during thing'

ever-during Thing[1] When the body of man comes from its special mould[2], there is even then occasion for joy, but this body undergoes a myriad transformations, and does not immediately reach its perfection,—does it not thus afford occasion for joys incalculable? Therefore the sagely man enjoys himself in that from which there is no possibility of separation, and by which all things are preserved He considers early death or old age, his beginning and his ending, all to be good, and in this other men imitate him,—how much more will they do so in regard to That Itself on which all things depend, and from which every transformation arises!

7 This is the Tâo,—there is in It emotion and sincerity, but It does nothing and has no bodily form[3] It may be handed down (by the teacher), but may not be received (by his scholars) It may be apprehended (by the mind), but It cannot be seen It has Its root and ground (of existence) in Itself Before there were heaven and earth, from of old, there It was, securely existing From It came the mysterious existences of spirits, from It the mysterious existence of God[4] It produced heaven, It produced earth It was before the Thâi-*kî*[5], and

[1] See p 242, note 4

[2] Adopting the reading of 範 for 犯, supplied by Hwâi-nan Tzû

[3] Our author has done with 'the True Man,' and now brings in the Tâo itself as his subject Compare the predicates of It here with Bk II, par 2 But there are other, and perhaps higher things said of it here

[4] Men at a very early time came to believe in the existence of their spirits after death, and in the existence of a Supreme Ruler or God It was to the Tâo that those concepts were owing

[5] The primal ether out of which all things were fashioned by the interaction of the Yin and Yang This was something like the

yet could not be considered high[1], It was below all space, and yet could not be considered deep[1]. It was produced before heaven and earth, and yet could not be considered to have existed long[1], It was older than the highest antiquity, and yet could not be considered old[1]

Shih-wei got It[2], and by It adjusted heaven and earth Fû-hsî got It, and by It penetrated to the mystery of the maternity of the primary matter The Wei-tâu[3] got It, and from all antiquity has made no eccentric movement The Sun and Moon got It, and from all antiquity have not intermitted (their bright shining) Khan-pei got It, and by It became lord of Khwăn-lun[4] Făng-î[5] got It, and by It enjoyed himself in the Great River *K*ien Wû[6] got It, and by It dwelt on mount Thâi Hwang-Tî[7] got It and by It ascended the cloudy sky *K*wan-hsu[8]

current idea of protoplasm, but while protoplasm lies down in the lower parts of the earth, the Thâi-*k*î was imagined to be in the higher regions of space

[1] The Tâo is independent both of space and time

[2] A prehistoric sovereign

[3] A name for the constellation of the Great Bear

[4] Name of the spirit of the Khwăn-lun mountains in Thibet, the fairy-land of Tâoist writers, very much in Tâoism what mount Sumêru is in Buddhism

[5] The spirit presiding over the Yellow River,—see Majers's Manual, pp 54, 55

[6] Appears here as the spirit of mount Thâi, the great eastern mountain, we met with him in I, 5, but simply as one of *K*wang tze's fictitious personages

[7] Appears before in Bk II, the first of Sze-mâ *Kh*ien's 'Five Tîs,' no doubt a very early sovereign, to whom many important discoveries and inventions are ascribed, is placed by many at the head of Tâoism itself

[8] The second of the 'Five Tîs,' a grandson of Hwang-Tî I do not know what to say of his 'Dark Palace'

got It, and by It dwelt in the Dark Palace Yu-*kh*iang[1] got It, and by It was set on the North Pole Hsî Wang-mû[2] got It, and by It had her seat in (the palace of) Shâo-kwang No one knows Its beginning, no one knows Its end Phăng ƷÛ got It, and lived on from the time of the lord of Yu to that of the Five Chiefs[3] Fû Yueh[4] got It, and by It became chief minister to Wû-ting[4], (who thus) in a trice became master of the kingdom (After his death), Fû Yueh mounted to the eastern portion of the Milky Way, where, riding on Sagittarius and Scorpio, he took his place among the stars

8 Nan-po ƷZe-khwei[5] asked Nu Yu[6], saying 'You are old, Sir, while your complexion is like that of a child,—how is it so?' The reply was, 'I have become acquainted with the Tâo.' The other said, 'Can I learn the Tâo?' Nu Yu said, 'No How can you? You, Sir, are not the man to do so There was Pû-liang Î[7] who had the abilities of a sagely man, but not the Tâo, while I had the Tâo, but not the abilities I wished, however, to teach him, if, peradventure, he might

[1] The Spirit of the Northern regions, with a man's face, and a bird's body, &c.

[2] A queen of the Genii on mount Khwăn-lun See Mayers's Manual, pp 178, 179

[3] Phăng ƷÛ has been before us in Bk I Shun is intended by 'the Lord of Yu' The five Chiefs,—see Mencius, VI, ii, 7

[4] See the Shû, IV, viii, but we have nothing there of course about the Milky Way and the stars—This passage certainly lessens our confidence in *K*wang-ƷZe's statements

[5] Perhaps the same as Nan-po ƷZe-*kh*î in Bk IV, par 7

[6] Must have been a great Tâoist Nothing more can be said of him or her

[7] Only mentioned here

become the sagely man indeed If he should not do so, it was easy (I thought) for one possessing the Tâo of the sagely man to communicate it to another possessing his abilities Accordingly, I proceeded to do so, but with deliberation[1] After three days, he was able to banish from his mind all worldly (matters) This accomplished, I continued my intercourse with him in the same way, and in seven days he was able to banish from his mind all thought of men and things This accomplished, and my instructions continued, after nine days, he was able to count his life as foreign to himself This accomplished, his mind was afterwards clear as the morning, and after this he was able to see his own individuality[2] That individuality perceived, he was able to banish all thought of Past or Present Freed from this, he was able to penetrate to (the truth that there is no difference between) life and death,—(how) the destruction of life is not dying, and the communication of other life is not living (The Tâo) is a thing which accompanies all other things and meets them, which is present when they are overthrown and when they obtain their completion Its name is Tranquillity amid all Disturbances, meaning that such Disturbances lead to Its Perfection[3]'

'And how did you, being alone (without any teacher), learn all this?' 'I learned it,' was the reply, 'from the son of Fû-mo[4], he learned it from

[1] So the 守 is explained

[2] Standing by himself, as it were face to face with the Tâo

[3] Amid all changes, in life and death, the possessor of the Tâo has peace

[4] Meaning writings, literally, 'the son of the assisting pigment

the grandson of Lo-sung, he learned it from Shan-ming, he learned it from Nieh-hsu, he, from Hsu-yî, he, from Wû-âo, he, from Hsuan-ming, he, from Zhan-liâo, and he learned it from Î-shih.'

9. Zze-sze[1], Zze-yu[1], Zze-lî[1], and Zze-lâi[1], these four men, were talking together, when some one said, 'Who can suppose the head to be made from nothing, the spine from life, and the rump-bone from death? Who knows how death and birth, living on and disappearing, compose the one body? —I would be friends with him[2].' The four men looked at one another and laughed, but no one seized with his mind the drift of the questions. All, however, were friends together.

Not long after Zze-yu fell ill, and Zze-sze went to inquire for him. 'How great,' said (the sufferer), 'is the Creator[3]! That He should have made me the deformed object that I am!' He was a crooked hunchback, his five viscera were squeezed into the

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We are not to suppose that by this and the other names that follow individuals are intended. Kwang-zze seems to have wished to give, in his own fashion, some notion of the genesis of the idea of the Tâo from the first speculations about the origin of things.

[1] We need not suppose that these are the names of real men. They are brought on the stage by our author to serve his purpose. Hwâi-nan makes the name of the first to have been Zze-shui (子水).

[2] Compare the same representation in Bk. XXIII, par. 10. Kû Teh-kih says on it here, 'The head, the spine, the rump-bone mean simply the head and tail, the beginning and end. All things begin from nothing and end in nothing. Their birth and their death are only the creations of our thought, the going and coming of the primary ether. When we have penetrated to the non-reality of life and death, what remains of the body of so many feet?'

[3] The 'Creator' or 'Maker' (造物者) is the Tâo.

upper part of his body, his chin bent over his navel, his shoulder was higher than his crown, on his crown was an ulcer pointing to the sky, his breath came and went in gasps[1] —yet he was easy in his mind, and made no trouble of his condition He limped to a well, looked at himself in it, and said, 'Alas that the Creator should have made me the deformed object that I am!' Ze said, 'Do you dislike your condition?' He replied, 'No, why should I dislike it? If He were to transform my left arm into a cock, I should be watching with it the time of the night, if He were to transform my right arm into a cross-bow, I should then be looking for a hsiâo to (bring down and) roast, if He were to transform my rump-bone into a wheel, and my spirit into a horse, I should then be mounting it, and would not change it for another steed Moreover, when we have got (what we are to do), there is the time (of life) in which to do it, when we lose that (at death), submission (is what is required) When we rest in what the time requires, and manifest that submission, neither joy nor sorrow can find entrance (to the mind)[2] This would be what the ancients called loosing the cord by which (the life) is suspended But one hung up cannot loose himself,—he is held fast by his bonds[3] And that creatures cannot overcome

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[1] Compare this description of Ze-yu's deformity with that of the poor Shû, in IV, 8

[2] Such is the submission to one's lot produced by the teaching of Tâoism

[3] Compare the same phraseology in III, par 4, near the end In correcting Mr Balfour's mistranslation of the text, Mr Giles himself falls into a mistranslation through not observing that the 解

Heaven (the inevitable) is a long-acknowledged fact,—why should I hate my condition?'

10. Before long Ze-lâi fell ill, and lay gasping at the point of death, while his wife and children stood around him wailing[1]. Ze-lî went to ask for him, and said to them, 'Hush! Get out of the way! Do not disturb him as he is passing through his change.' Then, leaning against the door, he said (to the dying man), 'Great indeed is the Creator! What will He now make you to become? Where will He take you to? Will He make you the liver of a rat, or the arm of an insect[2]?' Ze-lâi replied, 'Wherever a parent tells a son to go, east, west, south, or north, he simply follows the command. The Yin and Yang are more to a man than his parents are. If they are hastening my death, and I do not quietly submit to them, I shall be obstinate and rebellious. There is the great Mass (of nature),—I find the support of my body in it, my life is spent in toil on it, my old age seeks ease on it, at death I find rest on it.—what has made my life a good will make my death also a good.

'Here now is a great founder, casting his metal. If the metal were to leap up (in the pot), and say, "I must be made into a (sword like the) Mo-yeh[3]!"

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is passive, having the 懸 that precedes as its subject (observe the force of the 也 after 解 in the best editions), and not active, or governing the 懸 that follows.

[1] Compare the account of the scene at Lâo-ze's death, in III, par. 4.

[2] Here comes in the belief in transformation.

[3] The name of a famous sword, made for Ho-lü, the king of

the great founder would be sure to regard it as uncanny So, again, when a form is being fashioned in the mould of the womb, if it were to say, "I must become a man, I must become a man," the Creator would be sure to regard it as uncanny When we once understand that heaven and earth are a great melting-pot, and the Creator a great founder, where can we have to go to that shall not be right for us? We are born as from a quiet sleep, and we die to a calm awaking'

11 Ʒze-sang Hû[1], Măng Ʒze-fan[1], and Ʒ/e-*kh*in *K*'ang[1], these three men, were friends together (One of them said), 'Who can associate together without any (thought of) such association, or act together without any (evidence of) such co-operation? Who can mount up into the sky and enjoy himself amidst the mists, disporting beyond the utmost limits (of things)[2], and forgetting all others as if this were living, and would have no end?' The three men looked at one another and laughed, not perceiving the drift of the questions, and they continued to associate together as friends

Suddenly, after a time[3], Ʒ/e-sang Hû died Before he was buried, Confucius heard of the event, and

Wû (B C 514–494) See the account of the forging of it in the 東周列國志, ch 74 The mention of it would seem to indicate that Ʒze-lâi and the other three men were of the time of Confucius

[1] These three men were undoubtedly of the time of Confucius, and some would identify them with the Ʒ/e-sang Po-ʒze of Ana VI, 1, Măng *K*'ih fan of VI, 13, and the I âo of IX, vi, 4 This is very unlikely They were I âoists

[2] Or, 'without end'

[3] Or, 'Some time went by silently, and'

sent Ze-kung to go and see if he could render any assistance One of the survivors had composed a ditty, and the other was playing on his lute Then they sang together in unison,

'Ah! come, Sang Hû! ah! come, Sang Hû!
Your being true you've got again,
While we, as men, still here remain
Ohone!!'

Ze-kung hastened forward to them, and said, 'I venture to ask whether it be according to the rules to be singing thus in the presence of the corpse?' The two men looked at each other, and laughed, saying, 'What does this man know about the idea that underlies (our) rules?' Ze-kung returned to Confucius, and reported to him, saying, 'What sort of men are those? They had made none of the usual preparations[2], and treated the body as a thing foreign to them They were singing in the presence of the corpse, and there was no change in their countenances I cannot describe them,—what sort of men are they?' Confucius replied, 'Those men occupy and enjoy themselves in what is outside the (common) ways (of the world) while I occupy and enjoy myself in what lies within those ways There is no common ground for those of such different ways, and when I sent you to condole with those men, I was acting stupidly They, moreover, make man to be the fellow of the

[1] In accordance with the ancient and modern practice in China of calling the dead back But these were doing so in a song to the lute

[2] Or, 'they do not regulate their doings (in the usual way)'

Creator, and seek their enjoyment in the formless condition of heaven and earth They consider life to be an appendage attached, an excrescence annexed to them, and death to be a separation of the appendage and a dispersion of the contents of the excrescence With these views, how should they know wherein death and life are to be found, or what is first and what is last? They borrow different substances, and pretend that the common form of the body is composed of them[1] They dismiss the thought of (its inward constituents like) the liver and gall, and (its outward constituents), the ears and eyes Again and again they end and they begin, having no knowledge of first principles They occupy themselves ignorantly and vaguely with what (they say) lies outside the dust and dirt (of the world), and seek their enjoyment in the business of doing nothing How should they confusedly address themselves to the ceremonies practised by the common people, and exhibit themselves as doing so to the ears and eyes of the multitude?'

Ze-kung said, 'Yes, but why do you, Master, act according to the (common) ways (of the world)?' The reply was 'I am in this under the condemning sentence of Heaven[2] Nevertheless, I will share

[1] The idea that the body is composed of the elements of earth, wind or air, fire, and water

[2] A strange description of himself by the sage Literally, 'I am (one of) the people killed and exposed to public view by Heaven', referring, perhaps, to the description of a living man as 'suspended by a string from God' Confucius was content to accept his life, and used it in pursuing the path of duty, according to his conception of it, without aiming at the transcendental method of the Tâoists I can attach no other or better meaning to the expression

with you (what I have attained to)' Ze-kung rejoined, 'I venture to ask the method which you pursue,' and Confucius said, 'Fishes breed and grow in the water, man developes in the Tâo Growing in the water, the fishes cleave the pools, and their nourishment is supplied to them Developing in the Tâo, men do nothing, and the enjoyment of their life is secured Hence it is said, "Fishes forget one another in the rivers and lakes, men forget one another in the arts of the Tâo"'

Ze-kung said, 'I venture to ask about the man who stands aloof from others[1]' The reply was, 'He stands aloof from other men, but he is in accord with Heaven! Hence it is said, "The small man of Heaven is the superior man among men, the superior man among men is the small man of Heaven[2]!"'

12 Yen Hui asked Kung-nî, saying, 'When the mother of Măng-sun Zhâi[3] died, in all his wailing for her he did not shed a tear, in the core of his heart he felt no distress, during all the mourning rites, he exhibited no sorrow Without these three things, he (was considered to have) discharged his mourning well,—is it that in the state of Lû one who has not the reality may yet get the reputation of having it? I think the matter very strange' Kung-nî

[1] Misled by the text of Hsuang Ying, Mr Balfour here reads 崎 instead of 畸.

[2] Here, however, he aptly compares with the language of Christ in Matthew vii 28 —Kwang-ze seems to make Confucius praise the system of Tâoism as better than his own!

[3] Must have been a member of the Măng or Măng-sun family of Lû, to a branch of which Mencius belonged

said, 'That Măng-sun carried out (his views) to the utmost He was advanced in knowledge, but (in this case) it was not possible for him to appear to be negligent (in his ceremonial observances)[1], but he succeeded in being really so to himself Măng-sun does not know either what purposes life serves, or what death serves, he does not know which should be first sought, and which last[2] If he is to be transformed into something else, he will simply await the transformation which he does not yet know This is all he does And moreover, when one is about to undergo his change, how does he know that it has not taken place? And when he is not about to undergo his change, how does he know that it has taken place[3]? Take the case of me and you —are we in a dream from which we have not begun to awake[4]?

'Moreover, Măng-sun presented in his body the appearance of being agitated, but in his mind he was conscious of no loss. The death was to him like the issuing from one's dwelling at dawn, and no (more terrible) reality He was more awake than others were When they wailed, he also wailed, having in himself the reason why he did so And we all have our individuality which makes us what we are as compared together, but how do we know that we

[1] The people set such store by the mourning rites, that Măng-sun felt he must present the appearance of observing them This would seem to show that Tâoism arose after the earlier views of the Chinese

[2] I adopt here, with many of the critics, the reading of 孰 instead of the more common 就

[3] This is to me very obscure

[4] Are such dreams possible? See what I have said on II, par 9

determine in any case correctly that individuality? Moreover you dream that you are a bird, and seem to be soaring to the sky, or that you are a fish, and seem to be diving in the deep But you do not know whether we that are now speaking are awake or in a dream[1] It is not the meeting with what is pleasurable that produces the smile, it is not the smile suddenly produced that produces the arrangement (of the person) When one rests in what has been arranged, and puts away all thought of the transformation, he is in unity with the mysterious Heaven'

13 Î-r Ze[2] having gone to see Hsu Yû, the latter said to him, 'What benefit have you received from Yâo?' The reply was, 'Yâo says to me, You must yourself labour at benevolence and righteousness, and be able to tell clearly which is right and which wrong (in conflicting statements)' Hsu Yû rejoined, 'Why then have you come to me? Since Yâo has put on you the brand of his benevolence and righteousness, and cut off your nose with his right and wrong[3], how will you be able to wander in the way of aimless enjoyment, of unregulated contemplation, and the ever-changing forms (of dispute)?' Î-r Ze said, 'That may be, but I should

[1] This also is obscure, but Confucius is again made to praise the Tâoistic system

[2] Î-r is said by Lî Î to have been 'a worthy scholar,' but Î-r is an old name for the swallow, and there is a legend of a being of this name appearing to king Mû, and then flying away as a swallow,—see the Khang-hsî Thesaurus under 燕 The personage is entirely fabulous

[3] Dismembered or disfigured you

like to skirt along its hedges' 'But,' said the other, 'it cannot be Eyes without pupils can see nothing of the beauty of the eyebrows, eyes, and other features, the blind have nothing to do with the green, yellow, and variegated colours of the sacrificial robes' Î-ʒze rejoined, 'Yet, when Wû-*k*wang[1] lost his beauty, *K*u-liang[1] his strength, and Hwang-Tî his wisdom, they all (recovered them)[2] under the moulding (of your system),—how do you know that the Maker will not obliterate the marks of my branding, and supply my dismemberment, so that, again perfect in my form, I may follow you as my teacher?' Hsu Yû said, 'Ah! that cannot yet be known I will tell you the rudiments O my Master! O my Master! He gives to all things their blended qualities, and does not count it any righteousness, His favours reach to all generations, and He does not count it any benevolence, He is more ancient than the highest antiquity, and does not count Himself old, He overspreads heaven and supports the earth, He carves and fashions all bodily forms, and does not consider it any act of skill,—this is He in whom I find my enjoyment'

14 Yen Hui said, 'I am making progress' *K*ung-nî replied, 'What do you mean?' 'I have ceased to think of benevolence and righteousness,' was the reply 'Very well, but that is not enough'

Another day, Hui again saw *K*ung-nî, and said, 'I am making progress' 'What do you mean?'

[1] Names of parties, of whom we know nothing It is implied, we must suppose, that they had suffered as is said by their own inadvertence

[2] We must suppose that they had done so

'I have lost all thought of ceremonies and music' 'Very well, but that is not enough'

A third day, Hui again saw (the Master), and said, 'I am making progress' 'What do you mean?' 'I sit and forget everything[1]' Kung-nî changed countenance, and said, 'What do you mean by saying that you sit and forget (everything)?' Yen Hui replied, 'My connexion with the body and its parts is dissolved, my perceptive organs are discarded Thus leaving my material form, and bidding farewell to my knowledge, I am become one with the Great Pervader[2] This I call sitting and forgetting all things' Kung-nî said, 'One (with that Pervader), you are free from all likings, so transformed, you are become impermanent You have, indeed, become superior to me! I must ask leave to follow in your steps[3]'

15 Ze-yu[4] and Ze-sang[4] were friends (Once), when it had rained continuously for ten days, Ze-yu said, 'I fear that Ze-sang may be in distress' So he wrapped up some rice, and went to give it to him to eat When he came to Ze-sang's door, there issued from it sounds between singing and wailing,

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[1] 'I sit and forget,'—generally thus supplemented (無所不忘) Hui proceeds to set forth the meaning he himself attached to the phrase

[2] Another denomination, I think, of the Tâo The 大通 is also explained as meaning, 'the great void in which there is no obstruction (太虛之無碍).'

[3] Here is another testimony, adduced by our author, of Confucius's appreciation of Tâoism, to which the sage would, no doubt, have taken exception

[4] Two of the men in pars 9, 10

a lute was struck, and there came the words, 'O Father! O Mother! O Heaven! O Men!' The voice could not sustain itself, and the line was hurriedly pronounced. Ze-yu entered and said, 'Why are you singing, Sir, this line of poetry in such a way?' The other replied, 'I was thinking, and thinking in vain, how it was that I was brought to such extremity. Would my parents have wished me to be so poor? Heaven overspreads all without any partial feeling, and so does Earth sustain all,—would Heaven and Earth make me so poor with any unkindly feeling? I was trying to find out who had done it, and I could not do so. But here I am in this extremity!—it is what was appointed for me![1]'

[1] Here is the highest issue of Tâoism,—unquestioning submission to what is beyond our knowledge and control.

BOOK VII.

PART I SECTION VII

Ying Tî Wang[1], or 'The Normal Course for Rulers and Kings[1]'

1 Nieh *K'h*ueh[2] put four questions to Wang Î[2], not one of which did he know (how to answer) On this Nieh *K'h*ueh leaped up, and in great delight walked away and informed Phû-î-ze[3] of it, who said to him, 'Do you (only) now know it?' He of the line of Yu[4] was not equal to him of the line of Thâi[5] He of Yu still kept in himself (the idea of) benevolence by which to constrain (the submission of) men, and he did win men, but he had not begun to proceed by what did not belong to him as a man He of the line of Thâi would sleep tranquilly, and awake in contented simplicity He would consider himself now (merely) as a horse, and now (merely) as an ox[6] His knowledge was real and untroubled

[1] See pp 136–138

[2] See p 190, note 5

[3] An ancient Tâoist, of the time of Shun So, Hwang-fû Mî, who adds that Shun served him as his master when he was eight years old I suppose the name indicates that his clothes were made of rushes

[4] Shun See p 245, note 3

[5] An ancient sovereign, earlier, no doubt, than Fû-hsî, but nothing is known of him

[6] He thought nothing about his being, as a man, superior to the lower creatures Shun in governing employed his acquired knowledge, Thâi had not begun to do so

by doubts, and his virtue was very true —he had not begun to proceed by what belonged to him as a man.

2. *K*ien Wû[1] went to see the mad (recluse), *K'h*ieh-yu[2], who said to him, 'What did *Z*ăh-*k*ung Shih tell you?' The reply was, 'He told me that when rulers gave forth their regulations according to their own views and enacted righteous measures, no one would venture not to obey them, and all would be transformed.' *K'h*ieh-yu said, 'That is but the hypocrisy of virtue. For the right ordering of the world it would be like trying to wade through the sea and dig through the Ho, or employing a musquito to carry a mountain on its back. And when a sage is governing, does he govern men's outward actions? He is (himself) correct, and so (his government) goes on;—this is the simple and certain way by which he secures the success of his affairs. Think of the bird which flies high, to avoid being hurt by the dart on the string of the archer, and the little mouse which makes its hole deep under Shăn-*k'h*ûû[4] to avoid the danger of being smoked or dug out;—are (rulers) less knowing than these two little creatures?'

3. Thien Kăn[5], rambling on the south of (mount) Yin[6], came to the neighbourhood of the Liâo-water

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[1] See p. 170, note 2.

[2] See p. 170, note 3.

[3] A name —'a worthy,' it is said.

[4] Name of some hill or height.

[5] A name ('Root of the sky'), but probably mythical. There is a star so called.

[6] Probably the name of a mountain, though this meaning of Yin is not given in the dictionary.

Happening there to meet with the man whose name is not known[1], he put a question to him, saying, 'I beg to ask what should be done[2] in order to (carry on) the government of the world.' The nameless man said, 'Go away, you are a rude borderer. Why do you put to me a question for which you are unprepared[3]? I would simply play the part of the Maker of (all) things[4]. When wearied, I would mount on the bird of the light and empty air, proceed beyond the six cardinal points, and wander in the region of non-entity, to dwell in the wilderness of desert space. What method have you, moreover, for the government of the world that you (thus) agitate my mind?' (Thien Kăn), however, again asked the question, and the nameless man said, 'Let your mind find its enjoyment in pure simplicity, blend yourself with (the primary) ether in idle indifference, allow all things to take their natural course, and admit no personal or selfish consideration—do this and the world will be governed.'

4. Yang Ze-Kû[5], having an interview with Lâo Tan, said to him, 'Here is a man, alert and vigorous

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[1] Or, 'a nameless man.' We cannot tell whether Kwang-ze had any particular Being, so named, in view or not.

[2] The objectionable point in the question is the supposition that 'doing' was necessary in the case.

[3] Or, 'I am unprepared.' But as Thien Kăn repeats the question, it seems better to supply the second pronoun. He had thought on the subject.

[4] See the same phraseology in VI, par. 11. What follows is merely our author's way of describing the non-action of the Tâo.

[5] The Yang Kû, whom Mencius attacked so fiercely. He was perhaps, a contemporary and disciple of Lâo-ze.

in responding to all matters[1], clearsighted and widely intelligent, and an unwearied student of the Tâo,—can he be compared to one of the intelligent kings?' The reply was, 'Such a man is to one of the intelligent kings but as the bustling underling of a court who toils his body and distresses his mind with his various contrivances[2]. And moreover, it is the beauty of the skins of the tiger and leopard which makes men hunt them, the agility of the monkey, or (the sagacity of) the dog that catches the yak, which make men lead them in strings, but can one similarly endowed be compared to the intelligent kings?'

Yang Ze-Lu looked discomposed and said, 'I venture to ask you what the government of the intelligent kings is.' Lâo Tan replied, 'In the governing of the intelligent kings, their services overspread all under the sky, but they did not seem to consider it as proceeding from themselves; their transforming influence reached to all things, but the people did not refer it to them with hope. No one could tell the name of their agency, but they made men and things be joyful in themselves. Where they took their stand could not be fathomed, and they found their enjoyment in (the realm of) nonentity.'

5. In Kang there was a mysterious wizard[3] called

[1] The 嚮 may be taken as = 向, in which case we must understand a 道 as its object; or as = 響, 'an echo,' indicating the quickness of the man's response to things.

[2] Compare the language of Lâo Tan, in Bk. XII. par. 8, near the beginning.

[3] 巫 is generally feminine, meaning 'a witch.' We must take

Kî-hsien He knew all about the deaths and births of men, their preservation and ruin, their misery and happiness, and whether their lives would be long or short, foretelling the year, the month, the decade and the day like a spirit When the people of *Kăng* saw him, they all ran out of his way Lieh-ze went to see him, and was fascinated[1] by him Returning, he told Hû-ze of his interview, and said, 'I considered your doctrine, my master, to be perfect, but I have found another which is superior to it' Hû-ze[2] replied, 'I have communicated to you but the outward letter of my doctrine, and have not communicated its reality and spirit, and do you think that you are in possession of it? However many hens there be, if there be not the cock among them, how should they lay (real) eggs[3]? When you confront the world with your doctrine, you are sure to show in your countenance (all that is in your mind)[4], and so enable (this) man to succeed in interpreting your physiognomy Try and come to me with him, that I may show myself to him'

On the morrow, accordingly, Lieh-ze came with the man and saw Hû-ze When they went out, the

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it here as masculine (=現). The general meaning of the character is 'magical,' the antics of such performers to bring down the spirits

[1] Literally, 'intoxicated'

[2] The teacher in Tâoism of Lieh-ze, called also Hû *Khiû*, with the name Lin (林). See the remarks on the whole paragraph in the Introductory Notice of the Book

[3] 'The hens' signify the letter of the doctrine, 'the cock,' its spirit, 'the eggs,' a real knowledge of it

[4] 信 is here in the first tone, and read as 伸, meaning 'to stretch,' 'to set forth'

wizard said, 'Alas! your master is a dead man He will not live,—not for ten days more! I saw something strange about him,—I saw the ashes (of his life) all slaked with water!' When Lieh-tze re-entered, he wept till the front of his jacket was wet with his tears, and told Hû-tze what the man had said Hû-tze said, 'I showed myself to him with the forms of (vegetation beneath) the earth There were the sprouts indeed, but without (any appearance of) growth or regularity —he seemed to see me with the springs of my (vital) power closed up. Try and come to me with him again'

Next day, accordingly, Lieh-tze brought the man again and saw Hû-tze When they went out, the man said, 'It is a fortunate thing for your master that he met with me He will get better, he has all the signs of living! I saw the balance (of the springs of life) that had been stopped (inclining in his favour)' Lieh-tze went in, and reported these words to his master, who said, 'I showed myself to him after the pattern of the earth (beneath the) sky Neither semblance nor reality entered (into my exhibition), but the springs (of life) were issuing from beneath my feet,—he seemed to see me with the springs of vigorous action in full play Try and come with him again'

Next day Lieh-tze came with the man again, and again saw Hû-tze with him When they went out, the wizard said, 'Your master is never the same I cannot understand his physiognomy Let him try to steady himself, and I will again view him' Lieh-tze went in and reported this to Hû-tze, who said, 'This time I showed myself to him after the pattern of the grand harmony (of the two elemental

forces), with the superiority inclining to neither He seemed to see me with the springs of (vital) power in equal balance Where the water wheels about from (the movements of) a dugong[1], there is an abyss, where it does so from the arresting (of its course), there is an abyss, where it does so, and the water keeps flowing on, there is an abyss There are nine abysses with their several names, and I have only exhibited three of them Try and come with him again'

Next day they came, and they again saw Hû-ʒze But before he had settled himself in his position, the wizard lost himself and ran away 'Pursue him,' said Hû-ʒze, and Lieh-ʒze did so, but could not come up with him He returned, and told Hû-ʒze, saying, 'There is an end of him, he is lost, I could not find him' Hû-ʒze rejoined, 'I was showing him myself after the pattern of what was before I began to come from my author I confronted him with pure vacancy, and an easy indifference He did not know what I meant to represent Now he thought it was the idea of exhausted strength, and now that of an onward flow, and therefore he ran away'

After this, Lieh-ʒze considered that he had not yet begun to learn (his master's doctrine) He returned to his house, and for three years did not go out He did the cooking for his wife He fed the pigs as if he were feeding men He took no part

[1] One of the dugong It has various names in Chinese, one being 人魚, 'the Man-Fish,' from a fancied resemblance of its head and face to a human being,—the origin perhaps of the idea of the mermaid

or interest in occurring affairs He put away the carving and sculpture about him, and returned to pure simplicity Like a clod of earth he stood there in his bodily presence Amid all distractions he was (silent) and shut up in himself And in this way he continued to the end of his life

6 Non-action (makes its exemplifier) the lord of all fame, non-action (serves him as) the treasury of all plans, non-action (fits him for) the burden of all offices, non-action (makes him) the lord of all wisdom[1] The range of his action is inexhaustible, but there is nowhere any trace of his presence He fulfils all that he has received from Heaven[2], but he does not see that he was the recipient of anything A pure vacancy (of all purpose) is what characterises him. When the perfect man employs his mind, it is a mirror It conducts nothing and anticipates nothing, it responds to (what is before it), but does not retain it Thus he is able to deal successfully with all things, and injures none

7 The Ruler[3] of the Southern Ocean was Shû[4], the

[1] The four members of this sentence occasion the translator no small trouble They are constructed on the same lines, and seem to me to be indicative and not imperative Lin Hsî-*k*ung observes that all the explanations that had been offered of them were inappropriate My own version is substantially in accordance with his interpretations The chief difficulty is with the first member, which seems anti-Tâoistic, but our author is not speaking of the purpose of any actor, but of the result of his non-action 尸 is to be taken in the sense of 主, 'lord,' 'exercising lordship The 其 in the third sentence indicates a person or persons in the author's mind in what precedes

[2] = the Heavenly or self-determining nature

[3] Perhaps 'god' would be a better translation

[4] Meaning 'Heedless'

Ruler of the Northern Ocean was Hû[1], and the Ruler of the Centre was Chaos Shû and Hû were continually meeting in the land of Chaos, who treated them very well They consulted together how they might repay his kindness, and said, 'Men all have seven orifices for the purpose of seeing, hearing, eating, and breathing, while this (poor) Ruler alone has not one Let us try and make them for him' Accordingly they dug one orifice in him every day, and at the end of seven days Chaos died[2]

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[1] Meaning 'Sudden'

[2] The little allegory is ingenious and amusing 'It indicates,' says Lin, 'how action (the opposite of non-inaction) injures the first condition of things More especially it is in harmony with the Tâoistic opposition to the use of knowledge in government One critic says that an 'alas!' might well follow the concluding 'died' But surely it was better that Chaos should give place to another state 'Heedless' and 'Sudden' did not do a bad work

BOOK VIII

PART II SECTION I

Phien Mâu, or 'Webbed Toes[1]'

1. A ligament uniting the big toe with the other toes and an extra finger may be natural[2] growths, but they are more than is good for use Excrescences on the person and hanging tumours are growths from the body, but they are unnatural additions to it There are many arts of benevolence and righteousness, and the exercise of them is distributed among the five viscera[3], but this is not the correct method according to the characteristics of the Tâo Thus it is that the addition to the foot is but the attachment to it of so much useless flesh, and the addition to the hand is but the planting on it of a useless finger (So it is that) the connecting (the virtues) with the five viscera renders, by excess or restraint, the action of benevolence and righteousness bad, and leads to many arts as in the employment of (great) powers of hearing or of vision.

2 Therefore an extraordinary power of vision

[1] See pp 138, 139

[2] 'Come out from the nature,' but 'nature' must be taken here as in the translation The character is not Tâo

[3] The five viscera are the heart, the liver, the stomach, the lungs, and the kidneys To the liver are assigned the element 'wood,' and the virtue of benevolence, to the lungs, the element 'metal,' and the virtue of righteousness

leads to the confusion of the five colours[1] and an excessive use of ornament (Its possessor), in the resplendence of his green and yellow, white and black, black and green, will not stop till he has become a Lî Kû[2] An extraordinary power of hearing leads to a confusion of the five notes[3], and an excessive use of the six musical accords[4] (Its possessor), in bringing out the tones from the instruments of metal, stone, silk, and bamboo, aided by the Hwang-kung[4] and Tâ-lu[4] (tubes), will not stop till he has become a Shih Khwang[5] (So), excessive benevolence eagerly brings out virtues and restrains its (proper) nature, that (its possessor) may acquire a famous reputation, and cause all the organs and drums in the world to celebrate an unattainable condition, and he will not stop till he has become a Zăng (Shăn)[6] or a Shih (Zhiû)[7] An ex-

[1] Black, red, azure (green, blue or black), white, and yellow

[2] The same as the Lî Lau of Mencius (IV, i, 1),—of the time of Hwang-Tî It is not easy to construe the text here, and in the analogous sentences below Hsuan Ying, having read on to the 煌煌 as the uninterrupted predicate of the sharp seer, says, 'Is not this a proof of the extraordinary gift?' What follows would be, 'But it was exemplified in Lî Kû' The meaning that is given in the version was the first that occurred to myself

[3] The five notes of the Chinese musical scale

[4] There are twelve of these musical notes, determined by the twelve regulating tubes, six, represented here by Hwang-kung, the name of the first tube, giving the sharp notes, and six, represented by Tâ-lu, giving the flat notes

[5] See in II, par 5

[6] The famous Zăng-tze, or Zăng Shăn, one of Confucius's ablest disciples

[7] An officer of Wei in the sixth century B C He belonged to a family of historiographers, and hence the surname Shih (史) Confucius mentions him in the most honourable terms in the

traordinary faculty in debating leads to the piling up of arguments like a builder with his bricks, or a net-maker with his string (Its possessor) cunningly contrives his sentences and enjoys himself in discussing what hardness is and what whiteness is, where views agree and where they differ, and pressing on, though weary, with short steps, with (a multitude of) useless words to make good his opinion, nor will he stop till he has become a Yang (Kû)[1] or Mo (Tî)[1] But in all these cases the parties, with their redundant and divergent methods, do not proceed by that which is the correct path for all under the sky That which is the perfectly correct path is not to lose the real character of the nature with which we are endowed Hence the union (of parts) should not be considered redundance, nor their divergence superfluity, what is long should not be considered too long, nor what is short too short A duck's legs, for instance, are short, but if we try to lengthen them, it occasions pain, and a crane's legs are long, but if we try to cut off a portion of them, it produces grief Where a part is by nature long, we are not to amputate, or where it is by nature short, we are not to lengthen it There is no occasion to try to remove any trouble that it may cause

3 The presumption is that benevolence and righteousness are not constituents of humanity, for to how much anxiety does the exercise of them give rise! Moreover when another toe is united to the

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Analect XV, vi, by the name Shih Yu 'Righteousness' was his great attribute

[1] The two heresiarchs so much denounced by Mencius Both have appeared in previous Books

great toe, to divide the membrane makes you weep, and when there is an extra finger, to gnaw it off makes you cry out In the one case there is a member too many, and in the other a member too few, but the anxiety and pain which they cause is the same The benevolent men of the present age look at the evils of the world, as with eyes full of dust, and are filled with sorrow by them, while those who are not benevolent, having violently altered the character of their proper nature, greedily pursue after riches and honours The presumption therefore is that benevolence and righteousness are contrary to the nature of man —how full of trouble and contention has the world been ever since the three dynasties [1] began!

And moreover, in employing the hook and line, the compass and square, to give things their correct form you must cut away portions of what naturally belongs to them, in employing strings and fastenings, glue and varnish to make things firm, you must violently interfere with their qualities The bendings and stoppings in ceremonies and music, and the factitious expression in the countenance of benevolence and righteousness, in order to comfort the minds of men —these all show a failure in observing the regular principles (of the human constitution). All men are furnished with such regular principles, and according to them what is bent is not made so by the hook, nor what is straight by the line, nor what is round by the compass, nor what is square by the carpenter's square Nor is adhesion effected by

[1] Those of Hsiâ, Shang, and Kâu,—from the twenty-third century B C to our author's own time

the use of glue and varnish, nor are things bound together by means of strings and bands Thus it is that all in the world are produced what they are by a certain guidance, while they do not know how they are produced so, and they equally attain their several ends while they do not know how it is that they do so Anciently it was so, and it is so now, and this constitution of things should not be made of none effect Why then should benevolence and righteousness be employed as connecting (links), or as glue and varnish, strings and bands, and the enjoyment arising from the Tâo and its characteristics be attributed to them?—it is a deception practised upon the world Where the deception is small, there will be a change in the direction (of the objects pursued), where it is great, there will be a change of the nature itself How do I know that it is so? Since he of the line of Yu called in his benevolence and righteousness to distort and vex the world, the world has not ceased to hurry about to execute their commands,—has not this been by means of benevolence and righteousness to change (men's views) of their nature?

4 I will therefore try and discuss this matter From the commencement of the three dynasties downwards, nowhere has there been a man who has not under (the influence of external) things altered (the course of) his nature Small men for the sake of gain have sacrificed their persons, scholars for the sake of fame have done so, great officers, for the sake of their families, and sagely men, for the sake of the kingdom These several classes, with different occupations, and different repu-

tations, have agreed in doing injury to their nature and sacrificing their persons Take the case of a male and female slave[1],—they have to feed the sheep together, but they both lose their sheep Ask the one what he was doing, and you will find that he was holding his bamboo tablets and reading Ask the other, and you will find that she was amusing herself with some game[2] They were differently occupied, but they equally lose their sheep (So), Po-î[3] died at the foot of Shâu-yang[4] to maintain his fame, and the robber *K*ih[5] died on the top of Tung-ling[6] in his eagerness for gain Their deaths were occasioned by different causes, but they equally shortened their lives and did violence to their nature,—why must we approve of Po-î, and condemn the robber *K*ih? In cases of such sacrifice all over the world, when one makes it for the sake of benevolence and righteousness, the common people style him 'a superior man,' but when another does it for the sake of goods and riches, they style him 'a small man' The action of sacrificing is the same, and yet we have 'the superior man' and 'the small man!' In the matter of destroying his life, and doing injury to his nature, the robber *K*ih simply did the same as Po-î,—why must we make the distinction of 'superior man' and 'small man' between them?

[1] See the Khang-hsî dictionary under the character 臧.

[2] Playing at some game with dice [3] See VI, par 3

[4] A mountain in the present Shan-hsî, probably in the department of Phû-*K*âu

[5] A strange character, but not historical, represented as a brother of Liû-hsiâ Hui See Bk XXIX

[6] 'The Eastern Height,'= the Thâi mountain in the present Shan-tung

5 Moreover, those who devote their nature to (the pursuit) of benevolence and righteousness, though they should attain to be like Zăng (Shăn) and Shih (Zhiû), I do not pronounce to be good, those who devote it to (the study of) the five flavours, though they attain to be like Shû-*r* [1], I do not pronounce to be good, those who devote it to the (discrimination of the) five notes, though they attain to be like Shih Khwang, I do not pronounce to be quick of hearing, those who devote it to the (appreciation of the) five colours, though they attain to be like Lî *K*'û, I do not pronounce to be clear of vision When I pronounce men to be good, I am not speaking of their benevolence and righteousness,—the goodness is simply (their possession of) the qualities (of the Tâo) When I pronounce them to be good, I am not speaking of what are called benevolence and righteousness, but simply of their allowing the nature with which they are endowed to have its free course. When I pronounce men to be quick of hearing, I do not mean that they hearken to anything else, but that they hearken to themselves, when I pronounce them to be clear of vision, I do not mean that they look to anything else, but that they look to themselves. Now those who do not see themselves but see other things, who do not get possession of themselves but get possession of other things, get possession of what belongs to others, and not of what is their own, and they reach forth to what attracts others, and not to that in themselves which should attract them But

[1] Different from Yih-ya, the famous cook of duke Hwan of *Khî* This is said to have been of the time of Hwang-Tî But there are different readings of the name

thus reaching forth to what attracts others and not to what should attract them in themselves, be they like the robber *K'ih* or like Po-î, they equally err in the way of excess or of perversity. What I am ashamed of is erring in the characteristics of the Tâo, and therefore, in the higher sphere, I do not dare to insist on the practice of benevolence and righteousness, and, in the lower, I do not dare to allow myself either in the exercise of excess or perversity

BOOK IX

PART II SECTION II

Mâ Thî, or 'Horses's Hoofs[1]'

1 Horses can with their hoofs tread on the hoar-frost and snow, and with their hair withstand the wind and cold, they feed on the grass and drink water, they prance with their legs and leap —this is the true nature of horses. Though there were made for them grand towers[2] and large dormitories, they would prefer not to use them But when Po-lâo[3] (arose and) said, 'I know well how to manage horses,' (men proceeded)[4] to singe and mark them, to clip their hair, to pare their hoofs, to halter their heads, to bridle them and hobble them, and to confine them in stables and corrals (When subjected to this treatment), two or three in every ten of them died (Men proceeded further) to subject them to hunger and thirst, to gallop them and race them,

[1] See pp 140, 141

[2] Literally, 'righteous towers,' but 義 is very variously applied, and there are other readings Compare the name of Ling thâi, given by the people to the tower built by king Wăn, Shih III, i 8

[3] A mythical being, the first tamer of horses The name is given to a star, where he is supposed to have his seat as superintendent of the horses of heaven It became a designation of Sun Yang, a famous charioteer of the later period of the *K*âu dynasty, but it could not be he whom *K*wang-tze had in view

[4] Po-lâo set the example of dealing with horses as now described, but the supplement which I have introduced seems to bring out better our author's meaning

and to make them go together in regular order. In front were the evils of the bit and ornamented breast-bands, and behind were the terrors of the whip and switch (When so treated), more than half of them died

The (first) potter said, 'I know well how to deal with clay,' and (men proceeded) to mould it into circles as exact as if made by the compass, and into squares as exact as if formed by the measuring square The (first) carpenter said, 'I know well how to deal with wood,' and (men proceeded) to make it bent as if by the application of the hook, and straight as if by the application of the plumb-line But is it the nature of clay and wood to require the application of the compass and square, of the hook and line? And yet age after age men have praised Po-lâo, saying, 'He knew well how to manage horses,' and also the (first) potter and carpenter, saying, 'They knew well how to deal with clay and wood' This is just the error committed by the governors of the world

2 According to my idea, those who know well to govern mankind would not act so The people had their regular and constant nature[1] —they wove and made themselves clothes, they tilled the ground and got food[2] This was their common faculty They were all one in this, and did not form themselves into separate classes, so were they constituted and left to their natural tendencies[3] Therefore in the

[1] Compare the same language in the previous Book, par 1

[2] But the weaver's or agriculturist's art has no more title to be called primitive than the potter's or carpenter's

[3] A difficult expression, but the translation, probably, gives its

age of perfect virtue men walked along with slow and grave step, and with their looks steadily directed forwards At that time, on the hills there were no foot-paths, nor excavated passages, on the lakes there were no boats nor dams, all creatures lived in companies, and the places of their settlement were made close to one another. Birds and beasts multiplied to flocks and herds, the grass and trees grew luxuriant and long In this condition the birds and beasts might be led about without feeling the constraint, the nest of the magpie might be climbed to, and peeped into Yes, in the age of perfect virtue, men lived in common with birds and beasts, and were on terms of equality with all creatures, as forming one family,—how could they know among themselves the distinctions of superior men and small men? Equally without knowledge, they did not leave (the path of) their natural virtue, equally free from desires, they were in the state of pure simplicity In that state of pure simplicity, the nature of the people was what it ought to be But when the sagely men appeared, limping and wheeling about in (the exercise of) benevolence, pressing along and standing on tiptoe in the doing of righteousness, then men universally began to be perplexed. (Those sages also) went to excess in their performances of music, and in their gesticulations in the practice of ceremonies, and then men began to be separated from one another If the raw materials

true significance 'Heaven' here is synonymous with 'the Tâo,' but its use shows how readily the minds, even of Lâo and *K*wang, had recourse to the earliest term by which the Chinese fathers had expressed their recognition of a Supreme and Controlling Power and Government

had not been cut and hacked, who could have made a sacrificial vase from them? If the natural jade had not been broken and injured, who could have made the handles for the libation-cups from it? If the attributes of the Tâo had not been disallowed, how should they have preferred benevolence and righteousness? If the instincts of the nature had not been departed from, how should ceremonies and music have come into use? If the five colours had not been confused, how should the ornamental figures have been formed? If the five notes had not been confused, how should they have supplemented them by the musical accords? The cutting and hacking of the raw materials to form vessels was the crime of the skilful workman; the injury done to the characteristics of the Tâo in order to the practice of benevolence and righteousness was the error of the sagely men.

3. Horses, when living in the open country, eat the grass, and drink water; when pleased, they intertwine their necks and rub one another; when enraged, they turn back to back and kick one another;—this is all that they know to do. But if we put the yoke on their necks, with the moon-like frontlet displayed on all their foreheads, then they know to look slily askance, to curve their necks, to rush viciously, trying to get the bit out of their mouths, and to filch the reins (from their driver);—this knowledge of the horse and its ability thus to act the part of a thief is the crime of Po-lâo. In the time of (the Tî) Ho-hsu[1], the people occupied

[1] An ancient sovereign; but nothing more definite can be said about him. Most of the critics identify him with Shăn-năng, the

their dwellings without knowing what they were doing, and walked out without knowing where they were going They filled their mouths with food and were glad, they slapped their stomachs to express their satisfaction This was all the ability which they possessed But when the sagely men appeared, with their bendings and stoppings in ceremonies and music to adjust the persons of all, and hanging up their benevolence and righteousness to excite the endeavours of all to reach them, in order to comfort their minds, then the people began to stump and limp about in their love of knowledge, and strove with one another in their pursuit of gain, so that there was no stopping them —this was the error of those sagely men

Father of Husbandry, who occupies the place in chronological tables after Fû-hsî, between him and Hwang-Tî In the Tables of the Dynastic Histories, published in 1817, he is placed seventh in the list of fifteen reigns, which are placed without any specification of their length between Fû-hsî and Shân-nâng The name is written as 合胥 and 赫胥

BOOK X

PART II. SECTION III

Khu Khieh, or 'Cutting open Satchels[1].'

1. In taking precautions against thieves who cut open satchels, search bags, and break open boxes, people are sure to cord and fasten them well, and to employ strong bonds and clasps, and in this they are ordinarily said to show their wisdom When a great thief comes, however, he shoulders the box, lifts up the satchel, carries off the bag, and runs away with them, afraid only that the cords, bonds, and clasps may not be secure, and in this case what was called the wisdom (of the owners) proves to be nothing but a collecting of the things for the great thief Let me try and set this matter forth Do not those who are vulgarly called wise prove to be collectors for the great thieves? And do not those who are called sages prove to be but guardians in the interest of the great thieves?

How do I know that the case is so? Formerly, in the state of *Khî*, the neighbouring towns could see one another, their cocks and dogs never ceased to answer the crowing and barking of other cocks and dogs (between them) The nets were set (in the water and on the land), and the ploughs and hoes were employed over more than a space of two thousand lî square. All within its four boundaries, the

[1] See pp 141, 142

establishment of the ancestral temples and of the altars of the land and grain, and the ordering of the hamlets and houses, and of every corner in the districts, large, medium, and small, were in all particulars according to the rules of the sages[1] So it was, but yet one morning, Thien *Khăng*-tze[2] killed the ruler of *Khî*, and stole his state And was it only the state that he stole? Along with it he stole also the regulations of the sages and wise men (observed in it) And so, though he got the name of being a thief and a robber, yet he himself continued to live as securely as Yâo and Shun had done Small states did not dare to find fault with him, great states did not dare to take him off, for twelve generations (his descendants) have possessed the state of *Khî*[3] Thus do we not have a case in which not only did (the party) steal the state of *Khî*,

[1] The meaning is plain, but to introduce the various geographical terms would make the translation cumbrous The concluding 曲 is perplexing

[2] This event is mentioned in the Analects, XIV, xxii, where the perpetrator of the murder is called *Khăn Khăng*-tze, and *Khăn* Hăng Hăng was his name, and *Khăng* the honorary title given to him after his death The family to which he belonged had originally taken refuge in *Khî* from the state of *Khăn* in B C 672 Why and when its chiefs adopted the surname Thien instead of *Khăn* is not well known The murder took place in 482 Hăng did not immediately usurp the marquisate, but he and his successors disposed of it at their pleasure among the representatives of the old House till 386, when Thien Ho was recognised by the king of *Kâu* as the marquis, and his next successor but one took the title of king

[3] The kingdom of *Khî* came to an end in B C 221, the first year of the dynasty of *Khin*, after it had lasted through five reigns How *Kwang*-tze made out his 'twelve generations' we cannot tell There may be an interpolation in his text made in the time of *Khin*, or subsequently

but at the same time the regulations of its sages and wise men, which thereby served to guard the person of him, thief and robber as he was?

2. Let me try to set forth this subject (still further). Have not there been among those vulgarly styled the wisest, such as have collected (their wealth) for the great chief? and among those styled the most sage such as have guarded it for him? How do I know that it has been so? Formerly, Lung-făng[1] was beheaded, Pî-kan[2] had his heart torn out, *K'h*ang Hung[3] was ripped open, and Ze-hsu[4] was reduced to pulp (in the *K*iang) Worthy as those four men were, they did not escape such dreadful deaths The followers of the robber *K*ih[5] asked him, saying, 'Has the robber also any method or principle (in his proceedings)?' He replied, 'What profession is there which has not its principles? That the robber in his recklessness comes to the conclusion that there are valuable deposits in an apartment shows his sageness, that he is the first to enter it shows his bravery, that he is the last to quit it shows his righteousness, that he knows whether (the robbery) may be attempted or not shows his wisdom, and that he makes an equal

[1] See on Book IV, par 1

[2] See on Book IV, par 1

[3] A historiographer of *K*âu, with whom Confucius is said to have studied music He was weakly and unjustly put to death, as here described by king *K*ăng, in B C 492

[4] Wû Ze-hsu, the hero of revenge, who fled from *K'h*û to Wû, which he long served He was driven at last to commit suicide, and his body was then put into a leathern wine-sack, and thrown into the *K*iang near the present Sû-*k*âu,—about B C 475

[5] See on Book VIII, par 4

division of the plunder shows his benevolence. Without all these five qualities no one in the world has ever attained to become a great robber.' Looking at the subject in this way, we see that good men do not arise without having the principles of the sages, and that *K*ih could not have pursued his course without the same principles. But the good men in the world are few, and those who are not good are many,—it follows that the sages benefit the world in a few instances and injure it in many. Hence it is that we have the sayings, 'When the lips are gone the teeth are cold[1],' 'The poor wine of Lû gave occasion to the siege of Han-tan[2],' 'When sages are born great robbers arise!' When the stream is dried, the valley is empty, when the mound is levelled, the deep pool (beside it) is filled up. When the sages have died, the great robbers will not arise, the world would be at peace, and there would be no more troubles. While the sagely men have not died, great robbers will not cease to appear. The more right that is attached to (the views of) the sagely men for the government of the world, the more advantage will accrue to (such men as) the robber *K*ih. If we make for men pecks and bushels

[1] This is an instance of cause and effect naturally happening.

[2] At a meeting of the princes, presided over by king Hsuan of *K*hû (B. C. 369–340), the ruler of Lû brought very poor wine for the king, which was presented to him as wine of *K*âo, in consequence of a grudge against that kingdom by his officer of wines. In consequence of this king Hsüan ordered siege to be laid to Han-tan, the capital of *K*âo. This is an instance of cause and effect occurring irregularly.

[3] There seems to be no connexion of cause and effect here, but *K*wang-tze goes on in his own way to make out that there is such a connexion.

to measure (their wares), even by means of those pecks and bushels should we be teaching them to steal[1], if we make for them weights and steelyards to weigh (their wares), even by means of those weights and steelyards shall we be teaching them to steal If we make for them tallies and seals to secure their good faith, even by means of those tallies and seals shall we be teaching them to steal If we make for them benevolence and righteousness to make their doings correct, even by means of benevolence and righteousness shall we be teaching them to steal How do I know that it is so? Here is one who steals a hook (for his girdle),—he is put to death for it: here is another who steals a state,—he becomes its prince But it is at the gates of the princes that we find benevolence and righteousness (most strongly) professed,—is not this stealing benevolence and righteousness, sageness and wisdom? Thus they hasten to become great robbers, carry off princedoms, and steal benevolence and righteousness, with all the gains springing from the use of pecks and bushels, weights and steelyards, tallies and seals —even the rewards of carriages and coronets have no power to influence (to a different course), and the terrors of the axe have no power to restrain in such cases The giving of so great gain to robbers (like) *K*ih, and making it impossible to restrain them,—this is the error committed by the sages

3 In accordance with this it is said, 'Fish should

[1] The verb 'to steal' is here used transitively, and with a hiphil force

not be taken from (the protection of) the deep waters, the agencies for the profit of a state should not be shown to men[1]' But those sages (and their teachings) are the agencies for the profit of the world, and should not be exhibited to it Therefore if an end were put to sageness and wisdom put away, the great robbers would cease to arise If jade were put away and pearls broken to bits, the small thieves would not appear If tallies were burned and seals broken in pieces, the people would become simple and unsophisticated If pecks were destroyed and steelyards snapped in two, the people would have no wrangling If the rules of the sages were entirely set aside in the world, a beginning might be made of reasoning with the people If the six musical accords were reduced to a state of utter confusion, organs and lutes all burned, and the ears of the (musicians like the) blind Khwang[2] stopped up, all men would begin to possess and employ their (natural) power of hearing If elegant ornaments were abolished, the five embellishing colours disused, and the eyes of (men like) Lî *K*û[3] glued up, all men would begin to possess and employ their (natural) power of vision If the hook and line were destroyed, the compass and square thrown away, and the fingers of men (like) the artful *Kh*ui[4] smashed, all men would begin to possess and employ their (natural) skill,—as it is said, 'The greatest art is

[1] See the Tâo Teh *K*ing, ch 36 Our author's use of it throws light on its meaning

[2] Note 1, p 186

[3] Note 2, p 269

[4] A skilful maker of arrows of the time of Yâo,—the Kung-kung of the Shû, II, i, 21, V, xxii, 19

like stupidity[1]' If conduct such as that of ƷăNG (Shăn)[2] and Shih (*Kh*iû)[3] were discarded, the mouths of Yang (*K*û)[4] and Mo (Tî) gagged, and benevolence and righteousness seized and thrown aside, the virtue of all men would begin to display its mysterious excellence When men possessed and employed their (natural) power of vision, there would be no distortion in the world When they possessed and employed their (natural) power of hearing, there would be no distractions in the world When they possessed and employed their (natural) faculty of knowledge, there would be no delusions in the world When they possessed and employed their (natural) virtue, there would be no depravity in the world Men like ƷăNG (Shăn), Shih (*Kh*iû), Yang (*K*û), Mo (Tî), Shih Khwang (the musician), the artist *Kh*ui, and Lî *K*û, all display their qualities outwardly, and set the world in a blaze (of admiration) and confound it,—a method which is of no use!

4 Are you, Sir, unacquainted with the age of perfect virtue? Anciently there were Yung-*kh*ăng, Tâ-thing, Po-hwang, *K*ang-yang, Lî-lû, Lî-*kh*û, Hsien-yuan, Ho-hsu, ƷUN-lû, *K*û-yung, Fû-hsî, and Shăn-năng[5]. In their times the people made

[1] The Tâo Teh *K*ing, ch 45

[2] Note 6, p 269

[3] Note 7, p 269

[4] Note 5, p 261

[5] Of the twelve names mentioned here the reader is probably familiar with those of Fû-hsî and Shăn-năng, the first and second of the Tî in chronology Hsien-yuan is another name for Hwang-Tî, the third of them *K*û-yung was, perhaps, a minister of Hwang-Tî Ho-hsû has occurred before in Book IV Of the other seven, five occur among the fifteen sovereigns placed in the 'Compendium

knots on cords in carrying on their affairs They thought their (simple) food pleasant, and their (plain) clothing beautiful They were happy in their (simple) manners, and felt at rest in their (poor) dwellings. (The people of) neighbouring states might be able to descry one another, the voices of their cocks and dogs might be heard (all the way) from one to the other, they might not die till they were old, and yet all their life they would have no communication together[1] In those times perfect good order prevailed

Now-a-days, however, such is the state of things that you shall see the people stretching out their necks, and standing on tiptoe, while they say, 'In such and such a place there is a wise and able man' Then they carry with them whatever dry provisions they may have left, and hurry towards it, abandoning their parents in their homes, and neglecting the service of their rulers abroad. Their footsteps may be traced in lines from one state to another, and the ruts of their chariot-wheels also for more than a thousand lî This is owing to the error of their superiors in their (inordinate) fondness for knowledge When those superiors do really love knowledge, but do not follow the (proper) course, the whole world is thrown into great confusion

How do I know that the case is so? The knowledge shown in the (making of) bows, cross-bows, hand-nets, stringed arrows, and contrivances with springs is great, but the birds are troubled by them

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of History' between Fû-hsî and Shăn-năng The remaining two may be found, I suppose, in the Lû Shih of Lo Pî

[1] See the eightieth chapter of the Tâo Teh *King*

above, the knowledge shown in the hooks, baits, various kinds of nets, and bamboo traps is great, but the fishes are disturbed by them in the waters, the knowledge shown in the arrangements for setting nets, and the nets and snares themselves, is great, but the animals are disturbed by them in the marshy grounds (So), the versatility shown in artful deceptions becoming more and more pernicious, in ingenious discussions as to what is hard and what is white, and in attempts to disperse the dust and reconcile different views, is great, but the common people are perplexed by all the sophistry Hence there is great disorder continually in the world, and the guilt of it is due to that fondness for knowledge Thus it is that all men know to seek for the knowledge that they have not attained to, and do not know to seek for that which they already have (in themselves), and that they know to condemn what they do not approve (in others), and do not know to condemn what they have allowed in themselves,—it is this which occasions the great confusion and disorder It is just as if, above, the brightness of the sun and moon were darkened, as if, beneath, the productive vigour of the hills and streams were dried up, and as if, between, the operation of the four seasons were brought to an end —in which case there would not be a single weak and wriggling insect, nor any plant that grows up, which would not lose its proper nature Great indeed is the disorder produced in the world by the love of knowledge From the time of the three dynasties downwards it has been so The plain and honest-minded people are neglected, and the plausible representations of restless spirits

received with pleasure, 'the quiet and unexciting method of non-action is put away, and pleasure taken in ideas garrulously expressed It is this garrulity of speech which puts the world in disorder

BOOK XI

PART II. SECTION IV.

Zâi Yû, or 'Letting Be, and Exercising Forbearance[1]'

1 I have heard of letting the world be, and exercising forbearance, I have not heard of governing the world Letting be is from the fear that men, (when interfered with), will carry their nature beyond its normal condition, exercising forbearance is from the fear that men, (when not so dealt with), will alter the characteristics of their nature When all men do not carry their nature beyond its normal condition, nor alter its characteristics, the good government of the world is secured

Formerly, Yâo's government of the world made men look joyful, but when they have this joy in their nature, there is a want of its (proper) placidity The government of the world by *K*ieh, (on the contrary), made men look distressed, but when their nature shows the symptoms of distress, there is a want of its (proper) contentment The want of placidity and the want of contentment are contrary to the character (of the nature), and where this obtains, it is impossible that any man or state should anywhere abide long Are men exceedingly joyful?—the Yang or element of expansion in them is too much developed. Are they exceedingly

[1] See pp 142, 143

irritated?—the Yin or opposite element is too much developed When those elements thus predominate in men, (it is as if[1]) the four seasons were not to come (at their proper times), and the harmony of cold and heat were not to be maintained,—would there not result injury to the bodies of men? Men's joy and dissatisfaction are made to arise where they ought not to do so, their movements are all uncertain, they lose the mastery of their thoughts, they stop short midway, and do not finish what they have begun In this state of things the world begins to have lofty aims, and jealous dislikes, ambitious courses, and fierce animosities, and then we have actions like those of the robber *K*ih, or of Ʒăng (Shăn) and Shih (Ʒhiû)[2] If now the whole world were taken to reward the good it would not suffice, nor would it be possible with it to punish the bad Thus the world, great as it is, not sufficing for rewards and punishments, from the time of the three dynasties downwards, there has been nothing but bustle and excitement Always occupied with rewards and punishments, what leisure have men had to rest in the instincts of the nature with which they are endowed?

2 Moreover, delight in the power of vision leads

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[1] I supply the 'it is as if' after the example of the critic Lû Shû-*k*ih, who here introduces a 猶 in his commentary (猶四時之氣乖其序云云) What the text seems to state as a fact is only an illustration Compare the concluding paragraphs in all the Sections and Parts of the fourth Book of the Lî *K*î

[2] Our moral instincts protest against Tâoism which thus places in the same category such sovereigns as Yâo and *K*ieh, and such men as the brigand *K*ih and Ʒăng and Shih

to excess in the pursuit of (ornamental) colours, delight in the power of hearing, to excess in seeking (the pleasures of) sound, delight in benevolence tends to disorder that virtue (as proper to the nature), delight in righteousness sets the man in opposition to what is right in reason, delight in (the practice of) ceremonies is helpful to artful forms, delight in music leads to voluptuous airs, delight in sageness is helpful to ingenious contrivances, delight in knowledge contributes to fault-finding. If all men were to rest in the instincts of their nature, to keep or to extinguish these eight delights might be a matter of indifference, but if they will not rest in those instincts, then those eight delights begin to be imperfectly and unevenly developed or violently suppressed, and the world is thrown into disorder But when men begin to honour them, and to long for them, how great is the deception practised on the world! And not only, when (a performance of them) is once over, do they not have done with them, but they prepare themselves (as) with fasting to describe them, they seem to kneel reverentially when they bring them forward, and they go through them with the excitements of music and singing, and then what can be done (to remedy the evil of them)? Therefore the superior man, who feels himself constrained to engage in the administration of the world will find it his best way to do nothing[1] In (that policy of) doing nothing, he can rest in the instincts of the nature with which he is endowed. Hence he who will administer (the government of) the world

[1] Here is the Tâoistic meaning of the title of this Book.

honouring it as he honours his own person, may have that government committed to him, and he who will administer it loving it as he loves his own person, may have it entrusted to him [1]. Therefore, if the superior man will keep (the faculties lodged in) his five viscera unemployed, and not display his powers of seeing and hearing, while he is motionless as a representative of the dead, his dragon-like presence will be seen, while he is profoundly silent, the thunder (of his words) will resound, while his movements are (unseen) like those of a spirit, all heavenly influences will follow them, while he is (thus) unconcerned and does nothing, his genial influence will attract and gather all things round him —what leisure has he to do anything more for the government of the world?

3 Shui *Khu* [2] asked Lâo Tan, saying, 'If you do not govern the world, how can you make men's minds good?' The reply was, 'Take care how you meddle with and disturb men's minds The mind, if pushed about, gets depressed, if helped forward, it gets exalted Now exalted, now depressed, here it appears as a prisoner, and there as a wrathful fury (At one time) it becomes pliable and soft, yielding to what is hard and strong, (at another), it is sharp as the sharpest corner, fit to carve or chisel (stone or jade) Now it is hot as a scorching fire, and anon it is cold as ice It is so swift that while one is bending down and lifting up his head, it shall twice

[1] A quotation, but without any indication that it is so, from the Tâo Teh *King*, ch. 13

[2] Probably an imaginary personage

have put forth a soothing hand beyond the four seas Resting, it is still as a deep abyss, moving, it is like one of the bodies in the sky, in its resolute haughtiness, it refuses to be bound,—such is the mind of man[1]!'

Anciently, Hwang-Tî was the first to meddle with and disturb the mind of man with his benevolence and righteousness[2] After him, Yâo and Shun wore their thighs bare and the hair off the calves of their legs, in their labours to nourish the bodies of the people They toiled painfully with all the powers in their five viscera at the practice of their benevolence and righteousness, they tasked their blood and breath to make out a code of laws,—and after all they were unsuccessful On this Yâo sent away Hwan Tâu to *K'h*ung hill, and (the Chiefs of) the Three Miâo to San-wei, and banished the Minister of Works to the Dark Capital, so unequal had they been to cope with the world[3] Then we are carried on to the kings of the Three (dynasties), when the world was in a state of great distraction Of the lowest type of character there were *K'*ieh and *K'*ih, of a higher type there were Zăng (Shăn) and Shih (Zhiû) At the same time there arose the classes of

[1] I must suppose that the words of Lâo-tze stop here, and that what follows is from *K'*wang-tze himself, down to the end of the paragraph We cannot have Lâo-tze referring to men later than himself, and quoting from his own Book.

[2] Hitherto Yâo and Shun have appeared as the first disturbers of the rule of the Tâo by their benevolence and righteousness Here that innovation is carried further back to Hwang-Tî

[3] See these parties, and the way they were dealt with, in the Shû King, Part II, Book I, 3 The punishment of them is there ascribed to Shun, but Yâo was still alive, and Shun was acting as his viceroy.

the Literati and the Mohists. Hereupon, complacency in, and hatred of, one another produced mutual suspicions, the stupid and the wise imposed on one another, the good and the bad condemned one another, the boastful and the sincere interchanged their recriminations,—and the world fell into decay. Views as to what was greatly virtuous did not agree, and the nature with its endowments became as if shrivelled by fire or carried away by a flood. All were eager for knowledge, and the people were exhausted with their searchings (after what was good) On this the axe and the saw were brought into play, guilt was determined as by the plumb-line and death inflicted, the hammer and gouge did their work The world fell into great disorder, and presented the appearance of a jagged mountain ridge The crime to which all was due was the meddling with and disturbing men's minds The effect was that men of ability and worth lay concealed at the foot of the crags of mount Thâi, and princes of ten thousand chariots were anxious and terrified in their ancestral temples In the present age those who have been put to death in various ways lie thick as if pillowed on each other, those who are wearing the cangue press on each other (on the roads), those who are suffering the bastinado can see each other (all over the land). And now the Literati and the Mohists begin to stand, on tiptoe and with bare arms, among the fettered and manacled crowd! Ah! extreme is their shamelessness, and their failure to see the disgrace! Strange that we should be slow to recognise their sageness and wisdom in the bars of the cangue, and their benevolence and righteousness in the rivets of the fetters and handcuffs! How do we know that

Zăng and Shih are not the whizzing arrows of *K*ieh and *K*ih [1]? Therefore it is said, 'Abolish sageness and cast away knowledge, and the world will be brought to a state of great order [2].'

4. Hwang-Tî had been on the throne for nineteen years [3], and his ordinances were in operation all through the kingdom, when he heard that Kwang *Kh*ăng-ze [4] was living on the summit of Khung-thung [5], and went to see him. 'I have heard,' he said, 'that you, Sir, are well acquainted with the perfect Tâo. I venture to ask you what is the essential thing in it. I wish to take the subtlest influences of heaven and earth, and assist with them the (growth of the) five cereals for the (better) nourishment of the people. I also wish to direct the (operation of the) Yin and Yang, so as to secure the comfort of all living beings. How shall I proceed to accomplish those objects?' Kwang *Kh*ăng-ze replied, 'What you wish to ask about is the original substance of all things [6], what you

[1] Compare this picture of the times after Yâo and Shun with that given by Mencius in III, ii, ch. 9 et al. But the conclusions arrived at as to the causes and cure of their evils by him and our author are very different.

[2] A quotation, with the regular formula, from the Tâo Teh *K*ing, ch. 19, with some variation of the text.

[3] ? in B. C. 2678.

[4] Another imaginary personage, apparently, a personification of the Tâo. Some say he was Lâo-ze,—in one of his early states of existence; others that he was 'a True Man,' the teacher of Hwang-Tî. See Ko Hung's 'Immortals,' I, 1.

[5] Equally imaginary is the mountain Khung-thung. Some critics find a place for it in the province of Ho-nan; the majority say it is the highest point in the constellation of the Great Bear.

[6] The original ether, undivided, out of which all things were formed.

wish to have the direction of is that substance as it was shattered and divided[1] According to your government of the world, the vapours of the clouds, before they were collected, would descend in rain, the herbs and trees would shed their leaves before they became yellow, and the light of the sun and moon would hasten to extinction Your mind is that of a flatterer with his plausible words,—it is not fit that I should tell you the perfect Tâo.'

Hwang-Tî withdrew, gave up (his government of) the kingdom, built himself a solitary apartment, spread in it a mat of the white mâo grass, dwelt in it unoccupied for three months, and then went again to seek an interview with (the recluse) Kwang *K'h*ăng-ʒze was then lying down with his head to the south Hwang-Tî, with an air of deferential submission, went forward on his knees, twice bowed low with his face to the ground, and asked him, saying, 'I have heard that you, Sir, are well acquainted with the perfect Tâo,—I venture to ask how I should rule my body, in order that it may continue for a long time' Kwang *K'h*ăng-ʒze hastily rose, and said, 'A good question! Come and I will tell you the perfect Tâo Its essence is (surrounded with) the deepest obscurity, its highest reach is in darkness and silence There is nothing to be seen, nothing to be heard When it holds the spirit in its arms in stillness, then the bodily form of itself will become correct. You must be still, you must be pure, not subjecting your body to toil, not agitating your vital force,—then you may live for long When

[1] The same ether, now in motion, now at rest, divided into the Yin and Yang

your eyes see nothing, your ears hear nothing, and your mind knows nothing, your spirit will keep your body, and the body will live long Watch over what is within you, shut up the avenues that connect you with what is external,—much knowledge is pernicious I (will) proceed with you to the summit of the Grand Brilliance, where we come to the source of the bright and expanding (element), I will enter with you the gate of the Deepest Obscurity, where we come to the source of the dark and repressing (element) There heaven and earth have their controllers, there the Yin and Yang have their Repositories Watch over and keep your body, and all things will of themselves give it vigour. I maintain the (original) unity (of these elements), and dwell in the harmony of them In this way I have cultivated myself for one thousand and two hundred years, and my bodily form has undergone no decay[1]'

Hwang-Tî twice bowed low with his head to the ground, and said, 'In Kwang *Kh*ăng-ze we have an example of what is called Heaven[2]' The other said, 'Come, and I will tell you —(The perfect Tâo) is something inexhaustible, and yet men all think it has an end, it is something unfathomable, and yet men all think its extreme limit can be reached. He who attains to my Tâo, if he be in a high position, will be one of the August ones, and in a low position, will be a king He who fails in attaining it, in his highest attainment will see the light, but will

[1] It seems very clear here that the earliest Tâoism taught that the cultivation of the Tâo tended to prolong and preserve the bodily life

[2] A remarkable, but not a singular, instance of *K*wang-ze's application of the name 'Heaven'

descend and be of the Earth At present all things are produced from the Earth and return to the Earth. Therefore I will leave you, and enter the gate of the Unending, to enjoy myself in the fields of the Illimitable I will blend my light with that of the sun and moon, and will endure while heaven and earth endure If men agree with my views, I will be unconscious of it; if they keep far apart from them, I will be unconscious of it, they may all die, and I will abide alone[1]!'

5 Yun *K*iang[2], rambling to the east, having been borne along on a gentle breeze[3], suddenly encountered Hung Mung[2], who was rambling about, slapping his buttocks[4] and hopping like a bird Amazed at the sight, Yun *K*iang stood reverentially, and said to the other, 'Venerable Sir, who are you? and why are you doing this?' Hung Mung went on slapping his buttocks and hopping like a bird, but replied, 'I am enjoying myself' Yun *K*iang said, 'I

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[1] A very difficult sentence, in interpreting which there are great differences among the critics

[2] I have preferred to retain Yun *K*iang and Hung Mung as if they were the surnames and names of two personages here introduced Mr Balfour renders them by 'The Spirit of the Clouds,' and 'Mists of Chaos' The Spirits of heaven or the sky have still their place in the Sacrificial Canon of China, as 'the Cloud-Master, the Rain-Master, the Baron of the Winds, and the Thunder Master' Hung Mung, again, is a name for 'the Great Ether,' or, as Dr Medhurst calls it, 'the Primitive Chaos'

[3] Literally, 'passing by a branch of Fû-yâo,' but we find fû-yâo in Book I, meaning 'a whirlwind' The term 'branch' has made some critics explain it here as 'the name of a tree,' which is inadmissible I have translated according to the view of Lû Shû-*k*ih

[4] Or 'stomach,'—according to another reading.

wish to ask you a question.' Hung Mung lifted up his head, looked at the stranger, and said, 'Pooh!' Yun *K*iang, however, continued, 'The breath of heaven is out of harmony, the breath of earth is bound up, the six elemental influences[1] do not act in concord, the four seasons do not observe their proper times. Now I wish to blend together the essential qualities of those six influences in order to nourish all living things,—how shall I go about it?' Hung Mung slapped his buttocks, hopped about, and shook his head, saying, 'I do not know, I do not know!'

Yun *K*iang could not pursue his question, but three years afterwards, when (again) rambling in the east, as he was passing by the wild of Sung, he happened to meet Hung Mung Delighted with the rencontre, he hastened to him, and said, 'Have you forgotten me, O Heaven? Have you forgotten me, O Heaven[2]?' At the same time, he bowed twice with his head to the ground, wishing to receive his instructions Hung Mung said, 'Wandering listlessly about, I know not what I seek, carried on by a wild impulse, I know not where I am going I wander about in the strange manner (which you have seen), and see that nothing proceeds without method and order[3],—what more should I know?' Yun *K*iang replied, 'I also seem carried on by an aimless influence, and yet the people follow me wherever I go I cannot help their doing so But now as they thus

[1] Probably, the yin, the yang, wind, rain, darkness, and light,—see Mayers, p 323

[2] See Introduction, pp 17, 18

[3] Compare in Book XXIII, par 1

imitate me, I wish to hear a word from you (in the case).' The other said, 'What disturbs the regular method of Heaven, comes into collision with the nature of things, prevents the accomplishment of the mysterious (operation of) Heaven, scatters the herds of animals, makes the birds all sing at night, is calamitous to vegetation, and disastrous to all insects,—all this is owing, I conceive, to the error of governing men.' 'What then,' said Yun *K*iang, 'shall I do?' 'Ah,' said the other, 'you will only injure them! I will leave you in my dancing way, and return to my place.' Yun *K*iang rejoined, 'It has been a difficult thing to get this meeting with you, O Heaven! I should like to hear from you a word (more).' Hung Mung said, 'Ah! your mind (needs to be) nourished. Do you only take the position of doing nothing, and things will of themselves become transformed. Neglect your body, cast out from you your power of hearing and sight, forget what you have in common with things, cultivate a grand similarity with the chaos of the plastic ether, unloose your mind, set your spirit free; be still as if you had no soul. Of all the multitude of things every one returns to its root. Every one returns to its root, and does not know (that it is doing so). They all are as in the state of chaos, and during all their existence they do not leave it[1]. If

[1] They never show any will of their own.—On the names Yûn *K*iang and Hung Mung, Lû Shû-*k*ih makes the following remarks:—'These were not men, and yet they are introduced here as questioning and answering each other, showing us that our author frames and employs his surnames and names to serve his own purpose. Those names and the speeches made by the parties are all from him. We must believe that he introduces Confucius, Yâo, and Shun just in the same way.'

they knew (that they were returning to their root), they would be (consciously) leaving it. They do not ask its name, they do not seek to spy out their nature, and thus it is that things come to life of themselves'

Yun *K*iang said, 'Heaven, you have conferred on me (the knowledge of) your operation, and revealed to me the mystery of it All my life I had been seeking for it, and now I have obtained it' He then bowed twice, with his head to the ground, arose, took his leave, and walked away.

6 The ordinary men of the world[1] all rejoice in men's agreeing with themselves, and dislike men's being different from themselves This rejoicing and this dislike arise from their being bent on making themselves distinguished above all others But have they who have this object at heart so risen out above all others? They depend on them to rest quietly (in the position which they desire), and their knowledge is not equal to the multitude of the arts of all those others[2]! When they wish again to administer a state for its ruler, they proceed to employ all the methods which the kings of the three dynasties considered profitable without seeing the evils of such a course This is to make the state depend on the peradventure of their luck But how seldom it is that that peradventure does not issue in the ruin of the state! Not once in ten thousand instances will such men preserve a state Not once will they succeed, and in more than ten thousand cases will they

[1] Meaning eccentric thinkers not Tâoists, like Hui-tze, Kung-sun Lung, and others

[2] The construing and connexion of this sentence are puzzling

ruin it Alas that the possessors of territory,—(the rulers of states),—should not know the danger (of employing such men)! Now the possessors of territory possess the greatest of (all) things Possessing the greatest of all things,—(possessing, that is, men), —they should not try to deal with them as (simply) things And it is he who is not a thing (himself) that is therefore able to deal with (all) things as they severally require When (a ruler) clearly understands that he who should so deal with all things is not a thing himself, will he only rule the kingdom? He will go out and in throughout the universe (at his pleasure), he will roam over the nine regions[1], alone in going, alone in coming Him we call the sole possessor (of this ability), and the sole possessor (of this ability) is what is called the noblest of all

The teaching of (this) great man goes forth as the shadow from the substance, as the echo responds to the sound When questioned, he responds, exhausting (from his own stores) all that is in the (enquirer's) mind, as if front to front with all under heaven His resting-place gives forth no sound, his sphere of activity has no restriction of place He conducts every one to his proper goal, proceeding to it and bringing him back to it as by his own movement. His movements have no trace, his going forth and his re-enterings have no deviation, his course is like that of the sun without beginning (or ending).

[1] 'The nine regions' generally means the nine provinces into which the Great Yû divided the kingdom As our author is here describing the grand Tâoist ruler after his fashion in his relation to the universe we must give the phrase a wider meaning, but I have not met with any attempt to define it

If you would praise or discourse about his personality, he is united with the great community of existences He belongs to that great community, and has no individual self. Having no individual self, how should he have anything that can be called his? If you look at those who have what they call their own, they are the superior men of former times, if you look at him who has nothing of the kind, he is the friend of heaven and earth

7 Mean, and yet demanding to be allowed their free course,—such are Things. Low, and yet requiring to be relied on,—such are the People Hidden (as to their issues), and yet requiring to be done,—such are Affairs Coarse, and yet necessary to be set forth;—such are Laws Remote, and yet necessary to have dwelling (in one's self),—such is Righteousness Near, and yet necessary to be widely extended,—such is Benevolence Restrictive, and yet necessary to be multiplied,—such are Ceremonies Lodged in the centre, and yet requiring to be exalted,—such is Virtue Always One, and yet requiring to be modified,—such is the Tao Spirit-like, and yet requiring to be exercised,—such is Heaven[1]

Therefore the sages contemplated Heaven, but did not assist It They tried to perfect their virtue, but did not allow it to embarrass them They proceeded according to the Tâo, but did not lay any plans They associated benevolence (with all their doings), but did not rely on it They pursued right-

[1] All these sentences are understood to show that even in the non-action of the Master of the Tâo there are still things he must do

eousness extensively, but did not try to accumulate it. They responded to ceremonies, but did not conceal (their opinion as to the troublesomeness of them) They engaged in affairs as they occurred, and did not decline them. They strove to render their laws uniform, but (feared that confusion) might arise from them They relied upon the people, and did not set light by them. They depended on things as their instruments, and did not discard them [1].

They did not think things equal to what they employed them for, but yet they did not see that they could do without employing them Those who do not understand Heaven are not pure in their virtue Those who do not comprehend the Tâo have no course which they can pursue successfully Alas for them who do not clearly understand the Tâo!

What is it that we call the Tâo [2]? There is the Tâo, or Way of Heaven, and there is the Tâo, or Way of Man. Doing nothing and yet attracting all honour is the Way of Heaven, Doing and being embarrassed thereby is the Way of Man. It is the Way of Heaven that plays the part of the Lord, it is the Way of Man that plays the part of the Servant The Way of Heaven and the Way of Man are far apart. They should be clearly distinguished from each other.

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[1] Antithetic to the previous sentences, and showing that what such a Master does does not interfere with his non-action

[2] This question and what follows shows clearly enough that, even with *K*wang-tze, the character Tâo (道) retained its proper meaning of the Way or Course.

BOOK XII

PART II SECTION V

Thien Tî, or 'Heaven and Earth[1]'

1. Notwithstanding the greatness of heaven and earth, their transforming power proceeds from one lathe, notwithstanding the number of the myriad things, the government of them is one and the same, notwithstanding the multitude of mankind, the lord of them is their (one) ruler[2] The ruler's (course) should proceed from the qualities (of the Tâo) and be perfected by Heaven[3], when it is so, it is called 'Mysterious and Sublime' The ancients ruled the world by doing nothing,—simply by this attribute of Heaven[4]

If we look at their words[5] in the light of the Tâo, (we see that) the appellation for the ruler of the

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[1] See pp 143, 144

[2] Implying that that ruler, 'the Son of Heaven,' is only one

[3] 'Heaven' is here defined as meaning 'Non-action, what is of itself (無爲自然),' the teh (德) is the virtue, or qualities of the Tâo,—see the first paragraph of the next Book

[4] This sentence gives the thesis, or subject-matter of the whole Book, which the author never loses sight of

[5] Perhaps we should translate here, 'They looked at their words,' referring to 'the ancient rulers' So Gabelentz construes —'Dem Tâo gemäss betrachteten sie die reden' The meaning that I have given is substantially the same The term 'words' occasions a difficulty I understand it here, with most of the critics, as 稱名之言, 'the words of appellation'

world[1] was correctly assigned, if we look in the same light at the distinctions which they instituted, (we see that) the separation of ruler and ministers was right, if we look at the abilities which they called forth in the same light, (we see that the duties of) all the offices were well performed, and if we look generally in the same way at all things, (we see that) their response (to this rule) was complete[2] Therefore that which pervades (the action of) Heaven and Earth is (this one) attribute, that which operates in all things is (this one) course, that by which their superiors govern the people is the business (of the various departments), and that by which aptitude is given to ability is skill. The skill was manifested in all the (departments of) business, those departments were all administered in righteousness, the righteousness was (the outflow of) the natural virtue, the virtue was manifested according to the Tâo, and the Tâo was according to (the pattern of) Heaven

Hence it is said[3], 'The ancients who had the nourishment of the world wished for nothing and the world had enough, they did nothing and all things were transformed, their stillness was abysmal, and the people were all composed' The Record says[4], 'When the one (Tâo) pervades it, all business

[1] Meaning, probably, his appellation as Thien Ze, 'the Son of Heaven'

[2] That is, 'they responded to the Tâo,' without any constraint but the example of their rulers

[3] Here there would seem to be a quotation which I have not been able to trace to its source

[4] This 'Record' is attributed to Lâo-tze, but we know nothing of it In illustration of the sentiment in the sentence, the critics

is completed. When the mind gets to be free from all aim, even the Spirits submit'

2 The Master said[1], 'It is the Tâo that overspreads and sustains all things How great It is in Its overflowing influence! The Superior man ought by all means to remove from his mind (all that is contrary to It) Acting without action is what is called Heaven(-like) Speech coming forth of itself is what is called (a mark of) the (true) Virtue Loving men and benefiting things is what is called Benevolence Seeing wherein things that are different yet agree is what is called being Great. Conduct free from the ambition of being distinguished above others is what is called being Generous The possession in himself of a myriad points of difference is what is called being Rich. Therefore to hold fast the natural attributes is what is called the Guiding Line (of government)[2], the perfecting of those attributes is what is called its Establishment, accordance with the Tâo is what is called being Complete, and not allowing anything external to affect the will is what is called being Perfect When the Superior man understands these ten things, he keeps all matters as it were sheathed in himself, showing the greatness of his mind, and through the outflow of his doings, all things move (and come to him) Being such, he lets the gold lie hid in the hill, and the pearls in the deep, he considers not

refer to par 34 in the fourth Appendix to the Yî King, but it is not to the point

[1] Who is 'the Master' here? Confucius? or Lâo-gze? I think the latter, though sometimes even our author thus denominates Confucius,—see par 9

[2] ? the Tâo

property or money to be any gain, he keeps aloof from riches and honours, he rejoices not in long life, and grieves not for early death, he does not account prosperity a glory, nor is ashamed of indigence, he would not grasp at the gain of the whole world to be held as his own private portion, he would not desire to rule over the whole world as his own private distinction His distinction is in understanding that all things belong to the one treasury, and that death and life should be viewed in the same way[1].'

3. The Master said, 'How still and deep is the place where the Tâo resides! How limpid is its purity! Metal and stone without It would give forth no sound They have indeed the (power of) sound (in them), but if they be not struck, they do not emit it Who can determine (the qualities that are in) all things?

'The man of kingly qualities holds on his way unoccupied, and is ashamed to busy himself with (the conduct of) affairs He establishes himself in (what is) the root and source (of his capacity), and his wisdom grows to be spirit-like In this way his attributes become more and more great, and when his mind goes forth, whatever things come in his way, it lays hold of them (and deals with them) Thus, if there were not the Tâo, the bodily form would not have life, and its life, without the attributes (of the Tâo), would not be manifested Is not he who preserves the body and gives the fullest development to the life, who establishes the attri-

[1] Balfour —'The difference between life and death exists no more,' Gabelentz —'Sterben und Leben haben gleiche Erscheinung'

butes of the Tâo and clearly displays It, possessed of kingly qualities? How majestic is he in his sudden issuings forth, and in his unexpected movements, when all things follow him!—This we call the man whose qualities fit him to rule

'He sees where there is the deepest obscurity, he hears where there is no sound In the midst of the deepest obscurity, he alone sees and can distinguish (various objects), in the midst of a soundless (abyss), he alone can hear a harmony (of notes). Therefore where one deep is succeeded by a greater, he can people all with things, where one mysterious range is followed by another that is more so, he can lay hold of the subtlest character of each In this way in his intercourse with all things, while he is farthest from having anything, he can yet give to them what they seek, while he is always hurrying forth, he yet returns to his resting-place, now large, now small, now long, now short, now distant, now near[1]'

4 Hwang-Tî, enjoying himself on the north of the Red-water, ascended to the height of the Khwăn-lun (mountain), and having looked towards the south, was returning home, when he lost his dark-coloured pearl[2] He employed Wisdom to search for it, but he could not find it He employed (the clear-sighted) Lî Kû to search for it, but he

[1] I can hardly follow the reasoning of Kwang-ze here The whole of the paragraph is obscure I have translated the two concluding characters 修遠, as if they were 遠近, after the example of Lin Hsî-yî, whose edition of Kwang-ze was first published in 1261

[2] Meaning the Tâo This is not to be got or learned by wisdom, or perspicacity, or man's reasoning It is instinctive to man, as the Heavenly gift or Truth (天眞).

could not find it. He employed (the vehement debater) *Khieh Khâu*[1] to search for it, but he could not find it. He then employed Purposeless[1], who found it; on which Hwang-Tî said, 'How strange that it was Purposeless who was able to find it!'

5 The teacher of Yâo was Hsu Yû[2], of Hsu Yû, Nieh *Khueh*[2], of Nieh *Khueh*, Wang Î[2], of Wang Î, Pheî-î[2]. Yâo asked Hsu Yû, saying, 'Is Nieh *Khueh* fit to be the correlate of Heaven?[3] (If you think he is), I will avail myself of the services of Wang Î to constrain him (to take my place)' Hsu Yû replied, 'Such a measure would be hazardous, and full of peril to the kingdom! The character of Nieh *Khueh* is this,—he is acute, perspicacious, shrewd and knowing, ready in reply, sharp in retort, and hasty; his natural (endowments) surpass those of other men, but by his human qualities he seeks to obtain the Heavenly gift; he exercises his discrimination in suppressing his errors, but he does not know what is the source from which his errors arise. Make him the correlate of Heaven! He would employ the human qualities, so that no regard would be paid to the Heavenly gift. Moreover, he would assign different functions to the different parts of the one person[4]

[1] The meaning of the characters shows what is the idea emblemed by this name; and so with Hsiang Wang,—'a Semblance,' and 'Nonentity,' = 'Mindless,' 'Purposeless'.

[2] All these names have occurred, excepting that of Pheî-î, who heads Hwang-fû Mî's list of eminent Tâoists. We shall meet with him again. He is to be distinguished from Phû-î.

[3] 'Match Heaven;' that is, be sovereign below, as Heaven above ruled all.

[4] We are referred for the meaning of this characteristic to 肝膽楚越, in Bk. V, par. 1.

Moreover, honour would be given to knowledge, and he would have his plans take effect with the speed of fire Moreover, he would be the slave of everything he initiated Moreover, he would be embarrassed by things. Moreover, he would be looking all round for the response of things (to his measures) Moreover, he would be responding to the opinion of the multitude as to what was right Moreover, he would be changing as things changed, and would not begin to have any principle of constancy How can such a man be fit to be the correlate of Heaven? Nevertheless, as there are the smaller branches of a family and the common ancestor of all its branches, he might be the father of a branch, but not the father of the fathers of all the branches[1] Such government (as he would conduct) would lead to disorder It would be calamity in one in the position of a minister, and ruin if he were in the position of the sovereign'

6 Yâo was looking about him at Hwâ[2], the border-warden of which said, 'Ha! the sage! Let me ask blessings on the sage! May he live long!'

[1] That is, Nieh might be a minister, but could not be the sovereign The phraseology is based on the rules for the rise of sub-surnames in the same clan, and the consequent division of clans under different ancestors,—see the Lî Kî, Bk XIII, i, 10–14, and XIV, 8

[2] 'Hwâ' is evidently intended for the name of a place, but where it was can hardly be determined The genuineness of the whole paragraph is called in question, and I pass it by, merely calling attention to what the border-warden is made to say about the close of the life of the sage (Tâoist), who after living a thousand years, ascends among the Immortals (僊=仙), and arrives at the place of God, and is free from the three evils of disease, old age, and death, or as some say, after the Buddhists, water, fire, and wind!

Yâo said, 'Hush!' but the other went on, 'May the sage become rich!' Yâo (again) said, 'Hush!' but (the warden) continued, 'May the sage have many sons!' When Yâo repeated his 'Hush,' the warden said, 'Long life, riches, and many sons are what men wish for,—how is it that you alone do not wish for them?' Yâo replied, 'Many sons bring many fears; riches bring many troubles, and long life gives rise to many obloquies These three things do not help to nourish virtue, and therefore I wish to decline them' The warden rejoined, 'At first I considered you to be a sage; now I see in you only a Superior man Heaven, in producing the myriads of the people, is sure to have appointed for them their several offices If you had many sons, and gave them (all their) offices, what would you have to fear? If you had riches, and made other men share them with you, what trouble would you have? The sage finds his dwelling like the quail (without any choice of its own), and is fed like the fledgling, he is like the bird which passes on (through the air), and leaves no trace (of its flight). When good order prevails in the world, he shares in the general prosperity When there is no such order, he cultivates his virtue, and seeks to be unoccupied After a thousand years, tired of the world, he leaves it, and ascends among the immortals He mounts on the white clouds, and arrives at the place of God. The three forms of evil do not reach him, his person is always free from misfortune,—what obloquy has he to incur?'

With this the border-warden left him Yâo followed him, saying, 'I beg to ask—,' but the other said, 'Begone!'

7 When Yâo was ruling the world, Po-*kh*ăng Ʒze-kâo[1] was appointed by him prince of one of the states From Yâo (afterwards) the throne passed to Shun, and from Shun (again) to Yu, and (then) Po-*kh*ăng Ʒze-kâo resigned his principality and began to cultivate the ground. Yu went to see him, and found him ploughing in the open country Hurrying to him, and bowing low in acknowledgment of his superiority, Yu then stood up, and asked him, saying, 'Formerly, when Yâo was ruling the world, you, Sir, were appointed prince of a state. He gave his sovereignty to Shun, and Shun gave his to me, when you, Sir, resigned your dignity, and are (now) ploughing (here),—I venture to ask the reason of your conduct.' Ʒze-kâo said, 'When Yâo ruled the world, the people stimulated one another (to what was right) without his offering them rewards, and stood in awe (of doing wrong) without his threatening them with punishments Now you employ both rewards and punishments, and the people notwithstanding are not good Their virtue will from this time decay, punishments will from this time prevail, the disorder of future ages will from this time begin. Why do you, my master, not go away, and not interrupt my work?' With this he resumed his ploughing with his head bent down, and did not (again) look round

8 In the Grand Beginning (of all things) there was nothing in all the vacancy of space; there was nothing that could be named[2] It was in this state

[1] Some legends say that this Po-*kh*ăng Ʒze-kâo was a pre-incarnation of Lâo-ʒze, but this paragraph is like the last, and cannot be received as genuine

[2] This sentence is differently understood, according as it is

that there arose the first existence[1],—the first existence, but still without bodily shape From this things could then be produced, (receiving) what we call their proper character[2] That which had no bodily shape was divided[3], and then without intermission there was what we call the process of conferring[4]. (The two processes) continuing in operation, things were produced As things were completed, there were produced the distinguishing lines of each, which we call the bodily shape That shape was the body preserving in it the spirit[5], and each had its peculiar manifestation, which we call its Nature When the Nature has been cultivated, it returns to its proper character, and when that has been fully reached, there is the same condition as at the Beginning. That sameness is pure vacancy, and the vacancy is great It is like the closing of the beak and silencing the singing (of a bird) That closing and silencing is like the union of heaven and earth (at the beginning)[6] The union, effected, as it

punctuated,—有無無, 有無名, or 有無, 無有無名 Each punctuation has its advocates For myself, I can only adopt the former, the other is contrary to my idea of Chinese composition If the author had wished to be understood so, he would have written differently, as, for instance, 無未有名.

[1] Probably, the primary ether, what is called the Thâi Kih

[2] This sentence is anticipatory

[3] Into what we call the yin and the yang,—the same ether, now at rest, now in motion

[4] The conferring of something more than what was material By whom or what? By Heaven, the Tâoist understanding by that term the Tâo

[5] So then, man consists of the material body and the immaterial spirit

[6] The potential heaven and earth, not yet fashioned from the primal ether

is, might seem to indicate stupidity or darkness, but it is what we call the 'mysterious quality' (existing at the beginning), it is the same as the Grand Submission (to the Natural Course)

9 The Master[1] asked Lâo Tan, saying, 'Some men regulate the Tâo (as by a law), which they have only to follow,—(a thing, they say,) is admissible or it is inadmissible, it is so, or it is not so (They are like) the sophists who say that they can distinguish what is hard and what is white as clearly as if the objects were houses suspended in the sky Can such men be said to be sages[2]?' The reply was, 'They are like the busy underlings of a court, who toil their bodies and distress their minds with their various artifices,—dogs, (employed) to their sorrow to catch the yak, or monkeys[3] that are brought from their forests (for their tricksiness) *Khiû*, I tell you this,—it is what you cannot hear, and what you cannot speak of —Of those who have their heads and feet, and yet have neither minds nor ears, there are multitudes, while of those who have their bodies, and at the same time preserve that which has no bodily form or shape, there are really none. It is not in their movements or stoppages, their dying or living, their falling and rising again, that this is to be found The regulation of the course lies in (their dealing with) the human element in them. When they have forgotten external things,

[1] This 'Master' is without doubt Confucius

[2] The meaning and point of Confucius's question are not clear Did he mean to object to Lâo-ze that all his disquisitions about the Tâo as the one thing to be studied and followed were unnecessary?

[3] Compare in Bk VII, par 4

and have also forgotten the heavenly element in them, they may be named men who have forgotten themselves The man who has forgotten himself is he of whom it is said that he has become identified with Heaven[1]'

10 At an interview with *K*î *Kh*êh[2], *K*iang-lû Mien[2] said to him, 'Our ruler of Lû asked to receive my instructions I declined, on the ground that I had not received any message[3] for him Afterwards, however, I told him (my thoughts) I do not know whether (what I said) was right or not, and I beg to repeat it to you. I said to him, "You must strive to be courteous and to exercise self-restraint, you must distinguish the public-spirited and loyal, and repress the cringing and selfish,—who among the people will in that case dare not to be in harmony with you?"' *K*î *Kh*êh laughed quietly and said, 'Your words, my master, as a description of the right course for a Tî or King, were like the threatening movement of its arms by a mantis which would thereby stop the advance of a carriage,—inadequate to accomplish your object And moreover, if he guided himself by your directions, it would be as if he were to increase the dangerous height of his towers

[1] Their action is like that of Heaven, silent but most effective, without motive from within or without, simply from the impulse of the Tâo

[2] These two men are only known by the mention of them here They must have been officers of Lû, *K*î *Kh*êh a member of the great *K*î or *K*î-sun family of that state He would appear also to have been the teacher of the other, if, indeed, they were real personages, and not merely the production of *K*wang-ʒze's imagination

[3] That is any lessons or instructions from you, my master, which I should communicate to him.

and add to the number of his valuables collected in them;—the multitudes (of the people) would leave their (old) ways, and bend their steps in the same direction'

*K*iang-lu Mien was awe-struck, and said in his fright, 'I am startled by your words, Master, nevertheless, I should like to hear you describe the influence (which a ruler should exert).' The other said, 'If a great sage ruled the kingdom, he would stimulate the minds of the people, and cause them to carry out his instructions fully, and change their manners, he would take their minds which had become evil and violent and extinguish them, carrying them all forward to act in accordance with the (good) will belonging to them as individuals, as if they did it of themselves from their nature, while they knew not what it was that made them do so Would such an one be willing to look up to Yâo and Shun in their instruction of the people as his elder brothers? He would treat them as his juniors, belonging himself to the period of the original plastic ether[1] His wish would be that all should agree with the virtue (of that early period), and quietly rest in it'

11 Ʒze-kung had been rambling in the south in *Kh*û, and was returning to Ʒin. As he passed (a place) on the north of the Han, he saw an old man who was going to work on his vegetable garden. He had dug his channels, gone to the well, and was bringing from it in his arms a jar of water to pour into them. Toiling away, he expended a great deal

[1] The Chinese phrase here is explained by Dr Williams.—'A vivifying influence, a vapour or aura producing things'

of strength, but the result which he accomplished was very small. Ʒze-kung said to him, 'There is a contrivance here by means of which a hundred plots of ground may be irrigated in one day With the expenditure of a very little strength, the result accomplished is great. Would you, Master, not like (to try it)?' The gardener looked up at him, and said, 'How does it work?' Ʒze-kung said, 'It is a lever made of wood, heavy behind, and light in front. It raises the water as quickly as you could do with your hand, or as it bubbles over from a boiler Its name is a shadoof' The gardener put on an angry look, laughed, and said, 'I have heard from my teacher that, where there are ingenious contrivances, there are sure to be subtle doings, and that, where there are subtle doings, there is sure to be a scheming mind But, when there is a scheming mind in the breast, its pure simplicity is impaired When this pure simplicity is impaired, the spirit becomes unsettled, and the unsettled spirit is not the proper residence of the Tâo. It is not that I do not know (the contrivance which you mention), but I should be ashamed to use it'

(At these words) Ʒze-kung looked blank and ashamed, he hung down his head, and made no reply After an interval, the gardener said to him, 'Who are you, Sir?' 'A disciple of Khung *Khiû*,' was the reply The other continued, 'Are you not the scholar whose great learning makes you comparable to a sage, who make it your boast that you surpass all others, who sing melancholy ditties all by yourself, thus purchasing a famous reputation throughout the kingdom? If you would (only) forget the energy of your spirit, and neglect the care of

your body, you might approximate (to the Tâo). But while you cannot regulate yourself, what leisure have you to be regulating the world? Go on your way, Sir, and do not interrupt my work.'

Ze-kung shrunk back abashed, and turned pale. He was perturbed, and lost his self-possession, nor did he recover it, till he had walked a distance of thirty li. His disciples then said, 'Who was that man? Why, Master, when you saw him, did you change your bearing, and become pale, so that you have been all day without returning to yourself?' He replied to them, 'Formerly I thought that there was but one man[1] in the world, and did not know that there was this man. I have heard the Master say that to seek for the means of conducting his undertakings so that his success in carrying them out may be complete, and how by the employment of a little strength great results may be obtained, is the way of the sage. Now (I perceive that) it is not so at all. They who hold fast and cleave to the Tâo are complete in the qualities belonging to it. Complete in those qualities, they are complete in their bodies. Complete in their bodies, they are complete in their spirits. To be complete in spirit is the way of the sage. (Such men) live in the world in closest union with the people, going along with them, but they do not know where they are going. Vast and complete is their simplicity! Success, gain, and ingenious contrivances, and artful cleverness, indicate (in their opinion) a forgetfulness of the (proper) mind of man. These men will not go where their mind does not carry them, and will do

[1] Confucius.

nothing of which their mind does not approve Though all the world should praise them, they would (only) get what they think should be loftily disregarded, and though all the world should blame them, they would but lose (what they think) fortuitous and not to be received,—the world's blame and praise can do them neither benefit nor injury Such men may be described as possessing all the attributes (of the Tâo), while I can only be called one of those who are like the waves carried about by the wind' When he returned to Lû, (Zze-kung) reported the interview and conversation to Confucius, who said, 'The man makes a pretence of cultivating the arts of the Embryonic Age[1] He knows the first thing, but not the sequel to it He regulates what is internal in himself, but not what is external to himself If he had intelligence enough to be entirely unsophisticated, and by doing nothing to seek to return to the normal simplicity, embodying (the instincts of) his nature, and keeping his spirit (as it were) in his arms, so enjoying himself in the common ways you might then indeed be afraid of him! But what should you and I find in the arts of the embryonic time, worth our knowing?'

12 Kun Mâng[2], on his way to the ocean, met with Yuan Fung[2] on the shore of the eastern sea, and

[1] The 'arts of the Embryonic Age' suggests the idea of the earliest men in their struggles for support, not the Tâo of Heaven in its formation of the universe But the whole of the paragraph, not in itself uninteresting, is believed to be a spurious introduction, and not the production of Kwang-zze

[2] These are not names of men, but like Yun Kiang and Hung Mung in the fifth paragraph of the last Book By Kun Mâng, it is said, we are to understand 'the great primal ether,' and by Yuan

was asked by him where he was going. 'I am going,' he replied, 'to the ocean,' and the other again asked, 'What for?' *K*un Mâng said, 'Such is the nature of the ocean that the waters which flow into it can never fill it, nor those which flow from it exhaust it. I will enjoy myself, rambling by it.' Yuan Fung replied, 'Have you no thoughts about mankind[1]? I should like to hear from you about sagely government.' *K*un Mâng said, 'Under the government of sages, all offices are distributed according to the fitness of their nature, all appointments are made according to the ability of the men, whatever is done is after a complete survey of all circumstances, actions and words proceed from the inner impulse, and the whole world is transformed. Wherever their hands are pointed and their looks directed, from all quarters the people are all sure to come (to do what they desire) —this is what is called government by sages.'

'I should like to hear about (the government of) the kindly, virtuous men[2],' (continued Yuan Fung). The reply was, 'Under the government of the virtuous, when quietly occupying (their place), they have no thought, and, when they act, they have no anxiety; they do not keep stored (in their minds) what is right and what is wrong, what is good and

Fung, 'the east wind.' Why these should discourse together as they are here made to do, only *K*wang-tze himself could tell.

[1] Literally, 'men with their cross eyes,' an appellation for mankind, men having their eyes set across their face more on the same plane than other animals,—'an extraordinary application of the characters,' says Lin Hsî-*k*ung.

[2] The text is simply 'virtuous men,' but the reply justifies us in giving the meaning as 'kindly' as well. 德 has often this signification.

what is bad They share their benefits among all within the four seas, and this produces what is called (the state of) satisfaction, they dispense their gifts to all, and this produces what is called (the state of) rest. (The people) grieve (on their death) like babies who have lost their mothers, and are perplexed like travellers who have lost their way. They have a superabundance of wealth and all necessaries, and they know not whence it comes, they have a sufficiency of food and drink, and they know not from whom they get it —such are the appearances (under the government) of the kindly and virtuous'

'I should like to hear about (the government of) the spirit-like men,' (continued Yuan Fung once more)

The reply was, 'Men of the highest spirit-like qualities mount up on the light, and (the limitations of) the body vanish This we call being bright and ethereal. They carry out to the utmost the powers with which they are endowed, and have not a single attribute unexhausted Their joy is that of heaven and earth, and all embarrassments of affairs melt away and disappear, all things return to their proper nature —and this is what is called (the state of) chaotic obscurity[1]'

13 Mǎn Wû-kwei[2] and *Khih-kang* Man-*khî*[2] had been looking at the army of king Wû, when the latter said 'It is because he was not born in the time of the Lord of Yu[3], that therefore he is in-

[1] When no human element had come in to mar the development of the Tâo

[2] If these be the names of real personages, they must have been of the time of king Wû, about B C 1122

[3] Generally understood to mean 'He is not equal to the Lord of

volved in this trouble (of war)' Măn Wû-kwei replied, 'Was it when the kingdom was in good order, that the Lord of Yu governed it? or was it after it had become disordered that he governed it?' The other said, 'That the kingdom be in a condition of good order, is what (all) desire, and (in that case) what necessity would there be to say anything about the Lord of Yu? He had medicine for sores, false hair for the bald, and healing for those who were ill —he was like the filial son carrying in the medicine to cure his kind father, with every sign of distress in his countenance A sage would be ashamed (of such a thing)[1]

'In the age of perfect virtue they attached no value to wisdom, nor employed men of ability Superiors were (but) as the higher branches of a tree, and the people were like the deer of the wild. They were upright and correct, without knowing that to be so was Righteousness; they loved one another without knowing that to do so was Benevolence they were honest and leal-hearted, without knowing that it was Loyalty, they fulfilled their engagements, without knowing that to do so was Good Faith, in their simple movements they employed the services of one another, without thinking that they were conferring or receiving any gift Therefore their actions left no trace, and there was no record of their affairs.'

14 The filial son who does not flatter his father,

Yû,' or Shun The meaning which I have given is that propounded by Hû Wan-ying, and seems to agree better with the general purport of the paragraph

[1] Ashamed that he had not been able to keep his father from getting sick, and requiring to be thus attended to

and the loyal minister who does not fawn on his ruler, are the highest examples of a minister and a son When a son assents to all that his father says, and approves of all that his father does, common opinion pronounces him an unworthy son, when a minister assents to all that his ruler says, and approves of all that his ruler does, common opinion pronounces him an unworthy minister Nor does any one reflect that this view is necessarily correct[1] But when common opinion (itself) affirms anything and men therefore assent to it, or counts anything good and men also approve of it, then it is not said that they are mere consenters and flatterers,—is common opinion then more authoritative than a father, or more to be honoured than a ruler? Tell a man that he is merely following (the opinions) of another, or that he is a flatterer of others, and at once he flushes with anger. And yet all his life he is merely following others, and flattering them His illustrations are made to agree with theirs, his phrases are glossed —to win the approbation of the multitudes From first to last, from beginning to end, he finds no fault with their views. He will let his robes hang down[2], display the colours on them, and arrange his movements and bearing, so as to win the favour of his age, and yet not call himself a flatterer He is but a follower of those others, approving and dis-

[1] We can hardly tell whether this paragraph should be understood as a continuation of *K'hih-kang*'s remarks, or as from *K'wang-tze* himself The meaning here is that every one feels that this opinion is right, without pausing to reason about it

[2] See the Yî King, Appendix III, ii, 15, where this letting his robes hang down is attributed to Shun Ought we to infer from this that in this paragraph we have *K'hih-kang* still speaking about and against the common opinion of Shun's superiority to king Wû?

approving as they do, and yet he will not say that he is one of them This is the height of stupidity

He who knows his stupidity is not very stupid; he who knows that he is under a delusion is not greatly deluded. He who is greatly deluded will never shake the delusion off, he who is very stupid will all his life not become intelligent If three men be walking together, and (only) one of them be under a delusion (as to their way), they may yet reach their goal, the deluded being the fewer, but if two of them be under the delusion, they will not do so, the deluded being the majority At the present time, when the whole world is under a delusion, though I pray men to go in the right direction, I cannot make them do so,— is it not a sad case?

Grand music does not penetrate the ears of villagers, but if they hear 'The Breaking of the Willow,' or 'The Bright Flowers[1],' they will roar with laughter So it is that lofty words do not remain in the minds of the multitude, and that perfect words are not heard, because the vulgar words predominate By two earthenware instruments the (music of) a bell will be confused, and the pleasure that it would afford cannot be obtained At the present time the whole world is under a delusion, and though I wish to go in a certain direction, how can I succeed in doing so? Knowing that I cannot do so, if I were to try to force my way, that would be another delusion Therefore my best course is to let my purpose go, and no more pursue it. If I do not pursue it, whom shall I have to share in my sorrow[2]?

[1] The names of two songs, favourites with the common people

[2] I shall only feel the more that I am alone without any to sympathise with me, and be the more sad

If an ugly man[1] have a son born to him at midnight, he hastens with a light to look at it Very eagerly he does so, only afraid that it may be like himself.

15[2] From a tree a hundred years old a portion shall be cut and fashioned into a sacrificial vase, with the bull figured on it, which is ornamented further with green and yellow, while the rest (of that portion) is cut away and thrown into a ditch If now we compare the sacrificial vase with what was thrown into the ditch, there will be a difference between them as respects their beauty and ugliness, but they both agree in having lost the (proper) nature of the wood So in respect of their practice of righteousness there is a difference between (the robber) *K*ih on the one hand, and Ʒăng (Shăn) or Shih (Ʒhiû) on the other, but they all agree in having lost (the proper qualities of) their nature

Now there are five things which produce (in men) the loss of their (proper) nature. The first is (their fondness for) the five colours which disorder the eye, and take from it its (proper) clearness of vision; the second is (their fondness for) the five notes (of music), which disorder the ear and take from it its

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[1] 厲人 should perhaps be translated 'a leper' The illustration is edited by *K*iâo Hung and others as a paragraph by itself. They cannot tell whether it be intended to end the paragraph that precedes or to introduce the one that follows

[2] This paragraph must be our author's own. *Kh*ih-*k*ang, of the time of king Wû, could not be criticising the schemes of life propounded by Mo and Yang, whose views were so much later in time It breathes the animosity of Lâo and *K*wang against all schemes of learning and culture, as contrary to the simplicity of life according to the Tâo

(proper) power of hearing, the third is (their fondness for) the five odours which penetrate the nostrils, and produce a feeling of distress all over the forehead, the fourth is (their fondness for) the five flavours, which deaden the mouth, and pervert its sense of taste, the fifth is their preferences and dislikes, which unsettle the mind, and cause the nature to go flying about. These five things are all injurious to the life, and now Yang and Mo begin to stretch forward from their different standpoints, each thinking that he has hit on (the proper course for men)

But the courses they have hit on are not what I call the proper course What they have hit on (only) leads to distress,—can they have hit on what is the right thing? If they have, we may say that the dove in a cage has found the right thing for it. Moreover, those preferences and dislikes, that (fondness for) music and colours, serve but to pile up fuel (in their breasts), while their caps of leather, the bonnet with kingfishers' plumes, the memorandum tablets which they carry, and their long girdles, serve but as restraints on their persons Thus inwardly stuffed full as a hole for fuel, and outwardly fast bound with cords, when they look quietly round from out of their bondage, and think they have got all they could desire, they are no better than criminals whose arms are tied together, and their fingers subjected to the screw, or than tigers and leopards in sacks or cages, and yet thinking that they have got (all they could wish)

BOOK XIII

PART II. SECTION VI

Thien Tâo, or 'The Way of Heaven[1]'

1 The Way of Heaven operates (unceasingly), and leaves no accumulation[2] (of its influence) in any particular place, so that all things are brought to perfection by it, so does the Way of the Tîs operate, and all under the sky turn to them (as their directors), so also does the Way of the Sages operate, and all within the seas submit to them. Those who clearly understand (the Way of) Heaven, who are in sympathy with (that of) the sages, and familiar through the universe and in the four quarters (of the earth) with the work of the Tîs and the kings, yet act spontaneously from themselves —with the appearance of being ignorant they are yet entirely still

The stillness of the sages does not belong to them as a consequence of their skilful ability[3]; all things are not able to disturb their minds,—it is on this account that they are still When water is still, its clearness shows the beard and eyebrows (of him

[1] See pp 144, 145

[2] That is, its operation is universal The Chinese critics generally explain 'accumulation' here by 'rest,' which is not quite the idea

[3] Such is the meaning here of the 善, as in the Tâo Teh *King* chaps 2 8, and often

who looks into it) It is a perfect Level[1], and the greatest artificer takes his rule from it. Such is the clearness of still water, and how much greater is that of the human Spirit! The still mind of the sage is the mirror of heaven and earth, the glass of all things

Vacancy, stillness, placidity, tastelessness, quietude, silence, and non-action,—this is the Level of heaven and earth, and the perfection of the Tâo and its characteristics[2] Therefore the Tîs, Kings, and Sages found in this their resting-place[3]. Resting here, they were vacant, from their vacancy came fullness, from their fullness came the nice distinctions (of things) From their vacancy came stillness, that stillness was followed by movement, their movements were successful From their stillness came their non-action Doing-nothing, they devolved the cares of office on their employés Doing-nothing was accompanied by the feeling of satisfaction Where there is that feeling of satisfaction, anxieties and troubles find no place, and the years of life are many

Vacancy, stillness, placidity, tastelessness, quietude, silence, and doing-nothing are the root of all things When this is understood, we find such a ruler on the throne as Yâo, and such a minister as Shun When with this a high position is occupied, we find the attributes of the Tîs and kings,—the sons of Heaven, with this in a low position, we find the mysterious

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[1] 準 here, is contracted in many editions into 准, which some have mistaken for 淮

[2] Such are the natural characteristics of the Tâoistic mind

[3] Implying cessation from all thought and purpose

sages, the uncrowned kings, with their ways With this retiring (from public life), and enjoying themselves at leisure, we find the scholars who dwell by the rivers and seas, among the hills and forests, all submissive to it, with this coming forward to active life and comforting their age, their merit is great, and their fame is distinguished,—and all the world becomes united in one.

2. (Such men) by their stillness become sages, and by their movement, kings Doing-nothing, they are honoured, in their plain simplicity, no one in the world can strive with them (for the palm of) excellence The clear understanding of the virtue of Heaven and Earth is what is called 'The Great Root,' and 'The Great Origin,'—they who have it are in harmony with Heaven, and so they produce all equable arrangements in the world,—they are those who are in harmony with men. Being in harmony with men is called the Joy of men, being in harmony with Heaven is called the Joy of Heaven *K*wang-tze said, 'My Master! my Master! He shall hash and blend all things in mass without being cruel, he shall dispense his favours to all ages without being benevolent. He is older than the highest antiquity, and yet is not old He overspreads the heavens and sustains the earth, from him is the carving of all forms without any artful skill[1]! This is what is called the Joy of Heaven Hence it is said, "Those who know the Joy of Heaven during their life, act like Heaven, and at death undergo transformation like (other) things[2], in their stillness

[1] Compare in Bk VI, pars 13 and 7

[2] They do not cease to be, but only become transformed or changed

they possess the quality of the Yin, and in their movement they flow abroad as the Yang. Therefore he who knows the Joy of Heaven has no murmuring against Heaven, nor any fault-finding with men, and suffers no embarrassment from things, nor any reproof from ghosts Hence it is said, 'His movements are those of Heaven, his stillness is that of Earth, his whole mind is fixed, and he rules over the world The spirits of his dead do not come to scare him, he is not worn out by their souls His words proceeding from his vacancy and stillness, yet reach to heaven and earth, and show a communication with all things —this is what is called the Joy of Heaven. This Joy of Heaven forms the mind of the sage whereby he nurtures all under the sky[1]'"'

3 It was the Way[2] of the Tîs and Kings to regard Heaven and Earth as their Author, the Tâo and its characteristics as their Lord, and Doing-nothing as their constant rule Doing-nothing, they could use the whole world in their service and might have done more, acting, they were not sufficient for the service required of them by the world Hence the men of old held non-inaction in honour When superiors do nothing and their inferiors also do nothing, inferiors and superiors possess the same virtue, and when inferiors and superiors possess the same virtue, there are none to act as ministers When inferiors act, and their superiors also act, then superiors and inferiors possess the same Tâo, and when superiors and inferiors possess the same

[1] I suppose that from 'It is said' to this is all quotation, but from what book we do not know

[2] 'The virtue,' or attribute, = the way

Tâo, there is none to preside as Lord But that the superiors do nothing and yet thereby use the world in their service, and that the inferiors, while acting, be employed in the service of the world, is an unchangeable principle Therefore the ancient kings who presided over the world, though their knowledge embraced (all the operations of) Heaven and Earth, took no thought of their own about them, though their nice discrimination appreciated the fine fashioning of all things, they said not a word about it, though their power comprehended all within the seas they did nothing themselves Heaven produces nothing, yet all things experience their transformations, Earth effects no growth, yet all things receive their nurture, the Tîs and Kings did nothing, yet all the world testified their effective services Hence it is said, 'There is nothing more spirit-like than Heaven, there is nothing richer than Earth there are none greater than the Tîs and Kings' Hence it is said (further), 'The attributes of the Tîs and kings corresponded to those of Heaven and Earth' It was thus that they availed themselves of (the operations of) Heaven and Earth, carried all things on unceasingly (in their courses), and employed the various classes of men in their service

4 Originating belongs to those in the higher position, details (of work) to those who are in the lower The compendious decision belongs to the lord, the minutiae of execution, to his ministers The direction of the three hosts[1] and their men with the five weapons[2] is but a trifling quality, rewards

[1] 'Three hosts' constituted the military force of one of the largest states

[2] The bow, the club, the spear, the lance, the javelin Other

and penalties with their advantages and sufferings, and the inflictions of the five punishments[1] are but trivial elements of instruction, ceremonies, laws, measures, and numbers, with all the minutiae of jurisprudence[2], are small matters in government, the notes of bells and drums, and the display of plumes and flags are the slightest things in music, and the various grades of the mourning garments are the most unimportant manifestations of grief These five unimportant adjuncts required the operation of the excited spirit and the employment of the arts of the mind, to bring them into use The men of old had them indeed, but they did not give them the first place

The ruler precedes, and the minister follows, the father precedes, and the son follows, the elder brother precedes, and the younger follows, the senior precedes, and the junior follows, the male precedes, and the female follows, the husband precedes, and the wife follows

This precedence of the more honourable and sequence of the meaner is seen in the (relative) action of heaven and earth, and hence the sages took them as their pattern The more honourable position of heaven and the lower one of earth are equivalent to a designation of their spirit-like and intelligent qualities The precedence of spring and summer and the sequence of autumn and winter mark the

enumerations of them are given See the 'Officers of Kâu,' Bk XXXII

[1] Branding, cutting off the nose, cutting off the feet, castration, death

[2] I read here 刑 (not 形) 名

order of the four seasons In the transformations and growth of all things, every bud and feature has its proper form, and in this we have their gradual maturing and decay, the constant flow of transformation and change Thus since Heaven and Earth, which are most spirit-like, are distinguished as more honourable and less, and by precedence and sequence, how much more must we look for this in the ways of men! In the ancestral temple it is to kinship that honour is given, in court, to rank, in the neighbourhoods and districts, to age, in the conduct of affairs, to wisdom, such is the order in those great ways If we speak of the course (to be pursued in them), and do not observe their order, we violate their course If we speak of the course, and do not observe it, why do we apply that name to it?

5 Therefore the ancients who clearly understood the great Tâo first sought to apprehend what was meant by Heaven [1], and the Tâo and its characteristics came next When this was apprehended, then came Benevolence and Righteousness When these were apprehended, then came the Distinction of duties and the observance of them This accomplished, there came objects and their names After objects and their names, came the employment of men according to their qualities on this there followed the examination of the men and of their work This led to the approval or disapproval of them, which again was succeeded by the apportioning of rewards and penalties After this the stupid and the intelligent understood what was required of them, and the honourable and the mean occupied their several posi-

[1] The meaning, probably, is 'spontaneity'

tions. The good and the able, and those inferior to them, sincerely did their best. Their ability was distributed, the duties implied in their official names were fulfilled In this way did they serve their superiors, nourish their inferiors, regulate things, and cultivate their persons They did not call their knowledge and schemes into requisition, they were required to fall back upon (the method of) Heaven —this was what is called the Perfection of the Rule of Great Peace Hence it is said in the Book [1], 'There are objects and there are their names' Objects and their names the ancients had, but they did not put them in the foremost place

When the ancients spoke of the Great Tâo, it was only after four other steps that they gave a place to 'Objects and their Names,' and after eight steps that they gave a place to 'Rewards and Penalties' If they had all at once spoken of 'Objects and their Names,' they would have shown an ignorance of what is the Root (of government), if they had all at once spoken of 'Rewards and Penalties,' they would have shown an ignorance of the first steps of it Those whose words are thus an inversion of the (proper) course, or in opposition to it, are (only fit to be) ruled by others,—how can they rule others? To speak all at once of 'Objects and their Names,' and of 'Rewards and Penalties,' only shows that the speaker knows the instruments of government, but does not know the method of it, is fit to be used as an instrument in the world, but not fit to use others as his instruments —he is what we call a mere sophist, a man of one small idea

[1] We cannot tell what book or books

Ceremonies, laws, numbers, measures, with all the minutiae of jurisprudence, the ancients had, but it is by these that inferiors serve their superiors, it is not by them that those superiors nourish the world.

6. Anciently, Shun asked Yâo, saying, 'In what way does your Majesty by the Grace of Heaven[1] exercise your mind?' The reply was, 'I simply show no arrogance towards the helpless, I do not neglect the poor people, I grieve for those who die, I love their infant children, and I compassionate their widows.' Shun rejoined, 'Admirable, as far as it goes, but it is not what is Great.' 'How then,' asked Yâo, 'do you think I should do?' Shun replied, 'When (a sovereign) possesses the virtue of Heaven, then when he shows himself in action, it is in stillness. The sun and moon (simply) shine, and the four seasons pursue their courses. So it is with the regular phenomena of day and night, and with the movement of the clouds by which the rain is distributed.' Yâo said, 'Then I have only been persistently troubling myself! What you wish is to be in harmony with Heaven, while I wish to be in harmony with men.' Now (the Way of) Heaven and Earth was much thought of of old, and Hwang-Tî, Yâo, and Shun united in admiring it. Hence the kings of the world of old did nothing, but tried to imitate that Way.

7. Confucius went to the west to deposit (some) writings in the library of Kâu[2], when Ze-lû coun-

[1] So, in the 'Spring and Autumn' Chronicle, the rightful reigning sovereign is ordinarily designated, 'Heaven's King.' It is not a Tâoistic mode of speaking of him.

[2] It is supposed that Confucius, disappointed by his want of

selled him, saying, 'I have heard that the officer in charge of this *K*ăng[1] Repository of *K*âu was one Lâo Tan, who has given up his office, and is living in his own house As you, Master, wish to deposit these writings here, why not go to him, and obtain his help (to accomplish your object)[2]' Confucius said, 'Good,' and he went and saw Lâo Tan, who refused his assistance On this he proceeded to give an abstract of the Twelve Classics[3] to bring the other over to his views[4]. Lâo Tan, however, interrupted him while he was speaking, and said, 'This is too vague, let me hear the substance of them in brief' Confucius said, 'The substance of them is occupied with Benevolence and Righteousness' The other said, 'Let me ask whether you consider Benevolence and Righteousness to constitute the nature of man?' 'I do,' was the answer. 'If the superior man be not benevolent, he will not fulfil his character, if he be not righteous, he might as well not have been born Benevolence and Righteousness are truly the nature of man' Lâo Tan continued, 'Let me ask you what you mean by Benevolence and Righteousness' Confucius said, 'To be in one's inmost heart in kindly sympathy

success, wished to deposit the writings or books which he prized so much in the Royal Library, that they might not be lost, and be available for some future teacher, more fortunate than himself

[1] The name of the Royal Library (徵), meaning, perhaps, 'Approved'

[2] That is, help him to get his books deposited in the Library

[3] Meaning, perhaps, the 'Spring and Autumn,' containing a chronicle of twelve marquises of Lû We know of no collection in the time of Confucius which could be styled the 'Twelve Classics'

[4] 說 is to be read shui

with all things, to love all men, and to allow no selfish thoughts,—this is the nature of Benevolence and Righteousness.' Lâo Tan exclaimed, 'Ah! you almost show your inferiority by such words! "To love all men!" is not that vague and extravagant? "To be seeking to allow no selfish thoughts!"—that is selfishness[1]! If you, Master, wish men not to be without their (proper) shepherding, think of Heaven and Earth, which certainly pursue their invariable course, think of the sun and moon, which surely maintain their brightness, think of the stars in the zodiac, which preserve their order and courses, think of birds and beasts, which do not fail to collect together in their flocks and herds, and think of the trees, which do not fail to stand up (in their places). Do you, Master, imitate this way and carry it into practice, hurry on, following this course, and you will reach your end. Why must you further be vehement in putting forward your Benevolence and Righteousness, as if you were beating a drum, and seeking a fugitive son, (only making him run away the more)? Ah! Master, you are introducing disorder into the nature of man!'

8. Shih-*khăng* *Khî*[2], having an interview with Lâo-tze, asked him, saying, 'I heard, Master, that you were a sage, and I came here, wishing to see you, without grudging the length of the journey. During the stages of the hundred days, the soles of my feet became quite callous, but I did not dare to stop and rest. Now I perceive that you are not

[1] The unselfishness was not spontaneous.

[2] We know nothing of this personage, but what is related here, nor does the whole paragraph serve to advance the argument of the Book.

a sage Because there was some rice left about the holes of the rats, you sent away your younger sister, which was unkind, when your food, whether raw or cooked, remains before you not all consumed, you keep on hoarding it up to any extent[1]' Lâo-ze looked indifferent, and gave him no answer

Next day *Khî* again saw Lâo-ze, and said, 'Yesterday I taunted you, but to-day I have gone back to a better mood of mind. What is the cause (of the change)[2]?' Lâo-ze replied, 'I consider that I have freed myself from the trammels of claiming to be artfully knowing, spirit-like, and sage Yesterday if you had called me an ox, you might have done so, or if you had called me a horse, you might have done so[3] If there be a reality (corresponding to men's ideas), and men give it a name, which another will not receive, he will in the sequel suffer the more My manner was what I constantly observe,—I did not put it on for the occasion'

Shih-*khâng Khî* sidled away out of Lâo's shadow, then he retraced his steps, advanced forward, and asked how he should cultivate himself The reply was, 'Your demeanour is repelling, you stare with your eyes, your forehead is broad and yet tapering, you bark and growl with your mouth, your appearance is severe and pretentious, you are like a horse held by its tether, you would move, but are restrained, and (if let go) would start off like an

[1] These seem strange charges to bring against Lâo-ze and no light is thrown on them from other sources

[2] The change had been produced by the demeanour of Lâo-ze, the other could not tell how Other explanations of the question are given by some of the critics

[3] Compare in the first paragraph of Book VII.

arrow from a bow, you examine all the minutiae of a thing, your wisdom is artful, and yet you try to look at ease All these are to be considered proofs of your want of sincerity If on the borders one were to be found with them, he would be named a Thief'

9 The Master[1] said, 'The Tâo does not exhaust itself in what is greatest, nor is it ever absent from what is least, and therefore it is to be found complete and diffused in all things. How wide is its universal comprehension! How deep is its unfathomableness! The embodiment of its attributes in benevolence and righteousness is but a small result of its spirit-like (working), but it is only the perfect man who can determine this The perfect man has (the charge of) the world,—is not the charge great? and yet it is not sufficient to embarrass him He wields the handle of power over the whole world, and yet it is nothing to him His discrimination detects everything false, and no consideration of gain moves him He penetrates to the truth of things, and can guard that which is fundamental So it is that heaven and earth are external to him, and he views all things with indifference, and his spirit is never straitened by them He has comprehended the Tâo, and is in harmony with its characteristics, he pushes back benevolence and righteousness (into their proper place), and deals with ceremonies and music as (simply) guests — yes, the mind of the perfect man determines all things aright'

[1] No doubt, Lâo-tze In the 'Complete Works of the Ten Philosophers,' the text is 老子 and not 夫子

10 What the world thinks the most valuable exhibition of the Tâo is to be found in books But books are only a collection of words Words have what is valuable in them,—what is valuable in words is the ideas they convey But those ideas are a sequence of something else,—and what that something else is cannot be conveyed by words When the world, because of the value which it attaches to words, commits them to books, that for which it so values them may not deserve to be valued,—because that which it values is not what is really valuable

Thus it is that what we look at and can see is (only) the outward form and colour, and what we listen to and can hear is (only) names and sounds Alas! that men of the world should think that form and colour, name and sound, should be sufficient to give them the real nature of the Tâo The form and colour, the name and sound, are certainly not sufficient to convey its real nature, and so it is that 'the wise do not speak and those who do speak are not wise' How should the world know that real nature?

Duke Hwan[1], seated above in his hall, was (once) reading a book, and the wheelwright Phien was making a wheel below it[2]. Laying aside his hammer and chisel, Phien went up the steps, and said, 'I venture to ask your Grace what words you are reading?' The duke said, 'The words of the sages' 'Are those sages alive?' Phien con-

[1] No doubt, duke Hwan of *K'hî*, the first of the five presiding chiefs of the *K'âu* dynasty

[2] See in Mencius I, i, vii, 4 a similar reference to the hall and the courtyard below it

tinued. 'They are dead,' was the reply 'Then,' said the other, 'what you, my Ruler, are reading are only the dregs and sediments of those old men.' The duke said, 'How should you, a wheelwright, have anything to say about the book which I am reading? If you can explain yourself, very well, if you cannot, you shall die!' The wheelwright said, 'Your servant will look at the thing from the point of view of his own art In making a wheel, if I proceed gently, that is pleasant enough, but the workmanship is not strong, if I proceed violently, that is toilsome and the joinings do not fit If the movements of my hand are neither (too) gentle nor (too) violent, the idea in my mind is realised But I cannot tell (how to do this) by word of mouth,—there is a knack in it I cannot teach the knack to my son, nor can my son learn it from me Thus it is that I am in my seventieth year, and am (still) making wheels in my old age[1] But these ancients, and what it was not possible for them to convey, are dead and gone —so then what you, my Ruler, are reading is but their dregs and sediments!'

[1] Compare the story in Book III about the ruler Wăn-hui and his butcher, and other passages

BOOK XIV

PART II SECTION VII

Thien Yun, or 'The Revolution of Heaven[1]'

1 How (ceaselessly) heaven revolves! How (constantly) earth abides at rest! And do the sun and moon contend about their (respective) places? Who presides over and directs these (things)? Who binds and connects them together? Who is it that, without trouble or exertion on his part, causes and maintains them? Is it, perhaps, that there is some secret spring, in consequence of which they cannot be but as they are? Or is it, perhaps, that they move and turn as they do, and cannot stop of themselves?

(Then) how the clouds become rain! And how the rain again forms the clouds! Who diffuses them so abundantly? Who is it that, without trouble or exertion on his part, produces this elemental enjoyment, and seems to stimulate it?

The winds rise in the north, one blows to the west, and another to the east, while some rise upwards, uncertain in their direction By whose breathing are they produced? Who is it that, without any trouble and exertion of his own, effects all their undulations? I venture to ask their cause[2].

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[1] See pp 145, 146

[2] Down to this we have a description of the phenomena of heaven and earth and of nature generally as proceeding regularly

Wû-hsien Thiâo[1] said, 'Come, and I will tell you To heaven there belong the six Extreme Points, and the five Elements[2] When the Tîs and Kings acted in accordance with them, there was good government, when they acted contrary to them, there was evil Observing the things (described) in the nine divisions (of the writing) of Lo[3], their government was perfected and their virtue was complete They inspected and enlightened the kingdom beneath them, and all under the sky acknowledged and sustained them Such was the condition under the august (sovereigns[4]) and those before them'

2 Tang[5], the chief administrator of Shang[5], asked *K*wang-tze about Benevolence[6], and the answer was, 'Wolves and tigers are benevolent' 'What do you mean?' said Tang *K*wang-tze replied, 'Father and son (among them) are affectionate to one another Why should they be considered as not bene-

and noiselessly, without any apparent cause, which is the chief subject of the Book As the description is not assigned to any one, we must suppose it to be from *K*wang-tze himself, and that it is he who asks the question in the last three characters

[1] This is said by the critics to have been a minister of the Shang dynasty, under Thâi-mâu in the seventeenth century B C, but even *K*wang-tze would hardly so violate the unity of time

[2] Generally means 'the Five Regular Virtues,' supposed to mean here 'the Five Elements'

[3] Probably the 'Nine Divisions of the Great Plan,' in the Shû King, V, iv, fancied to be derived from the writing, which a tortoise from the Lo river exhibited to the great Yu

[4] Possibly Fû-hsî, Shăn Năng, and Hwang-Tî

[5] 'Shang' must be taken as the duchy of Sung, assigned by king Wû to the representative of the kings of the dynasty of Shang 'Tang' would be a principal minister of it in the time of *K*wang-tze

[6] The chief of all the virtues according to Confucianism

volent?' 'Allow me to ask about perfect benevolence,' pursued the other. *K*wang-ze said, 'Perfect benevolence[1] does not admit (the feeling) of affection.' The minister said, 'I have heard that, without (the feeling of) affection there is no love, and without love there is not filial duty,—is it permissible to say that the perfectly benevolent are not filial?' *K*wang-ze rejoined, 'That is not the way to put the case. Perfect Benevolence is the very highest thing,—filial duty is by no means sufficient to describe it. The saying which you quote is not to the effect that (such benevolence) transcends filial duty,—it does not refer to such duty at all. One, travelling to the south, comes (at last) to Ying[2], and there, standing with his face to the north, he does not see mount Ming[3]. Why does he not see it? Because he is so far from it. Hence it is said, "Filial duty as a part of reverence is easy, but filial duty as a part of love is difficult. If it be easy as a part of love, yet it is difficult to forget[4] one's parents. It may be easy for me to forget my parents, but it is difficult to make my parents forget me. If it were easy to make my parents forget me, it is difficult for me to forget all men in the world. If it were easy to forget all men in the world, it is difficult to make them all forget me."

'This virtue might make one think light of Yâo and Shun, and not wish to be they.' The profit

[1] A denomination here for the Tâo, employed by *K*wang-ze for the purpose of his argument.

[2] The capital of the state of *K*hû in the south.

[3] Name of a hill in the extreme north.

[4] The Tâo requires such forgetfulness on the part of both giver and receiver; it is a part of its 'doing-nothing'.

[5] I think this is the meaning.

and beneficial influences of it extend to a myriad ages, and no one in the world knows whence they come How can you simply heave a great sigh, and speak (as you do) of benevolence and filial duty? Filial duty, fraternal respect, benevolence, righteousness, loyalty, sincerity, firmness, and purity,—all these may be pressed into the service of this virtue, but they are far from sufficient to come up to it. Therefore it is said, "To him who has what is most noble[1], all the dignities of a state are as nothing[2], to him who has what is the greatest riches, all the wealth of a state is as nothing, to him who has all that he could wish, fame and praise are as nothing" It is thus that the Tâo admits of no substitute'

3 Pei-măn *Khăng*[3] asked Hwang-Tî, saying, 'You were celebrating, O Tî, a performance of the music of the Hsien-*khih*[4], in the open country near the Thung-thing lake When I heard the first part of it, I was afraid, the next made me weary, and the last perplexed me I became agitated and unable to speak, and lost my self-possession' The Tî said, 'It was likely that it should so affect you! It was performed with (the instruments of) men, and all attuned according to (the influences of) Heaven It

[1] The Tâo

[2] This free version takes 幷 as = 屏 So the Khang-hsî dictionary explains it

[3] Only heard of, so far as I know, in this passage

[4] The name of Hwang-Tî's music, I do not venture to translate it In his elaborate description of it, our author intended to give an idea of the Tâo, and the effect which the study of it was calculated to produce on the mind, as appears from the concluding sentence of the paragraph

proceeded according to (the principles of) propriety and righteousness, and was pervaded by (the idea of) the Grand Purity.

'The Perfect Music first had its response in the affairs of men, and was conformed to the principles of Heaven, it indicated the action of the five virtues, and corresponded to the spontaneity (apparent in nature) After this it showed the blended distinctions of the four seasons, and the grand harmony of all things,—the succession of those seasons one after another, and the production of things in their proper order Now it swelled, and now it died away, its peaceful and military strains clearly distinguished and given forth Now it was clear, and now rough, as if the contracting and expanding of the elemental processes blended harmoniously (in its notes) Those notes then flowed away in waves of light, till, as when the hibernating insects first begin to move, I commanded the terrifying crash of thunder. Its end was marked by no formal conclusion, and it began again without any prelude It seemed to die away, and then it burst into life, it came to a close, and then it rose again So it went on regularly and inexhaustibly, and without the intervention of any pause.—it was this which made you afraid.

'In the second part (of the performance), I made it describe the harmony of the Yin and Yang, and threw round it the brilliance of the sun and moon. Its notes were now short and now long, now soft and now hard Their changes, however, were marked by an unbroken unity, though not dominated by a fixed regularity They filled every valley and ravine, you might shut up every crevice, and guard your spirit (against their entrance), yet

there was nothing but gave admission to them Yea, those notes resounded slowly, and might have been pronounced high and clear Hence the shades of the dead kept in their obscurity, the sun and moon, and all the stars of the zodiac, pursued their several courses I made (my instruments) leave off, when (the performance) came to an end, and their (echoes) flowed on without stopping You thought anxiously about it, and were not able to understand it, you looked for it, and were not able to see it, you pursued it, and were not able to reach it All-amazed, you stood in the way all open around you, and then you leant against an old rotten dryandra-tree and hummed The power of your eyes was exhausted by what you wished to see, your strength failed in your desire to pursue it, while I myself could not reach it Your body was but so much empty vacancy while you endeavoured to retain your self-possession[1] —it was that endeavour which made you weary.

'In the last part (of the performance), I employed notes which did not have that wearying effect I blended them together as at the command of spontaneity Hence they came as if following one another in confusion, like a clump of plants springing from one root, or like the music of a forest produced by no visible form. They spread themselves all around without leaving a trace (of their cause), and seemed to issue from deep obscurity where there was no sound Their movements came from nowhere, their home was in the deep darkness,—

[1] See the usage of the two characters 委蛇 in the Shih King, I, ii Ode 3

conditions which some would call death, and some life, some, the fruit, and some, (merely) the flower Those notes, moving and flowing on, separating and shifting, and not following any regular sounds, the world might well have doubts about them, and refer them to the judgment of a sage, for the sages understand the nature of this music, and judge in accordance with the prescribed (spontaneity) While the spring of that spontaneity has not been touched, and yet the regulators of the five notes are all prepared,—this is what is called the music of Heaven, delighting the mind without the use of words Hence it is said in the eulogy of the Lord of Piâo[1], "You listen for it, and do not hear its sound, you look for it, and do not perceive its form, it fills heaven and earth, it envelopes all within the universe" You wished to hear it, but could not take it in, and therefore you were perplexed

'I performed first the music calculated to awe, and you were frightened as if by a ghostly visitation. I followed it with that calculated to weary, and in your weariness you would have withdrawn I concluded with that calculated to perplex, and in your perplexity you felt your stupidity. But that stupidity is akin to the Tâo, you may with it convey the Tâo in your person, and have it (ever) with you'

4 When Confucius was travelling in the west in Wei, Yen Yuan asked the music-master *K'in*[2], say-

[1] Some sovereign of antiquity, of whom it is difficult to find any other mention but this Even in the Lû Shih I have not discovered him The name is said to be pronounced Piâo, in which case it should consist of three 犬, and not of three 火.

[2] Only heard of here

ing, 'How is it, do you think, with the course of the Master?' The music-master replied, 'Alas! it is all over with your Master!' 'How so?' asked Yen Yuan, and the other said, 'Before the grass-dogs[1] are set forth (at the sacrifice), they are deposited in a box or basket, and wrapt up with elegantly embroidered cloths, while the representative of the dead and the officer of prayer prepare themselves by fasting to present them. After they have been set forth, however, passers-by trample on their heads and backs, and the grass-cutters take and burn them in cooking That is all they are good for. If one should again take them, replace them in the box or basket, wrap them up with embroidered cloths, and then in rambling, or abiding at the spot, should go to sleep under them, if he do not get (evil) dreams, he is sure to be often troubled with the nightmare Now here is your Master in the same way taking the grass-dogs, presented by the ancient kings, and leading his disciples to wander or abide and sleep under them Owing to this, the tree (beneath which they were practising ceremonies) in Sung was cut down[2], he was obliged to leave Wei[3], he was reduced to extremities in Shang[3] and *K*âu[4] —were not those experiences like having (evil) dreams? He was kept in a state of siege between *Kh*ăn and ʒhâi[5], so that for seven days he had no cooked food to eat, and was in a situation between life and death —were not those experiences like the nightmare?

[1] See the Tâo Teh *K*ing, ch 5 [2] Analects III, xxii

[3] In consequence of the dissoluteness of the court, Analects VI, xxvi, IX, 17

[4] Meaning Sung and Wei [5] Analects XI, ii, 1

'If you are travelling by water, your best plan is to use a boat, if by land, a carriage. Take a boat, which will go (easily) along on the water, and try to push it along on the land, and all your lifetime it will not go so much as a fathom or two —are not ancient time and the present time like the water and the dry land? and are not *K*âu and Lû like the boat and the carriage? To seek now to practise (the old ways of) *K*âu in Lû is like pushing along a boat on the dry land It is only a toilsome labour, and has no success, he who does so is sure to meet with calamity He has not learned that in handing down the arts (of one time) he is sure to be reduced to extremity in endeavouring to adapt them to the conditions (of another)

'And have you not seen the working of a shadoof? When (the rope of) it is pulled, it bends down, and when it is let go, it rises up It is pulled by a man, and does not pull the man, and so, whether it bends down or rises up, it commits no offence against the man In the same way the rules of propriety, righteousness, laws, and measures of the three Hwangs[1] and five Tîs[1] derived their excellence, not from their being the same as those of the present day, but from their (aptitude for) government We may compare them to haws[2], pears, oranges,

[1] It is impossible to speak definitely of who these three Hwangs (Augustuses) and five Tîs were, or whom the speaker intended by them The former would seem to lead us to the purely fabulous ages, when twelve (or thirteen) Heavenly Hwangs, eleven Earthly, and nine Human ruled over the young world for a period of 576 000 years There is a general agreement of opinion that the five Tîs ended with Yâo and Shun

[2] See Williams's Dictionary, sub voc He says it is the Cra-

and pummeloes, which are different in flavour, but all suitable to be eaten Just so it is that the rules of propriety, righteousness, laws, and measures, change according to the time

'If now you take a monkey, and dress it in the robes of the duke of *K*âu, it will bite and tear them, and will not be satisfied till it has got rid of them altogether And if you look at the difference between antiquity and the present time it is as great as that between the monkey and the duke of *K*âu In the same way, when Hsî Shih [1] was troubled in mind, she would knit her brows and frown on all in her neighbourhood An ugly woman of the neighbourhood, seeing and admiring her beauty, went home, and also laying her hands on her heart proceeded to stare and frown on all around her When the rich people of the village saw her, they shut fast their doors and would not go out, when the poor people saw her, they took their wives and children and ran away from her The woman knew how to admire the frowning beauty, but she did not know how it was that she, though frowning, was beautiful Alas! it is indeed all over with your Master [2]!'

5 When Confucius was in his fifty-first year [3], he had not heard of the Tâo, and went south to Phei [4]

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taegus cuneata and pinnatifida, common in China, and much esteemed for its acidity

[1] A famous beauty,—the concubine of king Fû-*khâi* of Wû

[2] The comparisons in this paragraph are not complimentary to Confucius Of course the conversation never took place, and must have been made up to ridicule the views of the sage

[3] This would be in B C 503 or 502, and Lâo-tze would be more than a hundred years old

[4] Probably in what is now the district of Phei, department of Hsü-*k*âu, *K*iang-sû

to see Lâo Tan, who said to him, 'You have come, Sir, have you? I have heard that you are the wisest man of the North, have you also got the Tâo?' 'Not yet,' was the reply, and the other went on, 'How have you sought it?' Confucius said, 'I sought it in measures and numbers, and after five years I had not got it.' 'And how then did you seek it?' 'I sought it in the Yin and Yang, and after twelve years I have not found it.' Lâo-tze said, 'Just so! If the Tâo could be presented (to another), men would all present it to their rulers; if it could be served up (to others), men would all serve it up to their parents; if it could be told (to others), men would all tell it to their brothers; if it could be given to others, men would all give it to their sons and grandsons. The reason why it cannot be transmitted is no other but this,—that if, within, there be not the presiding principle, it will not remain there, and if, outwardly, there be not the correct obedience, it will not be carried out. When that which is given out from the mind (in possession of it) is not received by the mind without, the sage will not give it out; and when, entering in from without, there is no power in the receiving mind to entertain it, the sage will not permit it to lie hid there.[1] Fame is a possession common to all; we should not seek to have much of it. Benevolence and righteousness were as the lodging-houses of the former kings; we should only rest in them for a night, and not occupy them for

[1] That is, the sage will not deposit it, where it will lie hidden;—compare Analects XVI, vi.

long If men see us doing so, they will have much to say against us

'The perfect men of old trod the path of benevolence as a path which they borrowed for the occasion, and dwelt in Righteousness as in a lodging which they used for a night Thus they rambled in the vacancy of Untroubled Ease, found their food in the fields of Indifference, and stood in the gardens which they had not borrowed Untroubled Ease requires the doing of nothing, Indifference is easily supplied with nourishment; not borrowing needs no outlay The ancients called this the Enjoyment that Collects the True.

'Those who think that wealth is the proper thing for them cannot give up their revenues, those who seek distinction cannot give up the thought of fame, those who cleave to power cannot give the handle of it to others While they hold their grasp of those things, they are afraid (of losing them) When they let them go, they are grieved, and they will not look at a single example, from which they might perceive the (folly) of their restless pursuits —such men are under the doom of Heaven[1]

'Hatred and kindness, taking and giving, reproof and instruction, death and life —these eight things are instruments of rectification, but only those are able to use them who do not obstinately refuse to comply with their great changes Hence it is said, "Correction is Rectification" When the minds of

[1] See the same expression used in Book VI, par 11, used by Confucius of himself Comparing the two passages together, I must doubt the correctness of my note there (2, p 252), that 'Heaven' is used in the Confucian sense of Tî, or God The men here pursued and toiled after the pleasures of the world, rather than the quiet satisfactions of the Tâo.

some do not acknowledge this, it is because the gate of Heaven[1] (in them) has not been opened'

6 At an interview with Lâo Tan, Confucius spoke to him of benevolence and righteousness. Lâo Tan said, 'If you winnow chaff, and the dust gets into your eyes, then the places of heaven and earth and of the four cardinal points are all changed to you If musquitoes or gadflies puncture your skin, it will keep you all the night[2] from sleeping. But this painful iteration of benevolence and righteousness excites my mind and produces in it the greatest confusion If you, Sir, would cause men not to lose their natural simplicity, and if you would also imitate the wind in its (unconstrained) movements, and stand forth in all the natural attributes belonging to you! —why must you use so much energy, and carry a great drum to seek for the son whom you have lost!? The snow-goose does not bathe every day to make itself white, nor the crow blacken itself every day to make itself black The natural simplicity of their black and white does not afford any ground for controversy, and the fame and praise which men like to contemplate do not make them greater than they naturally are When the springs (supplying the pools) are dried up, the fishes huddle together on the dry land Than that they should moisten one another there by their gasping, and keep one another wet by their milt, it would be better for them to forget one another in the rivers and lakes[4]'

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[1] See Book XXIII, par 9 The phrase = 靈府

[2] The common reading 昔 is a mistake for 夕.

[3] Compare the same illustration in the preceding Book, par 7

[4] This illustration is from Book VI, par 5

From this interview with Lâo Tan, Confucius returned home, and for three days did not speak His disciples (then) asked him, saying, 'Master, you have seen Lâo Tan, in what way might you admonish and correct him?' Confucius said, 'In him (I may say) that I have now seen the dragon The dragon coils itself up, and there is its body, it unfolds itself and becomes the dragon complete It rides on the cloudy air, and is nourished by the Yin and Yang I kept my mouth open, and was unable to shut it,—how could I admonish and correct Lâo Tan?'

7 Ze-kung[1] said, 'So then, can (this) man indeed sit still as a representative of the dead, and then appear as the dragon? Can his voice resound as thunder, when he is profoundly still? Can he exhibit himself in his movements like heaven and earth? May I, Shze, also get to see him?' Accordingly with a message from Confucius he went to see Lâo Tan

Lâo Tan was then about to answer (his salutation) haughtily in the hall, but he said in a low voice, 'My years have rolled on and are passing away, what do you, Sir, wish to admonish me about?' Ze-kung replied, 'The Three Kings and Five Tîs[2] ruled

[1] Ze-kung would seem to have undertaken this expedition to maintain the reputation of the Master and his school,—only to be defeated by Lâo-tze more signally than Confucius had been

[2] These are different probably, though the text is not quite certain, from the three Hwangs and five Tîs of par 3 The Hwangs (or August Sovereigns) preceded the Tîs, the Kings (Wangs) came after them The Three Kings are the three lines of kings commencing with the dynasty of Hsiâ, and following Shun From the names mentioned by Ze-kung, we ought certainly so to understand the designation here

the world not in the same way, but the fame that has accrued to them is the same. How is it that you alone consider that they were not sages?' 'Come forward a little, my son. Why do you say that (their government) was not the same?' 'Yâo,' was the reply, 'gave the kingdom to Shun, and Shun gave it to Yu Yu had recourse to his strength, and Thang to the force of arms King Wăn was obedient to *K*âu (-hsin), and did not dare to rebel, king Wû rebelled against *K*âu, and would not submit to him And I say that their methods were not the same' Lâo Tan said, 'Come a little more forward, my son, and I will tell you how the Three Hwangs and the Five Tîs[1] ruled the world Hwang-Tî ruled it, so as to make the minds of the people all conformed to the One (simplicity). If the parents of one of them died, and he did not wail, no one blamed him Yâo ruled it so as to cause the hearts of the people to cherish relative affection If any, however, made the observances on the death of other members of their kindred less than those for their parents, no one blamed them[2] Shun ruled it, so as to produce a feeling of rivalry in the minds of the people Their wives gave birth to their children in the tenth month of their pregnancy, but those children could speak at five months, and before they were three years old, they began to call people by their surnames and names Then it was that men began to die prematurely Yu ruled it, so as to cause the minds of the people to become changed Men's minds became scheming, and they

[1] See note 2, preceding page

[2] Referring to some abuses, contrary to the doctrine of relationship

used their weapons as if they might legitimately do so, (saying that they were) killing thieves and not killing other men The people formed themselves into different combinations;—so it was throughout the kingdom Everywhere there was great consternation, and then arose the Literati and (the followers of) Mo (Tî) From them came first the doctrine of the relationships (of society), and what can be said of the now prevailing customs (in the marrying of) wives and daughters? I tell you that the rule of the Three Kings and Five Tîs may be called by that name, but nothing can be greater than the disorder which it produced The wisdom of the Three Kings was opposed to the brightness of the sun and moon above, contrary to the exquisite purity of the hills and streams below, and subversive of the beneficent gifts of the four seasons between Their wisdom has been more fatal than the sting of a scorpion or the bite of a dangerous beast[1] Unable to rest in the true attributes of their nature and constitution, they still regarded themselves as sages — was it not a thing to be ashamed of? But they were shameless! Ze-kung stood quite disconcerted and ill at ease

8 Confucius said to Lâo Tan, 'I have occupied myself with the Shih, the Shû, the Lî, the Yo, the Yî, and the *Khun Khiû*, those six Books, for what I myself consider a long time[2], and am thoroughly

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[1] What beast is meant here cannot be ascertained from the characters in the text,—鮮規之獸

[2] But with the preparation of the *Khun Khiû* Confucius's life ended,—it is very plain that no conversation such as *K*wang-ze has fabricated here could ever have taken place

acquainted with their contents With seventy-two rulers, all offenders against the right, I have discoursed about the ways of the former kings, and set forth the examples of (the dukes of) *K*âu and Shâo, and not one of them has adopted (my views) and put them in practice —how very difficult it is to prevail on such men, and to make clear the path to be pursued!'

Lâo-ze replied, 'It is fortunate that you have not met with a ruler fitted to rule the age Those six writings are a description of the vestiges left by the former kings, but do not tell how they made such vestiges, and what you, Sir, speak about are still only the vestiges But vestiges are the prints left by the shoes,—are they the shoes that produced them? A pair of white herons look at each other with pupils that do not move, and impregnation takes place, the male insect emits its buzzing sound in the air above, and the female responds from the air below, and impregnation takes place, the creatures called lêi are both male and female, and each individual breeds of itself[1] The nature cannot be altered, the conferred constitution cannot be changed, the march of the seasons cannot be arrested, the Tâo cannot be stopped If you get the Tâo, there is no effect that cannot be produced, if you miss it, there is no effect that can'

Confucius (after this) did not go out, till at the end of three months he went again to see Lâo Tan, and said, 'I have got it Ravens produce their young by hatching, fishes by the communication of their milt, the small-waisted wasp by transforma-

[1] Where had Lâo-ze or his author learned his zoology?

tion[1]; when a younger brother comes, the elder weeps[2] Long is it that I have not played my part in harmony with these processes of transformation But as I did not play my part in harmony with such transformation, how could I transform men?' Lâo-tze said, 'You will do *Khiû*, you have found the Tâo.'

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[1] See the Shih King, II, v, Ode II, 3, about the sphex

[2] Because, as we say, 'his nose is put out' But the sentiment, though it is ascribed to Confucius, is rarely according to the fact of the case

BOOK XV.

PART II SECTION VIII.

Kho Î, or 'Ingrained Ideas[1]'

1. Ingrained ideas and a high estimate of their own conduct, leaving the world, and pursuing uncommon ways, talking loftily and in resentful disparagement of others,—all this is simply symptomatic of arrogance This is what scholars who betake themselves to the hills and valleys, who are always blaming the world, and who stand aloof like withered trees, or throw themselves into deep pools[2], are fond of

Discoursing of benevolence, righteousness, loyalty, and good faith, being humble and frugal, self-forgetful and courteous,—all this is simply symptomatic of (self-)cultivation This is what scholars who wish to tranquillise the world, teachers and instructors, men who pursue their studies at home and abroad, are fond of.

Discoursing of their great merit and making a great name for themselves, insisting on the ceremonies between ruler and minister, and rectifying the relations between high and low,—all this shows their one object to be the promotion of government This is what officers of the court, men who honour their lord and would strengthen the state and who

[1] See pp 146, 147

[2] As did Shăn-thû Tî See in Book VI, par 3

would do their utmost to incorporate other states with their own, are fond of

Resorting to marshes and lakes, dwelling in solitary places, occupying themselves with angling and living at ease,—all this shows their one object to be to do nothing This is what gentlemen of the rivers and seas, men who avoid the society of the world and desire to live at leisure, are fond of

Blowing and breathing with open mouth, inhaling and exhaling the breath, expelling the old breath and taking in new, passing their time like the (dormant) bear [1], and stretching and twisting (the neck) like a bird [1],—all this simply shows the desire for longevity This is what the scholars who manipulate their breath, and the men who nourish the body and wish to live as long as Păng Ʒû, are fond of.

As to those who have a lofty character without any ingrained ideas, who pursue the path of self-cultivation without benevolence and righteousness, who succeed in government without great services or fame, who enjoy their ease without resorting to the rivers and seas, who attain to longevity without the management (of the breath), who forget all things and yet possess all things, whose placidity is unlimited, while all things to be valued attend them —such men pursue the way of heaven and earth, and display the characteristics of the sages Hence it is said [2], 'Placidity, indifference, silence, quietude,

[1] This is probably the meaning The text is simply —'Bear-passing, bird-stretching'

[2] 'It is said'—where? and by whom? These questions we cannot answer We have met indeed already with the same characteristics of the Tâo, but *K*wang-ʒze is not likely to be quoting

absolute vacancy, and non-action —these are the qualities which maintain the level of heaven and earth and are the substance of the Tâo and its characteristics'

2 In accordance with this it is said, 'The sage is entirely restful, and so (his mind) is evenly balanced and at ease This even balance and ease appears in his placidity and indifference In this state of even balance and ease, of placidity and indifference, anxieties and evils do not find access to him, no depraving influence can take him by surprise, his virtue is complete, and his spirit continues unimpaired'

Therefore it is (also) said, 'The life of the sage is (like) the action of Heaven, and his death is the transformation common to (all) things In his stillness his virtue is the same as that of the Yin, and in movement his diffusiveness is like that of the Yang He does not take the initiative in producing either happiness or calamity He responds to the influence acting on him, and moves as he feels the pressure He rises to act only when he is obliged to do so He discards wisdom and the memories of the past, he follows the lines of his Heaven (-given nature), and therefore he suffers no calamity from Heaven, no involvement from things, no blame from men, and no reproof from the spirits of the dead [1] His life seems to float along, his death seems to be a resting He does not indulge any

himself On the 'It is said,' and the five recurrences of the phrase below, Lû Shû-*k*ih says that *K*wang-*z*ze is quoting from sentences current among the adherents of Tâoism,—the sentence-makers often drawn on by Lâo-*z*ze, compare the Tâo Teh *K*ing, ch xli

[1] See Book XIII, par 2

anxious doubts; he does not lay plans beforehand. His light is without display, his good faith is without previous arrangement His sleep is untroubled by dreams, his waking is followed by no sorrows. His spirit is guileless and pure, his soul is not subject to weariness Vacant and without self-assertion, placid and indifferent, he agrees with the virtue of Heaven'

Therefore it is said (further), 'Sadness and pleasure show a depraving element in the virtue (of those who feel them), joy and anger show some error in their course, love and hatred show a failure of their virtue. Hence for the mind to be free from sorrow and pleasure is the perfection of virtue, to be of one mind that does not change is the perfection of quietude, to be conscious of no opposition is the perfection of vacancy, to have no intercourse with (external) things is the perfection of indifference, and to have no rebellious dissatisfactions is the perfection of purity.'

3 Therefore it is said (still further), 'If the body be toiled, and does not rest, it becomes worn out, if the spirit be used without cessation, it becomes toiled, and when toiled, it becomes exhausted It is the nature of water, when free from admixture, to be clear, and, when not agitated, to be level, while if obstructed and not allowed to flow, it cannot preserve its clearness,—being an image of the virtue of Heaven.' Hence it is said (once again), 'To be guileless and pure, and free from all admixture; to be still and uniform, without undergoing any change, to be indifferent and do nothing, to move and yet to act like Heaven.—this is the way to nourish the spirit. Now he who possesses a

sword made at Kan-yueh[1] preserves it carefully in a box, and does not dare to use it,—it is considered the perfection of valuable swords But the human spirit[2] goes forth in all directions, flowing on without limit, reaching to heaven above, and wreathing round the earth beneath It transforms and nourishes all things, and cannot be represented by any form Its name is "the Divinity (in man)[3]" It is only the path of pure simplicity which guards and preserves the Spirit When this path is preserved and not lost, it becomes one with the Spirit, and in this ethereal amalgamation, it acts in harmony with the orderly operation of Heaven'

There is the vulgar saying, 'The multitude of men consider gain to be the most important thing, pure scholars, fame, those who are wise and able value their ambition, the sage prizes essential purity' Therefore simplicity is the denomination of that in which there is no admixture, purity of that in which the spirit is not impaired It is he who can embody simplicity and purity whom we call the True Man'

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[1] Both of the seaboard states of Wû and Yueh were famous for the swords produced in them Kan-yüeh appears to have been the name of a valley or place in Wû, famous for the weapons made in it, unless indeed we should read 于越, instead of 干越, and take 于越 as equivalent to 於越, which is found in the 3o *Khwan* as the name of Yüeh

[2] Might be translated 'the subtle spirit'

[3] A very remarkable use of Tî (帝) for the human spirit in the sense of God The subject of the clause, let the reader observe, is that spirit, and not the Tâo See pp 146, 147, where I have said something about it

[4] See the full account of 'the True Man' in Book VI

BOOK XVI

PART II SECTION IX

Shan Hsing, or 'Correcting the Nature[1]'

1 Those who would correct their nature by means of the vulgar learning[2], seeking to restore it to its original condition, and those who would regulate[3] their desires, by the vulgar ways of thinking, seeking thereby to carry their intelligence to perfection, must be pronounced to be deluded and ignorant people. The ancients who regulated the Tâo nourished their faculty of knowledge by their placidity, and all through life abstained from employing that faculty in action,—they must be pronounced to have (thus also) nourished their placidity by their knowledge[4]

When the faculty of knowledge and the placidity

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[1] See pp 147, 148

[2] 'Vulgar' must mean 'common,' and 'the vulgar learning' is the teaching popular in the time of our author, and which he regarded as contrary to the principles of Tâoism, of which he was an adherent The Chinese critics say that 'vulgar' here is used as the opposite of 'true'

[3] 滑 is generally explained by 亂, 'to confuse,' but I cannot construe the sentence with that meaning of the term In the Khang-hsî dictionary which I have followed, the character is defined by 治 with special reference to this passage

[4] This sentence is the clue to the author's aim in the whole Book The 'knowledge' is defined by 覺生, 'the faculty of perception and apprehension'

(thus) blend together, and they nourish each other, then from the nature there come forth harmony and orderly method The attributes (of the Tâo) constitute the harmony, the Tâo (itself) secures the orderly method When the attributes appear in a universal practice of forbearance, we have Benevolence, when the path is all marked by orderly method, we have Righteousness; when the righteousness is clearly manifested, and (all) things are regarded with affection, we have Leal-heartedness; when the (heart's) core is thus (pure) and real, and carried back to its (proper) qualities, we have Music, when this sincerity appears in all the range of the capacity, and its demonstrations are in accordance with what is elegant, we have Ceremony If Ceremonies and Music are carried out in an imperfect and one-sided manner, the world is thrown into confusion When men would rectify others, and their own virtue is beclouded, it is not sufficient to extend itself to them If an attempt be made so to extend it, they also will lose their (proper) nature

2 The men of old, while the chaotic condition was yet undeveloped[1], shared the placid tranquillity which belonged to the whole world At that time the Yin and Yang were harmonious and still, their resting and movement proceeded without any disturbance, the four seasons had their definite times, not a single thing received any injury, and no living being came to a premature end. Men might be

[1] These 'men of old' were what we may call 'primeval men,'—men in the lowest stage of development, but which our author considered to be the highest or paradisiacal condition of their nature

possessed of (the faculty of) knowledge, but they had no occasion for its use. This was what is called the state of Perfect Unity. At this time, there was no action on the part of any one, but a constant manifestation of spontaneity.

This condition (of excellence) deteriorated and decayed, till Sui-zăn and Fû hsî arose and commenced their administration of the world[1], on which came a compliance (with their methods), but the state of unity was lost. The condition going on to deteriorate and decay, Shăn Năng and Hwang-Tî arose and took the administration of the world, on which (the people) rested (in their methods), but did not themselves comply with them. Still the deterioration and decay continued till the lords of Thang and Yu[2] began to administer the world. These introduced the method of governing by transformation, resorting to the stream (instead of to the spring)[3], thus vitiating the purity and destroying the simplicity (of the nature). They left the Tâo, and substituted the Good for it, and pursued the course of Haphazard Virtue. After this they forsook their nature and followed (the promptings of) their minds. One mind and another associated their knowledge, but were unable to give rest to the world. Then they added to this knowledge (ex-

[1] Kwang tze gives no hint of how long he considered this highest condition to have lasted. Sui zăn, 'the man of the Burning Speculum,' 'the Fire producer,' whom Williams calls 'the Prometheus of China,' appears before Fû-hsî as the first in the line of the Rulers of the world, who broke up the Primal Unity.

[2] These were Yâo and Shun, named from the principalities over which their fathers ruled.

[3] 'The streams' were the methods of culture that arose after the simple virtues and spontaneity of the Tâo were lost.

ternal and) elegant forms, and went on to make these more and more numerous The forms extinguished the (primal) simplicity, till the mind was drowned by their multiplicity After this the people began to be perplexed and disordered, and had no way by which they might return to their true nature, and bring back their original condition

3. Looking at the subject from this point of view, we see how the world lost[1] the (proper) course, and how the course (which it took) only led it further astray[1] The world and the Way, when they came together, being (thus) lost to each other, how could the men of the Way make themselves conspicuous in the world? and how could the world rise to an appreciation of the Way? Since the Way had no means to make itself conspicuous in the world, and the world had no means of rising to an appreciation of the Way, though sagely men might not keep among the hills and forests, their virtue was hidden,—hidden, but not because they themselves sought to hide it

Those whom the ancients called 'Retired Scholars' did not conceal their persons, and not allow themselves to be seen, they did not shut up their words, and refuse to give utterance to them, they did not hide away their knowledge, and refuse to bring it forth The conditions laid on them by the times were very much awry If the conditions of the times had allowed them to act in the world on a great scale, they would have brought back the state of unity without any trace being perceived (of how

[1] It is the same character in the text which I have been obliged to translate thus differently,—惑

they did so) When those conditions shut them up entirely from such action, they struck their roots deeper (in themselves), were perfectly still and waited. It was thus that they preserved (the Way in) their own persons

4. The ancients who preserved (the Way in) their own persons did not try by sophistical reasonings to gloss over their knowledge, they did not seek to embrace (everything in) the world in their knowledge, nor to comprehend all the virtues in it Solitary and trembling they remained where they were, and sought the restoration of their nature What had they to do with any further action? The Way indeed is not to be pursued, nor (all) its characteristics to be known on a small scale A little knowledge is injurious to those characteristics, small doings are injurious to the Way,—hence it is said, 'They simply rectified themselves' Complete enjoyment is what is meant by 'the Attainment of the Aim'

What was anciently called 'the Attainment of the Aim' did not mean the getting of carriages and coronets[1], it simply meant that nothing more was needed for their enjoyment. Now-a-days what is called 'the Attainment of the Aim' means the getting of carriages and coronets But carriages and coronets belong to the body, they do not affect the nature as it is constituted When such things happen to come, it is but for a time, being but for a time, their coming cannot be obstructed and their going cannot be stopped[2] Therefore we should not

[1] That is, worldly distinction

[2] Because they depend on others Compare Mencius VI, 1, ch 17, 2

because of carriages and coronets indulge our aims, nor because of distress and straitness resort to the vulgar (learning and thinking), the one of these conditions and the other may equally conduce to our enjoyment, which is simply to be free from anxiety If now the departure of what is transient takes away one's enjoyment, this view shows that what enjoyment it had given was worthless Hence it is said, 'They who lose themselves in their pursuit of things, and lose their nature in their study of what is vulgar, must be pronounced people who turn things upside down.'

BOOK XVII

PART II SECTION X

Khiû Shui, or 'The Floods of Autumn[1]'

1 The time of the autumnal floods was come, and the hundred streams were all discharging themselves into the Ho Its current was greatly swollen[2], so that across its channel from bank to bank one could not distinguish an ox from a horse On this the (Spirit-) earl of the Ho[3] laughed with delight, thinking that all the beauty of the world was to be found in his charge Along the course of the river he walked east till he came to the North Sea, over which he looked, with his face to the east, without being able to see where its waters began Then he began to turn his face round, looked across the expanse, (as if he were) confronting *Zo*[3], and said with a sigh, 'What the vulgar saying expresses about him who has learned a hundred points (of the Tâo), and thinks that there is no one equal to himself, was surely spoken of me And moreover, I have heard

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[1] See pp 148, 149

[2] 涇 here perhaps means 'turbid It has nothing to do with the river *King*

[3] See Mayers's Manual, p 54 Our author adopts the common beliefs or superstitions of his time, and after his fashion puts his own reasonings into the mouths of these mythological personages It is more difficult to collect the legends about *Zo* of the sea, or of the Northern Sea See the Khang-hsî Thesaurus under 海若

parties making little of the knowledge of *K*ung-nî and the righteousness of Po-î, and at first I did not believe them Now I behold the all-but-boundless extent (of your realms) If I had not come to your gate, I should have been in danger (of continuing in my ignorance), and been laughed at for long in the schools of our great System[1]'

*Z*o, (the Spirit-lord) of the Northern Sea, said, 'A frog in a well cannot be talked with about the sea,—he is confined to the limits of his hole An insect of the summer cannot be talked with about ice,—it knows nothing beyond its own season A scholar of limited views cannot be talked with about the Tâo,—he is bound by the teaching (which he has received) Now you have come forth from between your banks, and beheld the great sea You have come to know your own ignorance and inferiority, and are in the way of being fitted to be talked with about great principles Of all the waters under heaven there are none so great as the sea A myriad streams flow into it without ceasing, and yet it is not filled, and afterwards[2] it discharges them (also) without ceasing, and yet it is not emptied. In spring and in autumn it undergoes no change, it takes no notice of floods or of drought Its superiority over such streams even as the *K*iang and the

[1] Thus the Confucian learning and its worthies were to the system of the Tâo only as the waters of the Ho to the great sea

[2] I have translated here as if the reading were 尾閭, which is given by Lin Hsî *k*ung The correct reading, however, so far as depends on editions and dictionaries, is 尾閭, which is explained in the Khang-hsî dictionary as 'a great Rock in Fû-sang on the East,' against which the water of the sea collects, and is all evaporated!

Ho cannot be told by measures or numbers, and that I have never, notwithstanding this, made much of myself, is because I compare my own bodily form with (the greatness of) heaven and earth, and (remember that) I have received my breath from the Yin and Yang Between heaven and earth I am but as a small stone or a small tree on a great hill So long as I see myself to be thus small, how should I make much of myself? I estimate all within the four seas, compared with the space between heaven and earth, to be not so large as that occupied by a pile of stones in a large marsh! I estimate our Middle States, compared with the space between the four seas, to be smaller than a single little grain of rice in a great granary! When we would set forth the number of things (in existence), we speak of them as myriads, and man is only one of them Men occupy all the nine provinces, but of all whose life is maintained by grain-food, wherever boats and carriages reach, men form only one portion Thus, compared with the myriads of things, they are not equal to a single fine hair on the body of a horse Within this range are comprehended all (the territories) which the five Tîs received in succession from one another, all which the royal founders of the three dynasties contended for, all which excited the anxiety of Benevolent men, and all which men in office have toiled for Po-î was accounted famous for declining (to share in its government), and *K*ung-nî was accounted great because of the lessons which he addressed to it They acted as they did, making much of themselves,—therein like you who a little time ago did so of yourself because of your (volume of) water!"

2 The earl of the Ho said, 'Well then, may I consider heaven and earth as (the ideal of) what is great, and the point of a hair as that of what is small?' Zo of the Northern Sea replied, 'No The (different) capacities of things are illimitable, time never stops, (but is always moving on), man's lot is ever changing, the end and the beginning of things never occur (twice) in the same way. Therefore men of great wisdom, looking at things far off or near at hand, do not think them insignificant for being small, nor much of them for being great — knowing how capacities differ illimitably. They appeal with intelligence to things of ancient and recent occurrence, without being troubled by the remoteness of the former, or standing on tiptoe to lay hold of the latter —knowing that time never stops in its course They examine with discrimination (cases of) fulness and of want, not overjoyed by success, nor disheartened by failure —knowing the inconstancy of man's lot They know the plain and quiet path (in which things proceed), therefore they are not overjoyed to live, nor count it a calamity to die — the end and the beginning of things never occurring (twice) in the same way

'We must reckon that what men know is not so much as what they do not know, and that the time since they were born is not so long as that which elapsed before they were born When they take that which is most small and try to fill with it the dimensions of what is most great, this leads to error and confusion, and they cannot attain their end. Looking at the subject in this way, how can you know that the point of a hair is sufficient to determine the minuteness of what is most small, or that

heaven and earth are sufficient to complete the dimensions of what is most large?'

3 The earl of the Ho said, 'The disputers of the world all say, "That which is most minute has no bodily form, and that which is most great cannot be encompassed,"—is this really the truth?' *Zo* of the Northern Sea replied, 'When from the standpoint of what is small we look at what is great, we do not take it all in; when from the standpoint of what is great we look at what is small, we do not see it clearly Now the subtile essence is smallness in its extreme degree, and the vast mass is greatness in its largest form Different as they are, each has its suitability,—according to their several conditions But the subtile and the gross both presuppose that they have a bodily form Where there is no bodily form, there is no longer a possibility of numerical division, where it is not possible to encompass a mass, there is no longer a possibility of numerical estimate What can be discoursed about in words is the grossness of things, what can be reached in idea is the subtilty of things What cannot be discoursed about in words, and what cannot be reached by nice discrimination of thought, has nothing to do either with subtilty or grossness

'Therefore while the actions of the Great Man are not directed to injure men, he does not plume himself on his benevolence and kindness, while his movements are not made with a view to gain, he does not consider the menials of a family as mean, while he does not strive after property and wealth, he does not plume himself on declining them, while he does not borrow the help of others to accomplish his affairs, he does not plume himself on supporting

himself by his own strength, nor does he despise those who in their greed do what is mean, while he differs in his conduct from the vulgar, he does not plume himself on being so different from them; while it is his desire to follow the multitude, he does not despise the glib-tongued flatterers The rank and emoluments of the world furnish no stimulus to him, nor does he reckon its punishments and shame to be a disgrace. He knows that the right and the wrong can (often) not be distinguished, and that what is small and what is great can (often) not be defined I have heard it said, "The Man of Tâo does not become distinguished, the greatest virtue is unsuccessful, the Great Man has no thought of self,"—to so great a degree may the lot be restricted.'

4 The earl of the Ho said, 'Whether the subject be what is external in things, or what is internal, how do we come to make a distinction between them as noble and mean, and as great or small?' *Zo* of the Northern Sea replied, 'When we look at them in the light of the Tâo, they are neither noble nor mean Looking at them in themselves, each thinks itself noble, and despises others Looking at them in the light of common opinion, their being noble or mean does not depend on themselves Looking at them in their differences from one another, if we call those great which are greater than others, there is nothing that is not great, and in the same way there is nothing that is not small We shall (thus) know that heaven and earth is but (as) a grain of the smallest rice, and that the point of a hair is (as) a mound or a mountain,—such is the view given of them by their relative size Look-

ing at them from the services they render, allowing to everything the service which it does, there is not one which is not serviceable, and, extending the consideration to what it does not do, there is not one which is not unserviceable We know (for instance) that East and West are opposed to each other, and yet that the one cannot be without (suggesting the idea of) the other,—(thus) their share of mutual service is determined Looking at them with respect to their tendencies, if we approve of what they approve, then there is no one who may not be approved of, and, if we condemn what they condemn, there is no one who may not be condemned There are the cases of Yâo and *K*ieh, each of whom approved of his own course, and condemned the other,—such is the view arising from the consideration of tendency and aim.

'Formerly Yâo and Shun resigned (their thrones), and yet each continued to be Tî, *K*ih-khwâi[1] resigned (his marquisate) which led to his ruin Thang and Wû contended (for the sovereignty), and each became king, the duke of Pâi[2] contended (for *Kh*û), which led to his extinction Looking at the subject from these examples of striving by force and of resigning, and from the conduct of Yâo (on the one hand) and of *K*ieh (on the other), we see that there is a time for noble acting, and a time for

[1] See Mencius II, ii, ch. 8, and I, ii, chaps 10, 11, with the notes 之 is probably a mistake for 子

[2] See the last narrative but one in the 30 *Kh*wan, under the sixteenth year of duke Âi of Lû,—the year in which Confucius died 'The duke of Pâi' was merely the chief of a district of *Kh*û, but rebelling against the Ruler of the State, he was defeated, and strangled himself

mean,—these characteristics are subject to no regular rule

5 'A battering ram may be used against the wall of a city, but it cannot be employed to stop up a hole,—the uses of implements are different The (horses) *Khih-kî* and Hwâ-liû[1] could in one day gallop 1000 lî, but for catching rats they were not equal to a wild dog or a weasel;—the gifts of creatures are different The white horned owl collects its fleas in the night-time, and can discern the point of a hair, but in bright day it stares with its eyes and cannot see a mound or a hill,—the natures of creatures are different

'Hence the sayings, "Shall we not follow and honour the right, and have nothing to do with the wrong? shall we not follow and honour those who secure good government, and have nothing to do with those who produce disorder?" show a want of acquaintance with the principles of Heaven and Earth, and with the different qualities of things It is like following and honouring Heaven and taking no account of Earth, it is like following and honouring the Yin and taking no account of the Yang It is clear that such a course cannot be pursued Yet notwithstanding they go on talking so —if they are not stupid, they are visionaries The Tî sovereigns resigned their thrones to others in one way, and the rulers of the three dynasties transmitted their thrones to their successors in another He who acts differently from the requirements of his time and contrary to its custom is called an usurper, he who complies with the time

[1] Two of king Mu's team of eight famous steeds

and follows the common practice is said to be righteous Hold your peace, O earl of the Ho How should you know what constitutes being noble and being mean, or who are the small and who the great?'

6 The earl of the Ho said, 'Very well But what am I to do? and what am I not to do? How am I to be guided after all in regard to what I accept or reject, and what I pursue or put away from me?' *Zo* of the Northern Sea replied, 'From the standpoint of the Tâo, what is noble? and what is mean? These expressions are but the different extremes of the average level Do not keep pertinaciously to your own ideas, which put you in such opposition to the Tâo What are few? and what are many? These are denominations which we employ in thanking (donors) and dispensing gifts Do not study to be uniform in doing so,—it only shows how different you are from the Tâo Be severe and strict, like the ruler of a state who does not selfishly bestow his favours Be scrupulous, yet gentle, like the tutelary spirit of the land, when sacrifice is offered to him who does not bestow his blessing selfishly Be large-minded like space, whose four terminating points are illimitable, and form no particular enclosures Hold all things in your love, favouring and supporting none specially This is called being without any local or partial regard, all things are equally regarded, there is no long or short among them

'There is no end or beginning to the Tâo Things indeed die and are born, not reaching a perfect state which can be relied on. Now there is emptiness, and now fulness,—they do not continue in one form The years cannot be reproduced, time

cannot be arrested Decay and growth, fulness and emptiness, when they end, begin again. It is thus that we describe the method of great righteousness, and discourse about the principle pervading all things The life of things is like the hurrying and galloping along of a horse. With every movement there is a change, with every moment there is an alteration What should you be doing? what should you not be doing? You have only to be allowing this course of natural transformation to be going on'

7 The earl of the Ho said, 'What then is there so valuable in the Tâo?' *Zo* of the Northern Sea replied, 'He who knows the Tâo is sure to be well acquainted with the principles (that appear in the procedures of things) Acquainted with (those) principles, he is sure to understand how to regulate his conduct in all varying circumstances Having that understanding, he will not allow things to injure himself Fire cannot burn him who is (so) perfect in virtue, nor water drown him, neither cold nor heat can affect him injuriously, neither bird nor beast can hurt him This does not mean that he is indifferent to these things, it means that he discriminates between where he may safely rest and where he will be in peril, that he is tranquil equally in calamity and happiness, that he is careful what he avoids and what he approaches,—so that nothing can injure him Hence it is said, "What is heavenly is internal, what is human is external" The virtue (of man) is in what is Heavenly If you know the operation of what is Heavenly and what is Human, you will have your root in what is Heavenly and your position in Virtue You will bend or stretch

(only) after the (necessary) hesitation, you will have returned to the essential, and may be pronounced to have reached perfection'

'What do you mean,' pursued the earl, 'by the Heavenly, and by the Human?' *Zo* replied, 'Oxen and horses have four feet,—that is what I call their Heavenly (constitution) When horses' heads are haltered, and the noses of oxen are pierced, that is what I call (the doing of) Man Hence it is said, "Do not by the Human (doing) extinguish the Heavenly (constitution), do not for your (Human) purpose extinguish the appointment (of Heaven), do not bury your (proper) fame in (such) a pursuit of it, carefully guard (the Way) and do not lose it —this is what I call reverting to your True (Nature)"'

8 The khwei[1] desires to be like[2] the millipede[1]; the millipede to be like the serpent, the serpent like the wind, the wind to be like the eye, and the eye to be like the mind[3]

The khwei said to the millipede, 'With my one leg I hop about, and can hardly manage to go along Now you have a myriad feet which you can employ, how is it that you are so abundantly furnished?' The millipede said, 'It is not so Have you not seen one ejecting saliva? The largest portion of it is like a pearl, while the smaller portions fall down like a shower of mist in innumer-

[1] The khwei is 'a sort of dragon (it may be, a worm) with one foot' The hsien has many feet, one account calls it 'a centipede'

[2] Such is the meaning of the lin or lien The best commentators explain it by hsien (羨), 'to covet and desire'

[3] Compare Book I, par 3, towards the end

able drops Now I put in motion the springs set in me by Heaven, without knowing how I do so.'

The millipede said to the serpent, 'I go along by means of my multitude of feet, and yet how is it that I do not go so fast as you who have no feet at all?' The serpent replied, 'How can the method of moving by the springs set in us by Heaven be changed? How could I make use of feet?'

The serpent said to the wind, 'I get along by moving my backbone and ribs, thus appearing to have some (bodily) means of progression But now you, Sir, rise with a blustering force in the North Sea, and go on in the same way to the South Sea, —seemingly without any such means How does it take place?' The wind said, 'Yes With such a blustering force I rise in the North Sea and go on to the South Sea But you can point to me, and therein are superior to me, as you are also in treading on me Yet notwithstanding, it is only I who can break great trees, and blow down great houses Therefore he whom all that are small cannot overcome is a great overcomer But it is only he who is the sagely man[1] that is the Great Conqueror (of all)'

9 When Confucius was travelling in Khwang[2],

[1] The sagely man is 'the True man,' who embodies the Tâo The Tâo has given to the khwei, the millipede, the serpent, and it may be said also to the wind, their means of progression and action Nothing is said of the eye and the mind,—it was not necessary to dwell on the Tâo in them

[2] See Confucian Analects, IX, v and XI, xxii Our author's account of this event is his own, constructed by him to convey his own Tâoistic lessons

some people of Sung (once) surrounded him (with a hostile intention) several ranks deep, but he kept singing to his lute without stopping Ʒze-lû came in, and saw him, and said, 'How is it, Master, that you are so pleased?' Confucius said, 'Come here, and I will tell you I have tried to avoid being reduced to such a strait for a long time, and that I have not escaped shows that it was so appointed for me. I have sought to find a ruler that would employ me for a long time, and that I have not found one, shows the character of the time Under Yâo and Shun there was no one in the kingdom reduced to straits like mine, and it was not by their sagacity that men succeeded as they did Under *K*ieh and *K*âu no (good and able man) in the kingdom found his way to employment; and it was not for (want of) sagacity that they failed to do so. It was simply owing to the times and their character

'People that do business on the water do not shrink from meeting iguanodons and dragons,—that is the courage of fishermen Those who do business on land do not shrink from meeting rhinoceroses and tigers,—that is the courage of hunters When men see the sharp weapons crossed before them, and look on death as going home,—that is the courage of the determined soldier When he knows that his strait is determined for him, and that the employment of him by a ruler depends on the character of the time, and then meeting with great distress is yet not afraid,—that is the courage of the sagely man Wait, my good Yû, and you will see what there is determined for me in my lot' A little afterwards, the leader of the armed men approached and took his leave, saying, 'We thought you were

Yang Hû[1], and therefore surrounded you Now we see our mistake.' (With this) he begged to take his leave, and withdrew

10 Kung-sun Lung[2] asked Mâu of Wei[3], saying, 'When I was young, I learned the teachings of the former kings, and when I was grown up, I became proficient in the practice of benevolence and righteousness. I brought together the views that agreed and disagreed, I considered the questions about hardness and whiteness[4], I set forth what was to be affirmed and what was not, and what was allowable and what was not, I studied painfully the various schools of thought, and made myself master of the reasonings of all their masters I thought that I had reached a good understanding of every subject, but now that I have heard the words of *K*wang-ẓze, they throw me into a flutter of surprise I do not know whether it be that I do not come up to him in the power of discussion, or that my knowledge is not equal to his But now I do not feel able to open my mouth, and venture to ask you what course I should pursue' Kung-ẓze Mâu leant forward on his stool, drew a long breath, looked up to heaven, smiled, and

[1] No doubt the Yang Ho of Analects XVII, 1

[2] The grandson (Kung-sun) of one of the rulers of *K*âo (one of the three states into which the great state of Zin had been broken up) He has come down to us as a philosophic sophist, whose views it is not easy to define See Mayers's Manual, p 288, and Book XXXIII, par 7

[3] Wei was another of the divisions of Zin, and Mâu was one of the sons of its ruler at this time, a great admirer, evidently, of *K*wang-ẓze, and more than a match for the sophist Lung

[4] Holding, it is supposed, that 'the attributes of material objects, such as hardness and colour, are separate existences'—so Mayers, after Wylie.

said, 'Have you not heard of the frog of the dilapidated well, and how it said to the turtle of the Eastern Sea, "How I enjoy myself? I leap upon the parapet of this well. I enter, and having by means of the projections formed by the fragments of the broken tiles of the lining proceeded to the water, I draw my legs together, keep my chin up, (and strike out) When I have got to the mud, I dive till my feet are lost in it Then turning round, I see that of the shrimps, crabs, and tadpoles there is not one that can do like me Moreover, when one has entire command of all the water in the gully, and hesitates to go forward, it is the greatest pleasure to enjoy one's self here in this dilapidated well[1],—why do not you, Master, often come and enter, and see it for yourself?" The turtle of the Eastern Sea (was then proceeding to go forward), but before he had put in his left foot, he found his right knee caught and held fast On this he hesitated, drew back, and told (the frog) all about the sea, saying, "A distance of a thousand li is not sufficient to express its extent, nor would (a line of) eight thousand cubits be equal to sound its depth In the time of Yu, for nine years out of ten the flooded land (all drained into it), and its water was not sensibly increased, and in the time of Thang for seven years out of eight there was a drought, but the rocks on the shore (saw) no diminution of the water because of it Thus it is that no change is produced in its waters by any cause operating for a short time or a long, and that they do not advance nor recede for any addition or subtraction, whether great or small, and this is the great pleasure afforded by the Eastern Sea" When

[1] A passage difficult to construe

the frog of the dilapidated well heard this, he was amazed and terror-struck, and lost himself in surprise

'And moreover, when you, who have not wisdom enough to know where the discussions about what is right and what is wrong should end, still desire to see through the words of *K*wang-zze, that is like employing a mosquito to carry a mountain on its back, or a millipede[1] to gallop as fast as the Ho runs, —tasks to which both the insects are sure to be unequal Still further, when you, who have not wisdom enough to know the words employed in discussing very mysterious subjects, yet hasten to show your sharpness of speech on any occasion that may occur, is not this being like the frog of the dilapidated well?

'And that (*K*wang-zze) now plants his foot on the Yellow Springs (below the earth), and anon rises to the height of the Empyrean Without any regard to south and north, with freedom he launches out in every direction, and is lost in the unfathomable Without any regard to east and west, starting from what is abysmally obscure, he comes back to what is grandly intelligible (All the while), you, Sir, in amazement, search for his views to examine them, and grope among them for matter for discussion, —this is just like peeping at the heavens through a tube, or aiming at the earth with an awl, are not both the implements too small for the purpose? Go your ways, Sir

'And have you not heard of the young learners of

[1] A different character from that for a millipede in the last paragraph,—a Shang *K*ü, evidently some small insect, but we cannot tell what

Shâu-ling[1], and how they did in Han-tan? Before they had acquired what they might have done in that capital, they had forgotten what they had learned to do in their old city, and were marched back to it on their hands and knees. If now you do not go away, you will forget your old acquirements, and fail in your profession.'

Kung-sun Lung gaped on the speaker, and could not shut his mouth, and his tongue clave to its roof. He slank away and ran off.

11. *K*wang-ʒze was (once) fishing in the river Phû[2], when the king of *Kh*û[3] sent two great officers to him, with the message, 'I wish to trouble you with the charge of all within my territories.' *K*wang-ʒze kept on holding his rod without looking round, and said, 'I have heard that in *Kh*û there is a spirit-like tortoise-shell, the wearer of which died 3000 years ago[4], and which the king keeps, in his ancestral temple, in a hamper covered with a cloth. Was it better for the tortoise to die, and leave its shell to be thus honoured? Or would it have been better for it to live, and keep on dragging its tail through the mud?' The two officers said, 'It would have been better for it to live, and draw its tail after it over the mud[5].' 'Go your ways. I will keep on drawing my tail after me through the mud.'

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[1] A city of *K*âo, as Han-tan was its capital. Of the incident referred to, I have not been able to learn anything. The 'were marched' gives my idea of what it may have been.

[2] A river, which still gives its name to Phû-*k*âu, department *Kh*ao-*k*âu, Shan-tung.

[3] Probably king Wei, B.C. 339–330.

[4] A good antiquity for *Kh*û!

[5] ? A species of Testudo Serpentina, such as is often seen on pieces of Japanese lacquer-ware.

12 Hui-ze being a minister of state in Liang[1], Kwang-ze went to see him Some one had told Hui-ze that Kwang-ze was come with a wish to supersede him in his office, on which he was afraid, and instituted a search for the stranger all over the kingdom for three days and three nights (After this) Kwang-ze went and saw him, and said, 'There is in the south a bird, called "the Young Phoenix[2]," —do you know it? Starting from the South Sea, it flies to the Northern, never resting but on the bignonia[3], never eating but the fruit of the melia azederach[4], and never drinking but from the purest springs An owl, which had got a putrid rat, (once), when a phoenix went passing overhead, looked up to it and gave an angry scream Do you wish now, in your possession of the kingdom of Liang, to frighten me with a similar scream?'

13 Kwang-ze and Hui-ze were walking on the dam over the Hâo[5], when the former said, 'These thryssas come out, and play about at their ease,—that is the enjoyment of fishes' The other said, 'You are not a fish, how do you know what

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[1] Another name for Wei, so called from its capital,—in the present department of Khâi-fang

[2] So the critics explain the name Williams thinks the bird may be 'the argus pheasant,' or 'a variety of the peacock' But what the bird was does not affect the meaning of our author's reference to it

[3] One of the Eleococcae, the Dryandra Cordifolia of Thunberg

[4] All the editions I have seen give 練 here, which makes no sense The character should doubtless be 楝, with the meaning which I have given, and not 'bamboo,' which is found in the critics It is also called 'the Pride of India'

[5] A river in the department and district of Fung-yang, An-hui

constitutes the enjoyment of fishes[1]?' *K*wang-tze rejoined, 'You are not I. How do you know that I do not know what constitutes the enjoyment of fishes?' Hui-tze said, 'I am not you, and though indeed I do not fully know you, you certainly are not a fish, and (the argument) is complete against your knowing what constitutes the happiness of fishes.' *K*wang-tze replied, 'Let us keep to your original question. You said to me, "How do you know what constitutes the enjoyment of fishes?" You knew that I knew it, and yet you put your question to me,—well, I know it (from our enjoying ourselves together) over the Hâo.'

[1] Surely a captious question. We infer the feelings of other creatures from their demonstrations.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS	MISSIONARY ALPHABET I Class	II Class	III Class	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew	Chinese.
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	. .	. .	क	𐬐	𐭠	ک	ك	כ	k
2 „ aspirata	kh	. .		ख	𐬑	𐭡	. .	. .	ח	kh
3 Media	g	. .	.	ग	𐬒	𐭢	گ	. .	ג	. . .
4 „ aspirata	gh	. .	.	घ	𐬓	𐭣	. .	.	ה	. . .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. .	. .	. .	. .	. . .	ق	ق	ק	. . .
6 Nasalis	ṅ (ng)	. . .	. .	ङ	𐬔 (ng) 𐬕 (n)	. . .	.	. .	. . .	. .
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	. .	ह	𐬵 (𐬴 hv)	𐭥	ه	ه	ה	h, hs
8 „ lenis	'	.	.	. . .	. . . .	.	ا	ا	א	. . .
9 „ asper faucalis	'h	.	. .	.	. .	. . .	ح	ح	ח	. . .
10 „ lenis faucalis	'h	. .	.	. . .	. .	. .	ع	ع	ע	. . .
11 „ asper fricatus	.	'h	. . .	.	. . .	. . .	خ	خ	ח	. . .
12 „ lenis fricatus	. .	'h	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. .	. .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	. .	k	. .	च	𐬔	𐭨	چ	. . .	. . .	k
14 „ aspirata	. .	kh	. . .	छ	. . . .	.	. . .	. . .	. . .	kh
15 Media	. . .	g	. . .	ज	𐬕	𐭩	ج	ج	. .	. . .
16 „ aspirata	. . .	gh	. . . .	झ	. . . .	.	ج	غ	. . .	. . .
17 „ Nasalis	. . .	ñ	. . .	ञ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit	Zend.	Pehlevi	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew	Chinese
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .	. . . .	य	[illegible] initial	و	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(ẏ)	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. .	. . .	. . .	. .
20 ,, lenis	. . .	(ẏ)	. . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. .	. .	. . .	. . .
21 ,, asper assibilatus	. . .	s	. . . .	श	[illegible]	[illegible]	ش	ش	. . .	. . .
22 ,, lenis assibilatus	. . .	z	. . . .	. . .	[illegible]	[illegible]	ژ	. . .	. . .	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .	. . .	त	[illegible]	[illegible]	ت	ت	ת	t
24 ,, aspirata	th	. . .	. .	थ	[illegible]	. . .	. .	. . .	ת	th
25 ,, assibilata	. . .	. .	TH	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ث	ث	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. .	. . .	द	[illegible]	و	د	د	ד	. . .
27 ,, aspirata	dh	. . .	. .	ध	[illegible]	. . .	. . .	. . .	ד	. .
28 ,, assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . .	. . .	ذ	د	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. .	. . . .	न	[illegible]	ا	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .	. . . .	ल	. . . .	ا, ل, ل	ل	ل	ל	l
31 ,, mollis 1	. . .	l	. . .	ळ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 ,, mollis 2	. . .	. .	L	. . .	. . . .	. .	. . .	. . .	. .	. .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. .	. . .	स	[illegible]	[illegible]	س (ث)	س	ס	s
34 ,, asper 2	. .	. . .	s (ʃ)	. . .	. . .	. .	. . .	. . .	ס	. . .
35 ,, lenis	z	. . .	. . . .	. . .	[illegible]	[illegible]	ز (ذ)	ز	ז	z
36 ,, asperrimus 1	. . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ص	ص	צ	ʒ, ʒh
37 ,, asperrimus 2	. . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	ص	. . .	. . .	

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)											
38 Tenuis	.	t		ट				ט	ט	ט	.
39 „ aspirata	.	th		ठ				ט	ט		
40 Media		d		ड	ड	ड					
41 „ aspirata		dh		ढ							
42 Nasalis	.	n		ण	ण						
43 Semivocalis	r			र	ر	ر,ر,ا	ر	ر	ר		
44 „ fricata	.	r									r
45 „ diacritica			R								
46 Spiritus asper	sh			ष	ष	ش					sh
47 „ lenis	zh										
Labiales											
48 Tenuis	p			प	ป	ป	ب		פ		p
49 „ aspirata	ph			फ					פ		ph
50 Media	b			ब	ب	ب	ب	ب	ב		
51 „ aspirata	bh			भ					ב		
52 Tenuissima		p									
53 Nasalis	m			म	๓	๓	م	م	מ		m
54 Semivocalis	w				๗						w
55 „ aspirata	hw										
56 Spiritus asper	f				ฟ	ฟ	ف	ف			f
57 „ lenis	v			व	»	۱,ه	و	و	ו		
58 Anusvâra		m		ं	ๆ						
59 Visarga		h		ः							

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2	Laryngo-palatalis . . .	ĕ				.	.	. .	.	. .		.
3	„ labialis . . .	ŏ	.	.		.	ا fin	.	. .	. .		.
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22	„ „	eu (ĕu)	.			.	.	. .	.	. .		- .
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25	Palatalis fracta	ı		. .		.	. . .	. .	. . .		.	. . .
26	Labialis fracta	u	.	.	.	. .	.	. . .	. . .	. .		u
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THE

SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

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THE

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TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F MAX MÜLLER

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THE

SACRED BOOKS OF CHINA

THE TEXTS OF TÂOISM

TRANSLATED BY

JAMES LEGGE

PART II

THE WRITINGS OF *K*WANG-ʒZE

BOOKS XVIII—XXXIII

THE THÂI-SHANG TRACTATE OF ACTIONS AND THEIR RETRIBUTIONS

APPENDIXES I-VIII

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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THE TEXTS OF TÂOISM.

BOOK XVIII

PART II SECTION XI

*K*ih Lo, or 'Perfect Enjoyment[1]'

1 Under the sky is perfect enjoyment to be found or not? Are there any who can preserve themselves alive or not? If there be, what do they do? What do they maintain? What do they avoid? What do they attend to? Where do they resort to? Where do they keep from? What do they delight in? What do they dislike?

What the world honours is riches, dignities, longevity, and being deemed able What it delights in is rest for the body, rich flavours, fine garments, beautiful colours, and pleasant music What it looks down on are poverty and mean condition, short life and being deemed feeble[2] What men consider bitter experiences are that their bodies do not get rest and ease, that their mouths do not get food of rich flavour, that their persons are not finely clothed, that their eyes do not see beautiful colours, and that their ears do not listen to pleasant music If they do not

[1] See vol xxxix, pp 149, 150

[2] Of riches, dignities, longevity, and their opposites, enough is said, while the other two qualities are lightly passed over, and referred to only in connexion with 'meritorious officers' I can only understand them as in the translation

get these things, they are very sorrowful, and go on to be troubled with fears Their thoughts are all about the body,—are they not silly?

Now the rich embitter their lives by their incessant labours, they accumulate more wealth than they can use —while they act thus for the body, they make it external to themselves[1] Those who seek for honours carry their pursuit of them from the day into the night, full of anxiety about their methods whether they are skilful or not —while they act thus for the body they treat it as if it were indifferent to them[2] The birth of man is at the same time the birth of his sorrow, and if he live long he becomes more and more stupid, and the longer is his anxiety that he may not die, how great is his bitterness!—while he thus acts for his body, it is for a distant result. Meritorious officers are regarded by the world as good, but (their goodness) is not sufficient to keep their persons alive I do not know whether the goodness ascribed to them be really good or really not good If indeed it be considered good, it is not sufficient to preserve their persons alive, if it be deemed not good, it is sufficient to preserve other men alive. Hence it is said, 'When faithful remonstrances are not listened to, (the remonstrant) should sit still, let (his ruler) take his course, and not strive with him' Therefore when Ze-hsu[3] strove with (his ruler), he brought on him-

[1] If they did not do so, they would be content when they had enough

[2] Wishing to attach it more closely to them

[3] Wû Ze-hsü, the scourge of *Khû*, and who perished miserably at last, when the king of Wû would no longer listen to his remonstrances,—in about B.C 475.

self the mutilation of his body If he had not so striven, he would not have acquired his fame —was such (goodness) really good or was it not?

As to what the common people now do, and what they find their enjoyment in, I do not know whether the enjoyment be really enjoyment or really not. I see them in their pursuit of it following after all their aims as if with the determination of death, and as if they could not stop in their course, but what they call enjoyment would not be so to me, while yet I do not say that there is no enjoyment in it. Is there indeed such enjoyment, or is there not? I consider doing nothing (to obtain it) to be the great enjoyment[1], while ordinarily people consider it to be a great evil Hence it is said, 'Perfect enjoyment is to be without enjoyment, the highest praise is to be without praise[2].' The right and the wrong (on this point of enjoyment) cannot indeed be determined according to (the view of) the world, nevertheless, this doing nothing (to obtain it) may determine the right and the wrong Since perfect enjoyment is (held to be) the keeping the body alive, it is only by this doing nothing that that end is likely to be secured Allow me to try and explain this (more fully) —Heaven does nothing, and thence comes its serenity, Earth does nothing, and thence comes its rest By the union of these two inactivities, all things are produced. How vast and imperceptible is the process!—they seem to come from

[1] This is the secret of the Tâo

[2] The last member of this sentence is the reading adopted by Wû *Khâng* towards the conclusion of the thirty-ninth chapter of the Tâo Teh *King*, instead of the common 致數車無車.

nowhere! How imperceptible and vast!—there is no visible image of it! All things in all their variety grow from this Inaction. Hence it is said, 'Heaven and Earth do nothing, and yet there is nothing that they do not do[1].' But what man is there that can attain to this inaction?

2. When *K*wang-ʒze's wife died, Hui-ʒze went to condole with him, and, finding him squatted on the ground, drumming on the basin[2], and singing, said to him, 'When a wife has lived with her husband, and brought up children, and then dies in her old age, not to wail for her is enough. When you go on to drum on this basin and sing, is it not an excessive (and strange) demonstration?' *K*wang-ʒze replied, 'It is not so. When she first died, was it possible for me to be singular and not affected by the event? But I reflected on the commencement of her being[3]. She had not yet been born to life; not only had she no life, but she had no bodily form; not only had she no bodily form, but she had no breath. During the intermingling of the waste and dark chaos[3], there ensued a change, and there was breath; another change, and there was the bodily form; another change, and there came birth

[1] Compare similar statements in the Tâo Teh *K*ing, ch. 48, et al.

[2] The basin or tub, not 'a basin.' The reference is, no doubt, to the basin of ice put down near or under the couch on which the body was laid. I suppose that *K*wang-ʒze was squatting so as to have this between his legs.

[3] Is the writer referring to the primal creation as we may call it, or development of things out of the chaos, or to some analogous process at the birth of his wife? However that be, birth and death appear to him to be merely changes of the same kind in the perpetual process of evolution.

and life. There is now a change again, and she is dead The relation between these things is like the procession of the four seasons from spring to autumn, from winter to sùmmer There now she lies with her face up, sleeping in the Great Chamber[1], and if I were to fall sobbing and going on to wail for her, I should think that I did not understand what was appointed (for all) I therefore restrained myself[2]!'

3. Mr Deformed[3] and Mr. One-foot[3] were looking at the mound-graves of the departed in the wild of Khwăn-lun, where Hwang-Tî had entered into his rest. Suddenly a tumour began to grow on their left wrists, which made them look distressed as if they disliked it. The former said to the other, 'Do

[1] Between heaven and earth

[2] Was it necessary he should fall singing to his drumming on the basin? But I subjoin a note here, suggested by the paragraph, which might have found, perhaps, a more appropriate place in the notice of this Book in vol xxxix, pp 149, 150

In Sir John F Davis' 'Description of the Empire of China and its Inhabitants (edition of 1857),' vol ii, pp 74–90, we have the amusing story of 'The Philosopher and his Wife' The philosopher is *K*wang-ʒze, who plays the part of a magician, and of his wife it might be said, 'Frailty! thy name is woman!' Sir John Davis says, 'The story was translated into French by Père d'Entrecolles, and supplied the materials of Voltaire's Zadig' I have not met in Chinese with Father d'Entrecolles' original All of Zadig which can be supposed to have been borrowed from his translator is only a few sentences The whole story is inconsistent with the account in paragraph 2 of the death of *K*wang-ʒze's wife, and with all which we learn from his writings of his character

[3] We know nothing of these parties but what we are told here They are called Shû, meaning 'uncle,' often equivalent in China to our 'Mr' The lesson taught by them is that of submission to pain and death as merely phenomena in the sphere of change For the phraseology of their names, see Bk. III, par 3, and Bk IV, par 8

you dread it?' 'No,' replied he, 'why should I dread it? Life is a borrowed thing. The living frame thus borrowed is but so much dust. Life and death are like day and night And you and I were looking at (the graves of) those who have undergone their change. If my change is coming to me, why should I dislike it?'

4 When *K*wang-ʒze went to *Kh*û, he saw an empty skull, bleached indeed, but still retaining its shape. Tapping it with his horse-switch, he asked it, saying, 'Did you, Sir, in your greed of life, fail in the lessons of reason, and come to this? Or did you do so, in the service of a perishing state, by the punishment of the axe? Or was it through your evil conduct, reflecting disgrace on your parents and on your wife and children? Or was it through your hard endurances of cold and hunger? Or was it that you had completed your term of life?'

Having given expression to these questions, he took up the skull, and made a pillow of it when he went to sleep At midnight the skull appeared to him in a dream, and said, 'What you said to me was after the fashion of an orator All your words were about the entanglements of men in their lifetime There are none of those things after death Would you like to hear me, Sir, tell you about death?' 'I should,' said *K*wang-ʒze, and the skull resumed 'In death there are not (the distinctions of) ruler above and minister below There are none of the phenomena of the four seasons Tranquil and at ease, our years are those of heaven and earth. No king in his court has greater enjoyment than we have.' *K*wang-ʒze did not believe it, and said, 'If I

could get the Ruler of our Destiny[1] to restore your body to life with its bones and flesh and skin, and to give you back your father and mother, your wife and children, and all your village acquaintances, would you wish me to do so?' The skull stared fixedly at him, knitted its brows, and said, 'How should I cast away the enjoyment of my royal court, and undertake again the toils of life among mankind?'

5. When Yen Yuan went eastwards to *Khî*, Confucius wore a look of sorrow[2] Zze-kung left his mat, and asked him, saying, 'Your humble disciple ventures to ask how it is that the going eastwards of Hui to *Khî* has given you such a look of sadness.' Confucius said, 'Your question is good Formerly Kwan-zze[3] used words of which I very much approve He said, "A small bag cannot be made to contain what is large, a short rope cannot be used to draw water from a deep well[3]" So it is, and man's appointed lot is definitely determined, and his body is adapted for definite ends, so that neither the one nor the other can be augmented or diminished I am afraid that Hui will talk with the marquis of *Khî* about the ways of Hwang-Tî, Yâo, and Shun, and go on to relate the words of Sui-*z*ăn and Shăn Năng. The marquis will seek (for the correspondence of what he is told) in himself, and, not finding

[1] I suppose the Tâo, but none of the commentators, so far as I have seen, say anything about the expression

[2] Compare the long discourse of Confucius with Yen Hui, on the latter's proposing to go to Wei, in Bk IV

[3] Kwan Î-wû or Kwan *K*ung, the chief minister of duke Hwan of *Khî*, whom he is supposed to have in view in his 'small bag and short rope.'

it there, will suspect the speaker, and that speaker, being suspected, will be put to death And have you not heard this ?—Formerly a sea-bird alighted in the suburban country of Lû [1] The marquis went out to meet it, (brought it) to the ancestral temple, and prepared to banquet it there The *K*iû-shâo [2] was performed to afford it music; an ox, a sheep, and a pig were killed to supply the food. The bird, however, looked at everything with dim eyes, and was very sad It did not venture to eat a single bit of flesh, nor to drink a single cupful, and in three days it died

'The marquis was trying to nourish the bird with what he used for himself, and not with the nourishment proper for a bird. They who would nourish birds as they ought to be nourished should let them perch in the deep forests, or roam over sandy plains, float on the rivers and lakes, feed on the eels and small fish, wing their flight in regular order and then stop, and be free and at ease in their resting-places It was a distress to that bird to hear men speak, what did it care for all the noise and hubbub made about it ? If the music of the *K*iû-shâo [3] or the Hsien-*kh*ih [4] were performed in the wild of the Thung-thing [4] lake, birds would fly away, and beasts would run off when they heard it, and fishes would dive down to the bottom of the water, while men, when they hear it, would come all round to-

[1] Perhaps another and more ridiculous version of the story told in 'the Narratives of the States,' II, i, art 7

[2] The name of Shun's music,—see the Shû (in vol iii), par 2

[3] Called also Tâ Shâo, in Book XXXIII, par 2

[4] Hwang-Tî's music,—see Bk XIV, par 3—But the genuineness of the whole paragraph is called in question.

gether, and look on. Fishes live and men die in the water. They are different in constitution, and therefore differ in their likes and dislikes Hence it was that the ancient sages did not require (from all) the same ability, nor demand the same performances They gave names according to the reality of what was done, and gave their approbation where it was specially suitable. This was what was called the method of universal adaptation and of sure success'

6. Lieh-ʒze (once) upon a journey took a meal by the road-side There he saw a skull a hundred years old, and, pulling away the bush (under which it lay), he pointed to it and said, 'It is only you and I who know that you are not dead, and that (aforetime) you were not alive. Do you indeed really find (in death) the nourishment (which you like)? Do I really find (in life my proper) enjoyment? The seeds (of things) are multitudinous and minute. On the surface of the water they form a membranous texture When they reach to where the land and water join they become the (lichens which we call the) clothes of frogs and oysters Coming to life on mounds and heights, they become the plantain, and, receiving manure, appear as crows' feet. The roots of the crow's foot become grubs, and its leaves, butterflies This butterfly, known by the name of hsu, is changed into an insect, and comes to life under a furnace. Then it has the form of a moth, and is named the *kh*u-to The *kh*u-to after a thousand days becomes a bird, called the *k*an-yu-kû Its saliva becomes the sʒe-mî, and this again the shih-hsî (or pickle-eater) The î-lo is produced from the pickle-eater, the hwang-kwang from the

*k*iû-yû, the mâu-zui from the pû-khwan The ying-hsî uniting with a bamboo, which has long ceased to put forth sprouts, produces the *kh*ing-ning, the *kh*ing-ning, the panther, the panther, the horse, and the horse, the man Man then again enters into the great Machinery (of Evolution), from which all things come forth (at birth), and which they enter at death[1]'

[1] A much larger paragraph from which this must have been abbreviated, or which must have been enlarged from this, is found in the first Book of Lieh-tze's works (pp 4, 5) In no Buddhist treatise is the transrotation of births more fully, and, I must add, absurdly stated

BOOK XIX

PART II. SECTION XII.

Tâ Shăng, or 'The Full Understanding of Life[1].'

1 He who understands the conditions of Life does not strive after what is of no use to life; and he who understands the conditions of Destiny does not strive after what is beyond the reach of knowledge In nourishing the body it is necessary to have beforehand the things (appropriate to its support)[2], but there are cases where there is a superabundance of such things, and yet the body is not nourished[2] In order to have life it is necessary that it do not have left the body, but there are cases when the body has not been left by it, and yet the life has perished[3].

When life comes, it cannot be declined, when it goes, it cannot be detained. Alas! the men of the world think that to nourish the body is sufficient to preserve life, and when such nourishment is not sufficient to preserve the life, what can be done in the world that will be sufficient? Though (all that men can do) will be insufficient, yet there are things which they feel they ought to do, and they do not try to avoid doing them. For those who wish to

[1] See vol xxxix, pp 150, 151

[2] Wealth will supply abundantly the things that are necessary and fit for the nourishment of the body, but sudden death may render them unavailing

[3] That is, the higher life of the spirit has perished

avoid caring for the body, their best plan is to abandon the world Abandoning the world, they are free from its entanglements Free from its entanglements, their (minds) are correct and their (temperament) is equable Thus correct and equable, they succeed in securing a renewal of life, as some have done[1] In securing a renewal of life, they are not far from the True (Secret of their being). But how is it sufficient to abandon worldly affairs? and how is it sufficient to forget the (business of) life? Through the renouncing of (worldly) affairs, the body has no more toil, through forgetting the (business of) life, the vital power suffers no diminution When the body is completed and the vital power is restored (to its original vigour), the man is one with Heaven Heaven and Earth are the father and mother of all things It is by their union that the body is formed, it is by their separation that a (new) beginning is brought about When the body and vital power suffer no diminution, we have what may be called the transference of power From the vital force there comes another more vital, and man returns to be the assistant of Heaven.

2 My master[2] Lieh-tze[2] asked Yin, (the warden) of the gate[2], saying, 'The perfect man walks under

[1] I think I have caught the meaning The phrase signifying 'the renewal of life' has been used to translate 'being born again' in John's Gospel, ch 3

[2] We find here Lieh-tze (whose name has already occurred several times) in communication with the warden Yin, who was a contemporary of Lâo-tze, and we must refer him therefore to the sixth century B C He could not therefore be contemporary with our author, and yet the three characters of the text mean 'My Master, Lieh-tze,' and the whole of the paragraph is found in Lieh-tze's second Book (4^{a}–5^{a}) with a good many variants in the text

water without encountering any obstruction, treads on fire without being burned, and walks on high above all things without any fear, let me ask how he attains to do this[1]?' The warden Yin replied, 'It is by his keeping of the pure breath (of life), it is not to be described as an achievement of his skill or daring. Sit down, and I will explain it to you. Whatever has form, semblance, sound, and colour is a thing, how can one thing come to be different from another? But it is not competent for any of these things to reach to what preceded them all,—they are but (form and) visibility But (the perfect man) attains to be (as it were) without form, and beyond the capability of being transformed. Now when one attains to this and carries it out to the highest degree, how can other things come into his way to stop him? He will occupy the place assigned to him without going beyond it, and lie concealed in the clue which has no end. He will study with delight the process which gives their beginning and ending to all things By gathering his nature into a unity, by nourishing his vital power, by concentrating his virtue, he will penetrate to the making of things. In this condition, with his heavenly constitution kept entire, and with no crevice in his spirit, how can things enter (and disturb his serenity)?

'Take the case of a drunken man falling from his carriage,—though he may suffer injury, he will not

---

The gate was at the passage leading from the Royal Domain of those days into the great feudal territory of Jin,—from the north-west of the present province of Ho-nan into Shen-hsî

[1] Lieh-tze puts an absurd question to the warden, which is replied to at length, and unsatisfactorily We need not discuss either the question or the answer in this place

die His bones and joints are the same as those of other men, but the injury which he receives is different —his spirit is entire He knew nothing about his getting into the carriage, and knew nothing about his falling from it The thought of death or life, or of any alarm or affright, does not enter his breast; and therefore he encounters danger without any shrinking from it. Completely under the influence of the liquor he has drunk, it is thus with him ,—how much more would it be so, if he were under the influence of his Heavenly constitution! The sagely man is kept hid in his Heavenly constitution, and therefore nothing can injure him.

'A man in the pursuit of vengeance would not break the (sword) Mo-yê or Yu-*k*iang (which had done the deed), nor would one, however easily made wrathful, wreak his resentment on the fallen brick In this way all under heaven there would be peace, without the disorder of assaults and fighting, without the punishments of death and slaughter —such would be the issue of the course (which I have described). If the disposition that is of human origin be not developed, but that which is the gift of Heaven, the development of the latter will produce goodness, while that of the former would produce hurt If the latter were not wearied of, and the former not slighted, the people would be brought nearly to their True nature'

3. When *K*ung-nî was on his way to *Kh*û, as he issued from a forest, he saw a hunchback receiving cicadas (on the point of a rod), as if he were picking them up with his hand[1] 'You are clever!' said he

[1] This paragraph is also found with variations in Lieh-ʒze,

to the man. 'Is there any method in it?' The hunchback replied, 'There is. For five or six months, I practised with two pellets, till they never fell down, and then I only failed with a small fraction[1] of the cicadas (which I tried to catch). Having succeeded in the same way with three (pellets), I missed only one cicada in ten. Having succeeded with five, I caught the cicadas as if I were gathering them My body is to me no more than the stump of a broken trunk, and my shoulder no more than the branch of a rotten tree. Great as heaven and earth are, and multitudinous as things are, I take no notice of them, but only of the wings of my cicadas, neither turning nor inclining to one side I would not for them all exchange the wings of my cicadas,—how should I not succeed in taking them?' Confucius looked round, and said to his disciples, '"Where the will is not diverted from its object, the spirit is concentrated,"—this might have been spoken of this hunchback gentleman'

4 Yen Yuan asked *K*ung-nî, saying, 'When I was crossing the gulf of *K'h*ang-shăn[2], the ferryman handled the boat like a spirit. I asked him whether such management of a boat could be learned, and he replied, "It may Good swimmers can learn it quickly; but as for divers, without having seen a boat, they can manage it at once" He did not

Bk II (9a) The dexterity of the hunchback in catching the cicadas will remind some readers of the account given by the butcher in Book III of his dexterity in cutting up his oxen

[1] The names of two small weights, used anciently for 'a fraction,' 'a small proportion'

[2] This is another paragraph common both to our author and Lieh-ʒze, but in neither is there any intimation of the place.

directly tell me what I asked,—I venture to ask you what he meant' *K*ung-nî replied, 'Good swimmers acquire the ability quickly,—they forget the water (and its dangers) As to those who are able to dive, and without having seen a boat are able to manage it at once, they look on the watery gulf as if it were a hill-side, and the upsetting of a boat as the going back of a carriage Such upsettings and goings back have occurred before them multitudes of times, and have not seriously affected their minds Wherever they go, they feel at ease on their occurrence.

'He who is contending for a piece of earthenware puts forth all his skill[1] If the prize be a buckle of brass, he shoots timorously, if it be for an article of gold, he shoots as if he were blind The skill of the archer is the same in all the cases; but (in the two latter cases) he is under the influence of solicitude, and looks on the external prize as most important All who attach importance to what is external show stupidity in themselves'

5. Thien Khâi-*k*ih[2] was having an interview with duke Wei of *K*âu[2], who said to him, 'I have heard that (your master) *K*û Hsin[2] has studied the subject of Life What have you, good Sir, heard from him about it in your intercourse with him?' Thien Khâi-*k*ih replied, 'In my waiting on him in the courtyard with my broom, what should I have heard from my master?' Duke Wei said, 'Do not put the question off, Mr. Thien, I wish to hear what

[1] I think this is the meaning 注 is defined by 射而賭物, 'to compete for anything by archery.'

[2] We have no information about who these personages and the others below were, and I have missed the story, if it be in Lieh-ʒze The duke, it will be seen, had the appanage of *K*âu

you have to say.' Khâi-*k*ih then replied, 'I have heard my master say that they who skilfully nourish their life are like shepherds, who whip up the sheep that they see lagging behind[1]' 'What did he mean?' asked the duke. The reply was, 'In Lû there was a Shan Pâo, who lived among the rocks, and drank only water He would not share with the people in their toils and the benefits springing from them, and though he was now in his seventieth year, he had still the complexion of a child Unfortunately he encountered a hungry tiger, which killed and ate him There was also a *K*ang Î, who hung up a screen at his lofty door, and to whom all the people hurried (to pay their respects)[2] In his fortieth year, he fell ill of a fever and died (Of these two men), Pâo nourished his inner man, and a tiger ate his outer, while Î nourished his outer man, and disease attacked his inner Both of them neglected whipping up their lagging sheep'

*K*ung-ni said, 'A man should not retire and hide himself, he should not push forward and display himself; he should be like the decayed tree which stands in the centre of the ground. Where these three conditions are fulfilled, the name will reach its greatest height When people fear the dangers of a path, if one man in ten be killed, then fathers and sons, elder brothers and younger, warn one another that they must not go out on a journey without a large number of retainers,—and is it not a mark of wisdom to do so? But there are dangers which

[1] Pay more attention to any part of their culture which they are neglecting

[2] It served its purpose there, but had not been put in its place with any special object.

men incur on the mats of their beds, and in eating and drinking, and when no warning is given against them,—is it not a mark of error[1]?'

6. The officer of Prayer[2] in his dark and square-cut robes goes to the pig-pen, and thus counsels the pigs, 'Why should you shrink from dying? I will for three months feed you on grain. Then for ten days I will fast, and keep vigil for three days, after which I will put down the mats of white grass, and lay your shoulders and rumps on the carved stand,—will not this suit you?' If he had spoken from the standpoint of the pigs, he would have said, 'The better plan will be to feed us with our bran and chaff, and leave us in our pen.' When consulting for himself, he preferred to enjoy, while he lived, his carriage and cap of office, and after death to be borne to the grave on the ornamented carriage, with the canopy over his coffin. Consulting for the pigs, he did not think of these things, but for himself he would have chosen them. Why did he think so differently (for himself and) for the pigs[3]?

7. (Once), when duke Hwan[4] was hunting by a marsh, with Kwan *K*ung[5] driving the carriage, he saw a ghost. Laying his hand on that of Kwan

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[1] This may seem to nourish the body, but in reality injures the life.

[2] Who had the charge also of the sacrifices.

[3] Lin Hsî-*k*ung says that the story shows the many troubles that arise from not renouncing the world. Ensnared by the world, men sacrifice for it their higher life, and are not so wise as pigs are for their life. The short paragraph bristles with difficulties.

[4] The first of the leading chieftains among the princes, B.C. 683–642.

[5] His chief minister.

*K*ung, he said to him, 'Do you see anything, Father *K*ung?' 'Your servant sees nothing,' was the reply. The duke then returned, talking incoherently and becoming ill, so that for several days he did not go out. Among the officers of *Khî* there was a Hwang-ȝze Kâo-âo [1], who said to the duke, 'Your Grace is injuring yourself, how could a ghost injure you? When a paroxysm of irritation is dispersed, and the breath does not return (to the body), what remains in the body is not sufficient for its wants. When it ascends and does not descend, the patient becomes accessible to gusts of anger When it descends and does not ascend, he loses his memory of things When it neither ascends nor descends, but remains about the heart in the centre of the body, it makes him ill' The duke said, 'Yes, but are there ghostly sprites [2]?' The officer replied, 'There are About mountain tarns there is the Lî, about furnaces, the *Kh*ieh; about the dust-heaps inside the door, the Lei-thing. In low-lying places in the north-east, the Pei-a and Wa-lung leap about, and in similar places in the north-west there dwells the Yî-yang About rivers there is the Wang-hsiang, about mounds, the Hsin, about hills, the Khwei, about wilds, the Fang-hwang, about marshes, the Wei-tho.' 'Let me ask what is the Wei-tho like?' asked the duke Hwang-ȝze said, 'It is the size of the

[1] An officer introduced here for the occasion, by surname Hwang, and designation Kâo-âo The ȝze simply=Mr

[2] The commentators have a deal to say about the folklore of the various sprites mentioned 'The whole shows that ghostly sprites are the fruit of a disordered mind' It is a touch of nature that the prince recovers as soon as he knows that the ghost he had seen was of good presage

nave of a chariot wheel, and the length of the shaft. It wears a purple robe and a red cap It dislikes the rumbling noise of chariot wheels, and, when it hears it, it puts both its hands to its head and stands up He who sees it is likely to become the leader of all the other princes' Duke Hwan burst out laughing and said, 'This was what I saw' On this he put his robes and cap to rights, and made Hwang-tze sit with him Before the day was done, his illness was quite gone, he knew not how

8 *Kî* Hsing-tze was rearing a fighting-cock for the king[1] Being asked after ten days if the bird were ready, he said, 'Not yet, he is still vain and quarrelsome, and relies on his own vigour.' Being asked the same after other ten days, he said, 'Not yet, he still responds to the crow and the appearance of another bird' After ten days more, he replied, 'Not yet. He still looks angrily, and is full of spirit' When a fourth ten days had passed, he replied to the question, 'Nearly so Though another cock crows, it makes no change in him To look at him, you would say he was a cock of wood His quality is complete No other cock will dare to meet him, but will run from him'

9 Confucius was looking at the cataract near the gorge of Lu[2], which fell a height of 240 cubits, and

[1] According to the Lieh-tze version of this story (Bk II, 17b), the king was king Hsüan, B C 827–782 The trainer's rule seems to have been that his bird should meet its antagonist, with all its vigour complete and undisturbed, and not wishing to fight

[2] I think that there are two versions of this story in Lieh-tze In Bk VIII (4b, 5a), it appears that Confucius was on his way from Wei to Lû, when he stopped his carriage or cart at this spot to view the cataract, and the incident occurred, and he took the opportunity to give the lesson to his disciples

the spray of which floated a distance of forty li, (producing a turbulence) in which no tortoise, gavial, fish, or turtle could play He saw, however, an old man swimming about in it, as if he had sustained some great calamity, and wished to end his life Confucius made his disciples hasten along the stream to rescue the man, and by the time they had gone several hundred paces, he was walking along singing, with his hair dishevelled, and enjoying himself at the foot of the embankment Confucius followed and asked him, saying, 'I thought you were a sprite, but, when I look closely at you, I see that you are a man Let me ask if you have any particular way of treading the water.' The man said, 'No, I have no particular way I began (to learn the art) at the very earliest time, as I grew up, it became my nature to practise it, and my success in it is now as sure as fate I enter and go down with the water in the very centre of its whirl, and come up again with it when it whirls the other way I follow the way of the water, and do nothing contrary to it of myself,—this is how I tread it' Confucius said, 'What do you mean by saying that you began to learn the art at the very earliest time that as you grew up, it became your nature to practise it, and that your success in it now is as sure as fate?' The man replied, 'I was born among these hills and lived contented among them;—that was why I say that I have trod this water from my earliest time I grew up by it, and have been happy treading it,—that is why I said that to tread it had become natural to me I know not how I do it, and yet I do it,—that is why I say that my success is as sure as fate'

10 *Khing*, the Worker in Rottlera[1] wood, carved a bell-stand[2], and when it was completed, all who saw it were astonished as if it were the work of spirits The marquis of Lû went to see it, and asked by what art he had succeeded in producing it 'Your subject is but a mechanic,' was the reply, 'what art should I be possessed of? Nevertheless, there is one thing (which I will mention) When your servant had undertaken to make the bell-stand, I did not venture to waste any of my power, and felt it necessary to fast in order to compose my mind. After fasting for three days, I did not presume to think of any congratulation, reward, rank, or emolument (which I might obtain by the execution of my task), after fasting five days, I did not presume to think of the condemnation or commendation (which it would produce), or of the skill or want of skill (which it might display) At the end of the seven days, I had forgotten all about myself,—my four limbs and my whole person By this time the thought of your Grace's court (for which I was to make the thing) had passed away, everything that could divert my mind from exclusive devotion to the exercise of my skill had disappeared Then I went into the forest, and looked at the natural forms of the trees When I saw one of a perfect form, then the figure of the bell-stand rose up to my view, and I applied my hand to the work Had

[1] The Ze or rottlera was and is a very famous tree, called 'the king of trees,' from its stately appearance and the excellence of its timber

[2] The 'bell-stand' is celebrated in the Shih King, III, i, Ode 8 A complete peal consisted of twelve bells, suspended in two tiers one above the other

I not met with such a tree, I must have abandoned the object, but my Heaven-given faculty and the Heaven-given qualities of the wood were concentrated on it So it was that my spirit was thus engaged in the production of the bell-stand'

11 Tung-yê *K*î[1] was introduced to duke *K*wang[2] to exhibit his driving His horses went forwards and backwards with the straightness of a line, and wheeled to the right and the left with the exactness of a circle The duke thought that the lines and circles could not be surpassed if they were woven with silken strings, and told him to make a hundred circuits on the same lines On the road Yen Ho[3] met the equipage, and on entering (the palace), and seeing the duke, he said, '*K*î's horses will break down,' but the duke was silent, and gave him no reply After a little the horses did come back, having broken down, and the duke then said, 'How did you know that it would be so?' Yen Ho said, 'The horses were exhausted, and he was still urging them on It was this which made me say that they would break down.'

12 The artisan Shui[4] made things round (and square) more exactly than if he had used the circle

[1] *K*î would be the name of the charioteer, a gentleman of Lû, called Tung-yê, 'eastern country,' I suppose from the situation of his estate

[2] Duke *K*wang would be the marquis Thung of Lû, B C 693–662

[3] Yen Ho was probably the chief of the Yen family at the time A scion of it, Yen Hui, afterwards became the favourite disciple of Confucius He could hardly be the same Yen Ho who is mentioned in Bk IV, par 5 *K*î has had, and still has, his representatives in every country

[4] Shui is mentioned in the Shû King, V, xxii, 19, as a famous maker of arrows Some carry him back to the time of Shun

and square. The operation of his fingers on (the forms of) things was like the transformations of them (in nature), and required no application of his mind, and so his Intelligence[1] was entire and encountered no resistance

13 To be unthought of by the foot that wears it is the fitness of a shoe, to be unthought of by the waist is the fitness of a girdle When one's wisdom does not think of the right or the wrong (of a question under discussion), that shows the suitability of the mind (for the question), when one is conscious of no inward change, or outward attraction, that shows the mastery of affairs He who perceives at once the fitness, and never loses the sense of it, has the fitness that forgets all about what is fitting

14 There was a Sun Hsiû[2] who went to the door of Ze-pien *Khing*-ze, and said to him in a strange perturbed way, 'When I lived in my village, no one took notice of me, but all said that I did not cultivate (my fields). in a time of trouble and attack, no one took notice of me, but all said that I had no courage But that I did not cultivate my fields, was really because I never met with a good year, and that I did not do service for our ruler, was because I did not meet with the suitable opportunity to do so I have been sent about my business by the villagers, and am driven away by the registrars of the district,—what is my crime? O Heaven! how is it that I have met with such a fate?'

[1] Literally, 'Tower of Intelligence,'—a Tâoistic name for the mind

[2] A weakling, of whom we know only what we read here.

Pien-ʒze[1] said to him, 'Have you not heard how the perfect man deals with himself? He forgets that he has a liver and gall He takes no thought of his ears and eyes He seems lost and aimless beyond the dust and dirt of the world, and enjoys himself at ease in occupations untroubled by the affairs of business He may be described as acting and yet not relying on what he does, as being superior and yet not using his superiority to exercise any control. But now you would make a display of your wisdom to astonish the ignorant; you would cultivate your person to make the inferiority of others more apparent, you seek to shine as if you were carrying the sun and moon in your hands That you are complete in your bodily frame, and possess all its nine openings, that you have not met with any calamity in the middle of your course, such as deafness, blindness, or lameness, and can still take your place as a man among other men,—in all this you are fortunate What leisure have you to murmur against Heaven? Go away, Sir'

Sun-ʒze on this went out, and Pien-ʒze went inside Having sitten down, after a little time he looked up to heaven, and sighed His disciples asked him why he sighed, and he said to them, 'Hsiû came to me a little while ago, and I told him the characteristics of the perfect man. I am afraid he will be frightened, and get into a state of perplexity' His disciples said, 'Not so. If what he said was right, and what you

[1] This must have been a man of more note We find him here with a school of disciples in his house, and sought out for counsel by men like Sun Hsiû.

said was wrong, the wrong will certainly not be able to perplex the right. If what he said was wrong, and what you said was right, it was just because he was perplexed that he came to you. What was your fault in dealing with him as you did?' Pien-tze said, 'Not so. Formerly a bird came, and took up its seat in the suburbs of Lû[1] The ruler of Lû was pleased with it, and provided an ox, a sheep, and a pig to feast it, causing also the *K*'iû-shâo to be performed to delight it But the bird began to be sad, looked dazed, and did not venture to eat or drink This was what is called "Nourishing a bird, as you would nourish yourself" He who would nourish a bird as a bird should be nourished should let it perch in a deep forest, or let it float on a river or lake, or let it find its food naturally and undisturbed on the level dry ground Now Hsiû (came to me), a man of slender intelligence, and slight information, and I told him of the characteristics of the perfect man, it was like using a carriage and horses to convey a mouse, or trying to delight a quail with the music of bells and drums,—could the creatures help being frightened?'

[1] Compare par 5, Bk XVIII

BOOK XX.

PART II. SECTION XIII

Shan Mû, or 'The Tree on the Mountain[1]'

1. *K*wang-ze was walking on a mountain, when he saw a great tree[2] with huge branches and luxuriant foliage A wood-cutter was resting by its side, but he would not touch it, and, when asked the reason, said, that it was of no use for anything. *K*wang-ze then said to his disciples, 'This tree, because its wood is good for nothing, will succeed in living out its natural term of years' Having left the mountain, the Master lodged in the house of an old friend, who was glad to see him, and ordered his waiting-lad to kill a goose and boil it The lad said, 'One of our geese can cackle, and the other cannot,—which of them shall I kill?' The host said, 'Kill the one that cannot cackle.'

Next day, his disciples asked *K*wang-ze, saying, 'Yesterday the tree on the mountain (you said) would live out its years because of the uselessness of its wood, and now our host's goose has died because of its want of power (to cackle);—which of these conditions, Master, would you prefer to be in?' *K*wang-ze laughed and said, '(If I said that) I would prefer to be in a position between being fit to be useful and wanting that fitness, that would

[1] See vol. xxxix, p 151

[2] Compare the accounts of great trees in I, par 6, IV, par 1, et al

seem to be the right position, but it would not be so, for it would not put me beyond being involved in trouble, whereas one who takes his seat on the Tâo and its Attributes, and there finds his ease and enjoyment, is not exposed to such a contingency He is above the reach both of praise and of detraction, now he (mounts aloft) like a dragon, now he (keeps beneath) like a snake, he is transformed with the (changing) character of the time, and is not willing to addict himself to any one thing, now in a high position and now in a low, he is in harmony with all his surroundings, he enjoys himself at ease with the Author of all things[1]. he treats things as things, and is not a thing to them —where is his liability to be involved in trouble? This was the method of Shăn Năng and Hwang-Tî As to those who occupy themselves with the qualities of things, and with the teaching and practice of the human relations, it is not so with them Union brings on separation, success, overthrow, sharp corners, the use of the file, honour, critical remarks, active exertion, failure, wisdom, scheming, inferiority, being despised —where is the possibility of unchangeableness in any of these conditions? Remember this, my disciples Let your abode be here,—in the Tâo and its Attributes[2].'

2. Î-hâo[3], an officer of Shih-nan[3], having an in-

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[1] The Tâo, called 衆父父, in Bk. XII, par 5

[2] But after all it comes to be the same thing in point of fact with those who ground themselves in the Tâo, and with others

[3] The Î-hâo here was a scion of the ruling House of *Khû*, and is mentioned fortunately in the Supplement to the Zo-*kh*wan, under the very year in which Confucius died (B C 479) His residence was in the south of the 'Market Place' of the city where he lived,

terview with the marquis of Lû [1], found him looking sad, and asked him why he was so. The marquis said, 'I have studied the ways of the former kings, and cultivated the inheritance left me by my predecessors I reverence the spirits of the departed and honour the men of worth, doing this with personal devotion, and without the slightest intermission. Notwithstanding, I do not avoid meeting with calamity, and this it is which makes me sad' The officer said, 'The arts by which you try to remove calamity are shallow Think of the close-furred fox and of the elegantly-spotted leopard They lodge in the forests on the hills, and lurk in their holes among the rocks,—keeping still. At night they go about, and during day remain in their lairs;—so cautious are they Even if they are suffering from hunger, thirst, and other distresses, they still keep aloof from men, seeking their food about the Kiang and the Ho,—so resolute are they Still they are not able to escape the danger of the net or the trap; and what fault is it of theirs? It is their skins which occasion them the calamity.

'And is not the state of Lû your lordship's skin? I wish your lordship to rip your skin from your body, to cleanse your heart, to put away your desires, and to enjoy yourself where you will be

which is the meaning of the Shih-nan in the text The description of his character is that no offer of gain could win him, and no threatening terrify him We find him here at the court of Lû in friendly conference with the marquis, and trying to persuade him to adopt the ways of Tâoism, which he presents to him under the figure of an allegory, an utopia called 'the State of Established Virtue,' in the south of Yüeh

[1] Probably known to us as 'duke Âi'

without the presence of any one In the southern state of Yueh, there is a district called "the State of Established Virtue" The people are ignorant and simple, their object is to minimise the thought of self and make their desires few, they labour but do not lay up their gains, they give but do not seek for any return, they do not know what righteousness is required of them in any particular case, nor by what ceremonies their performances should be signalised, acting in a wild and eccentric way as if they were mad, they yet keep to the grand rules of conduct. Their birth is an occasion for joy, their death is followed by the rites of burial I should wish your lordship to leave your state, to give up your ordinary ways, and to proceed to that country by the directest course'

The ruler said, 'The way to it is distant and difficult, there are rivers and hills, and as I have neither boat nor carriage, how am I to go?' The officer from Shih-nan rejoined, 'If your lordship abjure your personal state, and give up your wish to remain here, that will serve you for a carriage.' The ruler rejoined, 'The way to it is solitary and distant, and there are no people on it,—whom shall I have as my companions? I have no provisions prepared, and how shall I get food?—how shall I be able to get (to the country)?' The officer said, 'Minimise your lordship's expenditure, and make your wants few, and though you have no provisions prepared, you will find you have enough. Wade through the rivers and float along on the sea, where however you look, you see not the shore, and, the farther you go, you do not see where your journey is to end,—those who escorted you to the shore will

return, and after that you will feel yourself far away Thus it is that he who owns men (as their ruler) is involved in troubles, and he who is owned by men (as their ruler) suffers from sadness; and hence Yâo would neither own men, nor be owned by them I wish to remove your trouble, and take away your sadness, and it is only (to be done by inducing you) to enjoy yourself with the Tâo in the land of Great Vacuity.

'If a man is crossing a river in a boat, and another empty vessel comes into collision with it, even though he be a man of a choleric temper, he will not be angry with it. If there be a person, however, in that boat, he will bawl out to him to haul out of the way. If his shout be not heard, he will repeat it, and if the other do not then hear, he will call out a third time, following up the shout with abusive terms Formerly he was not angry, but now he is, formerly (he thought) the boat was empty, but now there is a person in it If a man can empty himself of himself, during his time in the world, who can harm him?'

3 Pei-kung Shê[1] was collecting taxes for duke Ling of Wei, to be employed in making (a peal of) bells (In connexion with the work) he built an altar outside the gate of the suburban wall, and in three months the bells were completed, even to the suspending of the upper and lower (tiers) The king's son *Kh*ing-*k*i[2] saw them, and asked what

[1] Pei-kung, 'Northern Palace,' must have been the name of Shê's residence, and appears here as if it were his surname

[2] A son, probably of king *K*ing of *K*âu (B C 544–529)—On the whole paragraph, see par 10 of the preceding Book.

arts he had employed in the making of them. Shê replied, 'Besides my undivided attention to them, I did not venture to use any arts I have heard the saying, "After all the carving and the chiselling, let the object be to return to simplicity" I was as a child who has no knowledge, I was extraordinarily slow and hesitating, they grew like the springing plants of themselves In escorting those who went and meeting those who came, my object was neither to hinder the comers nor detain the goers I suffered those who strongly opposed to take their way, and accepted those who did their best to come to terms I allowed them all to do the utmost they could, and in this way morning and evening I collected the taxes. I did not have the slightest trouble, and how much more will this be the case with those who pursue the Great Way (on a grand scale)!'

4 Confucius was kept (by his enemies) in a state of siege between *Khăn* and Shâi[1], and for seven days had no food cooked with fire to eat The Thâi-kung *Zân*[2] went to condole with him, and said, 'You had nearly met with your death' 'Yes,' was the reply 'Do you dislike death?' 'I do' Then *Zăn* continued, 'Let me try and describe a way by which (such a) death may be avoided—In the eastern sea there are birds which go by the name of Î-îs[3]; they fly low and slowly as if they were deficient in power They fly as if they were

[1] Compare Analects XI, ii

[2] We might translate Thâi-kung by 'the grand-duke' We know nothing about him He tries to convert Confucius to Tâoism just as Î-hâo does the marquis of Lû in par 2, and for a time at least, as *K*wang-tze makes it appear, with more success

[3] Were these Î-îs swallows? So some of the critics say

leading and assisting one another, and they press on one another when they roost No one ventures to take the lead in going forward, or to be the last in going backwards In eating no one ventures to take the first mouthful, but prefers the fragments left by others In this way (the breaks in) their line are not many [1], and men outside them cannot harm them, so that they escape injury

'The straight tree is the first to be cut down, the well of sweet water is the first to be exhausted Your aim is to embellish your wisdom so as to startle the ignorant, and to cultivate your person to show the unsightliness of others. A light shines around you as if you were carrying with you the sun and moon, and thus it is that you do not escape such calamity Formerly I heard a highly accomplished man say, "Those who boast have no merit The merit which is deemed complete will begin to decay The fame which is deemed complete will begin to wane" Who can rid himself of (the ideas of) merit and fame, and return and put himself on the level of the masses of men? The practice of the Tâo flows abroad, but its master does not care to dwell where it can be seen, his attainments in it hold their course, but he does not wish to appear in its display. Always simple and commonplace, he may seem to be bereft of reason He obliterates the traces of his action, gives up position and power, and aims not at merit and fame Therefore he does not censure men, and men do not censure him The perfect man does not seek to be heard of, how is it that you delight in doing so?'

[1] A clause of uncertain meaning

Confucius said, 'Excellent,' and thereupon he took leave of his associates, forsook his disciples, retired to the neighbourhood of a great marsh, wore skins and hair cloth, and ate acorns and chestnuts. He went among animals without causing any confusion among their herds, and among birds without troubling their movements Birds and beasts did not dislike him, how much less would men do so!

5 Confucius asked Ʒze-sang Hû[1], saying, 'I was twice driven from Lû, the tree was felled over me in Sung, I was obliged to disappear from Wei, I was reduced to extreme distress in Shang and *K*âu[2], and I was kept in a state of siege between *Kh*ăn and Ʒhâi I have encountered these various calamities, my intimate associates are removed from me more and more; my followers and friends are more and more dispersed,—why have all these things befallen me?' Ʒze-sang Hû replied, 'Have you not heard of the flight of Lin Hui of *K*iâ[3],—how he abandoned his round jade symbol of rank, worth a thousand pieces of silver, and hurried away with his infant son on his back? If it be asked, "Was it because of the market value of the child?" But that value was small (compared with the value of the jade token) If it be asked again, "Was it because of the troubles

[1] Supposed to have been a recluse

[2] I do not know the particulars of this distress in Shang and *K*âu, or have forgotten them A still more full recital of the sage's misfortunes occurs in Lieh-ʒze, VII, 8[a].

[3] The text here appears to be somewhat confused Lin Hui is said to have been a man of the Yin dynasty, and of a state which was called *K*iâ, and for the verification of such a state I have searched in vain The explanation of his conduct put here into his mouth is very good

(of his office)?" But the child would occasion him much more trouble Why was it then that, abandoning the jade token, worth a thousand pieces of silver, he hurried away with the child on his back? Lin Hui (himself) said, "The union between me and the token rested on the ground of gain, that between me and the child was of Heaven's appointment" Where the bond of union is its profitableness, when the pressure of poverty, calamity, distress, and injury come, the parties abandon one another, when it is of Heaven's appointment, they hold in the same circumstances to one another Now between abandoning one another, and holding to one another, the difference is great. Moreover, the intercourse of superior men is tasteless as water, while that of mean men is sweet as new wine But the tastelessness of the superior men leads on to affection, and the sweetness of the mean men to aversion The union which originates without any cause will end in separation without any cause'

Confucius said, 'I have reverently received your instructions' And hereupon, with a slow step and an assumed air of ease, he returned to his own house There he made an end of studying and put away his books His disciples came no more to make their bow to him (and be taught), but their affection for him increased the more

Another day Sang Hû said further to him, 'When Shun was about to die, he charged[1] Yu, saying, 'Be

[1] The 眞冷 of the text here are allowed on all hands to be spurious, and 其命 have been substituted for them What follows, however, from Shun to Yü, is far from being clear, in itself, or in its connexion

upon your guard (The attraction of) the person is not like that of sympathy; the (power of) affection is not like the leading (of example) Where there is sympathy, there will not be separation, where there is (the leading of) example, there will be no toil Where there is neither separation nor toil, you will not have to seek the decoration of forms to make the person attractive, and where there is no such need of those forms, there will certainly be none for external things'

6 *K*wang-tze in a patched dress of coarse cloth, and having his shoes tied together with strings, was passing by the king of Wei, who said to him, 'How great, Master, is your distress?' *K*wang-tze replied, 'It is poverty, not distress! While a scholar possesses the Tâo and its Attributes, he cannot be going about in distress Tattered clothes and shoes tied on the feet are the sign of poverty, and not of distress This is what we call not meeting with the right time Has your majesty not seen the climbing monkey? When he is among the plane trees, rottleras, oaks, and camphor trees, he grasps and twists their branches (into a screen), where he reigns quite at his ease, so that not even Î[1] or Phăng Măng[1] could spy him out When, however, he finds himself among the prickly mulberry and date trees, and other thorns, he goes cautiously, casts sidelong glances, and takes every trembling movement with apprehension,—it is not that his sinews and bones

[1] Î,—see Book V, par 2 Phăng Măng was a contemporary of Î, learned archery from him, and then slew him that he might himself be the foremost archer in the kingdom,—see Mencius IV, ii, 24

are straitened, and have lost their suppleness, but the situation is unsuitable for him, and he cannot display his agility And now when I dwell under a benighted ruler, and seditious ministers, how is it possible for me not to be in distress? My case might afford an illustration of the cutting out the heart of Pî-kan[1]!'

7 When Confucius was reduced to great distress between *Khăn* and *Khâi*, and for seven days he had no cooked food to eat, he laid hold of a decayed tree with his left hand, and with his right hand tapped it with a decayed branch, singing all the while the ode of Piâo-shih[2] He had his instrument, but the notes were not marked on it. There was a noise, but no blended melody The sound of the wood and the voice of the man came together like the noise of the plough through the ground, yet suitably to the feelings of the disciples around. Yen Hui, who was standing upright, with his hands crossed on his breast, rolled his eyes round to observe him *K*ung-nî, fearing that Hui would go to excess in manifesting how he honoured himself, or be plunged in sorrow through his love for him, said to him, 'Hui, not to receive (as evils) the inflictions of Heaven is easy, not to receive (as benefits) the favours of men is difficult There is no beginning which was not an end The Human and the Heavenly may be one

[1] 'A spurious paragraph, no doubt' Lin Hsî-*k*ung thus concludes what he has to say on this paragraph, but it is not without its interest and lessons

[2] I do not know who this was, nor what his ode or air was Lû Teh-ming read the character 彘, and says that Piâo-shih was one of the old royal Tîs who did nothing In all my texts it is wrongly printed with three 火

and the same Who, for instance, is it that is now *singing*[1]?' *Hui said*, 'I venture to ask how not to receive (as evils) the inflictions of Heaven is easy' *Kung-nî said*, 'Hunger, thirst, cold, and heat, and having one's progress entirely blocked up,—these are the doings of Heaven and Earth, necessary incidents in the revolutions of things They are occurrences of which we say that we will pass on (composedly) along with them The minister of another does not dare to refuse his commands, and if he who is discharging the duty of a minister feels it necessary to act thus, how much more should we wait with ease on the commands of Heaven[2]!' 'What do you mean by saying that not to receive (as benefits) the favours of men is difficult?' *Kung-nî* said, 'As soon as one is employed in office, he gets forward in all directions, rank and emolument come to him together, and without end But these advantages do not come from one's self,—it is my appointed lot to have such external good The superior man is not a robber, the man of worth is no filcher,—if I prefer such things, what am I[3]? Hence it is said, "There is no bird wiser than the swallow" Where its eye lights on a place that is not suitable for it, it does not give it a second glance Though it may drop the food from its

[1] This question arose out of the previous statement that man and Heaven might be one,—acting with the same spontaneity

[2] Confucius recognises here, as he often does, a power beyond his own, 'his appointed lot,' what we call destiny, to which the Tâo requires submission This comes very near to our idea of God

[3] Human gifts had such an attraction, that they tended to take from man his heavenly spontaneity, and were to be eschewed, or received only with great caution

mouth, it abandons it, and hurries off. It is afraid of men, and yet it stealthily takes up its dwelling by his, finding its protection in the altars of the Land and Grain [1]

'What do you mean by saying that there is no beginning which was not an end?' *K*ung-nî said, 'The change—rise and dissolution—of all things (continually) goes on, but we do not know who it is that maintains and continues the process How do we know when any one begins? How do we know when he will end? We have simply to wait for it, and nothing more [2]'

'And what do you mean by saying that the Human and the Heavenly are one and the same?' *K*ung-ni said, 'Given man, and you have Heaven, given Heaven, and you still have Heaven (and nothing more) That man can not have Heaven is owing to the limitation of his nature [3] The sagely man quietly passes away with his body, and there is an end of it'

8 As *K*wang *K*âu was rambling in the park of Tiâo-ling [4] he saw a strange bird which came from the south Its wings were seven cubits in width, and

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[1] What is said here about the swallow is quite obscure Hsî-*k*ung says that all the old attempts to explain it are ridiculous, and then propounds an ingenious one of his own, but I will leave the passage with my reader to deal with it as he best can

[2] Compare with this how in Book XVIII we find *K*wang-ze singing by the dead body of his wife

[3] That man is man and not Heaven is simply from the limitation of his nature,—his 'appointed lot'

[4] Tiâo-ling might be translated 'Eagle Mount' Where it was I do not know, perhaps the name originated with *K*wang-ze and thus has become semi-historical

its eyes were large, an inch in circuit It touched the forehead of *K*âu as it passed him, and lighted in a grove of chestnut trees 'What bird is this?' said he, 'with such great wings not to go on! and with such large eyes not to see me!' He lifted up his skirts, and hurried with his cross-bow, waiting for (an opportunity to shoot) it (Meanwhile) he saw a cicada, which had just alighted in a beautiful shady spot, and forgot its (care for its) body (Just then), a preying mantis raised its feelers, and pounced on the cicada, in its eagerness for its prey, (also) forgetting (its care for) its body, while the strange bird took advantage of its opportunity to secure them both, in view of that gain forgetting its true (instinct of preservation)[1]. *K*wang *K*âu with an emotion of pity, said, 'Ah! so it is that things bring evil on one another, each of these creatures invited its own calamity' (With this) he put away his cross-bow, and was hurrying away back, when the forester pursued him with terms of reproach

When he returned and went into his house, he did not appear in his courtyard[2] for three months[2] (When he came out), Lan Ȝu[3] (his disciple) asked him, saying, 'Master, why have you for this some time avoided the courtyard so much?' *K*wang-ȝze replied, 'I was guarding my person, and forgot myself, I was looking at turbid water, till I

[1] *K*wang-ȝze might now have shot the bird, but we like him the better for letting it alone

[2] So then, masters of schools, like *K*wang-ȝze, received and taught their disciples in the courtyard of their house,—in China as elsewhere For three 'months,' it is conjectured, we should read three 'days'

[3] The disciple Lan Ȝü appears here, but not, so far as I know, elsewhere

mistook the clear pool. And moreover I have heard the Master say[1], "Going where certain customs prevail, you should follow those customs" I was walking about in the park of Tiâo-ling, and forgot myself A strange bird brushed past my forehead, and went flying about in the grove of chestnuts, where it forgot the true (art of preserving itself). The forester of the chestnut grove thought that I was a fitting object for his reproach These are the reasons why I have avoided the courtyard.'

9 Yang-tze, having gone to Sung, passed the night in a lodging-house, the master of which had two concubines,—one beautiful, the other ugly[2] The ugly one was honoured, however, and the beautiful one contemned Yang-tze asked the reason, and a little boy of the house replied, 'The beauty knows her beauty, and we do not recognise it. The ugly one knows her ugliness, and we do not recognise it' Yang-tze said, 'Remember it, my disciples Act virtuously, and put away the practice of priding yourselves on your virtue If you do this, where can you go to that you will not be loved[3]?'

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[1] Who was this 'Master?'

[2] The story here is found in Lieh-tze II, 15 a, b The Yang-tze is there Yang Kû, against whom Mencius so often directed his arguments

[3] See the greater part of this paragraph in Prémare's 'Notitia Linguae Sinicae,' p 200, with his remarks on the style

BOOK XXI

PART II SECTION XIV

Thien Ʒze-fang[1]

1 Thien Ʒze-fang, sitting in attendance on the marquis Wăn of Wei[2], often quoted (with approbation) the words of *Khî* Kung[3] The marquis said, 'Is *Khî* Kung your preceptor?' Ʒze-fang replied, 'No He only belongs to the same neighbourhood In speaking about the Tâo, his views are often correct, and therefore I quote them as I do' The marquis went on, 'Then have you no preceptor?' 'I have' 'And who is he?' 'He is Tung-kwo Shun-ʒze[4]' 'And why, my Master, have I never heard you quote his words?' Ʒze-fang replied, 'He is a man who satisfies the true (ideal of humanity)[5], a man in appearance, but (having the mind of) Heaven Void of any thought of himself, he accommodates himself to others, and nourishes the true ideal that belongs to him With all his purity, he is forbearing to others Where they are without the Tâo, he rectifies his demeanour so that they understand it, and in consequence their own ideas melt

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[1] See vol xxxix, pp 151, 152 [2] B C 424–387

[3] Some well-known worthy of Wei

[4] A greater worthy still He must have lived near the outside suburban wall of the capital and his residence became a sort of surname

[5] The Human and the Heavenly were blended in his personality.

away and disappear How should one like me be fit to quote his words ?'

When Ze-fang went out, the marquis Wăn continued in a state of dumb amazement all the day He then called Lung Lî-*khăn*, and said to him, 'How far removed from us is the superior man of complete virtue! Formerly I thought the words of the sages and wise men, and the practice of benevolence and righteousness, to be the utmost we could reach to. Since I have heard about the preceptor of Ze-fang, my body is all unstrung, and I do not wish to move, and my mouth is closed up, and I do not wish to speak,—what I have learned has been only a counterfeit of the truth[1] Yes, (the possession of Wei) has been an entanglement to me.'

2 Wăn-po Hsueh-ze[2], on his way to *Khî*, stayed some time in Lû, where some persons of the state begged to have an interview with him He refused them, saying, 'I have heard that the superior men of these Middle States[3] understand the (subjects of) ceremony and righteousness, but are deplorably ignorant of the minds of men I do not wish to see them' He went on to *Khî*, and on his way back (to the south), he again stayed in Lû, when the same persons begged as before for an interview. He then said, 'Formerly they asked to see me, and now again they seek an interview They will afford me

[1] So the Khang-hsî dictionary defines the phrase,—'a wooden image made of earth,' says Lû Shû-*kih*

[2] A Tâoist of note from some region in the south, perhaps from *Khû*, having his own share of the Tâoistic contempt for knowledge and culture

[3] Probably Lû and the northern states grouped closely round the royal domain

some opportunity of bringing out my sentiments' He went out accordingly and saw the visitors, and came in again with a sigh Next day the same thing occurred, and his servant said to him, 'How is it that whenever you see those visitors, you are sure to come in again sighing?' 'I told you before,' was the reply, 'that the people of these Middle States understand (the subjects of) ceremony and righteousness, but are deplorably ignorant of the minds of men Those men who have just seen me, as they came in and went out would describe, one a circle and another a square, and in their easy carriage would be like, one a dragon and another a tiger They remonstrated with me as sons (with their fathers), and laid down the way for me as fathers (for their sons) It was this which made me sigh.'

*K*ung-nî saw the man, but did not speak a word to him Ʒze-lû said, 'You have wished, Sir, to see this Wăn-po Hsueh-ʒze for a long time, what is the reason that when you have seen him, you have not spoken a word?' *K*ung-nî replied, 'As soon as my eyes lighted on that man, the Tâo in him was apparent The situation did not admit of a word being spoken'

3. Yen Yuan asked *K*ung-nî, saying, 'Master, when you pace quietly along, I also pace along, when you go more quickly, I also do the same; when you gallop, I also gallop, but when you race along and spurn the dust, then I can only stand and look, and keep behind you[1]' The Master said, 'Hui, what do you mean?' The reply was, 'In saying that "when you, Master, pace quietly along, I also pace

[1] They are both supposed to be on horseback

along," I mean[1] that when you speak, I also speak By saying, "When you go more quickly, I also do the same," I mean[1] that when you reason, I also reason. By saying, "When you gallop, I also gallop," I mean[1] that when you speak of the Way, I also speak of the Way, but by saying, "When you race along and spurn the dust, then I can only stare, and keep behind you," I am thinking how though you do not speak, yet all men believe you, though you are no partisan, yet all parties approve your catholicity, and though you sound no instrument, yet people all move on harmoniously before you, while (all the while) I do not know how all this comes about, and this is all which my words are intended to express[2].'

*K*ung-nî said, 'But you must try and search the matter out Of all causes for sorrow there is none so great as the death of the mind,—the death of man's (body) is only next to it The sun comes forth in the east, and sets in the extreme west,—all things have their position determined by these two points All that have eyes and feet wait for this (sun), and then proceed to do what they have to do When this comes forth, they appear in their places, when it sets, they disappear It is so with all things They have that for which they wait, and (on its arrival) they die; they have that for which they wait, and then (again) they live When once I receive my frame thus completed, I remain unchanged, awaiting the consummation of my course

[1] In these three cases the 也 of the text should be 者

[2] So Hui is made to represent the master as a mental Thaumathurgist, and Confucius is made to try to explain the whole thing to him,—but not to my mind successfully Still a distinction is maintained between the mind and the body

I move as acted on by things, day and night without cessation, and I do not know when I will come to an end Clearly I am here a completed frame, and even one who (fancies that he) knows what is appointed cannot determine it beforehand I am in this way daily passing on, but all day long I am communicating my views to you, and now, as we are shoulder to shoulder you fail (to understand me),—is it not matter for lamentation? You are able in a measure to set forth what I more clearly set forth, but that is passed away, and you look for it, as if it were still existing, just as if you were looking for a horse in the now empty place where it was formerly exhibited for sale You have very much forgotten my service to you, and I have very much forgotten wherein I served you But nevertheless why should you account this such an evil? What you forget is but my old self, that which cannot be forgotten remains with me'

4 Confucius went to see Lâo Tan, and arrived just as he had completed the bathing of his head, and was letting his dishevelled hair get dry There he was, motionless, and as if there were not another man in the world[1] Confucius waited quietly, and, when in a little time he was introduced, he said, 'Were my eyes dazed? Is it really you? Just now, your body, Sir, was like the stump of a rotten tree You looked as if you had no thought of anything, as if you had left the society of men, and were standing in the solitude (of yourself).' Lâo Tan replied, 'I was enjoying myself in thinking about the commencement

[1] He was in the Tâoistic trance, like Nan-kwo Ze-*khî*, at the beginning of the second Book

of things[1]' 'What do you mean?' 'My mind is so cramped, that I hardly know it, my tongue is so tied that I cannot tell it, but I will try to describe it to you as nearly as I can When the state of Yin was perfect, all was cold and severe, when the state of Yang was perfect, all was turbulent and agitated. The coldness and severity came forth from Heaven, the turbulence and agitation issued from Earth. The two states communicating together, a harmony ensued and things were produced Some one regulated and controlled this, but no one has seen his form. Decay and growth; fulness and emptiness, darkness and light, the changes of the sun and the transformations of the moon —these are brought about from day to day, but no one sees the process of production Life has its origin from which it springs, and death has its place from which it returns Beginning and ending go on in mutual contrariety without any determinable commencement, and no one knows how either comes to an end. If we disallow all this, who originates and presides over all these phenomena?'

Confucius said, 'I beg to ask about your enjoyment in these thoughts' Lâo Tan replied, 'The

[1] This 'commencement of things' was not the equivalent of 'our creation out of nothing,' for Lâo Tan immediately supposes the existence of the primary ether in its twofold state, as Yin and Yang, and also of Heaven and Earth, as a twofold Power working, under some regulation and control, yet invisible, that is, under the Tâo In the same way the process of beginning and ending, growth and decay, life and death go on, no one knows how, or how long And the contemplation of all this is the cause of unceasing delight to the Perfect man, the possessor of the Tâo Death is a small matter, merely as a change of feature, and Confucius acknowledges his immeasurable inferiority to Lâo-tze

comprehension of this is the most admirable and the most enjoyable (of all acquisitions) The getting of the most admirable and the exercise of the thoughts in what is the most enjoyable, constitutes what we call the Perfect man.' Confucius said, 'I should like to hear the method of attaining to it' The reply was, 'Grass-eating animals do not dislike to change their pastures, creatures born in the water do not dislike to change their waters They make a small change, but do not lose what is the great and regular requirement (of their nature), joy, anger, sadness, and delight do not enter into their breasts (in connexion with such events). Now the space under the sky is occupied by all things in their unity When they possess that unity and equally share it, then the four limbs and hundred members of their body are but so much dust and dirt, while death and life, their ending and beginning, are but as the succession of day and night, which cannot disturb their enjoyment, and how much less will they be troubled by gains and losses, by calamity and happiness! Those who renounce the paraphernalia of rank do it as if they were casting away so much mud,—they know that they are themselves more honourable than those paraphernalia The honour belonging to one's self is not lost by any change (of condition) Moreover, a myriad transformations may take place before the end of them is reached What is there in all this sufficient to trouble the mind? Those who have attained to the Tâo understand the subject'

Confucius said, 'O Master, your virtue is equal to that of Heaven and Earth, and still I must borrow

(some of your) perfect words (to aid me) in the cultivation of my mind Who among the superior men of antiquity could give such expression to them?' Lâo Tan replied, 'Not so Look at the spring, the water of which rises and overflows,—it does nothing, but it naturally acts so So with the perfect man and his virtue,—he does not cultivate it, and nothing evades its influence He is like heaven which is high of itself, like earth which is solid of itself, like the sun and moon which shine of themselves,—what need is there to cultivate it?'

Confucius went out and reported the conversation to Yen Hui, saying, 'In the (knowledge of the) Tâo am I any better than an animalcule in vinegar? But for the Master's lifting the veil from me, I should not have known the grand perfection of Heaven and Earth'

5 At an interview of *K*wang-ze with duke Âi[1] of Lû, the duke said, 'There are many of the Learned class in Lû, but few of them can be compared with you, Sir' *K*wang-ze replied, 'There are few Learned men in Lû.' 'Everywhere in Lû,' rejoined the duke, 'you see men wearing the dress of the Learned[2],—how can you say that they are few?' 'I have heard,' said *K*wang-ze, 'that those of them who wear round caps know the times of heaven, that those who wear square shoes know the contour of the ground, and that those who saunter about with semicircular stones at their

[1] Duke Âi of Lû died in B C 468, a century and more before the birth of *K*wang-ze On that, as well as on other grounds, the paragraph cannot be genuine

[2] Compare the thirty-eighth Book of the Lî *K*î, where Confucius denies that there was any dress peculiar to the scholar

girdle-pendents settle matters in dispute as they come before them But superior men who are possessed of such knowledge will not be found wearing the dress, and it does not follow that those who wear the dress possess the knowledge If your Grace think otherwise, why not issue a notification through the state, that it shall be a capital offence to wear the dress without possessing the knowledge' On this the duke issued such a notification, and in five days, throughout all Lû, there was no one who dared to wear the dress of the Learned There was only one old man who came and stood in it at the duke's gate. The duke instantly called him in, and questioned him about the affairs of the state, when he talked about a thousand points and ten thousand divergences from them *K*wang-*ʒ*ze said, 'When the state of Lû can thus produce but one man of the Learned class, can he be said to be many?'

6 The ideas of rank and emolument did not enter the mind of Pâi-lî Hsî [1], and so he became a cattle-feeder, and his cattle were all in fine condition This made duke Mû of *Kh*in forget the meanness of his position, and put the government (of his state) into his hands Neither life nor death entered into the mind of (Shun), the Lord of Yu, and therefore he was able to influence others [2].

7 The ruler Yuan [3] of Sung wishing to have a map

[1] Pâi-lî Hsî, a remarkable character of the seventh century B C, who rose to be chief minister to Mû, the earl (or duke) of *Kh*in, the last of the five Leading Princes of the kingdom Mû died in B C 621 Mencius has much to say of Pâi-lî Hsî

[2] Shun's parents wished to kill him, but that did not trouble his mind, his filial piety even affected them

[3] His first year as duke of Sung was B.C 530 The point of the story is not clear

drawn, the masters of the pencil all came (to undertake the task) Having received his instructions and made their bows, they stood, licking their pencils and preparing their ink Half their number, however, remained outside There was one who came late, with an air of indifference, and did not hurry forward. When he had received his instructions and made his bow, he did not keep standing, but proceeded to his shed The duke sent a man to see him, and there he was, with his upper garment off, sitting cross-legged, and nearly naked. The ruler said, 'He is the man, he is a true draughtsman.'

8 King Wăn was (once) looking about him at Zang[1], when he saw an old man fishing[2] But his fishing was no fishing It was not the fishing of one whose business is fishing. He was always fishing (as if he had no object in the occupation) The king wished to raise him to office, and put the government into his hands, but was afraid that such a step would give dissatisfaction to his great ministers, his uncles, and cousins He then wished to dismiss the man altogether from his mind, but he could not bear the thought that his people should be without (such a) Heaven (as their Protector) On this, (next) morning, he called together his great officers, and said to them, 'Last night, I dreamt that I saw a good man, with a dark complexion and a

[1] Where Zang was cannot be told

[2] The old fisherman here was, no doubt, the first marquis of Khî, after the establishment of the dynasty of Kâu, known by various names, as Lü Shang, Thâi-kung Wang, and Kiang Ze-yâ He did much for the new rule, but his connexion with kings Wăn and Wû is a mass of fables The fishing as if he were not fishing betokened in him the aimlessness of the Tâo

beard, riding on a piebald horse, one half of whose hoofs were red, who commanded me, saying, "Lodge your government in the hands of the old man of Jang, and perhaps the evils of your people will be cured"' The great officers said eagerly, 'It was the king, your father' King Wăn said, 'Let us then submit the proposal to the tortoise-shell' They replied, 'It is the order of your father Let not your majesty think of any other Why divine about it?' (The king) then met the old man of Jang, and committed the government to him.

The statutes and laws were not changed by him, not a one-sided order (of his own) was issued, but when the king made a survey of the kingdom after three years, he found that the officers had destroyed the plantations (which harboured banditti), and dispersed their occupiers, that the superintendents of the official departments did not plume themselves on their successes, and that no unusual grain measures were allowed within the different states[1] When the officers had destroyed the dangerous plantations and dispersed their occupants, the highest value was set on the common interests, when the chiefs of departments did not plume themselves on their successes, the highest value was set on the common business, when unusual grain measures did not enter the different states, the different princes had no jealousies On this king Wăn made the old man his Grand Preceptor, and asked him, with his own face to the north, whether his government might be extended to all the kingdom The old

[1] That is, that all combinations formed to resist and warp the course of justice had been put an end to

man looked perplexed and gave no reply, but with aimless look took his leave In the morning he had issued his orders, and at night he had gone his way, nor was he heard of again all his life Yen Yuan questioned Confucius, saying, 'Was even king Wăn unequal to determine his course? What had he to do with resorting to a dream?' Kung-nî replied, 'Be silent and do not say a word! King Wăn was complete in everything What have you to do with criticising him? He only had recourse (to the dream) to meet a moment's difficulty'

9 Lieh Yu-khâu was exhibiting his archery[1] to Po-hwăn Wû-zăn[2] Having drawn the bow to its full extent, with a cup of water placed on his elbow, he let fly As the arrow was discharged, another was put in its place, and as that was sent off, a third was ready on the string All the while he stood like a statue Po-hwăn Wû-zăn said, 'That is the shooting of an archer, but not of one who shoots without thinking about his shooting Let me go up with you to the top of a high mountain, treading with you among the tottering rocks, till we arrive at the brink of a precipice, 800 cubits deep, and (I will then see) if you can shoot.' On this they went up a high mountain, making their way among the tottering rocks, till they came to the brink of a precipice 800 cubits deep Then Wû-zăn turned round and walked backwards, till his feet were two-

[1] This must be the meaning of the 爲, 'for' The whole story is found in Lieh-ze, II, p 5 From Lieh's Book VIII, p 2 we learn that Lieh-ze's teacher in archery was Yin Hsî, the warden of the pass famous in the history of Lâo-ze

[2] Mentioned in Book V, par 2

thirds of their length outside the edge, and beckoned Yu-khâu to come forward He, however, had fallen prostrate on the ground, with the sweat pouring down to his heels Then the other said, 'The Perfect man looks up to the azure sky above, or dives down to the yellow springs beneath, or soars away to the eight ends of the universe, without any change coming over his spirit or his breath But now the trepidation of your mind appears in your dazed eyes, your inward feeling of peril is extreme!'

10 *K*ien Wû asked Sun-shû Âo[1], saying, 'You, Sir, were thrice chief minister, and did not feel elated, you were thrice dismissed from that position, without manifesting any sorrow At first I was in doubt about you, (but I am not now, since) I see how regularly and quietly the breath comes through your nostrils How is it that you exercise your mind?' Sun-shû Âo replied, 'In what do I surpass other men? When the position came to me, I thought it should not be rejected, when it was taken away, I thought it could not be retained. I considered that the getting or losing it did not make me what I was, and was no occasion for any manifestation of sorrow,—that was all In what did I surpass other men? And moreover, I did not know whether the honour of it belonged to the dignity, or to myself If it belonged to the dignity, it was nothing to me, if it belonged to me, it had nothing

[1] Sun-shû Âo,—see Mencius VI, ii, 15 He was, no doubt, a good and able man, chief minister to king *K*wang of *Khû* The legends or edifying stories about him are many, but *K*wang-tze, I think, is the author of his being thrice raised and thrice dismissed from office

to do with the dignity While occupied with these uncertainties, and looking round in all directions, what leisure had I to take knowledge of whether men honoured me or thought me mean?'

*K*ung-nî heard of all this, and said, 'The True men of old could not be fully described by the wisest, nor be led into excess by the most beautiful, nor be forced by the most violent robber Neither Fû-hsî nor Hwang-Tî could compel them to be their friends Death and life are indeed great considerations, but they could make no change in their (true) self, and how much less could rank and emolument do so? Being such, their spirits might pass over the Thâi mountain and find it no obstacle to them[1], they might enter the greatest gulphs, and not be wet by them, they might occupy the lowest and smallest positions without being distressed by them Theirs was the fulness of heaven and earth, the more that they gave to others, the more they had'

The king of *K'h*û and the ruler of Fan[2] were sitting together After a little while, the attendants of the king said, 'Fan has been destroyed three times' The ruler of Fan rejoined, 'The destruction of Fan has not been sufficient to destroy what we had that was most deserving to be preserved' Now,

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[1] It is difficult to see why this should be predicated of the 'spirits' of the True men

[2] Fan was a small state, held at one time by descendants of the famous duke of *K'*âu,—see the Zo *K'h*wan, I, vii, 6, V, xxiv, 2 But we do not know what had been the relations between the powerful *K'h*û and the feeble Fan, which gave rise to and could explain the remarks made at the entertainment, more honourable to Fan than to *K'h*û

if the destruction of Fan had not been sufficient to destroy that which it had most deserving to be preserved, the preservation of *Khû* had not been sufficient to preserve that in it most deserving to be preserved Looking at the matter from this point of view, Fan had not begun to be destroyed, and *Khû* had not begun to be preserved

BOOK XXII

PART II SECTION XV.

*K*ih Pei Yû, or 'Knowledge Rambling in the North[1].'

1 Knowledge[2] had rambled northwards to the region of the Dark Water[3], where he ascended the height of Imperceptible Slope[3], when it happened that he met with Dumb Inaction[2] Knowledge addressed him, saying, 'I wish to ask you some questions —By what process of thought and anxious consideration do we get to know the Tâo? Where should we dwell and what should we do to find our rest in the Tâo? From what point should we start and what path should we pursue to make the Tâo our own?' He asked these three questions, but Dumb Inaction[2] gave him no reply Not only did he not answer, but he did not know how to answer

Knowledge[2], disappointed by the fruitlessness of his questions, returned to the south of the Bright

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[1] See vol xxxix, p 152

[2] All these names are metaphorical, having more or less to do with the qualities of the Tâo, and are used as the names of personages, devoted to the pursuit of it It is difficult to translate the name *Kh*wang *Kh*u (狂屈) An old reading is 詘, which Medhurst explains by 'Bent or Crooked Discourse' 'Blurter,' though not an elegant English term, seems to express the idea our author would convey by it Hwang-Tî is different from the other names, but we cannot regard him as here a real personage

[3] These names of places are also metaphorical and Tâoistic

Water[1], and ascended the height of the End of Doubt[1], where he saw Heedless Blurter, to whom he put the same questions, and who replied, 'Ah! I know, and will tell you' But while he was about to speak, he forgot what he wanted to say

Knowledge, (again) receiving no answer to his questions, returned to the palace of the Tî[2], where he saw Hwang-Tî[3], and put the questions to him. Hwang-Tî said, 'To exercise no thought and no anxious consideration is the first step towards knowing the Tâo, to dwell nowhere and do nothing is the first step towards resting in the Tâo, to start from nowhere and pursue no path is the first step towards making the Tâo your own'

Knowledge then asked Hwang-Tî, saying, 'I and you know this, those two did not know it, which of us is right?' The reply was, 'Dumb Inaction is truly right, Heedless Blurter has an appearance of being so, I and you are not near being so (As it is said), "Those who know (the Tâo) do not speak of it, those who speak of it do not know it[4]," and "Hence the sage conveys his instructions without the use of speech[4]" The Tâo cannot be made ours by constraint, its characteristics will not come to us (at our call) Benevolence may be practised, Righteousness may be partially attended to, by Ceremonies men impose on one another Hence it

[1] See note 3, on preceding page

[2] Tî might seem to be used here for 'God,' but its juxtaposition with Hwang-Tî is against our translating it so

[3] See note 2, on preceding page

[4] See the Tâo Teh *King*, chaps 56 and 2 *Kwang-tze* is quoting, no doubt, these two passages, as he vaguely intimates I think by the 夫, with which the sentence commences

is said, "When the Tâo was lost, its Characteristics appeared When its Characteristics were lost, Benevolence appeared When Benevolence was lost, Righteousness appeared When Righteousness was lost, Ceremonies appeared Ceremonies are but (the unsubstantial) flowers of the Tâo, and the commencement of disorder[1]" Hence (also it is further said), "He who practises the Tâo, daily diminishes his doing He diminishes it and again diminishes it, till he arrives at doing nothing Having arrived at this non-inaction, there is nothing that he does not do[1]" Here now there is something, a regularly fashioned utensil,—if you wanted to make it return to the original condition of its materials, would it not be difficult to make it do so? Could any but the Great Man accomplish this easily[2]?

'Life is the follower of death, and death is the predecessor of life, but who knows the Arranger (of this connexion between them)[3]? The life is due to the collecting of the breath. When that is collected, there is life, when it is dispersed, there is death Since death and life thus attend on each other, why should I account (either of) them an evil?

'Therefore all things go through one and the same experience. (Life) is accounted beautiful because it is spirit-like and wonderful, and death is accounted ugly because of its foetor and putridity But the foetid and putrid is transformed again into the spirit-like and wonderful, and the spirit-like and wonderful is transformed again into the foetid and

[1] See the Tâo Teh *King*, chaps 38 and 48

[2] This sentence is metaphorical of the Tâo, whose spell is broken by the intrusion of Knowledge

[3] This 'Arranger' is the Tâo

putrid. Hence it is said, "All under the sky there is one breath of life, and therefore the sages prized that unity[1]"'

Knowledge[2] said to Hwang-Tî[2], 'I asked Dumb Inaction[2], and he did not answer me Not only did he not answer me, but he did not know how to answer me I asked Heedless Blurter, and while he wanted to tell me, he yet did not do so Not only did he not tell me, but while he wanted to tell me, he forgot all about my questions. Now I have asked you, and you knew (all about them),—why (do you say that) you are not near doing so?' Hwang-Tî replied, 'Dumb Inaction[2] was truly right, because he did not know the thing. Heedless Blurter[2] was nearly right, because he forgot it. I and you are not nearly right, because we know it' Heedless Blurter[2] heard of (all this), and considered that Hwang-Tî[2] knew how to express himself (on the subject)

2 (The operations of) Heaven and Earth proceed in the most admirable way, but they say nothing about them, the four seasons observe the clearest laws, but they do not discuss them, all things have their complete and distinctive constitutions, but they say nothing about them[3].

The sages trace out the admirable operations of Heaven and Earth, and reach to and understand the distinctive constitutions of all things, and thus it is that the Perfect Man (is said to) do nothing and the Greatest Sage to originate nothing, such language showing that they look to Heaven and Earth as

[1] I have not been able to trace this quotation to its source

[2] See note 2, p 57 [3] Compare Analects XVII, xix, 3

their model[1] Even they, with their spirit-like and most exquisite intelligence, as well as all the tribes that undergo their transformations, the dead and the living, the square and the round, do not understand their root and origin, but nevertheless they all from the oldest time by it preserve their being

Vast as is the space included within the six cardinal points, it all (and all that it contains) lies within (this twofold root of Heaven and Earth), small as is an autumn hair, it is indebted to this for the completion of its form All things beneath the sky, now rising, now descending, ever continue the same through this The Yin and Yang, and the four seasons revolve and move by it, each in its proper order Now it seems to be lost in obscurity, but it continues, now it seems to glide away, and have no form, but it is still spirit-like All things are nourished by it, without their knowing it This is what is called the Root and Origin, by it we may obtain a view of what we mean by Heaven[2]

3 Nieh *Khueh*[3] asked about the Tâo from Phei-î[3], who replied, 'If you keep your body as it should be, and look only at the one thing, the Harmony of Heaven will come to you Call in your knowledge, and make your measures uniform, and the spiritual (belonging to you) will come and lodge with you, the Attributes (of the Tâo) will be your beauty, and the Tâo (itself) will be your dwelling-place You will have the simple look of a new-born calf, and

[1] Compare the Tâo Teh *King*, ch 25

[2] The binomial 'Heaven and Earth' here gives place to the one term 'Heaven,' which is often a synonym of Tâo

[3] See his character in Book XII, par 5, where Phei-î also is mentioned

will not seek to know the cause (of your being what you are)' Phei-î had not finished these words when the other dozed off into a sleep.

Phei-î was greatly pleased, and walked away, singing as he went,

'Like stump of rotten tree his frame,
Like lime when slaked his mind became[1]
Real is his wisdom, solid, true,
Nor cares what's hidden to pursue
O dim and dark his aimless mind!
No one from him can counsel find
What sort of man is he?'

4 Shun asked (his attendant) *Khăng*[2], saying, 'Can I get the Tâo and hold it as mine?' The reply was, 'Your body is not your own to hold,—how then can you get and hold the Tâo?' Shun resumed, 'If my body be not mine to possess and hold, who holds it?' *Khăng* said, 'It is the bodily form entrusted to you by Heaven and Earth Life is not yours to hold It is the blended harmony (of the Yin and Yang), entrusted to you by Heaven and Earth Your nature, constituted as it is, is not yours to hold It is entrusted to you by Heaven and Earth to act in accordance with it Your grandsons and sons are not yours to hold They are the exuviae[3] entrusted to you by Heaven and Earth Therefore when we walk, we should not know where we are going, when we stop and rest, we should not know what to occupy ourselves with,

[1] See the account of Nan-kwo Ze-*khî* in Book II, par 1

[2] Not the name of a man, but an office

[3] The term in the text denotes the cast-off skin or shell of insects, snakes, and crabs See the account of death and life in par 1

when we eat, we should not know the taste of our food,—all is done by the strong Yang influence of Heaven and Earth[1]. How then can you get (the Tâo), and hold it as your own?'

5 Confucius asked Lâo Tan, saying, 'Being at leisure to-day, I venture to ask you about the Perfect Tâo' Lâo Tan replied, 'You must, as by fasting and vigil, clear and purge your mind, wash your spirit white as snow, and sternly repress your knowledge The subject of the Tâo is deep, and difficult to describe,—I will give you an outline of its simplest attributes

'The Luminous was produced from the Obscure, the Multiform from the Unembodied, the Spiritual from the Tâo, and the bodily from the seminal essence After this all things produced one another from their bodily organisations Thus it is that those which have nine apertures are born from the womb, and those with eight from eggs[2]. But their coming leaves no trace, and their going no monument, they enter by no door, they dwell in no apartment[3] —they are in a vast arena reaching in all directions They who search for and find (the Tâo) in this are strong in their limbs, sincere and far-reaching in their thinking, acute in their hearing, and clear in their seeing They exercise their minds without being toiled, they respond to everything aright without regard to place or circumstance Without this heaven would not be high, nor earth

[1] It is an abstruse point why only the Yang is mentioned here, and described as 'strong.'

[2] It is not easy to see the pertinence of this illustration

[3] Hû Wăn-ying says, 'With this one word our author sweeps away the teaching of Purgatorial Sufferings'

broad, the sun and moon would not move, and nothing would flourish —such is the operation of the Tâo

'Moreover, the most extensive knowledge does not necessarily know it, reasoning will not make men wise in it,—the sages have decided against both these methods However you try to add to it, it admits of no increase, however you try to take from it, it admits of no diminution,—this is what the sages maintain about it. How deep it is, like the sea! How grand it is, beginning again when it has come to an end! If it carried along and sustained all things, without being overburdened or weary, that would be like the way of the superior man, merely an external operation, when all things go to it, and find their dependence in it,—this is the true character of the Tâo

'Here is a man (born) in one of the middle states[1] He feels himself independent both of the Yin and Yang[2], and dwells between heaven and earth, only for the present a mere man, but he will return to his original source Looking at him in his origin, when his life begins, we have (but) a gelatinous substance in which the breath is collecting Whether his life be long or his death early, how short is the space between them! It is but the name for a moment of time, insufficient to play the part of a good Yâo or a bad *K*ieh in.

'The fruits of trees and creeping plants have their distinctive characters, and though the relation-

[1] The commentators suppose that by 'the man' here there is intended 'a sage,' and they would seem to be correct

[2] Compare the second sentence in the Tâo Teh *K*ing, ch 42

ships of men, according to which they are classified, are troublesome, the sage, when he meets with them, does not set himself in opposition to them, and when he has passed through them, he does not seek to retain them, he responds to them in their regular harmony according to his virtue, and even when he accidentally comes across any of them, he does so according to the Tâo It was thus that the Tîs flourished, thus that the kings arose

'Men's life between heaven and earth is like a white[1] colt's passing a crevice, and suddenly disappearing As with a plunge and an effort they all come forth, easily and quietly they all enter again By a transformation they live, and by another transformation they die Living things are made sad (by death), and mankind grieve for it, but it is (only) the removal of the bow from its sheath, and the emptying the natural satchel of its contents There may be some confusion amidst the yielding to the change, but the intellectual and animal souls are taking their leave, and the body will follow them —This is the Great Returning home

'That the bodily frame came from incorporeity, and will return to the same, is what all men in common know, and what those who are on their way to (know) it need not strive for. This is what the multitudes of men discuss together. Those whose (knowledge) is complete do not discuss it,—such discussion shows that their (knowledge) is not complete Even the most clear-sighted do not meet

[1] Why is it the colt here is 'white?' Is it to heighten the impression made by his speedy disappearing? or is it merely the adoption of the phrase from the Shih, II, iv, 2?

(with the Tâo),—it is better to be silent than to reason about it. The Tâo cannot be heard with the ears,—it is better to shut the ears than to try and hear it. This is what is called the Great Attainment.'

6. Tung-kwo Ze[1] asked Kwang-ze, saying, 'Where is what you call the Tâo to be found?' Kwang-ze replied, 'Everywhere.' The other said, 'Specify an instance of it. That will be more satisfactory.' 'It is here in this ant.' 'Give a lower instance.' 'It is in this panic grass.' 'Give me a still lower instance.' 'It is in this earthenware tile.' 'Surely that is the lowest instance?' 'It is in that excrement[2].' To this Tung-kwo Ze gave no reply.

Kwang-ze said, 'Your questions, my master, do not touch the fundamental point (of the Tâo). They remind me of the questions addressed by the superintendents of the market to the inspector about examining the value of a pig by treading on it, and testing its weight as the foot descends lower and lower on the body[3]. You should not specify any particular thing. There is not a single thing without (the Tâo). So it is with the Perfect Tâo. And if we call it the Great (Tâo), it is just the same. There are the three terms,—"Complete," "All-embracing," "the Whole." These names are differ-

[1] Perhaps the Tung-kwo Shun-ze of Bk. XXI, par. 1.

[2] A contemptuous reply, provoked by Tung-kwo's repeated interrogation as to where the Tâo was to be found, the only question being as to what it was.

[3] We do not know the practices from which our author draws his illustrations here sufficiently to make out his meaning clearly. The signification of the characters 正 and 獲 may be gathered indeed from the Î Lî, Books 7–9, but that is all.

ent, but the reality (sought in them) is the same, referring to the One thing[1]

'Suppose we were to try to roam about in the palace of No-where,—when met there, we might discuss (about the subject) without ever coming to an end. Or suppose we were to be together in (the region of) Non-action,—should we say that (the Tâo was) Simplicity and Stillness? or Indifference and Purity? or Harmony and Ease? My will would be aimless. If it went nowhere, I should not know where it had got to, if it went and came again, I should not know where it had stopped, if it went on going and coming, I should not know when the process would end. In vague uncertainty should I be in the vastest waste Though I entered it with the greatest knowledge, I should not know how inexhaustible it was. That which makes things what they are has not the limit which belongs to things, and when we speak of things being limited, we mean that they are so in themselves (The Tâo) is the limit of the unlimited, and the boundlessness of the unbounded

'We speak of fulness and emptiness, of withering and decay It produces fulness and emptiness, but is neither fulness nor emptiness, it produces withering and decay, but is neither withering nor decay It produces the root and branches, but is neither root nor branch, it produces accumulation and dispersion, but is itself neither accumulated nor dispersed'

7 A-ho Kan[2] and Shăn Năng studied together

[1] The meaning of this other illustration is also very obscure to me, and much of what follows to the end of the paragraph

[2] We can hardly be said to know anything more of the first and third of these men than what is mentioned here

under Lăo-lung *Kî* Shăn Năng[1] was leaning forward on his stool, having shut the door and gone to sleep in the day time At midday A-ho Kan pushed open the door and entered, saying, 'Lâo-lung is dead.' Shăn Năng leant forward on his stool, laid hold of his staff and rose. Then he laid the staff aside with a clash, laughed and said, 'That Heaven knew how cramped and mean, how arrogant and assuming I was, and therefore he has cast me off, and is dead Now that there is no Master to correct my heedless words, it is simply for me to die!' Yen Kang, (who had come in) to condole, heard these words, and said, 'It is to him who embodies the Tâo that the superior men everywhere cling. Now you who do not understand so much as the tip of an autumn hair of it, not even the ten-thousandth part of the Tâo, still know how to keep hidden your heedless words about it and die,—how much more might he who embodied the Tâo do so! We look for it, and there is no form, we hearken for it, and there is no sound When men try to discuss it, we call them dark indeed When they discuss the Tâo, they misrepresent it.'

Hereupon Grand Purity[2] asked Infinitude[2], saying, 'Do you know the Tâo?' 'I do not know it,' was the reply He then asked Do-nothing[2], who replied, 'I know it' 'Is your knowledge of it de-

[1] Shăn Năng is well known, as coming in the chronological list between Fû-hsî and Hwang-Tî, and we are surprised that a higher place is not given to him among the Tâoist patriarchs than our author assigns to him here

[2] These names, like those in the first paragraph of the Book, are metaphorical, intended, no doubt, to set forth attributes of the Tâo, and to suggest to the reader what it is or what it is not

termined by various points?' 'It is.' 'What are they?' Do-nothing[1] said, 'I know that the Tâo may be considered noble, and may be considered mean, that it may be bound and compressed, and that it may be dispersed and diffused These are the marks by which I know it' Grand Purity took the words of those two, and asked No-beginning[1], saying, 'Such were their replies, which was right? and which was wrong? Infinitude's saying that he did not know it? or Do-nothing's saying that he knew it?' No-beginning said, 'The "I do not know it" was profound, and the "I know it" was shallow The former had reference to its internal nature, the latter to its external conditions. Grand Purity looked up and sighed, saying, 'Is "not to know it" then to know it? And is "to know it" not to know it? But who knows that he who does not know it (really) knows it?' No-beginning replied, 'The Tâo cannot be heard, what can be heard is not It The Tâo cannot be seen, what can be seen is not It The Tâo cannot be expressed in words, what can be expressed in words is not It Do we know the Formless which gives form to form? In the same way the Tâo does not admit of being named'

No-beginning (further) said, 'If one ask about the Tâo and another answer him, neither of them knows it Even the former who asks has never learned anything about the Tâo He asks what does not admit of being asked, and the latter answers where answer is impossible. When one asks what does not admit of being asked, his questioning is in (dire)

[1] See note 2 on last page

extremity. When one answers where answer is impossible, he has no internal knowledge of the subject When people without such internal knowledge wait to be questioned by others in dire extremity, they show that externally they see nothing of space and time, and internally know nothing of the Grand Commencement[1] Therefore they cannot cross over the Khwăn-lun[2], nor roam in the Grand Void'

8 Starlight[3] asked Non-entity[3], saying, 'Master, do you exist? or do you not exist?' He got no answer to his question, however, and looked stedfastly to the appearance of the other, which was that of a deep void All day long he looked to it, but could see nothing, he listened for it, but could hear nothing, he clutched at it, but got hold of nothing[4] Starlight then said, 'Perfect! Who can attain to this? I can (conceive the ideas of) existence and non-existence, but I cannot (conceive the ideas of) non-existing non-existence, and still there be a non-existing existence. How is it possible to reach to this?'

9. The forger of swords for the Minister of War had reached the age of eighty, and had not lost a hair's-breadth of his ability[5] The Minister said to

[1] The first beginning of all things or of anything

[2] The Khwăn-lun may be considered the Sacred Mountain of Tâoism

[3] The characters Kwang Yâo denote the points of light all over the sky, 'dusted with stars' I can think of no better translation for them, as personified here, than 'starlight' 'Non-entity' is a personification of the Tâo, as no existing thing, but the idea of the order that pervades and regulates throughout the universe

[4] A quotation from the Tâo Teh *K*ing, ch 14

[5] Compare the case of the butcher in Bk III, and other similar passages

him, 'You are indeed skilful, Sir. Have you any method that makes you so?' The man said, 'Your servant has (always) kept to his work When I was twenty, I was fond of forging swords I looked at nothing else I paid no attention to anything but swords By my constant practice of it, I came to be able to do the work without any thought of what I was doing By length of time one acquires ability at any art, and how much more one who is ever at work on it! What is there which does not depend on this, and succeed by it?'

10 *Zăn Khiû*[1] asked *Kung-nî*, saying, 'Can it be known how it was before heaven and earth?' The reply was, 'It can It was the same of old as now' *Zăn Khiû* asked no more and withdrew Next day, however, he had another interview, and said, 'Yesterday I asked whether it could be known how it was before heaven and earth, and you, Master, said, "It can. As it is now, so it was of old" Yesterday, I seemed to understand you clearly, but to-day it is dark to me. I venture to ask you for an explanation of this' *Kung-nî* said, 'Yesterday you seemed to understand me clearly, because your own spiritual nature had anticipated my reply To-day it seems dark to you, for you are in an unspiritual mood, and are trying to discover the meaning (In this matter) there is no old time and no present, no beginning and no ending Could it be that there were grandchildren and children before there were (other) grandchildren and children[2]?'

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[1] One of the disciples of Confucius,—Analects VI, 3

[2] Hû Wăn-ying says, 'Before there can be grandsons and sons there must be grandfathers and fathers to transmit them, so before

Zăn Khiû had not made any reply, when *Kung-nî* went on, 'Let us have done There can be no answering (on your part) We cannot with life give life to death, we cannot with death give death to life Do death and life wait (for each other)? There is that which contains them both in its one comprehension[1] Was that which was produced before Heaven and Earth a thing? That which made things and gave to each its character was not itself a thing Things came forth and could not be before things, as if there had (previously) been things, —as if there had been things (producing one another) without end The love of the sages for others, and never coming to an end, is an idea taken from this[2]'

11 Yen Yuan asked *Kung-nî*, saying, 'Master, I have heard you say, "There should be no demonstration of welcoming, there should be no movement to meet,"—I venture to ask in what way this affection of the mind may be shown' The reply was, 'The ancients, amid (all) external changes, did not change internally, now-a-days men change internally, but take no note of external changes When one only notes the changes of things, himself continuing one and the same, he does not change How should there be (a difference between) his changing and not changing? How should he put himself in contact with (and come under the influence of) those external changes? He is sure, however,

there were (the present) heaven and earth, there must have been another heaven and earth' But I am not sure that he has in this remark exactly caught our author's meaning

[1] Meaning the Tâo [2] An obscure remark

to keep his points of contact with them from being many. The park of Shih-wei[1], the garden of Hwang-Tî, the palace of the Lord of Yu, and the houses of Thang and Wû,—(these all were places in which this was done) But the superior men (so called, of later days), such as the masters of the Literati and of Mohism, were bold to attack each other with their controversies, and how much more so are the men of the present day! Sages in dealing with others do not wound them, and they who do not wound others cannot be wounded by them. Only he whom others do not injure is able to welcome and meet men

'Forests and marshes make me joyful and glad, but before the joy is ended, sadness comes and succeeds to it When sadness and joy come, I cannot prevent their approach, when they go, I cannot retain them How sad it is that men should only be as lodging-houses for things, (and the emotions which they excite)! They know what they meet, but they do not know what they do not meet, they use what power they have, but they cannot be strong where they are powerless Such ignorance and powerlessness is what men cannot avoid That they should try to avoid what they cannot avoid, is not this also sad? Perfect speech is to put speech away, perfect action is to put action away, to digest all knowledge that is known is a thing to be despised'

[1] This personage has occurred before in Bk VI, par 7,—at the head of the most ancient sovereigns, who were in possession of the Tâo His 'park' as a place for moral and intellectual inquiry is here mentioned,—so early was there a certain quickening of the mental faculties in China

BOOK XXIII

PART III SECTION I

Kăng-sang *Khû*[1]

1 Among the disciples[2] of Lâo Tan there was a Kăng-sang *Khû*, who had got a greater knowledge than the others of his doctrines, and took up his residence with it in the north at the hill of Wei-lêi[3] His servants who were pretentious and knowing he sent away, and his concubines who were officious and kindly he kept at a distance, living (only) with those who were boorish and rude, and employing (only) the bustling and ill-mannered[4] After three years there was great prosperity[5] in Wei-lêi, and the people said to one another, 'When Mr Kăng-sang first came here, he alarmed us, and we thought him strange, our estimate of him after a short acquaintance was that he could not do us much good, but now that we have known him for years, we find him a more than ordinary benefit Must he not be near being a sage? Why should you not

[1] See vol xxxix, p 153

[2] The term in the text commonly denotes 'servants' It would seem here simply to mean 'disciples'

[3] Assigned variously. Probably the mount Yû in the 'Tribute of Yu,'—a hill in the present department of Tăng-*k*âu, Shan-tung

[4] The same phraseology occurs in Bk XI, par 5, and also in the Shih, II, vi, 1, q v

[5] That is, abundant harvests The 壤 of the common text should, probably, be 穰

unite in blessing him as the representative of our departed (whom we worship), and raise an altar to him as we do to the spirit of the grain[1]?' Kăng-sang heard of it, kept his face indeed to the south[2], but was dissatisfied

His disciples thought it strange in him, but he said to them, 'Why, my disciples, should you think this strange in me? When the airs of spring come forth, all vegetation grows, and, when the autumn arrives, all the previous fruits of the earth are matured Do spring and autumn have these effects without any adequate cause? The processes of the Great Tâo have been in operation I have heard that the Perfect man dwells idly in his apartment within its surrounding walls[3], and the people get wild and crazy, not knowing how they should repair to him. Now these small people of Wei-lêi in their opinionative way want to present their offerings to me, and place me among such men of ability and virtue But am I a man to be set up as such a model? It is on this account that I am dissatisfied when I think of the words of Lâo Tan[4]'

2 His disciples said, 'Not so In ditches eight cubits wide, or even twice as much, big fishes cannot turn their bodies about, but minnows and eels find them sufficient for them[5], on hillocks six or

[1] I find it difficult to tell what these people wanted to make of *Khû*, further than what he says himself immediately to his disciples I cannot think that they wished to make him their ruler

[2] This is the proper position for the sovereign in his court, and for the sage as the teacher of the world *Khû* accepts it in the latter capacity, but with dissatisfaction

[3] Compare the Lî *Kî*, Bk XXXVIII, par 10, et al

[4] As if he were one with the Tâo

[5] I do not see the appropriateness here of the 制 in the text

seven cubits high, large beasts cannot conceal themselves, but foxes of evil omen find it a good place for them And moreover, honour should be paid to the wise, offices given to the able, and preference shown to the good and the beneficial From of old Yâo and Shun acted thus,—how much more may the people of Wei-lêi do so! O Master, let them have their way!'

Kăng-sang replied, 'Come nearer, my little children If a beast that could hold a carriage in its mouth leave its hill by itself, it will not escape the danger that awaits it from the net, or if a fish that could swallow a boat be left dry by the flowing away of the water, then (even) the ants are able to trouble it Thus it is that birds and beasts seek to be as high as possible, and fishes and turtles seek to lie as deep as possible In the same way men who wish to preserve their bodies and lives keep their persons concealed, and they do so in the deepest retirement possible And moreover, what was there in those sovereigns to entitle them to your laudatory mention? Their sophistical reasonings (resembled) the reckless breaking down of walls and enclosures and planting the wild rubus and wormwood in their place, or making the hair thin before they combed it, or counting the grains of rice before they cooked them[1] They would do such things with careful discrimination, but what was there in them to benefit the world? If you raise the men of talent to office, you will create disorder, making the people strive with one

[1] All these condemnatory descriptions of Yâo and Shun are eminently Tâoistic, but so metaphorical that it is not easy to appreciate them

another for promotion, if you employ men for their wisdom, the people will rob one another (of their reputation)[1]. These various things are insufficient to make the people good and honest. They are very eager for gain,—a son will kill his father, and a minister his ruler (for it) In broad daylight men will rob, and at midday break through walls. I tell you that the root of the greatest disorder was planted in the times of Yâo and Shun The branches of it will remain for a thousand ages, and after a thousand ages men will be found eating one another[2].'

3 (On this) Nan-yung *Khû*[3] abruptly sat right up and said, 'What method can an old man like me adopt to become (the Perfect man) that you have described?' Kăng-sang ƷZe said, 'Maintain your body complete, hold your life in close embrace, and do not let your thoughts keep working anxiously —do this for three years, and you may become the man of whom I have spoken' The other rejoined, 'Eyes are all of the same form, I do not know any difference between them —yet the blind have no power of vision Ears are all of the same form, I do not know any difference between them —yet the deaf have no power of hearing Minds are all of the same nature, I do not know any difference between them,—yet the mad cannot make the minds of other men their own. (My) personality is indeed like (yours), but things seem to separate

[1] Compare the Tâo Teh *King*, ch 3

[2] *Khû* is in all this too violent

[3] A disciple of Kăng-sang *Khû*,—'a sincere seeker of the Tâo, very much to be pitied,' says Lin Hsî-*kung*

between us[1] I wish to find in myself what there is in you, but I am not able to do so[1]. You have now said to me, "Maintain your body complete, hold your life in close embrace, and do not let your thoughts keep working anxiously" With all my efforts to learn your Way, (your words) reach only my ears' Kăng-sang replied, 'I can say nothing more to you,' and then he added, 'Small flies cannot transform the bean caterpillar[2], Yueh[3] fowls cannot hatch the eggs of geese, but Lû fowls[3] can It is not that the nature of these fowls is different, the ability in the one case and inability in the other arise from their different capacities as large and small. My ability is small and not sufficient to transform you Why should you not go south and see Lâo-ʒze?'

4 Nan-yung *Khû* hereupon took with him some rations, and after seven days and seven nights arrived at the abode of Lâo-ʒze, who said to him, 'Are you come from *Khû*'s?' 'I am,' was the reply 'And why, Sir, have you come with such a multitude of attendants[4]?' Nan-yung was frightened, and turned his head round to look behind him Lâo-ʒze said, 'Do you not understand my meaning?' The other held his head down and was ashamed, and then he lifted it up, and sighed, saying, 'I forgot at the moment what I should reply to your

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[1] The 辟 in the former of these sentences is difficult I take it in the sense of 譬, and read it phî

[2] Compare the Shih, II, v, Ode 2, 3

[3] I believe the fowls of Shan-tung are still larger than those of *Kih-kiang* or Fû-*kien*

[4] A good instance of Lâo's metaphorical style

question, and in consequence I have lost what I wished to ask you.' 'What do you mean?' 'If I have not wisdom, men say that I am stupid[1], while if I have it, it occasions distress to myself If I have not benevolence, then (I am charged) with doing hurt to others, while if I have it, I distress myself If I have not righteousness, I (am charged with) injuring others, while if I have it, I distress myself. How can I escape from these dilemmas? These are the three perplexities that trouble me, and I wish at the suggestion of *Khû* to ask you about them' Lâo-ze replied, 'A little time ago, when I saw you and looked right into your eyes[2], I understood you, and now your words confirm the judgment which I formed You look frightened and amazed You have lost your parents, and are trying with a pole to find them at the (bottom of) the sea You have gone astray, you are at your wit's end You wish to recover your proper nature, and you know not what step to take first to find it You are to be pitied!'

5 Nan-yung *Khû* asked to be allowed to enter (the establishment), and have an apartment assigned to him[3] (There) he sought to realise the qualities which he loved, and put away those which he hated For ten days he afflicted himself, and then waited again on Lâo-ze, who said to him, 'You must purify yourself thoroughly! But from your symptoms of

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[1] In the text 朱愚. The 朱 must be an erroneous addition, or probably it is a mistake for the speaker's name 趎

[2] Literally, 'between the eye brows and eye-lashes'

[3] Thus we are as it were in the school of Lâo-ze, and can see how he deals with his pupils

distress, and signs of impurity about you, I see there still seem to cling to you things that you dislike. When the fettering influences from without become numerous, and you try to seize them (you will find it a difficult task), the better plan is to bar your inner man against their entrance And when the similar influences within get intertwined, it is a difficult task to grasp (and hold them in check), the better plan is to bar the outer door against their exit. Even a master of the Tâo and its characteristics will not be able to control these two influences together, and how much less can one who is only a student of the Tâo do so!' Nan-yung *Khû* said, 'A certain villager got an illness, and when his neighbours asked about it, he was able to describe the malady, though it was one from which he had not suffered before When I ask you about the Grand Tâo, it seems to me like drinking medicine which (only serves to) increase my illness I should like to hear from you about the regular method of guarding the life,—that will be sufficient for me' Lâo-tze replied, '(You ask me about) the regular method of guarding the life,—can you hold the One thing fast in your embrace? Can you keep from losing it? Can you know the lucky and the unlucky without having recourse to the tortoise-shell or the divining stalks? Can you rest (where you ought to rest)? Can you stop (when you have got enough)? Can you give over thinking of other men, and seek what you want in yourself (alone)? Can you flee (from the allurements of desire)? Can you maintain an entire simplicity? Can you become a little child? The child will cry all the day, without its throat becoming hoarse,—so perfect is the harmony (of

its physical constitution) It will keep its fingers closed all the day without relaxing their grasp;—such is the concentration of its powers It will keep its eyes fixed all day, without their moving,—so is it unaffected by what is external to it It walks it knows not whither, it rests where it is placed, it knows not why, it is calmly indifferent to things, and follows their current This is the regular method of guarding the life[1]'

6 Nan-yung *Khû* said, 'And are these all the characteristics of the Perfect man?' Lâo-ȝze replied, 'No. These are what we call the breaking up of the ice, and the dissolving of the cold. The Perfect man, along with other men, gets his food from the earth, and derives his joy from his Heaven (-conferred nature) But he does not like them allow himself to be troubled by the consideration of advantage or injury coming from men and things, he does not like them do strange things, or form plans, or enter on undertakings, he flees from the allurements of desire, and pursues his way with an entire simplicity Such is the way by which he guards his life' 'And is this what constitutes his perfection?' 'Not quite I asked you whether you could become a little child The little child moves unconscious of what it is doing, and walks unconscious of whither it is going Its body is like the branch of a rotten tree, and its mind is like slaked lime[2] Being such, misery does not come to it, nor happiness. It has

[1] In this long reply there are many evident recognitions of passages in the Tâo Teh *K*ing,—compare chapters 9, 10, 55, 58

[2] See the description of ȝze-*khi*'s Tâoistic trance at the beginning of the second Book

neither misery nor happiness;—how can it suffer from the calamities incident to men[1]?'

7. [2] He whose mind[3] is thus grandly fixed emits a Heavenly light In him who emits this heavenly light men see the (True) man When a man has cultivated himself (up to this point), thenceforth he remains constant in himself When he is thus constant in himself, (what is merely) the human element will leave him[4], but Heaven will help him Those whom their human element has left we call the people of Heaven[4]. Those whom Heaven helps we call the Sons of Heaven Those who would by learning attain to this[5] seek for what they cannot

[1] Nan-yung *Khû* disappears here His first master, Kăng-sang *Khû*, disappeared in paragraph 4 The different way in which his name is written by Sze-mâ *Khien* is mentioned in the brief introductory note on p 153 It should have been further stated there that in the Fourth Book of Lieh-ʒze (IV, 2^b–3^b) some account of him is given with his name as written by *Khien* A great officer of *Khăn* is introduced as boasting of him that he was a sage, and, through his mastery of the principles of Lâo Tan, could hear with his eyes and see with his ears Hereupon Khăng-ʒhang is brought to the court of the marquis of Lû to whom he says that the report of him which he had heard was false, adding that he could dispense with the use of his senses altogether, but could not alter their several functions This being reported to Confucius, he simply laughs at it, but makes no remark

[2] I suppose that from this to the end of the Book we have the sentiments of *Kwang*-ʒze himself Whether we consider them his, or the teachings of Lâo-ʒze to his visitor, they are among the depths of Tâoism, which I will not attempt to elucidate in the notes here.

[3] The character which I have translated 'mind' here is 宇, meaning 'the side walls of a house,' and metaphorically used for 'the breast,' as the house of the mind Hû explains it by 心 胸.

[4] He is emancipated from the human as contrary to the heavenly

[5] The Tâo

learn Those who would by effort attain to this, attempt what effort can never effect. Those who aim by reasoning to reach it reason where reasoning has no place. To know to stop where they cannot arrive by means of knowledge is the highest attainment. Those who cannot do this will be destroyed on the lathe of Heaven

8. Where things are all adjusted to maintain the body, where a provision against unforeseen dangers is kept up to maintain the life of the mind, where an inward reverence is cherished to be exhibited (in all intercourse) with others,—where this is done, and yet all evils arrive, they are from Heaven, and not from the men themselves. They will not be sufficient to confound the established (virtue of the character), or be admitted into the Tower of Intelligence That Tower has its Guardian, who acts unconsciously, and whose care will not be effective, if there be any conscious purpose in it[1] If one who has not this entire sincerity in himself make any outward demonstration, every such demonstration will be incorrect. The thing will enter into him, and not let go its hold Then with every fresh demonstration there will be still greater failure If he do what is not good in the light of open day, men will have the opportunity of punishing him, if he do it in darkness and secrecy, spirits[2] will inflict the punishment. Let a man understand this—his relation both to men and spirits, and then he will do what is good in the solitude of himself.

[1] This Guardian of the Mind or Tower of Intelligence is the Tâo

[2] One of the rare introductions of spiritual agency in the early Tâoism

He whose rule of life is in himself does not act for the sake of a name. He whose rule is outside himself has his will set on extensive acquisition He who does not act for the sake of a name emits a light even in his ordinary conduct, he whose will is set on extensive acquisition is but a trafficker. Men see how he stands on tiptoe, while he thinks that he is overtopping others Things enter (and take possession of) him who (tries to) make himself exhaustively (acquainted with them), while when one is indifferent to them, they do not find any lodgment in his person And how can other men find such lodgment? But when one denies lodgment to men, there are none who feel attachment to him. In this condition he is cut off from other men. There is no weapon more deadly than the will[1],—even Mû-yê[2] was inferior to it There is no robber greater than the Yin and Yang, from whom nothing can escape of all between heaven and earth. But it is not the Yin and Yang that play the robber,—it is the mind that causes them to do so

9 The Tâo is to be found in the subdivisions (of its subject), (it is to be found) in that when complete, and when broken up. What I dislike sidering it as subdivided, is that the division to the multiplication of it,—and what I dislike that multiplication is that it leads to the (thought of) effort to secure it Therefore when (a man)

[1] That is, the will, man's own human element, in opposition to the Heavenly element of the Tâo

[2] One of the two famous swords made for Ho-lü, the king of Wû See the account of their making in the seventy-fourth chapter of the 'History of the Various States,' very marvellous, but evidently, and acknowledged to be, fabulous

comes forth (and is born), if he did not return (to his previous non-existence), we should have (only) seen his ghost, when he comes forth and gets this (return), he dies (as we say). He is extinguished, and yet has a real existence —(this is another way of saying that in life we have) only man's ghost By taking the material as an emblem of the immaterial do we arrive at a settlement of the case of man. He comes forth, but from no root, he re-enters, but by no aperture He has a real existence but it has nothing to do with place, he has continuance, but it has nothing to do with beginning or end He has a real existence, but it has nothing to do with place, such is his relation to space, he has continuance, but it has nothing to do with beginning or end, such is his relation to time, he has life, he has death, he comes forth, he enters, but we do not see his form,—all this is what is called the door of Heaven The door of Heaven is Non-Existence All things come from non-existence The (first) existences could not bring themselves into existence, they must have come from non-existence And non-existence is just the same as non-existing Herein is the secret of the sages

10 Among the ancients there were those whose knowledge reached the extreme point And what was that point? There were some who thought that in the beginning there was nothing This was the extreme point, the completest reach of their knowledge, to which nothing could be added Again, there were those who supposed that (in the beginning) there were existences, proceeding to consider life to be a (gradual) perishing, and death a returning (to the original state). And there they stopped,

making, (however), a distinction between life and death Once again there were those who said, 'In the beginning there was nothing, by and by there was life, and then in a little time life was succeeded by death We hold that non-existence was the head, life the body, and death the os coccygis But of those who acknowledge that existence and non-existence, death and life, are all under the One Keeper, we are the friends' Though those who maintained these three views were different, they were so as the different branches of the same ruling Family (of *Khû*)[1],—the *K*âos and the *K*ings, bearing the surname of the lord whom they honoured as the author of their branch, and the *K*iâs named from their appanage,—(all one, yet seeming) not to be one

The possession of life is like the soot that collects under a boiler When that is differently distributed, the life is spoken of as different But to say that life is different in different lives, and better in one than in another, is an improper mode of speech And yet there may be something here which we do not know (As for instance), at the lâ sacrifice the paunch and the divided hoofs may be set forth on separate dishes, but they should not be considered as parts of different victims, (and again), when one is inspecting a house, he goes over it all, even the adytum for the shrines of the temple, and visits also the most private apartments, doing this, and setting a different estimate on the different parts.

Let me try and speak of this method of appor-

[1] Both Lâo and *K*wang belonged to *Khû*, and this illustration was natural to them

tioning one's approval:—life is the fundamental consideration in it; knowledge is the instructor. From this they multiply their approvals and disapprovals, determining what is merely nominal and what is real. They go on to conclude that to themselves must the appeal be made in everything, and to try to make others adopt them as their model, prepared even to die to make good their views on every point In this way they consider being employed in office as a mark of wisdom, and not being so employed as a mark of stupidity, success as entitling to fame, and the want of it as disgraceful The men of the present day who follow this differentiating method are like the cicada and the little dove[1],—there is no difference between them

11 When one treads on the foot of another in the market-place, he apologises on the ground of the bustle If an elder tread on his younger brother, he proceeds to comfort him, if a parent tread on a child, he says and does nothing Hence it is said, 'The greatest politeness is to show no special respect to others, the greatest righteousness is to take no account of things, the greatest wisdom is to lay no plans, the greatest benevolence is to make no demonstration of affection, the greatest good faith is to give no pledge of sincerity'

Repress the impulses of the will, unravel the errors of the mind, put away the entanglements to virtue, and clear away all that obstructs the free course of the Tâo Honours and riches, distinctions and austerity, fame and profit, these six things produce the impulses of the will. Personal appearance

[1] See in Bk I, par 2

and deportment, the desire of beauty and subtle reasonings, excitement of the breath and cherished thoughts, these six things produce errors of the mind Hatred and longings, joy and anger, grief and delight, these six things are the entanglements to virtue Refusals and approachments, receiving and giving, knowledge and ability, these six things obstruct the course of the Tâo When these four conditions, with the six causes of each, do not agitate the breast, the mind is correct Being correct, it is still, being still, it is pellucid, being pellucid, it is free from pre-occupation, being free from pre-occupation, it is in the state of inaction, in which it accomplishes everything.

The Tâo is the object of reverence to all the virtues Life is what gives opportunity for the display of the virtues The nature is the substantive character of the life The movement of the nature is called action When action becomes hypocritical, we say that it has lost (its proper attribute)

The wise communicate with what is external to them and are always laying plans This is what with all their wisdom they are not aware of,—they look at things askance When the action (of the nature) is from external constraint, we have what is called virtue, when it is all one's own, we have what is called government These two names seem to be opposite to each other, but in reality they are in mutual accord

12 Î[1] was skilful in hitting the minutest mark, but stupid in wishing men to go on praising him without end. The sage is skilful Heavenwards, but stupid

[1] See on V, par 2

manwards. It is only the complete man who can be both skilful Heavenwards and good manwards

Only an insect can play the insect, only an insect show the insect nature Even the complete man hates the attempt to exemplify the nature of Heaven He hates the manner in which men do so, and how much more would he hate the doing so by himself before men!

When a bird came in the way of Î, he was sure to obtain it,—such was his mastery with his bow If all the world were to be made a cage, birds would have nowhere to escape to. Thus it was that Thang caged Î Yin by making him his cook[1], and that duke Mû of *Khin* caged Pâi-lî Hsî by giving the skins of five rams for him[2] But if you try to cage men by anything but what they like, you will never succeed

A man, one of whose feet has been cut off, discards ornamental (clothes),—his outward appearance will not admit of admiration A criminal under sentence of death will ascend to any height without fear,—he has ceased to think of life or death

When one persists in not reciprocating the gifts (of friendship), he forgets all others Having forgotten all others, he may be considered as a Heaven-like man. Therefore when respect is shown to a man, and it awakens in him no joy, and when contempt awakens no anger, it is only one who shares in the Heaven-like harmony that can be thus When he would display anger and yet is not angry, the anger comes out in that repression of it When he would put forth action, and yet does not do so,

[1] See Mencius V, i, 7 [2] Mencius V, i, 9

the action is in that not-acting Desiring to be quiescent, he must pacify all his emotions, desiring to be spirit-like, he must act in conformity with his mind When action is required of him, he wishes that it may be right, and it then is under an inevitable constraint Those who act according to that inevitable constraint pursue the way of the sage

BOOK XXIV

PART III. SECTION II.

Hsu Wû-kwei[1].

1. Hsu Wû-kwei having obtained through Nu Shang[2] an introduction to the marquis Wû of Wei[3], the marquis, speaking to him with kindly sympathy[4], said, 'You are ill, Sir, you have suffered from your hard and laborious toils[4] in the forests, and still you have been willing to come and see poor me[5].' Hsu Wû-kwei replied, 'It is I who have to comfort your lordship, what occasion have you to comfort me? If your lordship go on to fill up the measure of your sensual desires, and to prolong your likes and dislikes, then the condition of your mental nature will be diseased, and if you discourage and repress those desires, and deny your likings and dislikings, that will be an affliction to your ears and eyes

[1] See vol xxxix, pp 153, 154

[2] A favourite and minister of the marquis Wû

[3] This was the second marquis of Wei, one of the three principalities into which the great state of Zin had been broken up, and which he ruled as the marquis *Kî* for sixteen years, B C 386–371 His son usurped the title of king, and was the 'king Hui of Liang,' whom Mencius had interviews with Wû, or 'martial,' was *Kî*'s honorary, posthumous epithet

[4] The character (勞) which I thus translate, has two tones, the second and fourth Here and elsewhere in this paragraph and the next, it is with one exception in the fourth tone, meaning 'to comfort or reward for toils endured' The one exception is its next occurrence,—'hard and laborious toils'

[5] The appropriate and humble designation of himself by the ruler of a state.

(deprived of their accustomed pleasures),—it is for me to comfort your lordship, what occasion have you to comfort me?' The marquis looked contemptuous, and made no reply

After a little time, Hsu Wû-kwei said, 'Let me tell your lordship something —I look at dogs and judge of them by their appearance[1] One of the lowest quality seizes his food, satiates himself, and stops, —he has the attributes of a fox One of a medium quality seems to be looking at the sun One of the highest quality seems to have forgotten the one thing, —himself But I judge still better of horses than I do of dogs When I do so, I find that one goes straightforward, as if following a line, that another turns off, so as to describe a hook, that a third describes a square as if following the measure so called, and that a fourth describes a circle as exactly as a compass would make it These are all horses of a state, but they are not equal to a horse of the kingdom His qualities are complete Now he looks anxious, now to be losing the way, now to be forgetting himself Such a horse prances along, or rushes on, spurning the dust and not knowing where he is' The marquis was greatly pleased and laughed

When Hsu Wû-kwei came out, Nu Shang said to him, 'How was it, Sir, that you by your counsels produced such an effect on our ruler? In my counsellings of him, now indirectly, taking my subjects from the Books of Poetry, History, Rites, and Music, now directly, from the Metal Tablets[2], and the six Bow-cases[2], all calculated for the service (of the

[1] Literally, 'I physiognomise dogs'

[2] The names of two Books, or Collections of Tablets, the former

state), and to be of great benefit,—in these counsellings, repeated times without number, I have never seen the ruler show his teeth in a smile —by what counsels have you made him so pleased to-day?' Hsu Wû-kwei replied, 'I only told him how I judged of dogs and horses by looking at their appearance.' 'So?' said Nu Shang, and the other rejoined, 'Have you not heard of the wanderer[1] from Yueh? when he had been gone from the state several days, he was glad when he saw any one whom he had seen in it, when he had been gone a month, he was glad when he saw any one whom he had known in it; and when he had been gone a round year, he was glad when he saw any one who looked like a native of it. The longer he was gone, the more longingly did he think of the people,—was it not so? The men who withdraw to empty valleys, where the hellebore bushes stop up the little paths made by the weasels, as they push their way or stand amid the waste, are glad when they seem to hear the sounds of human footsteps, and how much more would they be so, if it were their brothers and relatives talking and laughing by their side! How long it is since the words of a True[2] man were heard as he talked and laughed by our ruler's side!'

2 At (another) interview of Hsu Wû-kwei with the marquis Wû, the latter said, 'You, Sir, have been dwelling in the forests for a long time, living

containing Registers of the Population, the latter treating of military subjects

[1] Kwo Hsiang makes this 'a banished criminal' This is not necessary

[2] Wû-kwei then had a high opinion of his own attainments in Tâoism, and a low opinion of Nû Shang and the other courtiers

on acorns and chestnuts, and satiating yourself with onions and chives, without thinking of poor me. Now (that you are here), is it because you are old? or because you wish to try again the taste of wine and meat? or because (you wish that) I may enjoy the happiness derived from the spirits of the altars of the Land and Grain?' Hsu Wû-kwei replied, 'I was born in a poor and mean condition, and have never presumed to drink of your lordship's wine, or eat of your meat My object in coming was to comfort your lordship under your troubles' 'What? comfort me under my troubles?' 'Yes, to comfort both your lordship's spirit and body' The marquis said, 'What do you mean?' His visitor replied, 'Heaven and Earth have one and the same purpose in the production (of all men) However high one man be exalted, he should not think that he is favourably dealt with, and however low may be the position of another, he should not think that he is unfavourably dealt with You are indeed the one and only lord of the 10,000 chariots (of your state), but you use your dignity to embitter (the lives of) all the people, and to pamper your ears, eyes, nose, and mouth But your spirit does not acquiesce in this The spirit (of man) loves to be in harmony with others and hates selfish indulgence[1] This selfish indulgence is a disease, and therefore I would comfort you under it How is it that your lordship more than others brings this disease on yourself?' The marquis said, 'I have wished to see you, Sir, for a long time. I want to love my people, and by the exercise of righteous-

[1] Wû-kwei had a high idea of the constitution of human nature.

ness to make an end of war,—will that be sufficient?' Hsü Wû-kwei replied, 'By no means To love the people is the first step to injure them[1]. By the exercise of righteousness to make an end of war is the root from which war is produced[1] If your lordship try to accomplish your object in this way, you are not likely to succeed All attempts to accomplish what we think good (with an ulterior end) is a bad contrivance Although your lordship practise benevolence and righteousness (as you propose), it will be no better than hypocrisy. You may indeed assume the (outward) form, but successful accomplishment will lead to (inward) contention, and the change thence arising will produce outward fighting. Your lordship also must not mass files of soldiers in the passages of your galleries and towers, nor have footmen and horsemen in the apartments about your altars[2]. Do not let thoughts contrary to your success lie hidden in your mind, do not think of conquering men by artifice, or by (skilful) plans, or by fighting If I kill the officers and people of another state, and annex its territory, to satisfy my selfish desires, while in my spirit I do not know whether the fighting be good, where is the victory that I gain? Your lordship's best plan is to abandon (your purpose). If you will cultivate in your breast the sincere purpose (to love the people), and so respond to the feeling of Heaven and Earth, and not (further) vex yourself, then your people will already have escaped death,—what

[1] Tâoistic teaching, but questionable

[2] We need more information about the customs of the feudal princes fully to understand the language of this sentence

occasion will your lordship have to make an end of war?'

3 Hwang-Tî was going to see Tâ-kwei[1] at the hill of *K*u-ǵhze Fang Ming was acting as charioteer, and *Kh*ang Yu was occupying the third place in the carriage *K*ang *Z*o and Hsî Phăng went before the horses, and Khwăn Hwun and Kû *Kh*î followed the carriage When they arrived at the wild of Hsiang-*kh*ăng, the seven sages were all perplexed, and could find no place at which to ask the way. Just then they met with a boy tending some horses, and asked the way of him 'Do you know,' they said, 'the hill of *K*ù-ǵhze?' and he replied that he did He also said that he knew where Tâ-kwei was living 'A strange boy is this!' said Hwang-Tî 'He not only knows the hill of *K*u-ǵhze, but he also knows where Tâ-kwei is living Let me ask him about the government of mankind.' The boy said, 'The administration of the kingdom is like this (which I am doing),—what difficulty should there be in it? When I was young, I enjoyed myself roaming over all within the six confines of the world of space, and then I began to suffer from indistinct sight A wise elder taught me, saying, "Ride in the chariot of the

[1] Tâ (or Thâi)-kwei (or wei) appears here as the name of a person It cannot be the name of a hill, as it is said by some to be The whole paragraph is parabolic or allegorical, and Tâ-kwei is probably a personification of the Great Tâo itself, though no meaning of the character kwei can be adduced to justify this interpretation The horseherd boy is further supposed to be a personification of the 'Great Simplicity,' which is characteristic of the Tâo, the spontaneity of it, unvexed by the wisdom of man The lesson of the paragraph is that taught in the eleventh Book, and many other places

sun, and roam in the wild of Hsiang-*Khăng*" Now the trouble in my eyes is a little better, and I am again enjoying myself roaming outside the six confines of the world of space. As to the government of the kingdom, it is like this (which I am doing),—what difficulty should there be in it?' Hwang-Tî said, 'The administration of the world is indeed not your business, my son, nevertheless, I beg to ask you about it' The little lad declined to answer, but on Hwang-Tî putting the question again, he said, 'In what does the governor of the kingdom differ from him who has the tending of horses, and who has only to put away whatever in him would injure the horses?'

Hwang-Tî bowed to him twice with his head to the ground, called him his 'Heavenly Master[1],' and withdrew.

4 If officers of wisdom do not see the changes which their anxious thinking has suggested, they have no joy, if debaters are not able to set forth their views in orderly style, they have no joy; if critical examiners find no subjects on which to exercise their powers of vituperation, they have no joy — they are all hampered by external restrictions

Those who try to attract the attention of their age (wish to) rise at court, those who try to win the regard of the people[2] count holding office a glory, those who possess muscular strength boast of doing what is difficult, those who are bold and daring exert themselves in times of calamity; those who are able

[1] This is the title borne to the present day by the chief or pope of Tâoism, the representative of *K*ang Tâo-ling of our first century

[2] Taking the initial *k*ung in the third tone If we take it in the first tone, the meaning is different

swordmen and spearmen delight in fighting, those whose powers are decayed seek to rest in the name (they have gained); those who are skilled in the laws seek to enlarge the scope of government, those who are proficient in ceremonies and music pay careful attention to their deportment, and those who profess benevolence and righteousness value opportunities (for displaying them)

The husbandmen who do not keep their fields well weeded are not equal to their business, nor are traders who do not thrive in the markets When the common people have their appropriate employment morning and evening, they stimulate one another to diligence, the mechanics who are masters of their implements feel strong for their work. If their wealth does not increase, the greedy are distressed, if their power and influence is not growing, the ambitious are sad

Such creatures of circumstance and things delight in changes, and if they meet with a time when they can show what they can do, they cannot keep themselves from taking advantage of it They all pursue their own way like (the seasons of) the year, and do not change as things do They give the reins to their bodies and natures, and allow themselves to sink beneath (the pressure of) things, and all their lifetime do not come back (to their proper selves) — is it not sad[1]?

5 *K*wang-tze said, 'An archer, without taking aim beforehand, yet may hit the mark If we say that he is a good archer, and that all the world may

[1] All the parties in this paragraph disallow the great principle of Tâoism, which does everything by doing nothing

be Îs[1], is this allowable?' Hui-ze replied, 'It is Kwang-ze continued, 'All men do not agree in counting the same thing to be right, but every one maintains his own view to be right, (if we say) that all men may be Yâos, is this allowable?' Hui-ze (again) replied, 'It is,' and Kwang-ze went on, 'Very well, there are the literati, the followers of Mo (Tî), of Yang (Kû), and of Ping[2],—making four (different schools) Including yourself, Master, there are five Which of your views is really right? Or will you take the position of Lû Ku[3]? One of his disciples said to him, "Master, I have got hold of your method I can in winter heat the furnace under my tripod, and in summer can produce ice" Lû Ku said, "That is only with the Yang element to call out the same, and with the Yin to call out the yin,—that is not my method I will show you what my method is" On this he tuned two citherns, placing one of them in the hall, and the other in one of the inner apartments Striking the note Kung[4] in the one, the same note vibrated in the other, and so it was with the note Kio[4], the two instruments being tuned in the same way. But if he had differently tuned them on other strings different

[1] The famous archer of the Hsiâ dynasty, in the twenty-second century B C

[2] The name of Kung-sun Lung, the Lung Li-khăn of Bk XXI par 1

[3] Only mentioned here The statement of his disciple and his remark on it are equally obscure, though the latter is partially illustrated from the twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and other hexagrams of the Yih King

[4] The sounds of the first and third notes of the Chinese musical scale, corresponding to our A and E I know too little of music myself to pronounce further on Lû Ku's illustration

from the normal arrangement of the five notes, the five-and-twenty strings would all have vibrated, without any difference of their notes, the note to which he had tuned them ruling and guiding all the others Is your maintaining your view to be right just like this ?'

Hui-ʒze replied, 'Here now are the literati, and the followers of Mo, Yang, and Ping Suppose that they have come to dispute with me They put forth their conflicting statements, they try vociferously to put me down, but none of them have ever proved me wrong —what do you say to this ?' *K*wang-ʒze said, 'There was a man of *Khî* who cast away his son in Sung to be a gate-keeper there, and thinking nothing of the mutilation he would incur, the same man, to secure one of his sacrificial vessels or bells, would have it strapped and secured, while to find his son who was lost, he would not go out of the territory of his own state —so forgetful was he of the relative importance of things If a man of *Khû*, going to another state as a lame gate-keeper, at midnight, at a time when no one was nigh, were to fight with his boatman, he would not be able to reach the shore, and he would have done what he could to provoke the boatman's animosity[1].'

6 As *K*wang-ʒze was accompanying a funeral, when passing by the grave of Hui-ʒze[2], he looked

[1] The illustrations in this last member of the paragraph are also obscure Lin Hsî-*k*ung says that all the old explanations of them are defective, his own explanation has failed to make itself clear to me

[2] The expression in the last sentence of the paragraph, 'the Master,' makes it certain that this was the grave of *K*wang-ʒze's friend with whom he had had so many conversations and arguments

round, and said to his attendants, 'On the top of the nose of that man of Ying[1] there is a (little) bit of mud like a fly's wing' He sent for the artisan Shih to cut it away Shih whirled his axe so as to produce a wind, which immediately carried off the mud entirely, leaving the nose uninjured, and the (statue of) the man of Ying[1] standing undisturbed The ruler Yuan of Sung[2] heard of the feat, called the artisan Shih, and said to him, 'Try and do the same thing on me' The artisan said, 'Your servant has been able to trim things in that way, but the material on which I have worked has been dead for a long time' *K*wang-ze said, 'Since the death of the Master, I have had no material to work upon I have had no one with whom to talk'

7 Kwan *K*ung being ill, duke Hwan went to ask for him, and said, 'Your illness, father *K*ung, is very severe, should you not speak out your mind to me? Should this prove the great illness, to whom will it be best for me to entrust my State?' Kwan *K*ung said, 'To whom does your grace wish to entrust it?' 'To Pâo Shû-yâ[3],' was the reply 'He will not do He is an admirable officer, pure and incorruptible, but with others who are not like himself he will not associate And when he once hears

[1] Ying was the capital of *K'h*û I have seen in China about the graves of wealthy and distinguished men many life-sized statues of men somehow connected with them

[2] Yuan is called the 'ruler' of Sung. That duchy was by this time a mere dependency of *K'h*î The sacrifices of its old ruling House were finally extinguished by *K'h*î in B C 206

[3] Pâo Shû-yâ had been the life-long friend of the dying premier and to him in the first place had been owing the elevation of Hwan to the marquisate

of another man's faults, he never forgets them If you employ him to administer the state, above, he will take the leading of your Grace, and, below, he will come into collision with the people ,—in no long time you will be holding him as an offender.' The duke said, 'Who, then, is the man ?' The reply was, 'If I must speak, there is Hsî Phăng[1],—he will do He is a man who forgets his own high position, and against whom those below him will not revolt. He is ashamed that he is not equal to Hwang-Tî, and pities those who are not equal to himself Him who imparts of his virtue to others we call a sage, him who imparts of his wealth to others we call a man of worth He who by his worth would preside over others, never succeeds in winning them, he who with his worth condescends to others, never but succeeds in winning them Hsî Phăng has not been (much) heard of in the state, he has not been (much) distinguished in his own clan But as I must speak, he is the man for you'

8 The king of Wû, floating about on the *K*iang, (landed and) ascended the Hill of monkeys, which all, when they saw him, scampered off in terror, and hid themselves among the thick hazels. There was one, however, which, in an unconcerned way, swung about on the branches, displaying its cleverness to the king, who thereon discharged an arrow at it. With a nimble motion it caught the swift arrow, and the king ordered his attendants to hurry forward and shoot it, and thus the monkey was seized and killed The king then, looking round, said to his friend Yen

[1] For a long time a great officer of *K'hî*, but he died in the same year as Kwan *K*ung himself

Pû-î[1], 'This monkey made a display of its artfulness, and trusted in its agility, to show me its arrogance,—this it was which brought it to this fate. Take warning from it Ah! do not by your looks give yourself haughty airs!' Yen Pû-î[1], when he returned home, put himself under the teaching of Tung Wû[1], to root up[2] his pride He put away what he delighted in and abjured distinction In three years the people of the kingdom spoke of him with admiration

9 Nan-po Zze-*khî*[3] was seated, leaning forward on his stool, and sighing gently as he looked up to heaven. (Just then) Yen *Khăng*-zze[3] came in, and said, when he saw him, 'Master, you surpass all others Is it right to make your body thus like a mass of withered bones, and your mind like so much slaked lime?' The other said, 'I formerly lived in a grotto on a hill At that time Thien Ho[4] once came to see me, and all the multitudes of *Khî* congratulated him thrice (on his having found the proper man) I must first have shown myself, and so it was that he knew me, I must first have been selling (what I had), and so it was that he came to buy. If I had not shown what I possessed, how should he have known it, if I had not been selling (myself), how should he have come to buy me? I pity

[1] We know these names only from their occurrence here Tung Wû must have been a professor of Tâoism

[2] The text here is 助, 'to help,' but it is explained as = 鋤, 'a hoe' The Khang-hsî dictionary does not give this meaning of the character, but we find it in that of Yen Yuan

[3] See the first paragraph of Bk II

[4] 田禾 must be the 田和 of Sze-mâ *Khien*, who became marquis of *Khî* in B C. 389

the men who lose themselves[1]; I also pity the men who pity others (for not being known), and I also pity the men who pity the men who pity those that pity others. But since then the time is long gone by, (and so I am in the state in which you have found me)[2]

10 *K*ung-nî, having gone to *Kh*û, the king ordered wine to be presented to him. Sun Shû-âo[3] stood, holding the goblet in his hand. Î-liâo of Shih-nan[3] having received (a cup), poured its contents out as a sacrificial libation, and said, 'The men of old, on such an occasion as this, made some speech.' *K*ung-nî said, 'I have heard of speech without words, but I have never spoken it; I will do so now.' Î-liâo of Shih-nan kept (quietly) handling his little spheres,

[1] In seeking for worldly honours.

[2] That is, I have abjured all desire for worldly honour, and desire attainment in the Tâo alone.

[3] See Mencius VI, ii, 15. Sun Shû-âo was chief minister to king *Kh*wang who died in B. C. 591, and died, probably, before Confucius was born, and Î-liâo (p. 28, n. 3) appears in public life only after the death of the sage. The three men could not have appeared together at any time. This account of their doing so was devised by our author as a peg on which to hang his own lessons in the rest of the paragraph. The two historical events referred to I have found it difficult to discover. They are instances of doing nothing, and yet thereby accomplishing what is very great. The action of Î-liâo in 'quietly handling his balls' recalls my seeing the same thing done by a gentleman at *Kh*u-fâu, the city of Confucius, in 1873. Being left there with a companion, and not knowing how to get to the Grand Canal, many gentlemen came to advise with us how we should proceed. Among them was one who, while tendering his advice, kept rolling about two brass balls in one palm with the fingers of the other hand. When I asked the meaning of his action, I was told, 'To show how he is at his ease and master of the situation.' I mention the circumstance because I have nowhere found the phrase in the text adequately explained.

and the difficulties between the two Houses were resolved, Sun Shû-âo slept undisturbed on his couch, with his (dancer's) feather in his hand, and the men of Ying enrolled themselves for the war. I wish I had a beak three cubits long[1].'

In the case of those two (ministers) we have what is called 'The Way that cannot be trodden[2],' in (the case of *K*ung-nî) we have what is called 'the Argument without words[2]' Therefore when all attributes are comprehended in the unity of the Tâo, and speech stops at the point to which knowledge does not reach, the conduct is complete But where there is (not)[3] the unity of the Tâo, the attributes cannot (always) be the same, and that which is beyond the reach of knowledge cannot be exhibited by any reasoning There may be as many names as those employed by the Literati and the Mohists, but (the result is) evil Thus when the sea does not reject the streams that flow into it in their eastward course, we have the perfection of greatness The sage embraces in his regard both Heaven and Earth, his beneficent influence extends to all under the sky, and we do not know from whom it comes Therefore though when living one may have no rank, and when dead no honorary epithet, though the reality (of what he is) may not be acknowledged and his name not established, we have in him what is called 'The Great Man.'

A dog is not reckoned good because it barks well, and a man is not reckoned wise because he speaks

[1] This strange wish concludes the speech of Confucius What follows is from *K*wang-ẒZE

[2] Compare the opening chapters of the Tâo Teh *K*ing

[3] The Tâo is greater than any and all of its attributes

skilfully,—how much less can he be deemed Great! If one thinks he is Great, he is not fit to be accounted Great,—how much less is he so from the practice of the attributes (of the Tâo)!! Now none are so grandly complete as Heaven and Earth, but do they seek for anything to make them so grandly complete? He who knows this grand completion does not seek for it, he loses nothing and abandons nothing, he does not change himself from regard to (external) things, he turns in on himself, and finds there an inexhaustible store, he follows antiquity and does not feel about (for its lessons),—such is the perfect sincerity of the Great Man

11 Ʒze-*khî*[2] had eight sons Having arranged them before him, he called *K*iû-fang Yăn[3], and said to him, 'Look at the physiognomy of my sons for me,—which will be the fortunate one?' Yăn said, 'Khwăn is the fortunate one' Ʒze-*khî* looked *startled, and joyfully said,* 'In what way?' Yăn replied, 'Khwăn will share the meals of the ruler of a state to the end of his life' The father looked uneasy, burst into tears, and said, 'What has my son done that he should come to such a fate?' Yăn replied, 'When one shares the meals of the ruler of a state, blessings reach to all within the three branches of his kindred[4], and how much more to his father and mother! But you, Master, weep when you hear this,—you oppose (the idea of) such happiness It is the good fortune of your son, and

[1] See note 3 on previous page

[2] This can hardly be any other but Nan-kwo Ʒze-*khî*

[3] A famous physiognomist, some say, of horses Hwâi-nan Ʒze calls him *K*iû-fang Kâo (皐).

[4] See Mayers's Manual, p 303

you count it his misfortune' Ze-*khî* said, 'O Yăn, what sufficient ground have you for knowing that this will be Khwăn's good fortune? (The fortune) that is summed up in wine and flesh affects only the nose and the mouth, but you are not able to know how it will come about I have never been a shepherd, and yet a ewe lambed in the south-west corner of my house I have never been fond of hunting, and yet a quail hatched her young in the south-east corner. If these were not prodigies, what can be accounted such? Where I wish to occupy my mind with my son is in (the wide sphere of) heaven and earth, I wish to seek his enjoyment and mine in (the idea of) Heaven, and our support from the Earth I do not mix myself up with him in the affairs (of the world), nor in forming plans (for his advantage), nor in the practice of what is strange I pursue with him the perfect virtue of Heaven and Earth, and do not allow ourselves to be troubled by outward things I seek to be with him in a state of undisturbed indifference, and not to practise what affairs might indicate as likely to be advantageous And now there is to come to us this vulgar recompense. Whenever there is a strange realisation, there must have been strange conduct Danger threatens,—not through any sin of me or of my son, but as brought about, I apprehend, by Heaven It is this which makes me weep!'

Not long after this, Ze-*khî* sent off Khwăn to go to Yen[1], when he was made prisoner by some robbers on the way It would have been difficult to sell him if he were whole and entire, and they thought

[1] The state so called

their easiest plan was to cut off (one of his) feet first They did so, and sold him in *Khî*, where he became Inspector of roads for a Mr *Khu*[1] Nevertheless he had flesh to eat till he died.

12 Nieh *Khueh* met Hsu Yû (on the way), and said to him, 'Where, Sir, are you going to?' 'I am fleeing from Yâo,' was the reply 'What do you mean?' 'Yâo has become so bent on his benevolence that I am afraid the world will laugh at him and that in future ages men will be found eating one another[2] Now the people are collected together without difficulty Love them, and they respond with affection, benefit them, and they come to you, praise them, and they are stimulated (to please you), make them to experience what they dislike, and they disperse. When the loving and benefiting proceed from benevolence and righteousness, those who forget the benevolence and righteousness, and those who make a profit of them, are the many In this way the practice of benevolence and righteousness comes to be without sincerity and is like a borrowing of the instruments with which men catch birds[3] In all this the one man's seeking to benefit the world by his decisions and enactments (of such a nature) is as if he were to cut through (the nature of all) by one operation,—Yâo knows how wise and superior men can benefit the world, but he does not

[1] One expert supposes the text here to mean 'duke *Khu*,' but there was no such duke of *Khî* The best explanation seems to be that *Khu* was a rich gentleman, inspector of the roads of *Khî*, or of the streets of its capital, who bought Khwăn to take his duties for him

[2] Compare in Bk XXIII, par 2

[3] A scheming for one's own advantage

also know how they injure it. It is only those who stand outside such men that know this[1]'

There are the pliable and weak, the easy and hasty, the grasping and crooked. Those who are called the pliable and weak learn the words of some one master, to which they freely yield their assent, being secretly pleased with themselves, and thinking that their knowledge is sufficient, while they do not know that they have not yet begun (to understand) a single thing. It is this which makes them so pliable and weak. The easy and hasty are like lice on a pig. The lice select a place where the bristles are more wide apart, and look on it as a great palace or a large park. The slits between the toes, the overlappings of its skin, about its nipples and its thighs,—all these seem to them safe apartments and advantageous places,—they do not know that the butcher one morning, swinging about his arms, will spread the grass, and kindle the fire, so that they and the pig will be roasted together. So do they appear and disappear with the place where they harboured.—this is why they are called the easy and hasty.

Of the grasping and crooked we have an example in Shun. Mutton has no craving for ants, but ants have a craving for mutton, for it is rank. There was a rankness about the conduct of Shun, and the people were pleased with him. Hence when he thrice changed his residence, every one of them became a capital city.[2] When he came to the wild

[1] I suppose that the words of Hsu Yû stop with this sentence, and that from this to the end of the paragraph we have the sentiments of Kwang-ze himself. The style is his,—graphic but sometimes coarse.

[2] See note on Mencius V, 1, 2, 3.

of Tăng[1], he had 100,000 families about him Yâo having heard of the virtue and ability of Shun, appointed him to a new and uncultivated territory, saying, 'I look forward to the benefit of his coming here' When Shun was appointed to this new territory, his years were advanced, and his intelligence was decayed,—and yet he could not find a place of rest or a home This is an example of being grasping and wayward.

Therefore (in opposition to such) the spirit-like man dislikes the flocking of the multitudes to him When the multitudes come, they do not agree, and when they do not agree, no benefit results from their coming Hence there are none whom he brings very near to himself, and none whom he keeps at a great distance He keeps his virtue in close embrace, and warmly nourishes (the spirit of) harmony, so as to be in accordance with all men This is called the True man[2] Even the knowledge of the ant he puts away, his plans are simply those of the fishes[3], even the notions of the sheep he discards His seeing is simply that of the eye, his hearing that of the ear, his mind is governed by its general exercises Being such, his course is straight and level as if marked out by a line, and its every change is in accordance (with the circumstances of the case)

13 The True men of old waited for the issues of events as the arrangements of Heaven, and did not by their human efforts try to take the place of Heaven The True men of old (now) looked on

[1] Situation unknown

[2] The spirit-like man and the true man are the same

[3] Fishes forget everything in the water

success as life and on failure as death, and (now) on success as death and on failure as life The operation of medicines will illustrate this.—there are monk's-bane, the *k*ieh-kăng, the tribulus fruit, and china-root, each of these has the time and case for which it is supremely suitable, and all such plants and their suitabilities cannot be mentioned particularly. Kâu-*k*ien[1] took his station on (the hill of) Kwâi-*kh*î with 3,000 men with their buff-coats and shields —(his minister) *K*ung knew how the ruined (Yueh) might still be preserved, but the same man did not know the sad fate in store for himself[1] Hence it is said, 'The eye of the owl has its proper fitness, the leg of the crane has its proper limit, and to cut off any of it would distress (the bird)' Hence (also) it is (further) said, 'When the wind passes over it, the volume of the river is diminished, and so it is when the sun passes over it But let the wind and sun keep a watch together on the river, and it will not begin to feel that they are doing it any injury —it relies on its springs and flows on' Thus, water does its part to the ground with undeviating exactness, and so does the shadow to the substance, and one thing to another Therefore there is danger from the power of vision in the eyes, of hearing in the ears, and of the inordinate thinking of the mind, yea, there is danger from the exercise of every power of which man's constitution is the depository

[1] See the account of the struggle between Kâu-*k*ien of Yüeh and Fû-*kh*âi of Wû in the eightieth and some following chapters of the 'History of the various States of the Eastern *K*âu (Lieh Kwo *K*îh)' We have sympathy with Kâu-*k*ien, till his ingratitude to his two great ministers, one of whom was Wăn *K*ung (the *K*ung of the text), shows the baseness of his character

When the danger has come to a head, it cannot be averted, and the calamity is perpetuated, and goes on increasing The return from this (to a state of security) is the result of (great) effort, and success can be attained only after a long time, and yet men consider (their power of self-determination) as their precious possession —is it not sad? It is in this way that we have the ruin of states and the slaughtering of the people without end, while no one knows how to ask how it comes about

14 Therefore, the feet of man on the earth tread but on a small space, but going on to where he has not trod before, he traverses a great distance easily, so his knowledge is but small, but going on to what he does not already know, he comes to know what is meant by Heaven[1] He knows it as The Great Unity, The Great Mystery, The Great Illuminator, The Great Framer, The Great Boundlessness, The Great Truth, The Great Determiner This makes his knowledge complete As The Great Unity, he comprehends it, as The Great Mystery, he unfolds it, as the Great Illuminator, he contemplates it, as the Great Framer, it is to him the Cause of all, as the Great Boundlessness, all is to him its embodiment, as The Great Truth, he examines it, as The Great Determiner, he holds it fast

Thus Heaven is to him all, accordance with it is the brightest intelligence Obscurity has in this its pivot, in this is the beginning Such being the

[1] This paragraph grandly sets forth the culmination of all inquiries into the Tâo as leading to the knowledge of Heaven, and the means by which it may be attained to

case, the explanation of it is as if it were no explanation, the knowledge of it is as if it were no knowledge (At first) he does not know it, but afterwards he comes to know it In his inquiries, he must not set to himself any limits, and yet he cannot be without a limit. Now ascending, now descending, then slipping from the grasp, (the Tâo) is yet a reality, unchanged now as in antiquity, and always without defect.—may it not be called what is capable of the greatest display and expansion? Why should we not inquire into it? Why should we be perplexed about it? With what does not perplex let us explain what perplexes, till we cease to be perplexed So may we arrive at a great freedom from all perplexity!

BOOK XXV

PART III. SECTION III.

Ʒeh-yang[1].

1. Ʒeh-yang having travelled to *Khû*, Î *Kieh*[2] spoke of him to the king, and then, before the king had granted him an interview, (left him, and) returned home Ʒeh-yang went to see Wang Kwo[3], and said to him, 'Master, why do you not mention me to the king?' Wang Kwo replied, 'I am not so good a person to do that as Kung-yüeh Hsiû[4]' 'What sort of man is he?' asked the other, and the reply was, 'In winter he spears turtles in the *Kiang*, and in summer he rests in shady places on the mountain. When passers-by ask him (what he is doing there), he says, "This is my abode." Since Î *Kieh* was not able to induce the king to see you, how much less should I, who am not equal to him, be able to do so! Î *Kieh*'s character is this —he has no (real) virtue, but he has knowledge. If you do not freely yield yourself to him, but employ him to carry on his spirit-like influence (with you), you will certainly get upset and benighted in the region of riches and honours His help will not be of a virtuous character, but will go to make your virtue

[1] See vol xxxix, pp 154, 155

[2] A native of *Khû*, and, probably, a parasite of the court

[3] An officer of *Khû*, 'a worthy man'

[4] A recluse of *Khû*, but not keeping quite aloof from the court

less,—it will be like heaping on clothes in spring as a protection against cold, or bringing back the cold winds of winter as a protection against heat (in summer) Now the king of *Khû* is of a domineering presence and stern. He has no forgiveness for offenders, but is merciless as a tiger It is only a man of subtle speech, or one of correct virtue, who can bend him from his purpose [1].

'But the sagely man [2], when he is left in obscurity, causes the members of his family to forget their poverty, and, when he gets forward to a position of influence, causes kings and dukes to forget their rank and emoluments, and transforms them to be humble. With the inferior creatures, he shares their pleasures, and they enjoy themselves the more, with other men, he rejoices in the fellowship of the Tâo, and preserves it in himself Therefore though he may not speak, he gives them to drink of the harmony (of his spirit). Standing in association with them, he transforms them till they become in their feeling towards him as sons with a father His wish is to return to the solitude of his own mind, and this is the effect of his occasional intercourse with them. So far-reaching is his influence on the minds of men, and therefore I said to you, "Wait for Kung-yueh Hsiû"'

2 The sage comprehends the connexions between himself and others, and how they all go to constitute him of one body with them, and he does not know how it is so,—he naturally does so In fulfilling his constitution, as acted on and acting, he

[1] Much of the description of Î *K*ieh is difficult to construe

[2] Kung-yüeh Hsiû

(simply) follows the direction of Heaven, and it is in consequence of this that men style him (a sage). If he were troubled about (the insufficiency of) his knowledge, what he did would always be but small, and sometimes would be arrested altogether,—how would he in this case be (the sage)? When (the sage) is born with all his excellence, it is other men who see it for him. If they did not tell him, he would not know that he was more excellent than others. And when he knows it, he is as if he did not know it, when he hears it, he is as if he did not hear it. His source of joy in it has no end, and men's admiration of him has no end,—all this takes place naturally[1]. The love of the sage for others receives its name from them. If they did not tell him of it, he would not know that he loved them, and when he knows it, he is as if he knew it not, when he hears it, he is as if he heard it not. His love of others never has an end, and their rest in him has also no end,—all this takes place naturally[1].

3. When one sees at a distance his old country and old city, he feels a joyous satisfaction[2]. Though it be full of mounds and an overgrowth of trees and grass, and when he enters it he finds but a tenth part remaining, still he feels that satisfaction. How much more when he sees what he saw, and hears what he heard before! All this is to him like a tower eighty cubits high exhibited in the sight of all men.

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[1] That is, 'he does so in the spontaneity of his nature.' The 性 requires the employment of the term 'nature' here, not according to any abstract usage of the term, but meaning the natural constitution. Compare the 性之 in Mencius VII, i, 30.

[2] So does he rejoice in attaining to the knowledge of his nature.

(The sovereign) Zăn-hsiang[1] was possessed of that central principle round which all things revolve[2], and by it he could follow them to their completion. His accompanying them had neither ending nor beginning, and was independent of impulse or time. Daily he witnessed their changes, and himself underwent no change, and why should he not have rested in this? If we (try to) adopt Heaven as our Master, we incapacitate ourselves from doing so. Such endeavour brings us under the power of things. If one acts in this way, what is to be said of him? The sage never thinks of Heaven nor of men. He does not think of taking the initiative, nor of anything external to himself. He moves along with his age, and does not vary or fail. Amid all the completeness of his doings, he is never exhausted. For those who wish to be in accord with him, what other course is there to pursue?

When Thang got one to hold for him the reins of government, namely, Măn-yin Tăng-hăng[3], he employed him as his teacher. He followed his master, but did not allow himself to be hampered by him, and so he succeeded in following things to their completion. The master had the name, but that name was a superfluous addition to his laws, and the twofold character of his government was made apparent[4]. Kung-nî's 'Task your thoughts to the utmost' was his expression of the duties of a

[1] A sage sovereign prior to the three Hwang or August ones.

[2] See the same phraseology in Book II, par. 3.

[3] I have followed Lin Hsî-lung in taking these four characters as the name of one man.

[4] There was a human element in it instead of the Heavenly only, but some critics think the text here is erroneous or defective.

master. Yung-khăng said, 'Take the days away and there will be no year, without what is internal there will be nothing external[1].'

4 (King) Yung[2] of Wei made a treaty with the marquis Thien Mâu[3] (of *Khi*), which the latter violated The king was enraged, and intended to send a man to assassinate him When the Minister of War[4] heard of it, he was ashamed, and said (to the king), 'You are a ruler of 10,000 chariots, and by means of a common man would avenge yourself on your enemy I beg you to give me, Yen, the command of 200,000 soldiers to attack him for you I will take captive his people and officers, halter (and lead off) his oxen and horses, kindling a fire within him that shall burn to his backbone I will then storm his capital, and when he shall run away in terror, I will flog his back and break his spine' *Kî*-ze[5] heard of this advice, and was ashamed of it, and said (to the king), 'We have been raising the wall (of our capital) to a height of eighty cubits, and the work has been completed If we now get it thrown down, it will be a painful toil to the convict builders It is now seven years

[1] Said to have been employed by Hwang-Tî to make the calendar

[2] B C 370–317

I do not find the name Mâu as belonging to any of the Thien rulers of *Khi* The name of the successor of Thien Ho, who has been before us, was 午, Wû, for which 牟, Mâu, may be a mistake, or 'the marquis Mâu' may be a creation of our author

[4] Literally, 'the Rhinoceros' Head,' the title of 'the Minister of War' in Wei, who was at this time a Kung-sun Yen. See the memoir of him in Sze-mâ *Khien*, Book IX of his Biographies

[5] I do not know that anything more can be said of *Kî* and Hwâ than that they were officers of Wei

since our troops were called out, and this is the foundation of the royal sway. Yen would introduce disorder,—he should not be listened to.' Hwâ-ʒze[1] heard of this advice, and, greatly disapproving of it, said (to the king), 'He who shows his skill in saying "Attack *Khî*" would produce disorder; and he who shows his skill in saying "Do not attack it" would also produce disorder. And one who should (merely) say, "The counsellors to attack *Khî* and not to attack it would both produce disorder," would himself also lead to the same result.' The king said, 'Yes, but what am I to do?' The reply was, 'You have only to seek for (the rule of) the Tâo (on the subject).'

Hui-ʒze, having heard of this counsel, introduced to the king Tâi Ʒin-zăn[2], who said, 'There is the creature called a snail, does your majesty know it?' 'I do.' 'On the left horn of the snail there is a kingdom which is called Provocation, and on the right horn another which is called Stupidity. These two kingdoms are continually striving about their territories and fighting. The corpses that lie on the ground amount to several myriads. The army of one may be defeated and put to flight, but in fifteen days it will return.' The king said, 'Pooh! that is empty talk!' The other rejoined, 'Your servant begs to show your majesty its real significance. When your majesty thinks of space—east, west, north, and south, above and beneath—can you set any limit to it?' 'It is illimitable,' said the king, and his visitor went on, 'Your majesty knows

[1] See note 5 on preceding page.

[2] Evidently a man of considerable reach of thought.

how to let your mind thus travel through the illimitable, and yet (as compared with this) does it not seem insignificant whether the kingdoms that communicate one with another exist or not?' The king replies, 'It does so,' and Tâi Ʒin-zăn said, finally, 'Among those kingdoms, stretching one after another, there is this Wei, in Wei there is this (city of) Liang[1], and in Liang there is your majesty Can you make any distinction between yourself, and (the king of that kingdom of) Stupidity?' To this the king answered, 'There is no distinction,' and his visitor went out, while the king remained disconcerted and seemed to have lost himself

When the visitor was gone, Hui-ʒze came in and saw the king, who said, 'That stranger is a Great man An (ordinary) sage is not equal to him' Hui-ʒze replied, 'If you blow into a flute, there come out its pleasant notes, if you blow into a sword-hilt, there is nothing but a wheezing sound Yâo and Shun are the subjects of men's praises, but if you speak of them before Tâi Ʒin-zăn, there will be but the wheezing sound'

5 Confucius, having gone to *K'hû*, was lodging in the house of a seller of Congee at Ant-hill On the roof of a neighbouring house there appeared the husband and his wife, with their servants, male and female[2] Ʒze-lû said, 'What are those people doing,

[1] Liang, the capital, came to be used also as the name of the state,—as in Mencius

[2] 'They were on the roof, repairing it,' say some 'They had got on the roof, to get out of the way of Confucius,' say others The sequel shows that this second interpretation is correct, but we do not see how the taking to the roof facilitated their departure from the house

collected there as we see them?' *K*ung-nî replied, 'The man is a disciple of the sages He is burying himself among the people, and hiding among the fields Reputation has become little in his eyes, but there is no bound to his cherished aims Though he may speak with his mouth, he never tells what is in his mind Moreover, he is at variance with the age, and his mind disdains to associate with it,—he is one who may be said to lie hid at the bottom of the water on the dry land Is he not a sort of Î Liâo of Shih-nan?' Ze-lû asked leave to go and call him, but Confucius said, 'Stop He knows that I understand him well He knows that I am come to *Kh*û, and thinks that I am sure to try and get the king to invite him (to court). He also thinks that I am a man swift to speak Being such a man, he would feel ashamed to listen to the words of one of voluble and flattering tongue, and how much more to come himself and see his person! And why should we think that he will remain here?' Ze-lû, however, went to see how it was, but found the house empty

6. The Border-warden of *Kh*ang-wû[1], in questioning Ze-lâo[2], said, 'Let not a ruler in the exercise of his government be (like the farmer) who leaves the clods unbroken, nor, in regulating his people, (like one) who recklessly plucks up the shoots Formerly, in ploughing my corn-fields, I left the clods unbroken, and my recompense was in the rough unsatisfactory crops, and in weeding, I destroyed and tore up (many good plants), and my recompense was in the scantiness of my harvests In subse-

[1] Probably the same as the *Kh*ang-wû Ze in Book II, par 9

[2] See Analects IX, vi, 4.

quent years I changed my methods, ploughing deeply and carefully covering up the seed, and my harvests were rich and abundant, so that all the year I had more than I could eat' When *K*wang-ʒze heard of his remarks, he said, 'Now-a-days, most men, in attending to their bodies and regulating their minds, correspond to the description of the Border-warden They hide from themselves their Heaven(-given being), they leave (all care of) their (proper) nature, they extinguish their (proper) feelings, and they leave their spirit to die — abandoning themselves to what is the general practice Thus dealing with their nature like the farmer who is negligent of the clods in his soil, the illegitimate results of their likings and dislikings become their nature. The bushy sedges, reeds, and rushes, which seem at first to spring up to support our bodies, gradually eradicate our nature, and it becomes like a mass of running sores, ever liable to flow out, with scabs and ulcers, discharging in flowing matter from the internal heat So indeed it is!'

7 Po *K*u[1] was studying with Lâo Tan, and asked his leave to go and travel everywhere Lâo Tan said, 'Nay,—elsewhere it is just as here' He repeated his request, and then Lâo Tan said, 'Where would you go first?' 'I would begin with *Khi*,' replied the disciple. 'Having got there, I would go to look at the criminals (who had been executed) With my arms I would raise (one of) them up and set him on his feet, and, taking off my court robes, I would cover him with them, appealing at

[1] We can only say of Po *K*u that he was a disciple of Lâo-ʒze

the same time to Heaven and bewailing his lot, while I said[1], "My son, my son, you have been one of the first to suffer from the great calamities that afflict the world[2]"' (Lâo Tan) said[1], '(It is said), "Do not rob Do not kill" (But) in the setting up of (the ideas of) glory and disgrace, we see the cause of those evils, in the accumulation of property and wealth, we see the causes of strife and contention If now you set up the things against which men fret, if you accumulate what produces strife and contention among them, if you put their persons in such a state of distress, that they have no rest or ease, although you may wish that they should not come to the end of those (criminals), can your wish be realised?

'The superior men (and rulers) of old considered that the success (of their government) was to be found in (the state of) the people, and its failure to be sought in themselves, that the right might be with the people, and the wrong in themselves Thus it was that if but a single person lost his life, they retired and blamed themselves Now, however, it is not so (Rulers) conceal what they want done, and hold those who do not know it to be stupid, they require what is very difficult, and condemn those who do not dare to undertake it, they impose heavy burdens, and punish those who are unequal to them, they require men to go far, and put them to death when they cannot accomplish the distance When the people know that the utmost of their

[1] There are two 曰 here, and the difficulty in translating is to determine the subject of each

[2] The 離 of the text here is taken as = 罹

strength will be insufficient, they follow it up with deceit When (the rulers) daily exhibit much hypocrisy, how can the officers and people not be hypocritical? Insufficiency of strength produces hypocrisy, insufficiency of knowledge produces deception, insufficiency of means produces robbery But in this case against whom ought the robbery and theft to be charged?'

8 When *K'ü* Po-yu was in his sixtieth year, his views became changed in the course of it[1] He had never before done anything but consider the views which he held to be right, but now he came to condemn them as wrong, he did not know that what he now called right was not what for fifty-nine years he had been calling wrong All things have the life (which we know), but we do not see its root, they have their goings forth, but we do not know the door by which they depart Men all honour that which lies within the sphere of their knowledge, but they do not know their dependence on what lies without that sphere which would be their (true) knowledge —may we not call their case one of great perplexity? Ah! Ah! there is no escaping from this dilemma So it is! So it is!

9 *K'ung*-nî asked the Grand Historiographer[2] Tâ Thâo, (along with) Po *Khang-khien* and *Khih*-wei, saying, 'Duke Ling of Wei was so addicted to

[1] Confucius thought highly of this *K'ü* Po-yu, and they were friends (Analects, XIV, 26, XV, 6) It would seem from this paragraph that, in his sixtieth year, he adopted the principles of Tâoism Whether he really did so we cannot tell See also Book IV, par 5

[2] We must translate here in the singular, for in the historiographer's department there were only two officers with the title of 'Grand,' Po *Khang-khien* and *Khih*-wei would be inferior members of it

drink, and abandoned to sensuality, that he did not attend to the government of his state Occupied in his pursuit of hunting with his nets and bows, he kept aloof from the meetings of the princes In what was it that he showed his title to the epithet of Ling[1]?' Tâ Thâo said, 'It was on account of those very things' Po *Kh*ang-*kh*ien said, 'Duke Ling had three mistresses with whom he used to bathe in the same tub (Once, however), when Shih-ȝhiû came to him with presents from the imperial court, he made his servants support the messenger in bearing the gifts[2]. So dissolute was he in the former case, and when he saw a man of worth, thus reverent was he to him It was on this account that he was styled "Duke Ling"' *Kh*ih-wei said, 'When duke Ling died, and they divined about burying him in the old tomb of his House, the answer was unfavourable, when they divined about burying him on Shâ-*kh*iû, the answer was favourable Accordingly they dug there to the depth of several fathoms, and found a stone coffin Having washed and inspected it, they discovered an inscription, which said,

"This grave will not be available for your posterity,
Duke Ling will appropriate it for himself."

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[1] Ling (靈), as a posthumous epithet, has various meanings, none of them very bad, and some of them very good Confucius ought to have been able to solve his question himself better than any of the historiographers, but he propounded his doubt to them for reasons which he, no doubt, had

[2] We are not to suppose that the royal messenger found him in the tub with his three wives or mistresses The two incidents mentioned illustrate two different phases of his character, as some of the critics, and even the text itself, clearly indicate

Thus that epithet of Ling had long been settled for the duke[1] But how should those two be able to know this?'

10. Shâo *K*ih[2] asked Thâi-kung Thiâo[2], saying, 'What do we mean by "The Talk of the Hamlets and Villages?"' The reply was, 'Hamlets and Villages are formed by the union—say of ten surnames and a hundred names, and are considered to be (the source of) manners and customs. The differences between them are united to form their common character, and what is common to them is separately apportioned to form the differences If you point to the various parts which make up the body of a horse, you do not have the horse, but when the horse is before you, and all its various parts stand forth (as forming the animal), you speak of "the horse." So it is that the mounds and hills are made to be the elevations that they are by accumulations of earth which individually are but low (So also rivers like) the *K*iang and the Ho obtain their greatness by the union of (other smaller) waters with them And (in the same way) the Great man exhibits the common sentiment of humanity by the union in himself of all its individualities Hence when ideas come to him from without, though he

[1] This explanation is, of course, absurd

[2] These two names are both metaphorical, the former meaning 'Small Knowledge,' and the latter, 'The Grand Public and Just Harmonizer' Small Knowledge would look for the Tâo in the ordinary talk of ordinary men The other teaches him that it is to be found in 'the Great man,' blending in himself what is 'just' in the sentiments and practice of all men And so it is to be found in all the phenomena of nature, but it has itself no name, and does nothing.

has his own decided view, he does not hold it with bigotry, and when he gives out his own decisions, which are correct, the views of others do not oppose them The four seasons have their different elemental characters, but they are not the partial gifts of Heaven, and so the year completes its course The five official departments have their different duties, but the ruler does not partially employ any one of them, and so the kingdom is governed. (The gifts of) peace and war (are different), but the Great man does not employ the one to the prejudice of the other, and so the character (of his administration) is perfect All things have their different constitutions and modes of actions, but the Tâo (which directs them) is free from all partiality, and therefore it has no name Having no name, it therefore does nothing. Doing nothing, there is nothing which it does not do

'Each season has its ending and beginning; each age has its changes and transformations, misery and happiness regularly alternate Here our views are thwarted, and yet the result may afterwards have our approval, there we insist on our own views, and looking at things differently from others, try to correct them, while we are in error ourselves The case may be compared to that of a great marsh, in which all its various vegetation finds a place, or we may look at it as a great hill, where trees and rocks are found on the same terrace. Such may be a description of what is intended by "The Talk of the Hamlets and Villages."'

Shâo *Kih* said, 'Well, is it sufficient to call it (an expression of) the Tâo?' Thâi-kung Thiâo said, 'It is not so. If we reckon up the number of things,

they are not 10,000 merely When we speak of them as "the Myriad Things," we simply use that large number by way of accommodation to denominate them In this way Heaven and Earth are the greatest of all things that have form, the Yin and Yang are the greatest of all elemental forces. But the Tâo is common to them Because of their greatness to use the Tâo or (Course) as a title and call it "the Great Tâo" is allowable But what comparison can be drawn between it and "the Talk of the Hamlets and Villages?" To argue from this that it is a sufficient expression of the Tâo, is like calling a dog and a horse by the same name, while the difference between them is so great'

11 Shâo *K'ih* said, 'Within the limits of the four cardinal points, and the six boundaries of space, how was it that there commenced the production of all things?' Thâi-kung Thiâo replied, 'The Yin and Yang reflected light on each other, covered each other, and regulated each the other the four seasons gave place to one another, produced one another, and brought one another to an end. Likings and dislikings, the avoidings of this and movements towards that, then arose (in the things thus produced), in their definite distinctness, and from this came the separation and union of the male and female Then were seen now security and now insecurity, in mutual change, misery and happiness produced each other, gentleness and urgency pressed on each other, the movements of collection and dispersion were established —these names and processes can be examined, and, however minute, can be recorded The rules determining the order in which they follow one another, their mutual influence

now acting directly and now revolving, how, when they are exhausted, they revive, and how they end and begin again, these are the properties belonging to things Words can describe them and knowledge can reach to them, but with this ends all that can be said of things Men who study the Tâo do not follow on when these operations end, nor try to search out how they began —with this all discussion of them stops.'

Shâo *K*ih said, '*K*î *K*ăn[1] holds that (the Tâo) forbids all action, and *K*ieh-ʒze[1] holds that it may perhaps allow of influence Which of the two is correct in his statements, and which is one-sided in his ruling?' Thâi-kung Thiâo replied, 'Cocks crow and dogs bark,—this is what all men know But men with the greatest wisdom cannot describe in words whence it is that they are formed (with such different voices), nor can they find out by thinking what they wish to do We may refine on this small point, till it is so minute that there is no point to operate on, or it may become so great that there is no embracing it "Some one caused it," "No one did it," but we are thus debating about things, and the end is that we shall find we are in error. "Some one caused it,"—then there was a real Being "No one did it,"—then there was mere vacancy. To have a name and a real existence,—that is the condition of a thing Not to have a name, and not

[1] Two masters of schools of Tâoism Who the former was I do not know, but Sze-mâ *K*hien in the seventy-fourth Book of his Records mentions several Tâoist masters and among them *K*ieh-ʒze, a native of *K*hî, 'a student of the arts of the Tâo and its Characteristics, as taught by Hwang-Tî and Lâo-ʒze, and who also published his views on the subject'

to have real being,—that is vacancy and no thing We may speak and we may think about it, but the more we speak, the wider shall we be of the mark. Birth, before it comes, cannot be prevented, death, when it has happened, cannot be traced farther Death and life are not far apart, but why they have taken place cannot be seen. That some one has caused them, or that there has been no action in the case are but speculations of doubt When I look for their origin, it goes back into infinity, when I look for their end, it proceeds without termination Infinite, unceasing, there is no room for words about (the Tâo) To regard it as in the category of things is the origin of the language that it is caused or that it is the result of doing nothing, but it would end as it began with things The Tâo cannot have a (real) existence, if it has, it cannot be made to appear as if it had not The name Tâo is a metaphor, used for the purpose of description[1] To say that it causes or does nothing is but to speak of one phase of things, and has nothing to do with the Great Subject If words were sufficient for the purpose, in a day's time we might exhaust it, since they are not sufficient, we may speak all day, and only exhaust (the subject of) things The Tâo is the extreme to which things conduct us Neither speech nor silence is sufficient to convey the notion of it Neither by speech nor by silence can our thoughts about it have their highest expression.

[1] A very important statement with regard to the meaning of the name Tâo

BOOK XXVI.

PART III SECTION IV

Wâi Wû, or 'What comes from Without[1]'

1 What comes from without cannot be determined beforehand So it was that Lung-făng[2] was killed, Pi-kan immolated, and the count of *K*î (made to feign himself) mad, (while) O-lâi died[3], and *K*ieh and *K*âu both perished Rulers all wish their ministers to be faithful, but that faithfulness may not secure their confidence, hence Wû Yun became a wanderer along the *K*iang[4], and *Kh*ang Hung died in Shû, where (the people) preserved his blood for three years, when it became changed into green jade[5] Parents all wish their sons to be filial, but that filial duty may not secure their love, hence

[1] See vol xxxix, p 155

[2] The name of Kwan Lung-făng, a great officer of *K*ieh, the tyrant of Hsiâ,—see Bk IV, par 1, et al

[3] A scion of the line of *Kh*in whose fortunes culminated in Shih Hwang-Tî O-lâi assisted the tyrant of Shang, and was put to death by king Wû of *K*âu

[4] The famous Wû Ze-hsu, the hero of Revenge, who made his escape along the *K*iang, in about B C 512, to Wû, after the murder of his father and elder brother by the king of *Kh*û

[5] See Bk X, par 2 In the Zo-*k*wan, under the third year of duke Âi, it is related that the people of *K*âu killed *Kh*ang Hung, but nothing is said of this being done in Shû, or of his blood turning to green jade! This we owe to the *Kh*un *Kh*iû of Lu

Hsiâo-*k*î[1] had to endure his sorrow, and Ʒăng Shăn his grief[2].

When wood is rubbed against wood, it begins to burn; when metal is subjected to fire, it (melts and) flows. When the Yin and Yang act awry, heaven and earth are greatly perturbed, and on this comes the crash of thunder, and from the rain comes fire, which consumes great locust trees[3]. (The case of men) is still worse. They are troubled between two pitfalls[4], from which they cannot escape. Chrysalis-like, they can accomplish nothing. Their minds are as if hung up between heaven and earth. Now comforted, now pitied, they are plunged in difficulties. The ideas of profit and of injury rub against each other, and produce in them a very great fire. The harmony (of the mind) is consumed in the mass of men. Their moonlike intelligence cannot overcome the (inward) fire. They thereupon fall away more and more, and the Course (which they should pursue) is altogether lost.

2. The family of *K*wang *K*âu being poor, he went to ask the loan of some rice from the Marquis Superintendent of the Ho[5], who said, 'Yes, I shall be

[1] Said to have been the eldest son of king Wû Ting or Kâo Ʒung of the Yin dynasty. I do not know the events in his experience to which our author must be referring.

[2] The well-known disciple of Confucius, famous for his filial piety.

[3] The lightning accompanying a thunderstorm.

[4] The ideas of profit and injury immediately mentioned.

[5] In another version of this story, in Liû Hsiang's Shwo Yuan, XI, art. 13, the party applied to is 'duke Wăn of Wei,' but this does not necessarily conflict with the text. The genuineness of the paragraph is denied by Lin Hsî-*k*ung and others, but I seem to see the hand of *K*wang-ʒze in it.

getting the (tax-) money from the people (soon), and I will then lend you three hundred ounces of silver,—will that do?' *K*wang *K*âu flushed with anger, and said, 'On the road yesterday, as I was coming here, I heard some one calling out. On looking round, I saw a goby in the carriage rut, and said to it, "Goby fish, what has brought you here?" The goby said, "I am Minister of Waves in the Eastern Sea Have you, Sir, a gallon or a pint of water to keep me alive?" I replied, "Yes, I am going south to see the kings of Wû and Yueh, and I will then lead a stream from the Western *K*iang to meet you,—will that do?" The goby flushed with anger, and said, "I have lost my proper element, and I can here do nothing for myself, but if I could get a gallon or a pint of water, I should keep alive Than do what you propose, you had better soon look for me in a stall of dry fish"'

3 A son of the duke of *Z*ăn[1], having provided himself with a great hook, a powerful black line, and fifty steers to be used as bait, squatted down on (mount) Kwâi *Kh*î, and threw the line into the Eastern Sea. Morning after morning he angled thus, and for a whole year caught nothing At the end of that time, a great fish swallowed the bait, and dived down, dragging the great hook with him Then it rose to the surface in a flurry, and flapped with its fins, till the white waves rose like hills, and the waters were lashed into fury The noise was like that of imps and spirits, and spread terror

[1] I suppose this was merely a district of *Kh*û, and the duke of it merely the officer in charge of it,—according to the practice of the rulers of *Kh*û, after they usurped the title of King

for a thousand li. The prince having got such a fish, cut it in slices and dried them. From the *K*eh river[1] to the east, and from Zhang-wû[2] to the north, there was not one who did not eat his full from that fish; and in subsequent generations, story-tellers of small abilities have all repeated the story to one another with astonishment. (But) if the prince had taken his rod, with a fine line, and gone to pools and ditches, and watched for minnows and gobies, it would have been difficult for him to get a large fish. Those who dress up their small tales to obtain favour with the magistrates are far from being men of great understanding; and therefore one who has not heard the story of this scion of *Z*ǎn is not fit to take any part in the government of the world,—far is he from being so.[3]

4. Some literati, students of the Odes and Ceremonies, were breaking open a mound over a grave.[4] The superior among them spoke down to the others, 'Day is breaking in the east; how is the thing going on?' The younger men replied, 'We have not yet opened his jacket and skirt, but there is a pearl in the mouth. As it is said in the Ode,

"The bright, green grain
Is growing on the sides of the mound.

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[1] The 制河 of the text = the 浙江, still giving its name to the province so called.

[2] Where Shun was buried.

[3] This last sentence is difficult to construe, and to understand.—The genuineness of this paragraph is also questioned, and the style is inferior to that of the preceding.

[4] I can conceive of *K*wang-tze telling this story of some literati who had been acting as resurrectionists, as a joke against their class; but not of his writing it to form a part of his work.

While living, he gave nothing away,
Why, when dead, should he hold a pearl in his mouth[1]?"'

Thereupon they took hold of the whiskers and pulled at the beard, while the superior introduced a piece of fine steel into the chin, and gradually separated the jaws, so as not to injure the pearl in the mouth

5. A disciple of Lâo Lâi-ʒze[2], while he was out gathering firewood, met with *K*ung-nî On his return, he told (his master), saying, 'There is a man there, the upper part of whose body is long and the lower part short. He is slightly hump-backed, and his ears are far back When you look at him, he seems occupied with the cares of all within the four seas, I do not know whose son he is' Lâo Lâi-ʒze said, 'It is *Kh*iû, call him here,' and when *K*ung-nî came, he said to him, '*Kh*iû, put away your personal conceit, and airs of wisdom, and show yourself to be indeed a superior man' *K*ung-nî bowed and was retiring, when he abruptly changed his manner, and asked, 'Will the object I am pursuing be thereby advanced?' Lâo Lâi-ʒze replied, 'You cannot bear the sufferings of this one age, and are stubbornly regardless of the

[1] This verse is not found, so far as I know, anywhere else

[2] Lâo Lâi-ʒze appears here as a contemporary of Confucius, and the master of a Tâoistic school, and this also is the view of him which we receive from the accounts in Sze-mâ *Kh*ien and Hwang-fû Mi Sze-mâ says he published a work in fifteen sections on the usefulness of Tâoism Some have imagined that he was the same as Lâo-ʒze himself, but there does not appear any ground for that opinion He is one of the twenty-four examples of Filial Piety so celebrated among the Chinese, but I suspect that the accounts of him as such are fabrications He certainly lectures Confucius here in a manner worthy of Lâo Tan

evils of a myriad ages —is it that you purposely make yourself thus unhappy? or is it that you have not the ability to comprehend the case? Your obstinate purpose to make men rejoice in a participation of your joy is your life-long shame, the procedure of a mediocre man. You would lead men by your fame, you would bind them to you by your secret art Than be praising Yâo and condemning *K*ieh, you had better forget them both, and shut up your tendency to praise. If you reflect on it, it does nothing but injury, your action in it is entirely wrong The sage is full of anxiety and indecision in undertaking anything, and so he is always successful But what shall I say of your conduct? To the end it is all affectation'

6 The ruler Yuan of Sung [1] (once) dreamt at midnight that a man with dishevelled hair peeped in on him at a side door and said, 'I was coming from the abyss of Ʒâi-lû, commissioned by the Clear *K*iang to go to the place of the Earl of the Ho, but the fisherman Yu Ʒu has caught me' When the ruler Yuan awoke, he caused a diviner to divine the meaning (of the dream), and was told, 'This is a marvellous tortoise' The ruler asked if among the fishermen there was one called Yu Ʒu, and being told by his attendants that there was, he gave orders that he should be summoned to court Accordingly the man next day appeared at court, and the ruler said, 'What have you caught (lately) in fishing?' The reply was, 'I have caught in my net a white tortoise, sieve-like, and five cubits round' 'Present the prodigy here,' said the ruler, and, when it came, once and

[1] Compare in Bk XXI, par 7

again he wished to kill it, once and again he wished to keep it alive Doubting in his mind (what to do), he had recourse to divination, and obtained the answer, 'To kill the tortoise for use in divining will be fortunate' Accordingly they cut the creature open, and perforated its shell in seventy-two places, and there was not a single divining slip which failed[1]

*K*ung-nî said, 'The spirit-like tortoise could show itself in a dream to the ruler Yüan, and yet it could not avoid the net of Yu ƷU Its wisdom could respond on seventy-two perforations without failing in a single divination, and yet it could not avoid the agony of having its bowels all scooped out We see from this that wisdom is not without its perils, and spirit-like intelligence does not reach to everything A man may have the greatest wisdom, but there are a myriad men scheming against him Fishes do not fear the net, though they fear the pelican Put away your small wisdom, and your great wisdom will be bright, discard your skilfulness, and you will become naturally skilful A child when it is born needs no great master, and yet it becomes able to speak, living (as it does) among those who are able to speak'

7 Hui-ƷZE said to *K*wang-ƷZE, 'You speak, Sir, of what is of no use' The reply was, 'When a man knows what is not useful, you can then begin to speak to him of what is useful The earth for instance is certainly spacious and great, but what a

[1] The story of this wonderful tortoise is found at much greater length, and with variations, in Sze-mâ *K*hien's Records, Bk LXVIII, q v The moral of it is given in the concluding remarks from Confucius

man uses of it is only sufficient ground for his feet If, however, a rent were made by the side of his feet, down to the yellow springs, could the man still make use of it?' Hui-gze said, 'He could not use it,' and *K*wang-gze rejoined, 'Then the usefulness of what is of no use is clear[1]'

8 *K*wang-gze said, 'If a man have the power to enjoy himself (in any pursuit), can he be kept from doing so? If he have not the power, can he so enjoy himself? There are those whose aim is bent on concealing themselves, and those who are determined that their doings shall leave no trace Alas! they both shirk the obligations of perfect knowledge and great virtue The (latter) fall, and cannot recover themselves, the (former) rush on like fire, and do not consider (what they are doing). Though men may stand to each other in the relation of ruler and minister, that is but for a time In a changed age, the one of them would not be able to look down on the other Hence it is said, "The Perfect man leaves no traces of his conduct"

'To honour antiquity and despise the present time is the characteristic of learners[2], but even the disciples of *Kh*ih-wei[3] have to look at the present age, and who can avoid being carried along by its course? It is only the Perfect man who is able to enjoy himself in the world, and not be deflected from the right,

[1] See Bk I, par 6, and XXIV, par 14 The conversations between our author and Hui-gze often turned on this subject

[2] Does our author mean by 'learners' the literati, the disciples of Confucius?

[3] *Kh*ih-wei,—see Bk VI, par 7 Perhaps 'the disciples of *Kh*ih-wei' are those who in our author's time called themselves such, but were not

to accommodate himself to others and not lose himself. He does not learn their lessons, he only takes their ideas into consideration, and does not discard them as different from his own.

9 'It is the penetrating eye that gives clear vision, the acute ear that gives quick hearing, the discriminating nose that gives discernment of odours, the practised mouth that gives the enjoyment of flavours, the active mind that acquires knowledge, and the far-reaching knowledge that constitutes virtue In no case does the connexion with what is without like to be obstructed, obstruction produces stoppage, stoppage, continuing without intermission, arrests all progress, and with this all injurious effects spring up

'The knowledge of all creatures depends on their breathing[1] But if their breath be not abundant, it is not the fault of Heaven, which tries to penetrate them with it, day and night without ceasing, but men notwithstanding shut their pores against it The womb encloses a large and empty space, the heart has its spontaneous and enjoyable movements If their apartment be not roomy, wife and mother-in-law will be bickering, if the heart have not its spontaneous and enjoyable movements, the six faculties of perception[2] will be in mutual collision That

[1] There seems to underlie this statement the Tâoist dogma about the regulation of the 'breath,' as conducive to long life and mental cultivation

[2] Probably what in Buddhist literature are called 'the Six Entrances (六入),' what Mayers denominates 'The Six Organs of Admittance, or Bodily Sensations,' the Shadâyatana, the eye, ear, nose, mouth, body, and mind,—one of the twelve Nidânas in the Buddhist system

the great forests, the heights and hills, are pleasant to men, is because their spirits cannot overcome (those distracting influences) Virtue overflows into (the love of) fame, (the love of) fame overflows into violence, schemes originate in the urgency (of circumstances), (the show of) wisdom comes from rivalry, the fuel (of strife) is produced from the obstinate maintenance (of one's own views), the business of offices should be apportioned in accordance with the approval of all In spring, when the rain and the sunshine come seasonably, vegetation grows luxuriantly, and sickles and hoes begin to be prepared More than half of what had fallen down becomes straight, and we do not know how

10 'Stillness and silence are helpful to those who are ill, rubbing the corners of the eyes is helpful to the aged, rest serves to calm agitation, but they are the toiled and troubled who have recourse to these things Those who are at ease, and have not had such experiences, do not care to ask about them The spirit-like man has had no experience of how it is that the sagely man keeps the world in awe, and so he does not inquire about it, the sagely man has had no experience of how it is that the man of ability and virtue keeps his age in awe, and so he does not inquire about it, the man of ability and virtue has had no experience of how it is that the superior man keeps his state in awe, and so he does not inquire about it The superior man has had no experience of how it is that the small man keeps himself in agreement with his times that he should inquire about it.'

11. The keeper of the Yen Gate[1], on the death of

[1] The name of one of the gates in the wall of the capital of Sung

his father, showed so much skill in emaciating his person[1] that he received the rank of 'Pattern for Officers.' Half the people of his neighbourhood (in consequence) carried their emaciation to such a point that they died When Yâo wished to resign the throne to Hsu Yû, the latter ran away When Thang offered his to Wû Kwang[2], Wû Kwang became angry. When *K*î Thâ[3] heard it, he led his disciples, and withdrew to the river Kho, where the feudal princes came and condoled with him, and after three years, Shăn Thû-tî[4] threw himself into the water. Fishing-stakes[5] are employed to catch fish, but when the fish are got, the men forget the stakes Snares are employed to catch hares, but when the hares are got, men forget the snares Words are employed to convey ideas, but when the ideas are apprehended, men forget the words Fain would I talk with such a man who has forgot the words!

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[1] The abstinences and privations in mourning were so many that there was a danger of their seriously injuring the health,—which was forbidden

[2] See Bk VI, par 3, but in the note there, Wû Kwang is said to have been of the time of Hwang-Tî, which is probably an error

[3] See IV, par 3, but I do not know who *K*î Thâ was, nor can I explain what is said of him here

[4] See again IV, par. 3

[5] According to some, 'baskets' This illustration is quoted in the Inscription on the Nestorian Monument, II, 7.

BOOK XXVII

PART III SECTION V

Yu Yen, or 'Metaphorical Language[1]'

1 Of my sentences nine in ten are metaphorical, of my illustrations seven in ten are from valued writers The rest of my words are like the water that daily fills the cup, tempered and harmonised by the Heavenly element in our nature[2]

The nine sentences in ten which are metaphorical are borrowed from extraneous things to assist (the comprehension of) my argument (When it is said, for instance), 'A father does not act the part of matchmaker for his own son,' (the meaning is that) 'it is better for another man to praise the son than for his father to do so' The use of such metaphorical language is not my fault, but the fault of men (who would not otherwise readily understand me)

Men assent to views which agree with their own, and oppose those which do not so agree Those which agree with their own they hold to be right, and those which do not so agree they hold to be wrong The seven out of ten illustrations taken from valued writers are designed to put an end to disputations Those writers are the men of hoary eld, my predecessors in time But such as are un-

[1] See vol xxxix, pp 155 156

[2] See Bk II, par 10

versed in the warp and woof, the beginning and end of the subject, cannot be set down as of venerable eld, and regarded as the predecessors of others If men have not that in them which fits them to precede others, they are without the way proper to man, and they who are without the way proper to man can only be pronounced defunct monuments of antiquity

Words like the water that daily issues from the cup, and are harmonised by the Heavenly Element (of our nature), may be carried on into the region of the unlimited, and employed to the end of our years But without words there is an agreement (in principle) That agreement is not effected by words, and an agreement in words is not effected by it Hence it is said, 'Let there be no words.' Speech does not need words One may speak all his life, and not have spoken a (right) word, and one may not have spoken all his life, and yet all his life been giving utterance to the (right) words There is that which makes a thing allowable, and that which makes a thing not allowable There is that which makes a thing right, and that which makes a thing not right. How is a thing right? It is right because it is right How is a thing wrong? It is wrong because it is wrong How is a thing allowable? It is allowable because it is so How is a thing not allowable? It is not allowable because it is not so. Things indeed have what makes them right, and what makes them allowable. There is nothing which has not its condition of right, nothing which has not its condition of allowability But without the words of the (water-) cup in daily use, and harmonised by the Heavenly Element (in our

nature), what one can continue long in the possession of these characteristics?

All things are divided into their several classes, and succeed to one another in the same way, though of different bodily forms. They begin and end as in an unbroken ring, though how it is they do so be not apprehended. This is what is called the Lathe of Heaven, and the Lathe of Heaven is the Heavenly Element in our nature.

2. *K*'wang-tze said to Hui-tze, 'When Confucius was in his sixtieth year, in that year his views changed.[1] What he had before held to be right, he now ended by holding to be wrong, and he did not know whether the things which he now pronounced to be right were not those which he had for fifty-nine years held to be wrong.' Hui-tze replied, 'Confucius with an earnest will pursued the acquisition of knowledge, and acted accordingly.' *K*'wang-tze rejoined, 'Confucius disowned such a course, and never said that it was his. He said, "Man receives his powers from the Great Source[2] (of his being), and he should restore them to their (original) intelligence in his life. His singing should be in accordance with the musical tubes, and his speech a model for imitation. When profit and righteousness are set before him, and his liking (for the latter) and dislike (of the

[1] Compare this with the same language about *K*'ü Po-yü in Bk. XXV, par. 8. There is no proof to support our author's assertion that the views of Confucius underwent any change.

[2] 'The Great Source (Root)' here is generally explained by 'the Grand Beginning.' It is not easy to say whether we are to understand an ideal condition of man designed from the first, or the condition of every man as he is born into the world. On the 'powers' received by man, see Mencius VI, i, 6.

former), his approval and disapproval, are manifested, that only serves to direct the speech of men (about him). To make men in heart submit, and not dare to stand up in opposition to him, to establish the fixed law for all under heaven —ah! ah! I have not attained to that"'

3 Zăng-tze twice took office, and on the two occasions his state of mind was different He said, 'While my parents were alive I took office, and though my emolument was only three fû[1] (of grain), my mind was happy Afterwards when I took office, my emolument was three thousand *k*ung[2], but I could not share it with my parents, and my mind was sad' The other disciples asked *K*ung-nî, saying, 'Such an one as Shăn may be pronounced free from all entanglement —is he to be blamed for feeling as he did[3]?' The reply was, 'But he was subject to entanglement[4] If he had been free from it, could he have had that sadness? He would have looked on his three fû and three thousand *k*ung no more than on a heron or a mosquito passing before him'

4 Yen *Kh*ăng Ze-yû said to Tung-kwo Ze-*kh*î[5], 'When I (had begun to) hear your instructions, the first year, I continued a simple rustic, the second

[1] A fû = ten tâu and four shing, or sixty-four shing, the shing at present being rather less than an English pint

[2] A *k*ung = sixty-four tâu, but there are various accounts of its size

[3] This sentence is difficult to construe

[4] But Confucius could not count his love for his parents an entanglement

[5] We must suppose this master to be the same as the Nan-kwo Ze-*kh*î of Bk II.

year, I became docile, the third year, I comprehended (your teaching), the fourth year, I was (plastic) as a thing, the fifth year, I made advances; the sixth year, the spirit entered (and dwelt in me), the seventh year, (my nature as designed by) Heaven was perfected, the eighth year, I knew no difference between death and life, the ninth year, I attained to the Great Mystery[1]

'Life has its work to do, and death ensues, (as if) the common character of each were a thing prescribed Men consider that their death has its cause, but that life from (the operation of) the Yang has no cause. But is it really so? How does (the Yang) operate in this direction? Why does it not operate there?

'Heaven has its places and spaces which can be calculated, (the divisions of) the earth can be assigned by men But how shall we search for and find out (the conditions of the Great Mystery)? We do not know when and how (life) will end, but how shall we conclude that it is not determined (from without)? and as we do not know when and how it begins, how should we conclude that it is not (so) determined?

'In regard to the issues of conduct which we deem appropriate, how should we conclude that there are no spirits presiding over them, and where those issues seem inappropriate, how should we conclude that there are spirits presiding over them?'

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[1] In illustration of the text here Lû Shû-*kih* refers to the use of Miao (妙), in the account of the term 'Spirit,' in the fifth Appendix to the Yi, par 10, as meaning 'the subtle (presence and operation of God) with all things' Ze-yû's further exposition of his attainments is difficult to understand fully

5 The penumbrae (once) asked the shadow[1] saying, 'Formerly you were looking down, and now you are looking up, formerly you had your hair tied up, and now it is dishevelled, formerly you were sitting, and now you have risen up, formerly you were walking, and now you have stopped — how is all this?' The shadow said, 'Venerable Sirs, how do you ask me about such small matters? These things all belong to me, but I do not know how they do so I am (like) the shell of a cicada or the cast-off skin of a snake[2],—like them, and yet not like them With light and the sun I make my appearance, with darkness and the night I fade away Am not I dependent on the substance from which I am thrown? And that substance is itself dependent on something else! When it comes, I come with it, when it goes, I go with it When it comes under the influence of the strong Yang, I come under the same Since we are both produced by that strong Yang, what occasion is there for you to question me?'

6 Yang Ze-ku[3] had gone South to Phei[4], while Lâo Tan was travelling in the west in *Khin*[5] (He thereupon) asked (Lâo-ze) to come to the border (of Phei), and went himself to Liang, where he met him Lâo-ze stood in the middle of the way, and, looking up to heaven, said with a sigh, 'At first I thought that you might be taught, but now I see that you cannot be.' Yang Ze-ku made no reply,

[1] Compare Bk II, par 11

[2] Such is the reading of Siâo Hung

[3] No doubt the Yang *Kû* of Lieh-ze and Mencius

[4] See in XIV, 26 b

[5] In the borders of Phei, can hardly be the great State

and when they came to their lodging-house, he brought in water for the master to wash his hands and rinse his mouth, along with a towel and comb He then took off his shoes outside the door, went forward on his knees, and said, 'Formerly, your disciple wished to ask you, Master, (the reason of what you said), but you were walking, and there was no opportunity, and therefore I did not presume to speak Now there is an opportunity, and I beg to ask why you spoke as you did' Lâo-tze replied, 'Your eyes are lofty, and you stare,—who would live with you? The purest carries himself as if he were soiled, the most virtuous seems to feel himself defective.' Yang Tze-kû looked abashed and changed countenance, saying, 'I receive your commands with reverence'

When he first went to the lodging-house, the people of it met him and went before him The master of it carried his mat for him, and the mistress brought the towel and comb. The lodgers left their mats, and the cook his fire-place (as he passed them) When he went away, the others in the house would have striven with him about (the places for) their mats[1]

[1] So had his arrogant superciliousness given place to humility

BOOK XXVIII.

PART III SECTION VI

*Z*ang Wang, or 'Kings who have wished to resign the Throne[1]'

1 Yâo proposed to resign the throne to Hsu Yû, who would not accept it He then offered it to Ʒze-*k*âu *K*ih-fû[2], but he said, 'It is not unreasonable to propose that I should occupy the throne, but I happen to be suffering under a painful sorrow and illness. While I am engaged in dealing with it, I have not leisure to govern the kingdom' Now the throne is the most important of all positions, and yet this man would not occupy it to the injury of his life, how much less would he have allowed any other thing to do so! But only he who does not care to rule the kingdom is fit to be entrusted with it

Shun proposed to resign the throne to Ʒze-*k*âu *K*ih-po[2], who declined in the very same terms as *K*ih-fû had done. Now the kingdom is the greatest of all concerns, and yet this man would not give his life in exchange for the throne This shows how they who possess the Tâo differ from common men

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[1] See vol xxxix, pp 156, 157

[2] We know nothing of this man but what is related here. He is, no doubt, a fictitious character *K*ih-fû and *K*ih-po are supposed to be the same individual See Hwang-fû Mî, I, 7

Shun proposed to resign the throne to Shan *K*uan[1], who said, 'I am a unit in the midst of space and time In winter I wear skins and furs, in summer, grass-cloth and linen, in spring I plough and sow, my strength being equal to the toil, in autumn I gather in my harvest, and am prepared to cease from labour and eat At sunrise I get up and work, at sunset I rest So do I enjoy myself between heaven and earth, and my mind is content why should I have anything to do with the throne? Alas! that you, Sir, do not know me better!' Thereupon he declined the proffer, and went away, deep among the hills, no man knew where

Shun proposed to resign the throne to his friend, a farmer of Shih-hû[2] The farmer, however, said (to himself), 'How full of vigour does our lord show himself, and how exuberant is his strength! If Shun with all his powers be not equal (to the task of government, how should I be so?)' On this he took his wife on his back, led his son by the hand, and went away to the sea-coast, from which to the end of his life he did not come back

When Thai-wang Than-fû[3] was dwelling in Pin[3], the wild tribes of the North attacked him He tried to serve them with skins and silks, but they were not satisfied He tried to serve them with dogs and horses, but they were not satisfied, and then

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[1] Nor do we know more of Shan *K*uan, though Mî relates a visit of Yao to him

[2] Name of a place, where it was is very uncertain

[3] An ancestor of the House of *K*âu, who about B C 1325 removed from Pin (in the present small department so called of Shen-hsî), and settled in the district of *K*hî-shan, department of Făng-ʒhiang He was the grandfather of king Wăn

with pearls and jade, but they were not satisfied What they sought was his territory Thâi-wang Than-fû said (to his people), 'To dwell with the elder brother and cause the younger brother to be killed, or with the father and cause the son to be killed,—this is what I cannot bear to do Make an effort, my children, to remain here What difference is there between being my subjects, or the subjects of those wild people? And I have heard that a man does not use that which he employs for nourishing his people to injure them' Thereupon he took his staff and switch and left, but the people followed him in an unbroken train, and he established a (new) state at the foot of mount *K'hî*[1] Thus Thâi-wang Than-fû might be pronounced one who could give its (due) honour to life Those who are able to do so, though they may be rich and noble, will not, for that which nourishes them, injure their persons, and though they may be poor and mean, will not, for the sake of gain, involve their bodies (in danger) The men of the present age who occupy high offices and are of honourable rank all lose these (advantages) again, and in the prospect of gain lightly expose their persons to ruin —is it not a case of delusion?

The people of Yueh three times in succession killed their ruler, and the prince Sâu[2], distressed by it, made his escape to the caves of Tan, so that Yueh was left without a ruler The people sought

[1] See note 3, p 150

[2] Sze-mâ *K'h*ien takes up the history of Yüeh at a later period, and we have from him no details of this prince Sâu Tan-hsüeh was the name of a district in the south of Yüeh, in which was a valley with caves containing cinnabar, —the fabled home of the phœnix

for the prince, but could not find him, till (at last) they followed him to the cave of Tan The prince was not willing to come out to them, but they smoked him out with moxa, and made him mount the royal chariot As he took hold of the strap, and mounted the carriage, he looked up to heaven, and called out, 'O Ruler, O Ruler, could you not have spared me this?' Prince Sâu did not dislike being ruler,—he disliked the evil inseparable from being so It may be said of him that he would not for the sake of a kingdom endanger his life, and this indeed was the reason why the people of Yueh wanted to get him for their ruler

2 Han[1] and Wei[1] were contending about some territory which one of them had wrested from the other Ze-hwâ Ze[2] went to see the marquis Kâo-hsî (of Han)[3], and, finding him looking sorrowful, said, 'Suppose now that all the states were to sign an agreement before you to the effect that "Whoever should with his left hand carry off (the territory in dispute) should lose his right hand, and whoever should do so with his right hand should lose his left hand, but that, nevertheless, he who should carry it off was sure to obtain the whole kingdom," would your lordship feel yourself able to carry it off?' The marquis said 'I would not carry it off,' and Ze-hwâ rejoined, 'Very good Looking at the thing from this point of view, your two arms are of more value to you than the whole kingdom But

[1] Two of the three states into which the great state of Zin was divided about the beginning of the fifth century B C

[2] A native, we may call him a philosopher, of Wei

[3] Began his rule in B C 359

your body is of more value than your two arms, and Han is of much less value than the whole kingdom The territory for which you are now contending is further much less important than Han —your lordship, since you feel so much concern for your body, should not be endangering your life by indulging your sorrow'

The marquis Kâo-hsî said, 'Good! Many have given me their counsel about this matter, but I never heard what you have said' Ze-hwâ Ze may be said to have known well what was of great importance and what was of little.

3 The ruler of Lû, having heard that Yen Ho[1] had attained to the Tâo, sent a messenger, with a gift of silks, to prepare the way for further communication with him. Yen Ho was waiting at the door of a mean house, in a dress of coarse hempen cloth, and himself feeding a cow[2] When the messenger arrived, Yen Ho himself confronted him. 'Is this,' said the messenger, 'the house of Yen Ho?' 'It is,' was the reply, and the other was presenting the silks to him, when he said, 'I am afraid you heard (your instructions) wrongly, and that he who sent you will blame you You had better make sure.' The messenger on this returned, and made sure that he was right; but when he came back, and sought for Yen Ho, he was not to be found.

Yes, men like Yen Ho do of a truth dislike riches and honours Hence it is said, 'The true

[1] Perhaps the Yen Ho of IV, 5

[2] The same thing is often seen at the present day. The party in charge of the cow pours its prepared food down its throat from a joint of bamboo

object of the Tâo is the regulation of the person Quite subordinate to this is its use in the management of the state and the clan, while the government of the kingdom is but the dust and refuse of it' From this we may see that the services of the Tîs and Kings are but a surplusage of the work of the sages, and do not contribute to complete the person or nourish the life Yet the superior men of the present age will, most of them, throw away their lives for the sake of their persons, in pursuing their (material) objects,—is it not cause for grief? Whenever a sage is initiating any movement, he is sure to examine the motive which influences him, and what he is about to do Here, however, is a man, who uses a pearl like that of the marquis of Sui[1] to shoot a bird at a distance of 10,000 feet All men will laugh at him, and why? Because the thing which he uses is of great value, and what he wishes to get is of little And is not life of more value than the pearl of the marquis of Sui?

4 Ze[2] Lieh-ze[2] was reduced to extreme poverty, and his person had a hungry look A visitor mentioned the case to Ze-yang, (the premier) of *K*ăng, saying, 'Lieh Yu-khâu, I believe, is a scholar who has attained to the Tâo. Is it because our ruler does not love (such) scholars, that he should be living in his state in such poverty?' Ze-yang immediately ordered an officer to send to him a supply of grain.

[1] Sui was a small feudal state, a dependency of Wei Its name remains in the Sui-*k*âu, Teh-an department, Hû-pei The story is that one of its lords having healed a wounded snake, the creature one night brought him a large pearl in its mouth

[2] The phraseology is peculiar See Introductory Note on Bk XXXII

When Lieh-ze saw the messenger, he bowed to him twice, and declined the gift, on which the messenger went away On Lieh-ze's going into the house, his wife looked to him and beat her breast, saying, 'I have heard that the wife and children of a possessor of the Tâo all enjoy plenty and ease, but now we look starved The ruler has seen his error, and sent you a present of food, but you would not receive it, —is it appointed (for us to suffer thus)?' Ze Lieh-ze laughed and said to her, 'The ruler does not himself know me Because of what some one said to him, he sent me the grain, but if another speak (differently) of me to him, he may look on me as a criminal This was why I did not receive the grain'

In the end it did come about, that the people, on an occasion of trouble and disorder, put Ze-yang to death

5 When king K'âo of K'hû[1] lost his kingdom, the sheep-butcher Yueh followed him in his flight. When the king (recovered) his kingdom and returned to it, and was going to reward those who had followed him, on coming to the sheep-butcher Yueh, that personage said, 'When our Great King lost his kingdom, I lost my sheep-killing When his majesty got back his kingdom, I also got back my sheep-killing My income and rank have been recovered, why speak further of rewarding me?' The king, (on hearing of this reply), said, 'Force him (to take the reward),' but Yueh said, 'It was not through any crime of mine that the king lost his kingdom,

[1] B C 515–489 He was driven from his capital by an invasion of Wû, directed by Wû Ze-hsu

and therefore I did not dare to submit to the death (which would have been mine if I had remained in the capital) And it was not through any service of mine that he recovered his kingdom, and therefore I do not dare to count myself worthy of any reward from him'

The king (now) asked that the butcher should be introduced to him, but Yueh said, 'According to the law of *Khû*, great reward ought to be given to great service, and the recipient then be introduced to the king, but now my wisdom was not sufficient to preserve the kingdom, nor my courage sufficient to die at the hands of the invaders When the army of Wû entered, I was afraid of the danger, and got out of the way of the thieves,—it was not with a distinct purpose (of loyalty) that I followed the king And now he wishes, in disregard of the law, and violations of the conditions of our social compact, to see me in court,—this is not what I would like to be talked of through the kingdom' The king said to Ze-*khî*, the Minister of War, 'The position of the sheep-butcher Yueh is low and mean, but his setting forth of what is right is very high, do you ask him for me to accept the place of one of my three most distinguished nobles[1]' (This being communicated to Yueh), he said, 'I know that the place of such a distinguished noble is nobler than a sheep-butcher's stall, and that the salary of 10,000 *kung* is more than its profits But how should I, through my greed of rank and emolument, bring on our ruler the name of an unlawful dispensation of his gifts? I dare not

[1] Literally, 'My three banners or flags,' emblems of the favour of the sovereign

respond to your wishes, but desire to return to my stall as the sheep-butcher' Accordingly he did not accept (the proffered reward)

6 Yuan Hsien[1] was living in Lû His house, whose walls were only a few paces round, looked as if it were thatched with a crop of growing grass, its door of brushwood was incomplete, with branches of a mulberry tree for its side-posts, the window of each of its two apartments was formed by an earthenware jar (in the wall), which was stuffed with some coarse serge. It leaked above, and was damp on the ground beneath, but there he sat composedly, playing on his guitar Sze-kung, in an inner robe of purple and an outer one of pure white, riding in a carriage drawn by two large horses, the hood of which was too high to get into the lane (leading to the house), went to see him Yuan Hsien, in a cap made of bark, and slippers without heels, and with a stalk of hellebore for a staff, met him at the door. 'Alas! Master,' said Sze-kung, 'that you should be in such distress!' Yuan Hsien answered him, 'I have heard that to have no money is to be poor, and that not to be able to carry one's learning into practice is to be distressed I am poor but not in distress' Sze-kung shrank back, and looked ashamed, on which the other laughed and said, 'To act with a view to the world's (praise), to pretend to be public-spirited and yet be a partisan, to learn in order to please men, to teach for the sake of one's own gain, to conceal one's wickedness under the garb of

[1] A disciple of Confucius, called also Yüan Sze,—see Confucian Analects VI, iii, 3 With the description of his house or hut, compare in the Lî Kî, XXVIII, 10

benevolence and righteousness, and to be fond of the show of chariots and horses —these are things which Hsien cannot bear to do'

Zăng-tze was residing in Wei He wore a robe quilted with hemp, and had no outer garment, his countenance looked rough and emaciated, his hands and feet were horny and callous, he would be three days without lighting a fire, in ten years he did not have a new suit, if he put his cap on straight, the strings would break, if he drew tight the overlap of his robe, his elbow would be seen, in putting on his shoes, the heels would burst them Yet dragging his shoes along, he sang the 'Sacrificial Odes of Shang' with a voice that filled heaven and earth as if it came from a bell or a sounding stone The Son of Heaven could not get him to be a minister, no feudal prince could get him for his friend So it is that he who is nourishing his mind's aim forgets his body, and he who is nourishing his body discards all thoughts of gain, and he who is carrying out the Tâo forgets his own mind

Confucius said to Yen Hui, 'Come here, Hui Your family is poor, and your position is low, why should you not take office?' Hui replied, 'I have no wish to be in office Outside the suburban district I possess fields to the extent of fifty acres, which are sufficient to supply me with congee, and inside it I have ten acres, which are sufficient to supply me with silk and flax I find my pleasure in playing on my lute, and your doctrines, Master, which I study, are sufficient for my enjoyment, I do not wish to take office.' Confucius looked sad, changed countenance, and said, 'How good is the mind of Hui! I have heard that he who is con-

tented will not entangle himself with the pursuit of gain, that he who is conscious of having gained (the truth) in himself is not afraid of losing other things, and that he who cultivates the path of inward rectification is not ashamed though he may have no official position I have long been preaching this, but to-day I see it realised in Hui —this is what I have gained'

7 Prince Mâu[1] of Kung-shan[1] spoke to Kan-ze[2], saying, 'My body has its place by the streams and near the sea, but my mind dwells at the court of Wei,—what have you to say to me in the circumstances?' Kan-ze replied, 'Set the proper value on your life When one sets the proper value on his life, gain seems to him unimportant' The prince rejoined, 'I know that, but I am not able to overcome (my wishes)' The reply was, 'If you cannot master yourself (in the matter), follow (your inclinations so that) your spirit may not be dissatisfied. When you cannot master yourself, and try to force yourself where your spirit does not follow, this is what is called doing yourself a double injury, and those who so injure themselves are not among the long-lived'

Mâu of Wei was the son of a lord of ten thousand chariots For him to live in retirement among crags and caves was more difficult than for a scholar who had not worn the dress of office Although he

[1] Prince Mâu was a son of the marquis of Wei, and had been appointed to the appanage of Kung-shan,—corresponding to part of the present Ting Kâu in Pei Kih-lî

[2] A worthy officer or thinker of Wei One is not sure that his advice was altogether good

had not attained to the Tâo, he may be said to have had some idea of it

8 When Confucius was reduced to extreme distress between *Khăn* and Ʒhâi, for seven days he had no cooked meat to eat, but only some soup of coarse vegetables without any rice in it His countenance wore the appearance of great exhaustion, and yet he kept playing on his lute and singing inside the house Yen Hui (was outside), selecting the vegetables, while Ʒze-lû and Ʒze-kung were talking together, and said to him, 'The Master has twice been driven from Lû, he had to flee from Wei, the tree (beneath which he rested) was cut down in Sung, he was reduced to extreme distress in Shang and *K*âu; he is held in a state of siege here between *Khăn* and Ʒhâi, any one who kills him will be held guiltless, there is no prohibition against making him a prisoner. And yet he keeps playing and singing, thrumming his lute without ceasing Can a superior man be without the feeling of shame to such an extent as this?' Yen Hui gave them no reply, but went in and told (their words) to Confucius, who pushed aside his lute, and said, 'Yû and Ʒhze are small men Call them here, and I will explain the thing to them.'

When they came in, Ʒze-lû said, 'Your present condition may be called one of extreme distress' Confucius replied, 'What words are these! When the Superior man has free course with his principles, that is what we call his success, when such course is denied, that is what we call his failure Now I hold in my embrace the principles of benevolence and righteousness, and with them meet the evils of a disordered age,—where is the proof of my being

in extreme distress? Therefore looking inwards and examining myself, I have no difficulties about my principles, though I encounter such difficulties (as the present), I do not lose my virtue. It is when winter's cold is come, and the hoar-frost and snow are falling, that we know the vegetative power of the pine and cypress. This strait between *Khăn* and Shâi is fortunate for me.' He then took back his lute so that it emitted a twanging sound, and began to play and sing. (At the same time) Sze-lû, hurriedly, seized a shield, and began to dance, while Sze-kung said, 'I did not know (before) the height of heaven nor the depth of the earth.'

The ancients who had got the Tâo were happy when reduced to extremity, and happy when having free course. Their happiness was independent of both these conditions. The Tâo and its characteristics!—let them have these and distress and success come to them as cold and heat, as wind and rain in the natural order of things. Thus it was that Hsu Yû found pleasure on the north of the river Ying, and that the earl of Kung enjoyed himself on the top of mount (Kung).[1]

9. Shun proposed to resign the throne to his friend, the Northerner Wû-*kâi*[2], who said, 'A strange man you are, O sovereign! You (first) lived among the channeled fields, and then your

[1] This takes us to the famous Kung-ho period (B.C. 842–828), but our author evidently follows the account of it found in the 'Bamboo Books,'—see the prolegomena to the Shû King, p. 154.

[2] We found, in Book XXI (see vol. xxxix, p. 133), Wû-*kâi* as the name of Thien Sze-fang. Here is the same name belonging to a much earlier man, 'a man of the north.'

place was in the palace of Yâo. And not only so — you now further wish to extend to me the stain of your disgraceful doings I am ashamed to see you.' And on this he threw himself into the abyss of *Khing*-lăng[1]

When Thang was about to attack *Kieh*, he took counsel with Pien Sui, who said, 'It is no business of mine.' Thang then said, 'To whom should I apply?' And the other said, 'I do not know' Thang then took counsel with Wû Kwang, who gave the same answer as Pien Sui, and when asked to whom he should apply, said in the same way, 'I do not know' 'Suppose,' Thang then said, 'I apply to Î Yin, what do you say about him?' The reply was, 'He has a wonderful power in doing what is disgraceful, and I know nothing more about him!'

Thang thereupon took counsel with Î Yin, attacked *Kieh*, and overcame him, after which he proposed to resign the throne to Pien Sui, who declined it, saying, 'When you were about to attack *Kieh*, and sought counsel from me, you must have supposed me to be prepared to be a robber Now that you have conquered *Kieh*, and propose to resign the throne to me, you must consider me to be greedy I have been born in an age of disorder, and a man without principle twice comes, and tries to extend to me the stain of his disgraceful proceedings!— I cannot bear to hear the repetition of his proposals' With this he threw himself into the *Kâu*[2] water and died

[1] At the foot of a hill in the present department of Nan-yang, Ho nan

[2] The reading uncertain

Thang further made proffer of the throne to Wû Kwang[1], saying, 'The wise man has planned it, the martial man has carried it through, and the benevolent man should occupy it —this was the method of antiquity Why should you, Sir, not take the position?' Wû Kwang refused the proffer, saying, 'To depose the sovereign is contrary to right, to kill the people is contrary to benevolence When another has encountered the risks, if I should accept the gain of his adventure, I should violate my disinterestedness I have heard it said, "If it be not right for him to do so, one should not accept the emolument, in an age of unprincipled (government), one should not put foot on the soil (of the) country "—how much less should I accept this position of honour! I cannot bear to see you any longer.' And with this he took a stone on his back, and drowned himself in the Lu water[2]

10 Formerly, at the rise of the *K*âu dynasty, there were two brothers who lived in Kû-*k*û[3], and were named Po-î and Shû-*k*hî They spoke together and said, 'We have heard that in the west there is one who seems to rule according to the Right Way, let us go and see' (Accordingly) they came to the south of (mount) *K*hî, and when king Wû heard of them, he sent (his brother) Shû Tan to see them, and make a covenant with them, engaging that their wealth should be second (only to that of the king), and that their offices should be of the first rank,

[1] Not elsewhere heard of, save in the same connexion

[2] In the west of Liâo-tung

[3] A small principality, in the present Lwan-*k*âu, department of Yung-phing *K*ih-lî

and instructing him to bury the covenant with the blood of the victim after they had smeared the corners of their mouths with it[1] The brothers looked at each other and laughed, saying, 'Ah! How strange! This is not what we call the Right Way Formerly, when Shăn Năng had the kingdom, he offered his sacrifices at the proper seasons and with the utmost reverence, but without praying for any blessing Towards men he was leal-hearted and sincere, doing his utmost in governing them, but without seeking anything for himself When it was his pleasure to use administrative measures, he did so, and a sterner rule when he thought that would be better He did not by the ruin of others establish his own power, he did not exalt himself by bringing others low, he did not, when the time was opportune, seek his own profit But now *K*âu, seeing the disorder of Yin, has suddenly taken the government into its hands, with the high it has taken counsel, and with those below employed bribes, it relies on its troops to maintain the terror of its might, it makes covenants over victims to prove its good faith; it vaunts its proceedings to please the masses; it kills and attacks for the sake of gain —this is simply overthrowing disorder and changing it for tyranny We have heard that the officers of old, in an age of good government, did not shrink from their duties, and in an age of disorder did not recklessly seek to remain in office Now the kingdom is in a state of darkness, the virtue of *K*âu is decayed Than to join with it and

[1] According to the usual forms in which a covenant was made and established The translation is free and diffuse

lay our persons in the dust, it is better for us to abandon it, and maintain the purity of our conduct.'

The two princes then went north to the hill of Shâu-yang[1], where they died of starvation If men such as they, in the matter of riches and honours, can manage to avoid them, (let them do so), but they must not depend on their lofty virtue to pursue any perverse course, only gratifying their own tendencies, and not doing service in their time: —this was the style of these two princes

[1] In the present department of Phû-*k*au Shan-hsî.

BOOK XXIX.

PART III SECTION VII

Tâo *K*ih, or 'The Robber *K*ih[1]'

1 Confucius was on terms of friendship with Liû-hsiâ *K*î[2], who had a brother named Tâo *K*ih This Tâo *K*ih had 9,000 followers, who marched at their will through the kingdom, assailing and oppressing the different princes They dug through walls and broke into houses, they drove away people's cattle and horses, they carried off people's wives and daughters In their greed to get, they forgot the claims of kinship, and paid no regard to their parents and brethren They did not sacrifice to their ancestors Wherever they passed through the country, in the larger states the people guarded their city walls, and in the smaller the people took to their strongholds All were distressed by them

Confucius spoke to Liû-hsiâ *K*î, saying, 'Fathers should be able to lay down the law to their sons,

[1] See vol xxxix, pp 157, 158

[2] Better known as Liû-hsiâ Hui, under which designation he is mentioned both in the Confucian Analects and in Mencius, but it is an anachronism to say that Confucius was on terms of friendship with him He was a scion of the distinguished family of *K*an in Lû, and was called *K*an Hwo and *K*an *K*hin We find, in the Zo *K*wan, a son of his employed in an important expedition in B C 634, so that he, probably, had passed away before Confucius was born in B C 551, and must certainly have deceased before the death of Ze-lû (480), which is mentioned in the Book

and elder to instruct their younger brothers. If they are unable to do so, they do not fulfil the duties of the relationships which they sustain You, Sir, are one of the most talented officers of the age, and your younger brother is this Robber *K*ih He is a pest in the kingdom, and you are not able to instruct him better, I cannot but be ashamed of you, and I beg to go for you and give him counsel' Liû-hsiâ *K*î replied, 'You say, Sir, that fathers must be able to lay down the law to their sons, and elder to instruct their younger brothers, but if sons will not listen to the orders of their fathers, nor the younger receive the lessons of their elder brothers, though one may have your powers of persuasion, what is to be done? And, moreover, *K*ih is a man whose mind is like a gushing fountain, and his will like a whirlwind, he is strong enough to resist all enemies, and clever enough to gloss over his wrong-doings If you agree with him, he is glad, if you oppose him, he is enraged, and he readily meets men with the language of abuse You must not go to him'

Confucius, however, did not attend to this advice With Yen Hui as his charioteer, and Ze-kung seated on the right, he went to see Tâo *K*ih, whom he found with his followers halted on the south of Thâi-shan, and mincing men's livers, which he gave them to eat Confucius alighted from his carriage, and went forward, till he saw the usher, to whom he said, 'I, Khung *Kh*iû of Lû, have heard of the general's lofty righteousness,' bowing twice respectfully to the man as he said so The usher went in and announced the visitor But when Tâo *K*ih heard of the arrival, he flew into a great

rage, his eyes became like blazing stars, and his hair rose up and touched his cap 'Is not this fellow,' said he, 'Khung *Khiû*, that artful hypocrite of Lû? Tell him from me, "You invent speeches and babble away, appealing without ground to (the examples of) Wăn and Wû. The ornaments on your cap are as many as the branches of a tree, and your girdle is (a piece of skin) from the ribs of a dead ox The more you talk, the more nonsense you utter You get your food without (the labour of) ploughing, and your clothes without (that of) weaving You wag your lips and make your tongue a drum-stick You arbitrarily decide what is right and what is wrong, thereby leading astray the princes throughout the kingdom, and making its learned scholars not occupy their thoughts with their proper business. You recklessly set up your filial piety and fraternal duty, and curry favour with the feudal princes, the wealthy and the noble Your offence is great, your crime is very heavy Take yourself off home at once If you do not do so, I will take your liver, and add it to the provision for to-day's food"'

But Confucius sent in another message, saying, 'I enjoy the good will of (your brother) *Kî*, and I wish and hope to tread the ground beneath your tent[1]' When the usher had communicated this message, Tâo *Kih* said, 'Make him come forward.' On this Confucius hastened forwards Declining to take a mat, he drew hastily back, and bowed twice to Tâo *Kih*, who in a great rage stretched

[1] That is, I wish to have an interview with you, to see and speak to you face to face

his legs apart, laid his hand on his sword, and with glaring eyes and a voice like the growl of a nursing tigress, said, 'Come forwards, *Khiû* If what you say be in accordance with my mind, you shall live, but, if it be contrary to it, you shall die' Confucius replied, 'I have heard that everywhere under the sky there are three (most excellent) qualities To be naturally tall and large, to be elegant and handsome without a peer, so that young and old, noble and mean, are pleased to look upon him,—this is the highest of those qualities To comprehend both heaven and earth in his wisdom, and to be able to speak eloquently on all subjects,—this is the middle one of them To be brave and courageous, resolute and daring, gathering the multitudes round him, and leading on his troops,—this is the lowest of them Whoever possesses one of these qualities is fit to stand with his face to the south[1], and style himself a Prince But you, General, unite in yourself all the three Your person is eight cubits and two inches in height, there is a brightness about your face and a light in your eyes, your lips look as if stained with vermilion, your teeth are like rows of precious shells, your voice is attuned to the musical tubes, and yet you are named "The Robber *K*ih." I am ashamed of you, General, and cannot approve of you If you are inclined to listen to me, I should like to go as your commissioner to Wû and Yueh in the south, to *Khî* and Lû in the north, to Sung and Wei in the east, and to Zin and *Khû* in the west I will get them to build for you a great city several hundred lî in size, to

[1] To take the position of a ruler in his court

establish under it towns containing several hundred thousands of inhabitants, and honour you there as a feudal lord The kingdom will see you begin your career afresh, you will cease from your wars and disband your soldiers, you will collect and nourish your brethren, and along with them offer the sacrifices to your ancestors[1] —this will be a course befitting a sage and an officer of ability, and will fulfil the wishes of the whole kingdom'

'Come forward, *Khiû*,' said Tâo *Kih*, greatly enraged 'Those who can be persuaded by considerations of gain, and to whom remonstrances may be addressed with success, are all ignorant, low, and ordinary people. That I am tall and large, elegant and handsome, so that all who see me are pleased with me,—this is an effect of the body left me by my parents Though you were not to praise me for it, do I not know it myself? And I have heard that he who likes to praise men to their face will also like to speak ill of them behind their back And when you tell me of a great wall and a multitudinous people, this is to try to persuade me by considerations of gain, and to cocker me as one of the ordinary people But how could such advantages last for long? Of all great cities there is none so great as the whole kingdom, which was possessed by Yâo and Shun, while their descendants (now) have not so much territory as would admit an awl[2]. Thang and Wû were both set up as the Sons of Heaven, but in after ages (their posterity) were cut

[1] It is said near the beginning that *Kih* and his followers had ceased to offer such sacrifices,—they had no religion

[2] The descendants of those worthies were greatly reduced, but they still had a name and a place.

off and extinguished,—was not this because the gain of their position was so great a prize[1]?

'And moreover I have heard that anciently birds and beasts were numerous, and men were few, so that they lived in nests in order to avoid the animals In the daytime they gathered acorns and chestnuts, and in the night they roosted on the trees, and on account of this they are called the people of the Nest-builder. Anciently the people did not know the use of clothes In summer they collected great stores of faggots, and in winter kept themselves warm by means of them, and on account of this they are called the people who knew how to take care of their lives In the age of Shăn Năng, the people lay down in simple innocence, and rose up in quiet security They knew their mothers, but did not know their fathers They dwelt along with the elks and deer They ploughed and ate, they wove and made clothes, they had no idea of injuring one another —this was the grand time of Perfect virtue[2] Hwang-Tî, however, was not able to perpetuate this virtuous state He fought with *K*h*i*h-yû[3] in the wild of *K*o-lû[4] till the blood flowed over a hundred lî When Yâo and Shun arose, they instituted their crowd of ministers Thang banished his lord King Wû killed *K*âu Since that time the strong have oppressed the weak, and the many tyrannised over the few From Thang and Wû downwards, (the

[1] See note 2, p 170

[2] Compare the description of this primeval time in Book X, par 4

[3] Commonly spoken of as 'the first rebel' See Mayers's Manual, p 36

[4] Perhaps in the present Pâo-an *K*âu, department of Hsüan-hwâ, *K*ih-lî

rulers) have all been promoters of disorder and confusion You yourself now cultivate and inculcate the ways of Wăn and Wû, you handle whatever subjects are anywhere discussed for the instruction of future ages With your peculiar robe and narrow girdle, with your deceitful speech and hypocritical conduct, you delude the lords of the different states, and are seeking for riches and honours There is no greater robber than you are,—why does not all the world call you the Robber *Khiû*, instead of styling me the Robber *Kih*?

'You prevailed by your sweet speeches on Ʒze-lû, and made him your follower, you made him put away his high cap, lay aside his long sword, and receive your instructions, so that all the world said, "Khung *Khiû* is able to arrest violence and repress the wrong-doer," but in the end, when Ʒze-lû wished to slay the ruler of Wei, and the affair proved unsuccessful, his body was exhibited in pickle over the eastern gate of the capital,—so did your teaching of him come to nothing

'Do you call yourself a scholar of talent, a sage? Why, you were twice driven out of Lû, you had to run away from Wei, you were reduced to extremity in *Khî*, you were held in a state of siege between *Khăn* and Ʒhâi, there is no resting-place for your person in the kingdom, your instructions brought Ʒze-lû to pickle Such have been the misfortunes (attending your course) You have done no good either for yourself or for others,—how can your doctrines be worth being thought much of?

'There is no one whom the world exalts so much as it does Hwang-Tî, and still he was not able to perfect his virtue, but fought in the wilderness of

*K*o-lû, till the blood flowed over a hundred lî. Yâo was not kind to his son[1] Shun was not filial[2] Yu was paralysed on one side[3]. Thang banished his sovereign King Wû smote *K*âu King Wăn was imprisoned in Yû-lî[4] These are the six men of whom the world thinks the most highly, yet when we accurately consider their history, we see that for the sake of gain they all disallowed their true (nature), and did violence to its proper qualities and tendencies —their conduct cannot be thought of but with deep shame

'Among those whom the world calls men of ability and virtue were (the brothers) Po-Î and Shû-*khî* They declined the rule of Kû-*k*û, and died of starvation on the hill of Shâu-yang, leaving their bones and flesh unburied. Pâo Ziâo vaunted his conduct, and condemned the world, but he died with his arms round a tree[5]. When Shăn thû Tî's remonstrances were not listened to, he fastened a stone on his back, and threw himself into the Ho, where he was eaten by the fishes and turtles[6] *K*'ieh Ze-thui was the most devoted (of followers), and cut a piece from his thigh as food for duke Wăn. But when the duke afterwards overlooked him (in

[1] Referring to his setting aside his unworthy son, Tan-*k*û, and giving the throne to Shun

[2] See in Mencius, V, 1, 1 3, 4

[3] This, I think, is the meaning, the fact was highly honourable to Yu, and brought on by his devotion to his labours

[4] In the present district of Thang-yin, department *K*'hang-teh, Ho-nan There king Wăn pursued his labours on the Yî King

[5] A recluse of the time of Confucius, according to Han Ying (I, art 27) After a dispute with Ze-kung, he committed suicide in the way described

[6] See art 26, in the same Book of Han Ying

his distribution of favours), he was angry, and went away, and was burned to death with a tree in his arms[1] Wei Shăng had made an appointment with a girl to meet him under a bridge, but when she did not come, and the water rose around him, he would not go away, and died with his arms round one of the pillars[2] (The deaths of) these four men were not different from those of the dog that is torn in pieces, the pig that is borne away by a current, or the beggar (drowned in a ditch) with his alms-gourd in his hand They were all caught as in a net by their (desire for) fame, not caring to nourish their life to its end, as they were bound to do.

'Among those whom the world calls faithful ministers there have been none like the prince Pî-kan and Wû Ʒze-hsu But Ʒze-hsu's (dead) body was cast into the *K'*iang, and the heart of Pî-kan was cut out These two were what the world calls loyal ministers, but the end has been that everybody laughs at them. Looking at all the above cases, down to those of Ʒze-hsu and Pî-kan, there is not one worthy to be honoured, and as to the admonitions which you, *K'h*iû, wish to impress on me, if you tell me about the state of the dead, I am unable to know anything about it, if you tell me about the things of men (alive), they are only such as I have stated, what I have heard and know all about I will now tell you, Sir, my views about the condition of man The eyes wish to look on beauty, the ears to hear music, the mouth to enjoy flavours, the will to be gratified The greatest longevity man

[1] See Mayers's Manual, p 80

[2] Supposed to be the same with the Wei-shăng Kâo, mentioned in Analects, V, 23,—see Mayers's Manual, p 251

can reach is a hundred years, a medium longevity is eighty years, the lowest longevity is sixty Take away sickness, pining, bereavement, mourning, anxieties, and calamities, the times when, in any of these, one can open his mouth and laugh, are only four or five days in a month Heaven and earth have no limit of duration, but the death of man has its (appointed) time Take the longest amount of a limited time, and compare it with what is unlimited, its brief existence is not different from the passing of a crevice by one of king Mû's horses[1] Those who cannot gratify their will and natural aims, and nourish their appointed longevity, are all unacquainted with the (right) Way (of life) I cast from me, *Khiû*, all that you say Be quick and go Hurry back and say not a word more Your Way is only a wild recklessness, deceitful, artful, vain, and hypocritical It is not available to complete the true (nature of man), it is not worth talking about!'

Confucius bowed twice, and hurried away He went out at the door, and mounted his carriage. Thrice he missed the reins as he tried to take hold of them His eyes were dazed, and he could not see, and his colour was that of slaked lime. He laid hold of the cross-bar, holding his head down, and unable to draw his breath When he got back, outside the east gate of (the capital of) Lû, he encountered Liû-hsiâ *Kî*, who said to him, 'Here you are, right in the gate For some days I have not seen you Your carriage and horses are travel-stained,—have you not been to see Tâo *Kih*?' Con-

[1] King Mû had eight famous horses, each having its own name The name of only one—*Khih-ki*—is given here See Bk XVII, par 5

fucius looked up to heaven, sighed, and said, 'Yes' The other went on, 'And did he not set himself in opposition to all your views, as I said he would do?' 'He did. My case has been that of the man who cauterised himself without being ill I rushed away, stroked the tiger's head, played with his whiskers, and narrowly escaped his mouth.'

2 Ze-kang[1] asked Mân Kâu-teh[2], saying, 'Why do you not pursue a (righteous) course? Without such a course you will not be believed in, unless you are believed in, you will not be employed in office, and if not employed in office, you will not acquire gain Thus, if you look at the matter from the point of reputation, or estimate it from the point of gain, a righteous course is truly the right thing If you discard the thought of reputation and gain, yet when you think over the thing in your own mind, you will see that the scholar should not be a single day without pursuing a (righteous) course' Mân Kâu-teh said, 'He who has no shame becomes rich, and he in whom many believe becomes illustrious Thus the greatest fame and gain would seem to spring from being without shame and being believed in Therefore if you look at the matter from the point of reputation, or estimate it from the point of gain, to be believed in is the right thing. If you discard the thought of fame and gain, and think over the thing in your own mind, you will see that the scholar in the course which he pursues is (simply) holding fast his Heavenly (nature, and gaining nothing).'

[1] We are told (Analects, II, 18) that Ze-kang 'studied with a view to official emolument This is, probably, the reason why he appears as interlocutor in this paragraph

[2] A fictitious name, meaning, 'Full of gain recklessly got'

Ze-kang said, 'Formerly Kieh and Kâu each enjoyed the honour of being the sovereign, and all the wealth of the kingdom was his, but if you now say to a (mere) money-grabber, "Your conduct is like that of Kieh or Kâu," he will look ashamed, and resent the imputation:—(these two sovereigns) are despised by the smallest men Kung-nî and Mo Tî (on the other hand) were poor, and common men, but if you say to a Prime Minister that his conduct is like that of Kung-nî or Mo Tî, then he will be put out and change countenance, and protest that he is not worthy (to be so spoken of):—(these two philosophers) are held to be truly noble by (all) scholars Thus it is that the position of sovereign does not necessarily connect with being thought noble, nor the condition of being poor and of common rank with being thought mean The difference of being thought noble or mean arises from the conduct being good or bad.' Mân Kâu-teh replied, 'Small robbers are put in prison, a great robber becomes a feudal lord, and in the gate of the feudal lord your righteous scholars will be found For instance, Hsiâo-po[1], the duke Hwan, killed his elder brother, and took his sister-in-law to himself, and yet Kwan Kung became his minister, and Thien Khang, styled Khăng-ze, killed his ruler, and usurped the state[2], and yet Confucius received a present of silks from him In their discussions they would condemn the men, but

[1] The name of duke Hwan

[2] Compare the account of the same transaction in Book X, par 1 See also Analects, XIV, 22 But there is no evidence but rather the contrary, that Confucius ever received a gift from Thien or Khăn Hăng

in their conduct they abased themselves before them In this way their words and actions must have been at war together in their breasts,—was it not a contradiction and perversity? As it is said in a book, "Who is bad? and who is good? The successful is regarded as the Head, and the unsuccessful as the Tail."'

Ze-*k*ang said, 'If you do not follow the usual course of what is held to be right, but observe no distinction between the near and remote degrees of kin, no difference between the noble and the mean, no order between the old and the young, then how shall a separation be made of the fivefold arrangement (of the virtues), and the six parties (in the social organisation)?' Mân Kâu-teh replied, 'Yâo killed his eldest son, and Shun banished his half-brother[1] —did they observe the rules about the different degrees of kin? Thang deposed *K*ieh, king Wû overthrew *K*âu —did they observe the righteousness that should obtain between the noble and the mean? King *K*î took the place of his elder brother[2], and the duke of *K*âu killed his[3] —did they observe the order that should obtain between the elder and the younger? The Literati make hypocritical speeches, the followers of Mo hold that all should be loved equally—do we find in them the separation of the fivefold arrangement (of the

[1] Exaggerations or misrepresentations

[2] King *K*î was the so-called king *K*î-lì, the father of king Wăn His elder brother, that the state of *K*âu might descend to him, left it, and withdrew south to what was then the wild region of Wû See Analects, VIII, 1, the Shih King, III, 1, Ode 7 3, 4

[3] Who had joined with Wû-kăng, son of the tyrant of Yin, in rebellion, thus threatening the stability of the new dynasty of *K*âu

virtues)[1], and the six parties (in the social organisation)[2]? And further, you, Sir, are all for reputation, and I am all for gain, but where the actual search for reputation and gain may not be in accordance with principle and will not bear to be examined in the light of the right way, let me and you refer the matter to-morrow[3] to the decision of Wû-yo[4]'

(This Wû-yo) said, 'The small man pursues after wealth, the superior man pursues after reputation. The way in which they change their feelings and alter their nature is different, but if they were to cast away what they do, and replace it with doing nothing, they would be the same. Hence it is said, "Do not be a small man,—return and pursue after the Heavenly in you. Do not be a superior man,—follow the rule of the Heavenly in you. Be it crooked, be it straight, view the thing in the light of Heaven as revealed in you. Look all round on every side of it, and as the time indicates, cease your endeavours. Be it right, be it wrong, hold fast the ring in yourself in which all conditions converge. Alone by yourself, carry out your idea, ponder over the right way. Do not turn your course, do not try to complete your righteousness. You will fail in what you do. Do not haste to be rich, do not follow after your perfection. If you do, you will lose the heavenly in you."

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[1] Probably what are called 'the five constant virtues.'

[2] The parties in the 'Three Bonds of Society,' or Three Cardinal Objects of Duty.

[3] So Lû Shû-*kih* (日 = 明日).

[4] If we take Wû-yo as a name, which is the simplest construction, we must still recognise its meaning as denoting 'one who is unbound by the conventionalities of opinion.' Much of what he is made to say is in rhyme, and might also be so translated.

'Pi-kan had his heart cut out, Ʒze-hsu had his eyes gouged out —such were the evil consequences of their loyalty The upright person[1] bore witness against his father, Wei Shăng was drowned —such were the misfortunes of good faith. Pao-ʒze stood till he was dried up, Shăn-ʒze would not defend himself[2] —such were the injuries brought on by disinterestedness Confucius did not see his mother[3], Khwang-ʒze[4] did not see his father —such were the failures of the righteous. These are instances handed down from former ages, and talked about in these later times They show us how superior men, in their determination to be correct in their words and resolute in their conduct, paid the penalty of these misfortunes, and were involved in these distresses'

3 Mr Dissatisfied[5] asked Mr Know-the-Mean[5], saying, 'There is no man after all who does not strive for reputation and pursue after gain When men are rich, then others go to them Going to them, they put themselves beneath them In that position they do honour to them as nobler than themselves But to

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[1] See the Analects, XIII, 18

[2] The reading of the name here is not certain The best identification perhaps is with Shan Shăng (申生), the eldest son of duke Hsien of Ʒin, who was put to death on a false charge of having put poison into his father's food, from which he would not defend himself

[3] A false charge

[4] The Khwang K'ang of Mencius, IV, ii, 30, q v

[5] Both of these names are fictitious About the meaning of the first, there can be no difference of opinion I have given that of the second according to my understanding of it,—see in the Lî K'î, Book XXVIII, section I

see others taking that position and doing honour to us is the way to prolong life, and to secure the rest of the body and the satisfaction of the mind. You alone, Sir, however, have no idea of this. Is it that your knowledge is deficient? Is it that you have the knowledge, but want the strength to carry it into practice? Or is it that your mind is made up to do what you consider right, and never allow yourself to forget it?' Know-the-Mean replied, 'Here now is this man judging of us, his contemporaries, and living in the same neighbourhood as himself, that we consider ourselves scholars who have abjured all vulgar ways and risen above the world He is entirely without the thought of submitting to the rule of what is right He therefore studies ancient times and the present, and the differing questions about the right and wrong, and agrees with the vulgar ideas and influences of the age, abandoning what is most important and discarding what is most honourable, in order to be free to act as he does But is he not wide of the mark when he thinks that this is the way to promote long life, and to secure the rest of the body and the satisfaction of the mind? He has his painful afflictions and his quiet repose, but he does not inquire how his body is so variously affected, he has his apprehensive terrors, and his happy joys, but he does not inquire how his mind has such different experiences He knows how to pursue his course, but he does not know why he does so Even if he had the dignity of the Son of Heaven, and all the wealth of the kingdom were his, he would not be beyond the reach of misfortunes and evils' Dissatisfied rejoined, 'But riches are in every way advantageous to man

With them his attainment of the beautiful and mastery of every art become what the perfect man cannot obtain nor the sagely man reach to, his appropriation of the bravery and strength of others enables him to exercise a powerful sway, his availing himself of the wisdom and plans of others makes him be accounted intelligent and discriminating, his taking advantage of the virtues of others makes him be esteemed able and good Though he may not be the holder of a state, he is looked to with awe as a ruler and father Moreover, music, beauty, with the pleasures of the taste and of power, are appreciated by men's minds and rejoiced in without any previous learning of them, the body reposes in them without waiting for the example of others Desire and dislike, avoidance and pursuit, do not require any master,—this is the nature of man Though the world may condemn one's indulgence of them, who can refrain from it?' Know-the-Mean replied, 'The action of the wise is directed for the good of the people, but they do not go against the (proper) rule and degree Therefore when they have enough, they do not strive (for more), they have no further object, and so they do not seek for one When they have not enough, they will seek for it, they will strive for it in every quarter, and yet not think of themselves as greedy If they have (already) a superfluity, they will decline (any more), they will decline the throne, and yet not think of themselves as disinterested —the conditions of disinterestedness and greediness are (with them) not from the constraint of anything external Through their exercise of introspection, their power may be that of the sovereign, but they will not in

their nobility be arrogant to others, their wealth may be that of the whole kingdom, but they will not in their possession of it make a mock of others They estimate the evils to which they are exposed, and are anxious about the reverses which they may experience They think how their possessions may be injurious to their nature, and therefore they will decline and not accept them,—but not because they seek for reputation and praise.

'Yâo and Shun were the sovereigns, and harmony prevailed It did so, not because of their benevolence towards the people,—they would not, for what was (deemed) admirable, injure their lives Shan Kuan and Hsu Yû might have been the sovereigns, but they would not receive the throne,—not that they declined it without purpose, but they would not by its occupancy injure themselves These all followed after what was advantageous to them, and declined what was injurious, and all the world celebrates their superiority Thus, though they enjoy the distinction, they did what they did, not for the sake of the reputation and praise'

Dissatisfied (continued his argument), saying, 'In thus thinking it necessary for their reputation, they bitterly distressed their bodies, denied themselves what was pleasant, and restricted themselves to a bare sustenance in order to sustain their life, but so they had life-long distress, and long-continued pressure till their death arrived' Know-the-Mean replied, 'Tranquil ease is happiness, a superfluity is injurious —so it is with all things, and especially it is so, where the superfluity is of wealth The ears of the rich are provided with the music of bells, drums, flageolets and flutes, and their mouths are

stuffed with the flesh of fed beasts and with wine of the richest flavour, so are their desires satisfied, till they forget their proper business —theirs may be pronounced a condition of disorder Sunk deeply in their self-sufficiency, they resemble individuals ascending a height with a heavy burden on their backs —their condition may be pronounced one of bitter suffering They covet riches, thinking to derive comfort from them, they covet power, and would fain monopolise it, when quiet and retired, they are drowned in luxurious indulgence, their persons seem to shine, and they are full of boasting —they may be said to be in a state of disease In their desire to be rich and striving for gain, they fill their stores, and, deaf to all admonition, refuse to desist from their course They are even more elated, and hold on their way —their conduct may be pronounced disgraceful When their wealth is amassed till they cannot use it, they clasp it to their breasts and will not part with it, when their hearts are distressed with their very fulness, they still seek for more and will not desist —their condition may be said to be sad In-doors they are apprehensive of pilfering and begging thieves, and out-of-doors they are afraid of being injured by plundering robbers, in-doors they have many chambers and partitions, and out-of-doors they do not dare to go alone — they may be said to be in a state of (constant) alarm

'These six conditions are the most deplorable in the world, but they forget them all, and have lost their faculty of judgment. When the evil comes, though they begged it with all the powers of their nature, and by the sacrifice of all their wealth, they could

not bring back one day of untroubled peace. When they look for their reputation, it is not to be seen, when they seek for their wealth, it is not to be got To task their thoughts, and destroy their bodies, striving for (such an end as) this,—is it not a case of great delusion?'

BOOK XXX

PART III. SECTION VIII

Yueh *K*ien, or 'Delight in the Sword-fight[1]'

Formerly, king Wăn of *K*âo[2] delighted in the sword-fight More than three thousand men, masters of the weapon, appeared as his guests, lining the way on either side of his gate, and fighting together before him day and night Over a hundred of them would die or be (severely) wounded in the course of a year, but he was never weary of looking on (at their engagements), so fond was he of them The thing continued for three years, when the kingdom began to decay, and other states to plan measures against it

The crown-prince Khwei[3] was distressed, and laid the case before his attendants, saying, 'If any one can persuade the king, and put an end to these swordsmen, I will give him a thousand ounces of

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[1] See vol xxxix pp 158, 159

[2] Probably king Hui-wăn (B C 298–265) of *K*âo, one of the states into which the great state of Zin was subdivided, and which afterwards all claimed the sovereignty of the kingdom In this Book *K*wang-ze appears as a contemporary of king Wăn, which makes the 'formerly' with which the paragraph commences seem strange

[3] Sze-mâ *K*hien says nothing of king Wăn's love of the sword-fight, nor of this son Khwei He says that in 265 Wăn was succeeded by his son Tan (丹), who appears to have been quite young

silver' His attendants said, '(Only) *K*wang-ʒze is able to do this' Thereupon the prince sent men with a thousand ounces of silver to offer to *K*wang-ʒze, who, however, would not accept them, but went with the messengers When he saw the prince, he said, 'O prince, what have you to say to *K*âu, and why would you give me the silver?' The prince replied, 'I have heard that you, master, are sagacious and sage I sent you respectfully the thousand ounces of silver, as a prelude to the silks and other gifts[1] But as you decline to receive them, how dare I now tell you (what I wished from you)?' *K*wang-ʒze rejoined, 'I have heard, O prince, that what you wanted me for was to wean the king from what is his delight Suppose that in trying to persuade his Majesty I should offend him, and not fulfil your expectation, I shall be punished with death,—and could I then enjoy this silver? Or suppose that I shall succeed in persuading his Majesty, and accomplish what you desire, what is there in the kingdom of *K*âo that I might ask for which I would not get?'

The crown-prince said, 'Yes, but my (father), the king, will see none but swordsmen' *K*wang-ʒze replied, 'I know, but I am expert in the use of the sword' 'That is well,' observed the prince, 'but the swordsmen whom his Majesty sees all have their hair in a tangle, with whiskers projecting out They wear slouching caps with coarse and unornamented tassels, and their coats are cut short behind They have staring eyes, and talk about the hazards of

[1] This, I think, is the meaning It may possibly mean 'for presents to your followers in attendance on you'

their game The king is delighted with all this, but now you are sure to present yourself to him in your scholar's dress, and this will stand greatly in the way of your success'

*K*wang-tze said, 'I will then, with your leave, get me a swordsman's dress' This was ready in three days, nd when he appeared in it before the prince, the latter went with him to introduce him to the king, who then drew his sword from its scabbard and waited for him When *K*wang-tze entered the door of the hall, he did not hurry forward, nor, when he saw the king, did he bow. The king asked him, 'What do you want to teach me, Sir, that you have got the prince to mention you beforehand?' The reply was, 'I have heard that your Majesty is fond of the sword-fight, and therefore I have sought an interview with you on the ground of (my skill in the use of) the sword' 'What can you do with your sword against an opponent?' 'Let me meet with an opponent every ten paces, my sword would deal with him, so that I should not be stopped in a march of a thousand li' The king was delighted with him, and said, 'You have not your match in the kingdom' *K*wang-tze replied, 'A good swordsman first makes a feint (against his opponent), then seems to give him an advantage, and finally gives his thrust, reaching him before he can return the blow I should like to have an opportunity to show you my skill' The king said, 'Stop (for a little), Master Go to your lodging, and wait for my orders I will make arrangements for the play, and then call you'

The king accordingly made trial of his swordsmen for seven days, till more than sixty of them were

killed, or (severely) wounded He then selected five or six men, and made them bring their swords and take their places beneath the hall, after which he called *K*wang-ze, and said to him, 'To-day I am going to make (you and) these men show what you can do with your swords' 'I have long been looking for the opportunity,' replied *K*wang-ze The king then asked him what would be the length of the sword which he would use, and he said, 'Any length will suit me, but I have three swords, any one of which I will use, as may please your Majesty Let me first tell you of them, and then go to the arena' 'I should like to hear about the three swords,' said the king, and *K*wang-ze went on, 'There is the sword of the Son of Heaven, the sword of a feudal prince, and the sword of a common man'

'What about the sword of the Son of Heaven?'

'This sword has Yen-*kh*i[1] and Shih-*kh*ang[2] for its point, *Kh*î and (Mount) Tâi[3] for its edge, Jin and Wei for its back, *K*âu and Sung for its hilt, Han and Wei for its sheath It is embraced by the wild tribes all around, it is wrapped up in the four seasons, it is bound round by the Sea of Po[4], and its girdle is the enduring hills It is regulated by the five elements, its wielding is by means of Punishments and Kindness, its unsheathing is like that of

[1] Some noted place in the state of Yen, the capital of which was near the site of the present Peking

[2] A wall, north of Yen, built as a barrier of defence against the northern tribes

[3] Mount Thâi

[4] A region lying along the present gulf of *K*ih-lî, between the Pei-ho and the *Kh*ing-ho in Shan-tung

the Yin and Yang, it is held fast in the spring and summer, it is put in action in the autumn and winter When it is thrust forward, there is nothing in front of it, when lifted up, there is nothing above it, when laid down, there is nothing below it, when wheeled round, there is nothing left on any side of it, above, it cleaves the floating clouds, and below, it penetrates to every division of the earth Let this sword be once used, and the princes are all reformed, and the whole kingdom submits. This is the sword of the Son of Heaven[1]'

King Wăn looked lost in amazement, and said again, 'And what about the sword of a feudal lord?' (*K*'wang-tze) replied, 'This sword has wise and brave officers for its point, pure and disinterested officers for its edge, able and honourable officers for its back, loyal and sage officers for its hilt; valiant and eminent officers for its sheath When this sword is thrust directly forward, as in the former case, there is nothing in front of it, when directed upwards, there is nothing above it, when laid down, there is nothing below it, when wheeled round, there is nothing on any side of it Above, its law is taken from the round heaven, and is in accordance with the three luminaries, below, its law is taken from the square earth, and is in accordance with the four seasons, between, it is in harmony with the minds of the people, and in all the parts of the state there is peace Let this sword be once used, and you seem to hear the crash of the thunder-peal Within

[1] By this sword *K*'wang-tze evidently means the power of the sovereign, supported by the strength of the kingdom, and directed by good government

the four borders there are none who do not respectfully submit, and obey the orders of the ruler This is the sword of the feudal lord.'

'And what about the sword of the common man?' asked the king (once more) (*K*wang-ze) replied, 'The sword of the common man (is wielded by) those who have their hair in a tangle, with whiskers projecting out, who wear slouching caps with coarse and unornamented tassels, and have their coats cut short behind, who have staring eyes, and talk (only) about the hazards (of their game) They hit at one another before you Above, the sword slashes through the neck, and below, it scoops out the liver and lungs This is the sword of the common man (The users of it) are not different from fighting cocks, any morning their lives are brought to an end, they are of no use in the affairs of the state Your Majesty occupies the seat of the Son of Heaven, and that you should be so fond of the swordsmanship of such common men, is unworthy, as I venture to think, of your Majesty.'

On this the king drew *K*wang-ze with him, and went up to the top of the hall, where the cook set forth a meal, which the king walked round three times (unable to sit down to it) *K*wang-ze said to him, 'Sit down quietly, Great King, and calm yourself I have said all I wished to say about swords' King Wăn, thereafter, did not quit the palace for three months, and the swordsmen all killed themselves in their own rooms[1]

[1] *K*wang-ze's parables had had their intended effect It was not in his mind to do anything for the swordsmen The commentators say —'Indignant at not being treated as they had been before, they all killed themselves'

BOOK XXXI

PART III SECTION IX

Yu-fû, or 'The Old Fisherman'[1]

Confucius, rambling in the forest of Ze-wei[2], stopped and sat down by the Apricot altar The disciples began to read their books, while he proceeded to play on his lute, singing as he did so He had not half finished his ditty when an old fisherman stepped

[1] See vol xxxix, p 159

[2] A forest or grove in the neighbourhood of the capital of Lû Ze-wei means 'black silken curtains,' and I do not know why the forest was so denominated That I have correctly determined its position, however, may be inferred from a quotation in the Khang-hsî dictionary under the character thân (='altar') to the effect that 'Confucius, leaving (the capital of) Lû by the eastern gate, on passing the old apricot altar, said, "This is the altar reared by Zang Wăn-kung to solemnise covenants"' Dr Morrison under the same thân defines the second phrase—hsing thân—as 'The place where Confucius taught,' which Dr Williams, under hsing, has amplified into 'The place where Confucius had his school' But the text does not justify so definite a conclusion The picture which the Book raises before my mind is that of a forest, with a row or clump of apricot trees, along which was a terrace, having on it the altar of Zang Wăn-kung and with a lake or at least a stream near to it, to which the ground sloped down Here the writer introduces us to the sage and some of his disciples, on one occasion, when they were attracted from their books and music by the appearance of the old fisherman I visited in 1873, not far from the Confucian cemetery, a ruined building called 'the College of Kû-Sze,' which was pointed out as the site of the School of Confucius The place would suit all the demands of the situation in this Book

down from his boat, and came towards them. His beard and eyebrows were turning white, his hair was all uncombed, and his sleeves hung idly down He walked thus up from the bank, till he got to the dry ground, when he stopped, and, with his left hand holding one of his knees, and the right hand at his chin, listened. When the ditty was finished, he beckoned to ƷZe-kung and ƷZe-lû, who both responded and went to him Pointing to Confucius, he said, 'Who is he?' ƷZe-lû replied, 'He is the Superior Man of Lû' 'And of what family is he?' 'He is of the Khung family' 'And what is the occupation of this Mr Khung?' To this question ƷZe-lû gave no reply, but ƷZe-kung replied, 'This scion of the Khung family devotes himself in his own nature to leal-heartedness and sincerity, in his conduct he manifests benevolence and righteousness, he cultivates the ornaments of ceremonies and music, he pays special attention to the relationships of society, above, he would promote loyalty to the hereditary lords, below, he seeks the transformation of all classes of the people, his object being to benefit the kingdom —this is what Mr. Khung devotes himself to'

The stranger further asked, 'Is he a ruler possessed of territory?' 'No,' was ƷZe-kung's reply. 'Is he the assistant of any prince or king?' 'No,' and on this the other began to laugh and to retrace his steps, saying as he went, 'Yes, benevolence is benevolence! But I am afraid he will not escape (the evils incident to humanity) By embittering his mind and toiling his body, he is imperilling his true (nature)! Alas! how far removed is he from the proper way (of life)!'

Ze-kung returned, and reported (what the man had said) to Confucius, who pushed his lute aside, and arose, saying, 'Is he not a sage?' and down the slope he went in search of him When he reached the edge of the lake, there was the fisherman with his pole, dragging the boat towards him. Turning round and seeing Confucius, he came back towards him and stood up Confucius then drew back, bowed to him twice, and went forward 'What do you want with me, Sir?' asked the stranger The reply was, 'A little while ago, my Master, you broke off the thread of your remarks and went away Inferior to you, I do not know what you wished to say, and have ventured here to wait for your instructions, fortunate if I may but hear the sound of your words to complete the assistance that you can give me!' 'Ah!' responded the stranger, 'how great is your love of learning!'

Confucius bowed twice, and then rose up, and said, 'Since I was young, I have cultivated learning till I am now sixty-nine years old, but I have not had an opportunity of hearing the perfect teaching,—dare I but listen to you with a humble and unprejudiced mind?' The stranger replied, 'Like seeks to like, and (birds) of the same note respond to one another,—this is a rule of Heaven Allow me to explain what I am in possession of, and to pass over (from its standpoint) to the things which occupy you What you occupy yourself with are the affairs of men When the sovereign, the feudal lords, the great officers, and the common people, these four classes, do what is correct (in their several positions), we have the beauty of good order, and when they leave their proper duties, there ensues the greatest

disorder When the officials attend to their duties, and the common people are anxiously concerned about their business, there is no encroachment on one another's rights.

'Fields running to waste, leaking rooms, insufficiency of food and clothing, taxes unprovided for, want of harmony among wives and concubines, and want of order between old and young,—these are the troubles of the common people.

'Incompetency for their charges, inattention to their official business, want of probity in conduct, carelessness and idleness in subordinates, failure of merit and excellence, and uncertainty of rank and emolument —these are the troubles of great officers

'No loyal ministers at their courts, the clans in their states rebellious, want of skill in their mechanics, articles of tribute of bad quality, late appearances at court in spring and autumn, and the dissatisfaction of the sovereign —these are the troubles of the feudal lords

'Want of harmony between the Yin and Yang, unseasonableness of cold and heat, affecting all things injuriously, oppression and disorder among the feudal princes, their presuming to plunder and attack one another, to the injury of the people, ceremonies and music ill-regulated, the resources for expenditure exhausted or deficient; the social relationships uncared for, and the people abandoned to licentious disorder —these are the troubles of the Son of Heaven and his ministers

'Now, Sir, you have not the high rank of a ruler, a feudal lord, or a minister of the royal court, nor are you in the inferior position of a great minister, with his departments of business, and yet you take

it on you to regulate ceremonies and music, and to give special attention to the relationships of society, with a view to transform the various classes of the people —is it not an excessive multiplication of your business?

'And moreover men are liable to eight defects, and (the conduct of) affairs to four evils, of which we must by all means take account.

'To take the management of affairs which do not concern him is called monopolising. To bring forward a subject which no one regards is called loquacity. To lead men on by speeches made to please them is called sycophancy. To praise men without regard to right or wrong is called flattery. To be fond of speaking of men's wickedness is called calumny. To part friends and separate relatives is called mischievousness. To praise a man deceitfully, or in the same way fix on him the character of being bad, is called depravity. Without reference to their being good or bad, to agree with men with double face in order to steal a knowledge of what they wish, is called being dangerous. Those eight defects produce disorder among other men and injury to one's self. A superior man will not make a friend of one who has them, nor will an intelligent ruler make him his minister.

'To speak of what I called the four evils —To be fond of conducting great affairs, changing and altering what is of long-standing, to obtain for one's self the reputation of meritorious service, is called ambition; to claim all wisdom and intrude into affairs, encroaching on the work of others, and representing it as one's own, is called greediness; to see his errors without changing them, and to go on

more resolutely in his own way when remonstrated with, is called obstinacy, when another agrees with himself, to approve of him, and, however good he may be, when he disagrees, to disapprove of him, is called boastful conceit These are the four evils. When one can put away the eight defects, and allow no course to the four evils, he begins to be capable of being taught'

Confucius looked sorrowful and sighed (Again) he bowed twice, and then rose up and said, 'I was twice driven from Lû I had to flee from Wei, the tree under which I rested was cut down in Sung, I was kept in a state of siege between *K'hăn* and Zhâi. I do not know what errors I had committed that I came to be misrepresented on these four occasions (and suffered as I did)' The stranger looked grieved (at these words), changed countenance, and said, 'Very difficult it is, Sir, to make you understand There was a man who was frightened at his shadow and disliked to see his footsteps, so that he ran to escape from them But the more frequently he lifted his feet, the more numerous his footprints were, and however fast he ran, his shadow did not leave him He thought he was going too slow, and ran on with all his speed without stopping, till his strength was exhausted and he died He did not know that, if he had stayed in a shady place, his shadow would have disappeared, and that if he had remained still, he would have lost his footprints —his stupidity was excessive! And you, Sir, exercise your judgment on the questions about benevolence and righteousness, you investigate the points where agreement and difference touch, you look at the changes from

movement to rest and from rest to movement, you have mastered the rules of receiving and giving, you have defined the feelings of liking and disliking, you have harmonised the limits of joy and anger —and yet you have hardly been able to escape (the troubles of which you speak) If you earnestly cultivated your own person, and carefully guarded your (proper) truth, simply rendering to others what was due to them, then you would have escaped such entanglements. But now, when you do not cultivate your own person, and make the cultivation of others your object, are you not occupying yourself with what is external ?'

Confucius with an air of sadness said, 'Allow me to ask what it is that you call my proper Truth' The stranger replied, 'A man's proper Truth is pure sincerity in its highest degree,—without this pure sincerity one cannot move others. Hence if one (only) forces himself to wail, however sadly he may do so, it is not (real) sorrow, if he forces himself to be angry, however he may seem to be severe, he excites no awe, if he forces himself to show affection, however he may smile, he awakens no harmonious reciprocation True grief, without a sound, is yet sorrowful, true anger, without any demonstration, yet awakens awe, true affection, without a smile, yet produces a harmonious reciprocation Given this truth within, it exercises a spiritual efficacy without, and this is why we count it so valuable In our relations with others, it appears according to the requirements of each case .—in the service of parents, as gentle, filial duty, in the service of rulers, as loyalty and integrity, in festive drinking, as pleasant enjoyment, in the performance

of the mourning rites, as sadness and sorrow In loyalty and integrity, good service is the principal thing, in festive drinking, the enjoyment, in the mourning rites, the sorrow, in the service of parents, the giving them pleasure. The beauty of the service rendered (to a ruler) does not require that it always be performed in one way, the service of parents so as to give them pleasure takes no account of how it is done, the festive drinking which ministers enjoyment does not depend on the appliances for it, the observance of the mourning rites with the proper sorrow asks no questions about the rites themselves Rites are prescribed for the practice of the common people, man's proper Truth is what he has received from Heaven, operating spontaneously, and unchangeable Therefore the sages take their law from Heaven, and prize their (proper) Truth, without submitting to the restrictions of custom The stupid do the reverse of this They are unable to take their law from Heaven, and are influenced by other men, they do not know how to prize the proper Truth (of their nature), but are under the dominion of ordinary things, and change according to the customs (around them) — always, consequently, incomplete Alas for you, Sir, that you were early steeped in the hypocrisies of men, and have been so late in hearing about the Great Way!'

(Once more), Confucius bowed twice (to the fisherman), then rose again, and said, 'That I have met you to-day is as if I had the happiness of getting to heaven. If you, Master, are not ashamed, but will let me be as your servant, and continue to teach me, let me venture to ask where your dwelling is I will

then beg to receive your instructions there, and finish my learning of the Great Way' The stranger replied, 'I have heard the saying, "If it be one with whom you can walk together, go with him to the subtlest mysteries of the Tâo If it be one with whom you cannot walk together and he do not know the Tâo, take care that you do not associate with him and you will yourself incur no responsibility" Do your utmost, Sir I must leave you,—I must leave you!' With this he shoved off his boat, and went away among the green reeds

Yen Yuan (now) returned to the carriage, where Ze-lû handed to him the strap, but Confucius did not look round, (continuing where he was), till the wavelets were stilled, and he did not hear the sound of the pole, when at last he ventured to (return and) take his seat Ze-lû, by his side in the carriage, asked him, saying, 'I have been your servant for a long time, but I have never seen you, Master, treat another with the awe and reverence which you have now shown I have seen you in the presence of a Lord of ten thousand chariots or a Ruler of a thousand, and they have never received you in a different audience room, or treated you but with the courtesies due to an equal, while you have still carried yourself with a reserved and haughty air, but to day this old fisherman has stood erect in front of you with his pole in his hand, while you, bent from your loins in the form of a sounding-stone, would bow twice before you answered him,—was not your reverence of him excessive? Your disciples will all think it strange in you, Master Why did the old fisherman receive such homage from you?'

Confucius leant forward on the cross-bar of the

carriage, heaved a sigh, and said, 'Difficult indeed is it to change you, O Yû! You have been trained in propriety and righteousness for long, and yet your servile and mean heart has not been taken from you. Come nearer, that I may speak fully to you. If you meet one older than yourself, and do not show him respect, you fail in propriety. If you see a man of superior wisdom and goodness, and do not honour him, you want the great characteristic of humanity. If that (fisherman) did not possess it in the highest degree, how could he make others submit to him? And if their submission to him be not sincere, they do not attain to the truth (of their nature), and inflict a lasting injury on their persons. Alas! there is no greater calamity to man than the want of this characteristic; and you, O Yû, you alone, would take such want on yourself.

'Moreover, the Tâo is the course by which all things should proceed. For things to fail in this is death; to observe it, is life. To oppose it in practice is ruin; to conform it, is success. Therefore wherever the sagely man finds the Tâo, he honours it. And that old fisherman to-day might be said to possess it;—dared I presume not to show him reverence?'

BOOK XXXII

PART III SECTION X

Lieh Yu-khâu[1]

1 Lieh Yu-khâu had started to go to *Khî*, but came back when he was half-way to it He met Po-hwăn Wû-zăn[2], who said, 'Why have you come back?' His reply was, 'I was frightened' 'What frightened you?' 'I went into ten soup-shops[3] to get a meal, and in five of them the soup was set before me before (I had paid for it)[4]' 'But what was there in that to frighten you?' (Lieh-ʒze) said, 'Though the inward and true purpose be not set forth, the body like a spy gives some bright display of it And this outward demonstration overawes men's minds, and makes men on light grounds treat one as noble or as aged, from which evil to him will be produced Now vendors of soup supply their commodity simply as a matter of business, and however much they may dispose of, their profit is but little,

[1] See vol xxxix, pp 160–162

[2] The same teacher, no doubt, who is mentioned in II, par. 2, and XXI, par 2, though the Wû in Wû-zăn is here 昏, and there 無

[3] Like the tea and congee shanties, I suppose, which a traveller in China finds still on the road-side

[4] The meaning is not plain There must have been something in the respect and generosity of the attendants which made Lieh-ʒze feel that his manner was inconsistent with his profession of Taoism

and their power is but slight, and yet they treated me as I have said —how much more would the lord of ten thousand chariots do so! His body burdened with (the cares of his) kingdom, and his knowledge overtasked by its affairs, he would entrust those affairs to me, and exact from me the successful conduct (of its government). It was this which frightened me.' Po-hwăn Wû-zăn replied, 'Admirable perspicacity! But if you carry yourself as you do, men will flock to you for protection.'

Not long after, Po-hwăn Wû-zăn went (to visit Lieh-ze), and found the space outside his door full of shoes[1]. There he stood with his face to the north, holding his staff upright, and leaning his chin on it till the skin was wrinkled. After standing so for some time, and without saying a word, he was going away, when the door-keeper[2] went in, and told Lieh-ze. The latter (immediately) took up his shoes, and ran barefoot after the visitor. When he overtook him at the (outer) gate, he said, 'Since you, Sir, have come, are you going away without giving me some medicine[3]?' The other replied, 'It is of no use. I did tell you that men would flock to you, and they do indeed do so. It is not that you can cause men to flock to you, but you cannot keep them from not so coming,—of what use is (all my warning)? What influences them and makes them glad is the display of your extraordinary (qualities), but you must also be influ-

[1] See the Lî Kî (vol. xxvii, pp. 70, 71). It is still the custom in Japan for visitors to leave their shoes outside, in order not to soil the mats.

[2] Whose business it was to receive and announce the guests.

[3] Good advice.

enced in your turn, and your proper nature be shaken, and no warning can be addressed to you Those who associate with you do not admonish you of this The small words which they speak are poison to a man You perceive it not, you understand it not,—how can you separate yourself from them?

'The clever toil on, and the wise are sad Those who are without ability seek for nothing. They eat to the full, and wander idly about They drift like a vessel loosed from its moorings, and aimlessly wander about[1]'

2 A man of *K'ăng*, called Hwan, learned[2] his books in the neighbourhood of *K'hiû*-shih[3], and in no longer time than three years became a Confucian scholar, benefiting the three classes of his kindred[4] as the Ho extends its enriching influence for nine li He made his younger brother study (the principles of) Mo[5], and then they two—the scholar and the Mohist—disputed together (about their respective systems), and the father took the side of the younger[6] After ten years Hwan killed himself (By and by) he appeared to his father in a dream, saying, 'It was I who made your son become a

[1] Was this then Wû-zăn's idea of how the Tâoist should carry himself? From 'those who associate with you' Wû-zăn's address might be rhymed

[2] Read them aloud, and so committed them to memory,—as Chinese schoolboys do still

[3] The name of a place, or, perhaps, of Hwan's schoolmaster

[4] Probably the kindred of his father, mother, and wife,—through his getting office as a scholar

[5] Or Mih Ti,—Mencius's heresiarch

[6] Literally, 'of Ti,' as if that had been the name of the younger brother, as it was that of the heresiarch

Mohist; why did you not recognise that good service[1]? I am become (but) the fruit of a cypress in autumn[2]' But the Creator[3], in apportioning the awards of men, does not recompense them for their own doings, but recompenses them for the (use of the) Heavenly in them. It was thus that Hwan's brother was led to learn Mohism When this Hwan thought that it was he who had made his brother different from what he would have been, and proceeded to despise his father, he was like the people of *Khî*, who, while they drank from a well, tried to keep one another from it Hence it is said, 'Now-a-days all men are Hwans[4]' From this we perceive that those who possess the characteristics (of the Tâo) consider that they do not know them, how much more is it so with those who possess the Tâo itself! The ancients called such (as Hwan) 'men who had escaped the punishment of Heaven'

3 The sagely man rests in what is his proper rest, he does not rest in what is not so,—the multitude of men rest in what is not their proper rest, they do not rest in their proper rest[5]

4 *K*wang-tze said, 'To know the Tâo is easy, not to say (that you know it) is difficult To know it and not to speak of it is the way to attain to the

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[1] The character for this in the text (貝) is explained as meaning 'a grave,' with special reference to this passage, in the Khang-hsî dictionary

[2] The idea of a grave is suggested by the 'cypress,' and we need not try to find it in 貝

[3] The creator was, in *K*wang-tze's mind, the Tâo

[4] Arrogating to themselves what was the work of the Tâo

[5] The best editions make this sentence a paragraph by itself

Heavenly, to know and to speak of it, is the way to show the Human The ancients pursued the Heavenly (belonging to them), and not the Human'

5 *K*û Phing-man[1] learned how to slaughter the dragon[2] from *K*ih-lî Yî, expending (in doing so) all his wealth of a thousand ounces of silver In three years he became perfect in the art, but he never exercised his skill

6 The sage looks on what is deemed necessary as unnecessary, and therefore is not at war[3] (in himself) The mass of men deem what is unnecessary to be necessary, and therefore they are often at war (in themselves) Therefore those who pursue this method of (internal) war, resort to it in whatever they seek for But reliance on such war leads to ruin

7 The wisdom of the small man does not go beyond (the minutiae of) making presents and writing memoranda, wearying his spirits out in what is trivial and mean But at the same time he wishes to aid in guiding to (the secret of) the Tâo and of (all) things in the incorporeity of the Grand Unity In this way he goes all astray in regard to (the mysteries of) space and time The fetters of embodied matter keep him from the knowledge of the Grand Beginning (On the other hand), the perfect man directs the energy of his spirit to what was before the Beginning, and finds pleasure in the mysteriousness

[1] These are names fashioned by our author

[2] 'Slaughtering the dragon' means 'learning the Tâo,' by expending or putting away all doing and knowledge, till one comes to the perfect state of knowing the Tâo and not speaking of it

[3] Being 'at war' here is not the conflict of arms, but of joy, anger, and desire in one's breast See Jiâo Hung in loc

belonging to the region of nothingness He is like the water which flows on without the obstruction of matter, and expands into the Grand Purity

Alas for what you do, (O men)! You occupy yourselves with things trivial as a hair, and remain ignorant of the Grand Rest!

8 There was a man of Sung, called Zhâo Shang, who was sent by the king of Sung on a mission to *Kh*in On setting out, he had several carriages with him, and the king (of *Kh*in) was so pleased with him that he gave him another hundred When he returned to Sung, he saw *K*wang-ze, and said to him, 'To live in a narrow lane of a poor mean hamlet, wearing sandals amid distress of poverty, with a weazen neck and yellow face[1],—that is what I should find it difficult to do But as soon as I come to an understanding with the Lord of a myriad carriages, to find myself with a retinue of a hundred carriages,—that is wherein I excel' *K*wang-ze replied, 'When the king of *Kh*ăn is ill, the doctor whom he calls to open an ulcer or squeeze a boil receives a carriage, and he who licks his piles receives five The lower the service, the more are the carriages given Did you, Sir, lick his piles? How else should you have got so many carriages? Begone!'

9 Duke Âi of Lû asked Yen Ho, saying, 'If I employ *K*ung-nî as the support of my government, will the evils of the state be thereby cured?' The

[1] The character for 'face' generally means 'ears,' but the Khang-hsî dictionary, with special reference to this paragraph, explains it by 'face'—The whole paragraph is smart and bitter, but Lin Hsî-*k*ung thinks it too coarse to be from *K*wang-ze's pencil

reply was, '(Such a measure) would be perilous! It would be full of hazard! *K*ung-nî, moreover, will try to ornament a feather and paint it, in the conduct of affairs he uses flowery speeches A (mere) branch is to him more admirable (than the root), he can bear to misrepresent their nature in instructing the people, and is not conscious of the unreality of his words He receives (his inspiration) from his own mind, and rules his course from his own spirit —what fitness has he to be set over the people? Is such a man suitable for you (as your minister)? Could you give to him the nourishment (of the people)? You would do so by mistake (but not on purpose, for a time, but not as a permanency) To make the people leave what is real, and learn what is hypocritical—that is not the proper thing to be shown to them, if you take thought for future ages, your better plan will be to give up (the idea of employing Confucius) What makes government difficult, is the dealing with men without forgetting yourself, this is not according to the example of Heaven in diffusing its benefits Merchants and traffickers are not to be ranked (with administrative officers), if on an occasion you so rank them, the spirits (of the people) do not acquiesce in your doing so The instruments of external punishment are made of metal and wood, those of internal punishment are agitation (of the mind) and (the sense of) transgression When small men become subject to the external punishment, the (instruments of) metal and wood deal with them, when they become liable to the internal punishments, the Yin and Yang[1] con-

[1] Compare the use of 'the Yin and the Yang' in XXIII, par 8 — Yen Ho does not flatter Confucius in his description of him

sume them. It is only the true man who can escape both from the external and internal punishment'

10 Confucius said, 'The minds of men are more difficult of approach than (the position defended by) mountains and rivers, and more difficult to know than Heaven itself Heaven has its periods of spring and autumn, of winter and summer, and of morning and evening, but man's exterior is thickly veiled, and his feelings lie deep. Thus the demeanour of some is honest-like, and yet they go to excess (in what is mean), others are really gifted, and yet look to be without ability, some seem docile and impressible, but yet they have far-reaching schemes, others look firm, and yet may be twisted about, others look slow, and yet they are hasty. In this way those who hasten to do what is right as if they were thirsty will anon hurry away from it as if it were fire Hence the superior man looks at them when employed at a distance to test their fidelity, and when employed near at hand to test their reverence By employing them on difficult services, he tests their ability, by questioning them suddenly, he tests their knowledge, by appointing them a fixed time, he tests their good faith, by entrusting them with wealth, he tests their benevolence, by telling them of danger, he tests their self-command in emergencies, by making them drunk, he tests their tendencies[1], by placing them in a variety of society, he tests their chastity —by these nine tests the inferior man is discovered'

11 When Khâo-fû, the Correct[2], received the first

[1] Is this equivalent to the adage 'In vino veritas?'

[2] A famous ancestor of Confucius in the eighth century B C,

grade of official rank, he walked with head bowed down, on receiving the second, with bent back, on receiving the third, with body stooping, he ran and hurried along the wall —who would presume not to take him as a model? But one of those ordinary men, on receiving his first appointment, goes along with a haughty stride, on receiving his second, he looks quite elated in his chariot, and on receiving the third, he calls his uncles by their personal names,—how very different from Hsu (Yû) in the time (of Yâo of) Thang!

Of all things that injure (men) there is none greater than the practising of virtue with the purpose of the mind, till the mind becomes supercilious When it becomes so, the mind (only) looks inwards (on itself), and such looking into itself leads to its ruin This evil quality has five forms, and the chief of them is that which is the central What do we mean by the central quality? It is that which appears in a man's loving (only) his own views, and reviling whatever he does not do (himself)

Limiting (men's advance), there are eight extreme conditions, securing (that advance), there are three things necessary, and the person has its six repositories Elegance, a (fine) beard, tallness, size; strength, beauty, bravery, daring, and in all these excelling others —(these are the eight extreme conditions) by which advance is limited Depending on and copying others, stooping in order to rise, and being straitened by the fear of not equalling others —

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before the Khung family fled from Sung See the account of him, with some verbal alterations, in the Zo *Khwan*, under the seventh year of duke *Kâo*

these are the three things that lead to advancing Knowledge seeking to reach to all that is external, bold movement producing many resentments, benevolence and righteousness leading to many requisitions, understanding the phenomena of life in an extraordinary degree, understanding all knowledge so as to possess an approach to it, understanding the great condition appointed for him, and following it, and the smaller conditions, and meeting them as they occur —(these are the six repositories of the person)[1]

12 There was a man who, having had an interview with the king of Sung, and been presented by him with ten carriages, showed them boastfully to *K*wang-*s*ze, as if the latter had been a boy *K*wang-*s*ze said to him, 'Near the Ho there was a poor man who supported his family by weaving rushes (to form screens) His son, when diving in a deep pool, found a pearl worth a thousand ounces of silver. The father said, "Bring a stone, and break it in pieces A pearl of this value must have been in a pool nine *kh*ung deep[2], and under the chin of the Black Dragon That you were able to get it must have been owing to your finding him asleep Let him awake, and the consequences to you will not be small!" Now the kingdom of Sung is deeper than any pool of nine *kh*ung, and its king is fiercer than the Black Dragon. That you were able to get the

[1] These eight words are supplied to complete the structure of the paragraph, but I cannot well say what they mean, nor in what way the predicates in the six clauses that precede can be called 'the stores, or repositories of the body or person'

[2] = in a pool deeper than any nine pools Compare the expression 九重天

chariots must have been owing to your finding him asleep Let him awake, and you will be ground to powder[1].'

13 Some (ruler) having sent a message of invitation to him, *K*wang-ʒze replied to the messenger, 'Have you seen, Sir, a sacrificial ox? It is robed with ornamental embroidery, and feasted on fresh grass and beans But when it is led into the grand ancestral temple, though it wished to be (again) a solitary calf, would that be possible for it[2]?'

14 When *K*wang-ʒze was about to die, his disciples signified their wish to give him a grand burial 'I shall have heaven and earth,' said he, 'for my coffin and its shell, the sun and moon for my two round symbols of jade, the stars and constellations for my pearls and jewels, and all things assisting as the mourners Will not the provisions for my burial be complete? What could you add to them?' The disciples replied, 'We are afraid that the crows and kites will eat our master' *K*wang-ʒze rejoined, 'Above, the crows and kites will eat me, below, the mole-crickets and ants will eat me —to take from those and give to these would only show your partiality[3]'

The attempt, with what is not even, to produce what is even will only produce an uneven result, the attempt, with what is uncertain, to make the uncertain certain will leave the uncertainty as it

[1] *Compare paragraph 8 But Lin again denies the genuineness of this*

[2] Compare XVII, par 11

[3] We do not know whether *K*wang-ʒze was buried according to his own ideal or not In the concluding sentences we have a strange descent from the grandiloquence of what precedes

was He who uses only the sight of his eyes is acted on by what he sees, it is the (intuition of the) spirit, that gives the assurance of certainty That the sight of the eyes is not equal to that intuition of the spirit is a thing long acknowledged. And yet stupid people rely on what they see, and will have it to be the sentiment of all men,—all their success being with what is external —is it not sad?

BOOK XXXIII

PART III SECTION XI.

Thien Hsiâ[1]

1 The methods employed in the regulation of the world[2] are many, and (the employers of them) think each that the efficiency of his own method leaves nothing to be added to it

But where is what was called of old 'the method of the Tâo[2]?' We must reply, 'It is everywhere' But then whence does the spiritual[3] in it come down? and whence does the intelligence[4] in it come forth? There is that which gives birth to the Sage, and that which gives his perfection to the King —the origin of both is the One[5]

Not to be separate from his primal source constitutes what we call the Heavenly man, not to be separate from the essential nature thereof constitutes what we call the Spirit-like man, not to be separate from its real truth constitutes what we call the Perfect man[6]

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[1] See vol xxxix, pp 162, 163

[2] All the methods of educational training and schemes of governmental policy, advocated by 'the hundred schools' of human wisdom in contradistinction from the method or art of the Tâo Fang Shû has little more meaning than our word 'nostrum'

[3] Which forms the sage

[4] Which forms the sage king

[5] Or, one and the same

[6] Compare the three definitions in Book I, par 3

To regard Heaven as his primal Source, Its Attributes as the Root (of his nature), and the Tâo as the Gate (by which he enters into this inheritance), (knowing also) the prognostics given in change and transformation, constitutes what we call the Sagely man[1]

To regard benevolence as (the source of all) kindness, righteousness as (the source of all) distinctions, propriety as (the rule of) all conduct, and music as (the idea of) all harmony, thus diffusing a fragrance of gentleness and goodness, constitutes what we call the Superior man[2]

To regard laws as assigning the different (social) conditions, their names as the outward expression (of the social duties), the comparison of subjects as supplying the grounds of evidence, investigation as conducting to certainty, so that things can be numbered as first, second, third, fourth (and so on) —(this is the basis of government) Its hundred offices are thus arranged, business has its regular course, the great matters of clothes and food are provided for, cattle are fattened and looked after, the (government) stores are filled, the old and weak, orphans and solitaries, receive anxious consideration —in all these ways is provision made for the nourishment of the people.

How complete was (the operation of the Tâo) in the men of old! It made them the equals of spiritual beings, and subtle and all-embracing as heaven and earth. They nourished all things, and produced

[1] Here we have five definitions of the 'Man of Tâo'

[2] Still within the circle of the Tâo, but inferior to the five above

harmony all under heaven Their beneficent influence reached to all classes of the people They understood all fundamental principles, and followed them out to their graduated issues, in all the six directions went their penetration, and in the four quarters all things were open to them Great and small, fine and coarse,—all felt their presence and operation Their intelligence, as seen in all their regulations, was handed down from age to age in their old laws, and much of it was still to be found in the Historians What of it was in the Shih, the Shû, the Li, and the Yo, might be learned from the scholars of Zâu[1] and Lû[1], and the girdled members of the various courts The Shih describes what should be the aim of the mind, the Shû, the course of events, the Lî is intended to direct the conduct, the Yo, to set forth harmony, the Yî, to show the action of the Yin and Yang, and the *Khun Khiû*, to display names and the duties belonging to them

Some of the regulations (of these men of old), scattered all under heaven, and established in our Middle states, are (also) occasionally mentioned and described in the writings of the different schools

There ensued great disorder in the world, and sages and worthies no longer shed their light on it The Tâo and its characteristics ceased to be regarded as uniform Many in different places got

[1] These scholars were pre-eminently Confucius and Mencius In this brief phrase is the one recognition, by our author, of the existence and work of Mencius, who was 'the scholar of Zâu' But one is not prepared for the comparatively favourable judgment passed on those scholars, and on what we call the Confucian classics The reading Zâu has not been challenged, and can only be understood of Mencius

one glimpse of it, and plumed themselves on possessing it as a whole They might be compared to the ear, the eye, the nose, or the mouth. Each sense has its own faculty, but their different faculties cannot be interchanged So it was with the many branches of the various schools Each had its peculiar excellence, and there was the time for the use of it, but notwithstanding no one covered or extended over the whole (range of truth) The case was that of the scholar of a corner who passes his judgment on all the beautiful in heaven and earth, discriminates the principles that underlie all things, and attempts to estimate the success arrived at by the ancients. Seldom is it that such an one can embrace all the beautiful in heaven and earth, or rightly estimate the ways of the spiritual and intelligent, and thus it was that the Tâo, which inwardly forms the sage and externally the king[1], became obscured and lost its clearness, became repressed and lost its development. Every one in the world did whatever he wished, and was the rule to himself Alas! the various schools held on their several ways, and could not come back to the same point, nor agree together The students of that later age unfortunately did not see the undivided purity of heaven and earth, and the great scheme of truth held by the ancients The system of the Tâo was about to be torn in fragments all under the sky

2 To leave no example of extravagance to future generations, to show no wastefulness in the use of

[1] Compare 'the spiritual' and 'the intelligence' near the commencement, and the notes 3 and 4

anything, to make no display in the degree of their (ceremonial) observances, to keep themselves (in their expenditure) under the restraint of strict and exact rule, so as to be prepared for occurring emergencies,—such regulations formed part of the system of the Tâo in antiquity, and were appreciated by Mo Tî, and (his disciple) *Khin* Hwa-lî[1] When they heard of such ways, they were delighted with them, but they enjoined them in excess, and followed them themselves too strictly (Mo) made the treatise 'Against Music,' and enjoined the subject of another, called 'Economy in Expenditure,' on his followers He would have no singing in life, and no wearing of mourning on occasions of death He inculcated Universal Love, and a Common Participation in all advantages, and condemned Fighting His doctrine did not admit of Anger He was fond also of Learning, and with it all strove not to appear different from others Yet he did not agree with the former kings, but attacked the ceremonies and music of the ancients

Hwang-Tî had his Hsien-*khih*, Yâo, his Tâ *Kang*, Shun, his Tâ Shâo, Yu, his Tâ Hsiâ, Thang, his Tâ Hû, king Wăn, his music of the Phi-yung[2], and king Wû and the duke of *Kâu* made the Wû

[1] Thus Mohism appears as an imperfect Tâoism Mo (or Meh) Tî was a great officer of the state of Sung, of the period between Confucius and Mencius He left many treatises behind him, of which only a few, but the most important, survive. *Khin* Hwa-lî seems to have been his chief disciple He says, in one place, '*Khin* Hwa-lî and my other disciples,—300 men'

[2] The name of the great hall built by king Wăn, and still applied to the examination hall of the Han-lin graduates in Peking

In the mourning rites of the ancients, the noble and mean had their several observances, the high and low their different degrees The coffin of the Son of Heaven was sevenfold, of a feudal lord, fivefold, of a great officer, threefold; of other officers, twofold But now Mo-ze alone, would have no singing during life, and no wearing of mourning after death. As the rule for all, he would have a coffin of elaeococca wood, three inches thick, and without any enclosing shell The teaching of such lessons cannot be regarded as affording a proof of his love for men, his practising them in his own case would certainly show that he did not love himself, but this has not been sufficient to overthrow the views of Mo-ze Notwithstanding, men will sing, and he condemns singing, men will wail, and he condemns wailing, men will express their joy, and he condemns such expression —is this truly in accordance with man's nature? Through life toil, and at death niggardliness —his way is one of great unkindliness Causing men sorrow and melancholy, and difficult to be carried into practice, I fear it cannot be regarded as the way of a sage Contrary to the minds of men everywhere, men will not endure it Though Mo-ze himself might be able to endure it, how can the aversion of the world to it be overcome? The world averse to it, it must be far from the way of the (ancient) kings.

Mo-ze, in praise of his views, said, 'Anciently, when Yu was draining off the waters of the flood, he set free the channels of the *K*iang and the Ho, and opened communications with them from the

What the special music made for it by Wăn was called, I do not know

regions of the four Î and the nine provinces. The famous hills with which he dealt were 300, the branch streams were 3000, and the smaller ones innumerable With his own hands he carried the sack and wielded the spade, till he had united all the streams of the country (conducting them to the sea) There was no hair left on his legs from the knee to the ankle He bathed his hair in the violent wind, and combed it in the pelting rain, thus marking out the myriad states Yu was a great sage, and thus he toiled in the service of the world' The effect of this is that in this later time most of the Mohists wear skins and dolychos cloth, with shoes of wood or twisted hemp, not stopping day or night, but considering such toiling on their part as their highest achievement They say that he who cannot do this is acting contrary to the way of Yu, and not fit to be a Mohist

The disciples of *K'hin* of Hsiang-lî [1], the followers of the various feudal lords [2], and Mohists of the south, such as Khû Hu [1], *K'i K'hih* [3], and Tăng Ling-tze [1], all repeated the texts of Mo, but they differed in the objections which they offered to them, and in their deceitful glosses they called one another Mohists of different schools They had their disputations, turning on 'what was hard,' and 'what was white,' what constituted 'sameness' and what 'difference,' and their expressions about the difference between 'the odd' and 'the even,' with which they answered one another They regarded

[1] Some say this *K'hin* was the preceptor of Mo Tî

[2] Easily translated, but the statement has not been historically illustrated

[3] Known only by the mention of them here

their most distinguished member as a sage, and wished to make him their chief, hoping that he would be handed down as such to future ages. To the present day these controversies are not determined

The idea of Mo Tî and *Khin* Hwa-lî was good, but their practice was wrong They would have made the Mohists of future ages feel it necessary to toil themselves, till there was not a hair on their legs, and still be urging one another on, (thus producing a condition) superior indeed to disorder, but inferior to the result of good government. Nevertheless, Mo-ze was indeed one of the best men in the world, which you may search without finding his equal Decayed and worn (his person) might be, but he is not to be rejected,—a scholar of ability indeed!

3 To keep from being entangled by prevailing customs, to shun all ornamental attractions in one's self, not to be reckless in his conduct to others, not to set himself stubbornly against a multitude, to desire the peace and repose of the world in order to preserve the lives of the people, and to cease his action when enough had been obtained for the nourishment of others and himself, showing that this was the aim of his mind,—such a scheme belonged to the system of the Tâo in antiquity[1], and it was appreciated by Sung Hsing[2] and Yin Wăn[2]

[1] It is difficult to understand the phases of the Tâo here referred to

[2] Both these men are said to have been of the time of king Hsüan of *Khî* In the Catalogue of the Imperial Library of Han, Yin Wăn appears, but not among the Tâoist writers, as the author

When they heard of such ways, they were delighted with them They made the Hwa-shan cap, and wore it as their distinguishing badge[1]. In their intercourse with others, whatever their differences might be, they began by being indulgent to them. Their name for 'the Forbearance of the Mind' was 'the Action of the Mind' By the warmth of affection they sought the harmony of joy, and to blend together all within the four seas, and their wish was to plant this everywhere as the chief thing to be pursued They endured insult without feeling it a disgrace, they sought to save the people from fighting, they forbade aggression and sought to hush the weapons of strife, to save their age from war In this way they went everywhere, counselling the high and instructing the low. Though the world might not receive them, they only insisted on their object the more strongly, and would not abandon it Hence it is said, 'The high and the low might be weary of them, but they were strong to show themselves.'

Notwithstanding all this, they acted too much out of regard to others, and too little for themselves. It was as if they said, 'What we request and wish is simply that there may be set down for us five pints of rice,—that will be enough' But I fear the Master would not get his fill from this, and the disciples, though famishing, would still have to be mindful of the world, and, never stopping day or night, have to say, 'Is it necessary I should preserve

of 'one Treatise' He is said also to have been the preceptor of Kung-sun Lung

[1] I cannot fashion the shape of this cap or of the Hwa mountain in my own mind,—'flat both above and below'

my life? Shall I scheme how to exalt myself above the master, the saviour of the age?'

It was moreover as if they said, 'The superior man does not censoriously scrutinize (the faults of others), he does not borrow from others to supersede his own endeavours, when any think that he is of no use to the world, he knows that their intelligence is inferior to his own, he considers the prohibition of aggression and causing the disuse of arms to be an external achievement, and the making his own desires to be few and slight to be the internal triumph' Such was their discrimination between the great and the small, the subtle and the coarse, and with the attainment of this they stopped.

4 Public-spirited, and with nothing of the partizan, easy and compliant, without any selfish partialities, capable of being led, without any positive tendencies, following in the wake of others, without any double mind, not looking round because of anxious thoughts, not scheming in the exercise of their wisdom, not choosing between parties, but going along with all,—all such courses belonged to the Tâoists of antiquity, and they were appreciated by Phăng Măng[1], Thien Phien[1], and Shăn Tâo[1] When they heard of such ways, they were delighted with them They considered that the first thing for them to do was to adjust the controversies about different things They said, 'Heaven can cover, but it cannot sustain, Earth can contain, but it can-

[1] Thien Phien is mentioned in the Han Catalogue, among the Tâoist writers, as a native of *Khî*, and an author of twenty-five phien Shăn Tâo also appears among the legal writers, as author of forty-two phien He is mentioned by Han Fei

not cover. The Great Tâo embraces all things, but It does not discriminate between them.'

They knew that all things have what they can do and what they cannot do Hence it is said, 'If you select, you do not reach all, if you teach some things, you must omit the others, but the Tâo neglects none' Therefore Shăn Tâo discarded his knowledge and also all thought of himself, acting only where he had no alternative, and pursued it as his course to be indifferent and pure in his dealings with others He said that the best knowledge was to have no knowledge, and that if we had a little knowledge it was likely to prove a dangerous thing Conscious of his unfitness, he undertook no charge, and laughed at those who valued ability and virtue Remiss and evasive, he did nothing, and disallowed the greatest sages which the world had known Now with a hammer, now with his hand, smoothing all corners, and breaking all bonds, he accommodated himself to all conditions He disregarded right and wrong, his only concern being to avoid trouble, he learned nothing from the wise and thoughtful, and took no note of the succession of events, thinking only of carrying himself with a lofty disregard of everything. He went where he was pushed, and followed where he was led, like a whirling wind, like a feather tossed about, like the revolutions of a grindstone

What was the reason that he appeared thus complete, doing nothing wrong? that, whether in motion or at rest, he committed no error, and could be charged with no transgression? Creatures that have no knowledge are free from the troubles that arise from self-assertion and the entanglements that spring from the use of knowledge Moving and at

rest, they do not depart from their proper course, and all their life long they do not receive any praise Hence (Shăn Tâo) said, 'Let me come to be like a creature without knowledge. Of what use are the (teachings of the) sages and worthies?' But a clod of earth never fails in the course (proper for it), and men of spirit and eminence laughed together at him, and said, 'The way of Shăn Tâo does not describe the conduct of living men, that it should be predicable only of the dead is strange indeed!'

It was just the same with Thien Phien He learned under Phăng Măng, but it was as if he were not taught at all The master of Phăng Măng said, 'The Tâoist professors of old came no farther than to say that nothing was absolutely right and nothing absolutely wrong' His spirit was like the breath of an opposing wind, how can it be described in words? But he was always contrary to (the views of) other men, which he would not bring together to view, and he did not escape shaving the corners and bonds (of which I have spoken) What he called the Tâo was not the true Tao, and what he called the right was really the wrong

Phăng Măng, Thien Phien, and Shăn Tâo did not in fact know the Tâo, but nevertheless they had heard in a general way about it

5. To take the root (from which things spring) as the essential (part), and the things as its coarse (embodiment), to see deficiency in accumulation, and in the solitude of one's individuality to dwell with the spirit like and intelligent,—such a course belonged to the Tâo of antiquity, and it was appre-

ciated by Kwan Yin[1] and Lâo Tan[2] When they heard of such ways, they were delighted with them They built their system on the assumption of an eternal non-existence, and made the ruling idea in it that of the Grand Unity They made weakness and humility their mark of distinction, and considered that by empty vacuity no injury could be sustained, but all things be preserved in their substantiality.

Kwan Yin[1] says, 'To him who does not dwell in himself the forms of things show themselves as they are His movement is like that of water, his stillness is like that of a mirror, his response is like that of the echo His tenuity makes him seem to be disappearing altogether, he is still as a clear (lake), harmonious in his association with others, and he counts gain as loss He does not take precedence of others, but follows them' Lâo Tan[2] says, 'He knows his masculine power, but maintains his female weakness,—becoming the channel into which all streams flow He knows his white purity, but keeps his disgrace,—becoming the valley of the world Men all prefer to be first, he alone chooses to be last, saying, "I will receive the offscourings of the world" Men all choose fulness, he alone chooses emptiness He does not store, and therefore he has a superabundance, he looks solitary, but has a multitude around him In his conducting

[1] Kwan Yin,—see Book XIX, par 2, and vol xxxix, p 35 In the Catalogue of the Han Library there is an entry of a work by Kwan Yin in nine phien, and there is still a work current in China, called *K*wan Yin-tze in one *k*uan, but it is not generally received as genuine

[2] See the account of Lâo-tze in vol xxxix, pp 34-36

of himself he is easy and leisurely and wastes nothing He does nothing, and laughs at the clever and ingenious Men all seek for happiness, but he feels complete in his imperfect condition, and says, "Let me only escape blame" He regards what is deepest as his root, and what is most restrictive as his rule, and says, "The strong is broken, the sharp and pointed is blunted[1]" He is always generous and forbearing with others, and does not encroach on any man,—this may be pronounced the height (of perfection)'

O Kwan Yin, and Lâo Tan, ye were among the greatest men of antiquity, True men indeed!

6 That the shadowy and still is without bodily form, that change and transformation are ever proceeding, but incapable of being determined What is death? What is life? What is meant by the union of Heaven and Earth? Does the spiritual intelligence go away? Shadowy, where does it go? Subtle, whither does it proceed? All things being arranged as they are, there is no one place which can be fitly ascribed to it Such were the questions belonging to the scheme of Tâo in antiquity, and they were appreciated by *K*wang *K*âu When he heard of such subjects, he was delighted with them (He discussed them), using strange and mystical expressions, wild and extravagant words, and phrases to which no definite meaning could be assigned He constantly indulged his own wayward ideas, but did not make himself a partisan, nor look at them as peculiar to himself Considering that men were

[1] From the 'Lâo Tan says' down to this, may be said to be all quotation, with more or less exactness, from the Tâo Teh *K*ing See chaps 28, 22, et al

sunk in stupidity and could not be talked to in dignified style, he employed the words of the cup of endless application, with important quotations to substantiate the truth, and an abundance of corroborative illustrations He chiefly cared to occupy himself with the spirit-like operation of heaven and earth, and did not try to rise above the myriads of things He did not condemn the agreements and differences of others, so that he might live in peace with the prevalent views Though his writings may seem to be sparkling trifles, there is no harm in amusing one's self with them, though his phraseology be ever-varying, its turns and changes are worth being looked at,—the fulness and completeness of his ideas cannot be exhausted Above he seeks delight in the Maker, below, he has a friendly regard to those who consider life and death as having neither beginning nor end As regards his dealing with the Root (origin of all things), he is comprehensive and great, opening up new views, deep, vast, and free As regards the Author and Master (the Great Tâo Itself), he may be pronounced exact and correct, carrying our thoughts to range and play on high Nevertheless on the subject of transformation, and the emancipation of that from (the thraldom of) things, his principles are inexhaustible, and are not derived from his predecessors They are subtle and obscure, and cannot be fully explained [1]

[1] The question of the genuineness of this paragraph has been touched on in vol xxxix, p 163 Whether from himself or from some disciple, it celebrates *Kwang-tze* as the chief and most interesting of all ancient Tâoist writers

7 Hui Shih[1] had many ingenious notions. His writings would fill five carriages, but his doctrines were erroneous and contradictory, and his words were wide of their mark Taking up one thing after another, he would say —'That which is so great that there is nothing outside it may be called the Great One, and that which is so small that there is nothing inside it may be called the Small One' 'What has no thickness and will not admit of being repeated is 1000 li in size[2]' 'Heaven may be as low as the earth' 'A mountain may be as level as a marsh' 'The sun in the meridian may be the sun declining' 'A creature may be born to life and may die at the same time' '(When it is said that) things greatly alike are different from things a little alike, this is what is called making little of agreements and differences, (when it is said that) all things are entirely alike or entirely different, this is what is called making much of agreements and differences' 'The south is unlimited and yet has a limit' 'I proceed to Yueh to-day and came to it yesterday' 'Things which are joined together can be separated' 'I know the centre of the world,—it is north of Yen or south of Yueh' 'If all things be regarded with love, heaven and earth are of one body (with me)'

Hui Shih by such sayings as these made himself

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[1] Introduced to us in the first Book of our author, and often mentioned in the intervening Books He was not a Tâoist, but we are glad to have the account of him here given, as enabling us to understand better the intellectual life of China in Kwang-ze's time

[2] It is of little use trying to find the answers to these sayings of Hui Shih and others They are only riddles or paradoxes

very conspicuous throughout the kingdom, and was considered an able debater All other debaters vied with one another and delighted in similar exhibitions (They would say), 'There are feathers in an egg' 'A fowl has three feet' 'The kingdom belongs to Ying' 'A dog might have been (called) a sheep' 'A tadpole has a tail.' 'Fire is not hot' 'A mountain gives forth a voice' 'A wheel does not tread on the ground' 'The eye does not see' 'The finger indicates, but needs not touch, (the object)' 'Where you come to may not be the end' The tortoise is longer than the snake' 'The carpenter's square is not square' 'A compass should not itself be round' 'A chisel does not surround its handle' 'The shadow of a flying bird does not (itself) move' 'Swift as the arrowhead is, there is a time when it is neither flying nor at rest' 'A dog is not a hound' 'A bay horse and a black ox are three' 'A white dog is black' 'A motherless colt never had a mother' 'If from a stick a foot long you every day take the half of it, in a myriad ages it will not be exhausted'—It was in this way that the debaters responded to Hui Shih, all their lifetime, without coming to an end

Hwan Twan[1] and Kung-sun Lung[2] were true members of this class By their specious representations they threw a glamour over men's minds and altered their ideas They vanquished men in argument, but could not subdue their minds, only keeping them in the enclosure of their sophistry Hui Shih daily used his own knowledge and the arguments of others to propose strange theses to all debaters,—

[1] Elsewhere unknown

[2] See Book XVII, par 10

such was his practice At the same time he would talk freely of himself, thinking himself the ablest among them, and saying, 'In heaven or earth who is my match?' Shih maintained indeed his masculine energy, but he had not the art (of controversy)

In the south there was a man of extraordinary views, named Hwang Liâo[1], who asked him how it was that the sky did not fall nor the earth sink, and what was the cause of wind, rain, and the thunder's roll and crash Shih made no attempt to evade the questions, and answered him without any exercise of thought, talking about all things, without pause, on and on without end, yet still thinking that his words were few, and adding to them the strangest observations He thought that to contradict others was a real triumph, and wished to make himself famous by overcoming them, and on this account he was not liked by the multitude of debaters He was weak in real attainment, though he might seem strong in comparison with others, and his way was narrow and dark If we look at Hui Shih's ability from the standpoint of Heaven and Earth, it was only like the restless activity of a mosquito or gadfly, of what service was it to anything? To give its full development to any one capacity is a good thing, and he who does so is in the way to a higher estimation of the Tâo, but Hui Shih could find no rest for himself in doing this He diffused himself over the world of things without satiety, till in the end he had only the reputation of being a skilful debater Alas! Hui Shih, with

[1] Elsewhere unknown

all his talents, vast as they were, made nothing out, he pursued all subjects and never came back (with success) It was like silencing an echo by his shouting, or running a race with his shadow. Alas!

THE THÂI-SHANG

TRACTATE OF ACTIONS AND THEIR RETRIBUTIONS

THE THÂI-SHANG

TRACTATE OF ACTIONS AND THEIR RETRIBUTIONS[1].

The Thesis

1 The Thâi-Shang (Tractate) says, 'There are no special doors for calamity and happiness (in men's lot), they come as men themselves call them Their recompenses follow good and evil as the shadow follows the substance[2]

Machinery to secure retribution

2 'Accordingly, in heaven and earth[3] there are spirits that take account of men's transgressions, and, according to the lightness or gravity of their offences, take away from their term of life[4] When that term is curtailed, men become poor and reduced, and meet with many sorrows and afflictions All (other) men hate them, punishments and calamities attend them, good luck and occasions for felicitation shun them,

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[1] See vol xxxix, pp 38–40

[2] This paragraph, after the first three characters, is found in the Zo *Kh*wan, under the tenth and eleventh notices in the twenty-third year of duke Hsiang (B C 549),—part of an address to a young nobleman by the officer Min Ze-mâ The only difference in the two texts is in one character which does not affect the meaning Thus the text of this Tâoist treatise is taken from a source which cannot be regarded as Tâoistic

[3] This seems equivalent to 'all through space'

[4] The swan in the text here seems to mean 'the whole of the allotted term of life' Further on, the same character has the special meaning of 'a period of a hundred days'

evil stars send down misfortunes on them[1] When their term of life is exhausted they die

'There also are the Spirit-rulers in the three pairs of the Thâi stars of the Northern Bushel[2] over men's heads, which record their acts of guilt and wickedness, and take away (from their term of life) periods of twelve years or of a hundred days

'There also are the three Spirits of the recumbent body which reside within a man's person[3] As each kăng-shăn[4] day comes round, they forthwith ascend to the court of Heaven, and report men's deeds of guilt and transgression On the last day of the moon, the spirit of the Hearth does the same[5]

'In the case of every man's transgressions, when they are great, twelve years are taken from his term of life, when they are small, a hundred days

'Transgressions, great and small, are seen in several hundred things He who wishes to seek for long life[6] must first avoid these

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[1] This and other passages show how Tâoism pressed astrology into its service

[2] The Northern Peck or Bushel is the Chinese name of our constellation of the Great Bear, 'the Chariot of the Supreme Ruler' The three pairs of stars, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ξ, are called the upper, middle, and lower Thâi, or 'their three Eminences'—see Reeves's Names of Stars and Constellations, appended to Morrison's Dictionary, part ii, vol i

[3] The Khang-hsî Dictionary simply explains san shîh as 'the name of a spirit,' but the phrase is evidently plural The names and places of the three spirits are given, and given differently Why should we look for anything definite and satisfactory in a notion which is merely an absurd superstition?

[4] Kang-shăn is the name of the fifty-seventh term of the cycle, indicating every fifty-seventh day, or year Here it indicates the day

[5] The name of this spirit of the fire-place is given by commentators with many absurd details which need not be touched on

[6] Long life is still the great quest of the Tâoist

3 'Is his way right, he should go forward in it, is it wrong, he should withdraw from it

'He will not tread in devious by-ways, he will not impose on himself in any secret apartment He will amass virtue and accumulate deeds of merit. He will feel kindly towards (all) creatures [1] He will be loyal, filial, loving to his younger brothers, and submissive to his elder He will make himself correct and (so) transform others He will pity orphans, and compassionate widows, he will respect the old and cherish the young Even the insect tribes, grass, and trees he should not hurt

The way of a good man

'He ought to pity the malignant tendencies of others, to rejoice over their excellences, to help them in their straits, to rescue them from their perils, to regard their gains as if they were his own, and their losses in the same way, not to publish their shortcomings, not to vaunt his own superiorities, to put a stop to what is evil, and exalt and display what is good, to yield much, and take little for himself, to receive insult without resenting it, and honour with an appearance of apprehension, to bestow favours without seeking for a return, and give to others without any subsequent regret —this is what is called a good man. All other men respect him, Heaven in its course protects him, happiness and emolument follow him; all evil things keep far from him, the spiritual Intelligences defend him, what he does is sure to succeed [2],

[1] In its widest meaning —Men, creatures, and all living things

[2] Here are the happy issues of doing good in addition to long life,—compare the Tâo Teh Kîng, ch 50, et al

he may hope to become Immaterial and Immortal[1]

Happy issues of his course

He who would seek to become an Immortal of Heaven[1] ought to give the proof of 1300 good deeds, and he who would seek to become an Immortal of Earth[1] should give the proof of three hundred

4 'But if the movements (of a man's heart) are contrary to righteousness, and the (actions of his) conduct are in opposition to reason, if he regard his wickedness as a proof of his ability, and can bear to do what is cruel and injurious, if he secretly harms the honest and good, if he treats with clandestine slight his ruler or parents; if he is disrespectful to his elders and teachers[2], if he disregards the authority of those whom he should serve, if he deceives the simple, if he calumniates his fellow-learners, if he vent baseless slanders, practise deception and hypocrisy,

The way of a bad man

[1] Here there appears the influence of Buddhism on the doctrine of the Tâo The *Rishis* of Buddhism are denoted in Chinese by Hsien *Zăn* (仙人), which, for want of a better term, we translate by 'Immortals' The famous Nâgârguna, the fourteenth Buddhist patriarch, counts ten classes of these *Rishis*, and ascribes to them only a temporary exemption for a million years from transmigration, but Chinese Buddhists and Tâoists view them as absolutely immortal, and distinguish five classes —first, Deva *Rishis*, or Heavenly Hsien, residing on the seven concentric rocks round Meru, second, Purusha, or Spirit-like Hsien, roaming through the air, third, Nara, or Human Hsien, dwelling among men, fourth, Bhûmi, or Earth Hsien, residing on earth in caves, and fifth, Preta, or Demon Hsien, roving demons See Eitel's Handbook to Chinese Buddhism, second edition, p 130 In this place three out of the five classes are specified, each having its own price in good deeds

[2] Literally, 'those born before himself,' but generally used as a designation of teachers

and attack and expose his kindred by consanguinity and affinity, if he is hard, violent, and without humanity, if he is ruthlessly cruel in taking his own way, if his judgments of right and wrong are incorrect, and his likings and aversions are in despite of what is proper, if he oppresses inferiors, and claims merit (for doing so), courts superiors by gratifying their (evil) desires, receives favours without feeling grateful for them, broods over resentments without ceasing, if he slights and makes no account of Heaven's people[1], if he trouble and throw into disorder the government of the state, bestows rewards on the unrighteous and inflicts punishments on the guiltless, kills men in order to get their wealth, and overthrows men to get their offices, slays those who have surrendered, and massacres those who have made their submission, throws censure on the upright, and overthrows the worthy, maltreats the orphan and oppresses the widow, if he casts the laws aside and receives bribes, holds the right to be wrong and the wrong to be right, enters light offences as heavy, and the sight of an execution makes him more enraged (with the criminal), if he knows his faults and does not change them, or knows what is good and does not do it, throws the guilt of his crimes on others, if he tries to hinder the exercise of an art (for a living), reviles and slanders the sage and worthy, and assails and oppresses (the principles of) reason and virtue[2],

[1] A Confucian phrase. See the Lî *K'î*, III, v, 13

[2] One is sorry not to see his way to translate here—'Assails and oppresses those who pursue the Tâo and its characteristics' Julien gives for it—'Insulter et traiter avec cruauté ceux qui se livrent à l'étude de la Raison et de la Vertu' Watters

if he shoots birds and hunts beasts, unearths the burrowing insects and frightens roosting birds, blocks up the dens of animals and overturns nests, hurts the pregnant womb and breaks eggs, if he wishes others to have misfortunes and losses, and defames the merit achieved by others, if he imperils others to secure his own safety, diminishes the property of others to increase his own, exchanges bad things for good [1], and sacrifices the public weal to his private advantage, if he takes credit to himself for the ability of others, conceals the excellences of others, publishes the things discreditable to others, and searches out the private affairs of others, leads others to waste their property and wealth, and causes the separation of near relatives [2], encroaches on what others love, and assists others in doing wrong, gives the reins to his will and puts on airs of majesty, puts others to shame in seeking victory for himself, injures or destroys the growing crops of others, and breaks up projected marriages, if becoming rich by improper means makes him proud, and by a peradventure escaping the consequences of his misconduct, he yet feels no shame, if he owns to favours (which he did not confer), and puts off his errors (on others), marries away (his own) calamity to another, and sells (for gain) his own wickedness, purchases for himself empty praise, and keeps hidden dangerous purposes in his heart, detracts from the excel-

has—'Insults and oppresses (those who have attained to the practice of) Truth and Virtue'

[1] It is a serious mistranslation of this which Mr Balfour gives — 'returns evil for good,' as if it were the golden rule in its highest expression

[2] Literally, 'separates men's bones and flesh'

lences of others, and screens his own shortcomings, if he takes advantage of his dignity to practise intimidation, and indulges his cruelty to kill and wound; if without cause he (wastes cloth) in clipping and shaping it; cooks animals for food, when no rites require it, scatters and throws away the five grains, and burdens and vexes all living creatures, if he ruins the families of others, and gets possession of their money and valuables, admits the water or raises fire in order to injure their dwellings, if he throws into confusion the established rules in order to defeat the services of others, and injures the implements of others to deprive them of the things they require to use, if, seeing others in glory and honour, he wishes them to be banished or degraded, or seeing them wealthy and prosperous, he wishes them to be broken and scattered, if he sees a beautiful woman and forms the thought of illicit intercourse with her, is indebted to men for goods or money, and wishes them to die, if, when his requests and applications are not complied with, his anger vents itself in imprecations, if he sees others meeting with misfortune, and begins to speak of their misdeeds, or seeing them with bodily imperfections he laughs at them, or when their abilities are worthy of praise, he endeavours to keep them back, if he buries the image of another to obtain an injurious power over him[1], or employs poison to kill trees, if he is indignant and angry with his instructors, or opposes and thwarts his

[1] The crimes indicated here are said to have become rife under the Han dynasty, when the arts of sorcery and witchcraft were largely employed to the injury of men

father and elder brother; if he takes things by violence or vehemently demands them, if he loves secretly to pilfer, and openly to snatch, makes himself rich by plunder and rapine, or by artifice and deceit seeks for promotion, if he rewards and punishes unfairly, if he indulges in idleness and pleasure to excess, is exacting and oppressive to his inferiors, and tries to frighten other men; if he murmurs against Heaven and finds fault with men, reproaches the wind and reviles the rain, if he fights and joins in quarrels, strives and raises litigations; recklessly hurries to join associate fraternities; is led by the words of his wife or concubine to disobey the instructions of his parents, if, on getting what is new, he forgets the old, and agrees with his mouth, while he dissents in his heart, if he is covetous and greedy after wealth, and deceives and befools his superiors (to get it), if he invents wicked speeches to calumniate and overthrow the innocent, defames others and calls it being straightforward, reviles the Spirits and styles himself correct, if he casts aside what is according to right, and imitates what is against it, turns his back on his near relatives, and his face to those who are distant, if he appeals to Heaven and Earth to witness to the mean thoughts of his mind, or calls in the spiritual Intelligences to mark the filthy affairs of his life, if he gives and afterwards repents that he has done so, or borrows and does not return, if he plans and seeks for what is beyond his lot, or lays tasks (on people) beyond their strength, if he indulges his lustful desires without measure, if there be poison in his heart and mildness in his face, if he gives others filthy food to eat, or by corrupt doc-

trines deludes the multitude, if he uses a short cubit, a narrow measure, light weights, and a small pint, mixes spurious articles with the genuine, and (thus) amasses illicit gain, if he degrades (children or others of) decent condition to mean positions; or deceives and ensnares simple people, if he is insatiably covetous and greedy, tries by oaths and imprecations to prove himself correct, and in his liking for drink is rude and disorderly, if he quarrels angrily with his nearest relatives, and as a man he is not loyal and honourable, if a woman is not gentle and obedient, if (the husband) is not harmonious with his wife, if the wife does not reverence her husband, if he is always fond of boasting and bragging, if she is constantly jealous and envious, if he is guilty of improper conduct to his wife or sons, if she fails to behave properly to her parents-in-law, if he treats with slight and disrespect the spirits of his ancestors, if he opposes and rebels against the charge of his sovereign, if he occupies himself in doing what is of no use, and cherishes and keeps concealed a purpose other than what appears, if he utter imprecations against himself and against others (in the assertion of his innocence)[1], or is partial in his likes and dislikes, if he strides over the well or the hearth, leaps over the food, or over a man[2], kills newly-born children or brings about abortions[3], if he does many actions of secret depravity, if he sings and dances on the

[1] The one illustrative story given by Julien under this clause shows clearly that I have rightly supplemented it He translates it —'Faire des imprécations contre soi-même et contre les autres'

[2] Trifling acts and villainous crimes are here mixed together

last day of the moon or of the year, bawls out or gets angry on the first day of the moon or in the early dawn, weeps, spits, or urinates, when fronting the north, sighs, sings, or wails, when fronting the fire-place, and moreover, if he takes fire from the hearth to burn incense, or uses dirty firewood to cook with, if he rises at night and shows his person naked, if at the eight terms of the year[1] he inflicts punishments, if he spits at a shooting star, points at a rainbow, suddenly points to the three luminaries looks long at the sun and moon, in the months of spring burns the thickets in hunting, with his face to the north angrily reviles others, and without reason kills tortoises and smites snakes[2] —

'In the case of crimes such as these, (the Spirits) presiding over the Life, according to their lightness or gravity, take away the culprit's periods of twelve years or of one hundred days When his term of life is exhausted, death ensues. If at death there remains guilt unpunished, judgment extends to his posterity[3]

[1] The commencements of the four seasons, the equinoxes and solstices

[2] Many of the deeds condemned in this long paragraph have a ground of reason for their condemnation, others are merely *offences against prevailing superstitions*

[3] The principle enunciated here is very ancient in the history of the ethical teaching of China It appears in one of the Appendixes to the Yî *King* (Sacred Books of the East, vol xvi, p 419) 'The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have superabundant happiness the family that accumulates evil is sure to have superabundant misery' We know also that the same view prevailed in the time of Confucius, though the sage himself does not expressly sanction it This Tractate does not go for the issues of Retribution beyond the present life

5 'Moreover, when parties by wrong and violence take the money of others, an account is taken, and set against its amount, of their wives and children, and all the members of their families, when these gradually die If they do not die, there are the disasters from water, fire, thieves, and robbers, from losses of property, illnesses, and (evil) tongues to balance the value of their wicked appropriations[1] Further, those who wrongfully kill men are (only) putting their weapons into the hands of others who will in their turn kill them[2]

Conclusion of the whole matter

'To take to one's self unrighteous wealth is like satisfying one's hunger with putrid food[3], or one's thirst with poisoned wine It gives a temporary relief, indeed, but death also follows it

'Now when the thought of doing good has arisen in a man's mind, though the good be not yet done, the good Spirits are in attendance on him Or, if the thought of doing evil has arisen, though the evil be not yet done, the bad Spirits are in attendance on him

'If one have, indeed, done deeds of wickedness, but afterwards alters his way and repents, resolved not to do anything wicked, but to practise reverently

[1] These sentences are rather weak Nothing is said of any recompense to the parties who have been robbed The thief is punished by the death of others, or the loss of property

[2] A somewhat perplexing sentence Julien gives for it — 'Ceux qui font périr des hommes innocens ressemblent à des ennemis qui échangent leurs armes et se tuent les uns les autres,' and Watters —'Those who put others to death wrongly are like men who exchange arms and slay each other'

[3] Literally, 'soaked food that has been spoiled by dripping water'

all that is good, he is sure in the long-run to obtain good fortune —this is called changing calamity into blessing Therefore the good man speaks what is good, contemplates what is good, and does what is good, every day he has these three virtues —at the end of three years Heaven is sure to send down blessing on him[1] The bad man speaks what is wicked, contemplates what is wicked, and does what is wicked, every day he has these three vices —at the end of three years, Heaven is sure to send down misery on him[1] —How is it that men will not exert themselves to do what is good ?'

[1] The effect of repentance and reformation is well set forth, but the specification of three years, as the period within which the recompense or retribution will occur, is again an indication of the weakness in this concluding paragraph

APPENDIXES.

APPENDIX I

Khing Kăng King, or 'The Classic of Purity[1]'

So I must translate the title of this brochure, as it appears in the 'Collection of the Most Important Treatises of the Tâoist Fathers' (vol xxxix, p xvii), in which alone I have had an opportunity of perusing and studying the Text The name, as given by Wylie (Notes, p 178), Balfour (Tâoist Texts), and Faber (China Review, vol xiii, p 246), is *Khing King King*[2], and signifies 'The Classic of Purity and Rest' The difference is in the second character, but both *Khing Kăng* and *Khing King* are well-known combinations in Tâoist writings, and it will be seen, as the translation of the Text is pursued, that neither of them is unsuitable as the title of the little Book

It is, as Dr Faber says, one of the 'mystical canons' of Tâoism, but the mysticism of Tâoism is of a nature peculiar to itself, and different from any mental exercises which have been called by that name in connexion with Christianity or Mohammedanism It is more vague and shadowy than any theosophy or Sûfism, just as the idea of the Tâo differs from the apprehension of a personal God, however uncertain and indefinite that apprehension may be Mr Wylie says the work 'treats under very moderate limits of the subjection of the mental faculties' This indeed is the consummation to which it conducts the student, a

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[1] 清淨經 [2] 清靜經

condition corresponding to the nothingness which Lâo-tze contended for as antecedent to all positive existence, and out of which he said that all existing being came, though he does not indicate how

I give to the Treatise the first place among our appendixes here because of the early origin ascribed to it It is attributed to Ko Yuan (or Hsuan)[1], a Tâoist of the Wû dynasty (A D 222–277) who is fabled to have attained to the state of an Immortal, and is generally so denominated[2] He is represented as a worker of miracles, as addicted to intemperance, and very eccentric in his ways When shipwrecked on one occasion, he emerged from beneath the water with his clothes unwet, and walked freely on its surface Finally he ascended to the sky in bright day[3] All these accounts may safely be put down as the figments of a later time

It will be seen that the Text ascribes the work to Lâo-tze himself, and I find it impossible to accept the account of its origin which is assigned by Li Hsi-yuch to Ko Hsuan As quoted by Li in the first of some notes subjoined to his Commentary, Ko is made to say, 'When I obtained the true Tâo, I had recited this *King* ten thousand times It is what the Spirits of heaven practise, and had not been communicated to scholars of this lower world I got it from the Divine Ruler of the eastern Hwa, he received it from the Divine Ruler of the Golden Gate, he received it from the Royal mother of the West In all these cases it was transmitted from mouth to mouth, and was not committed to writing I now, while I am in the world, have written it out in a book Scholars of the highest order, understanding it ascend and become officials of Heaven, those of the middle order cultivating it, are ranked among the Immortals of the Southern Palace, those of the lowest order, possessing it, get long years of life in the world, roam

[1] 葛元 or 葛玄 [2] 葛仙公.

[3] See the Accounts of Ko in the Biographical Dictionary of Hsiâo *Kih* han (1793) and Wang *Kih*'s supplement to the great work of Ma Twan lin, ch 242

through the Three Regions[1], and (finally) ascend to, and enter, the Golden Gate'

This quotation would seem to be taken from the preface to our little classic by Ho Hsuan If there were indeed such a preface during the time of the Wû dynasty, the corruption of the old Tâoism must have been rapid The Hsî Wang-mû, or Royal-mother of the West, is mentioned once in *K*wang-tze (Bk VI, par 7), but no 'Divine Ruler' disfigures his pages Every reader must feel that in the Classic of Purity he has got into a different region of thought from that which he has traversed in the Tâo Teh *K*ing and in the writings of *K*wang-tze

With these remarks I now proceed to the translation and explanation of the text of our *K*ing

Ch 1 1 Lâo the Master[1] said, The Great[2] Tâo has no bodily form, but It produced and nourishes heaven and earth[3] The Great Tâo has no passions[4], but It causes the sun and moon to revolve as they do

The Great[2] Tâo has no name[5], but It effects the growth and maintenance of all things[3]

I do not know its name, but I make an effort, and call It the Tâo[6]

[1] The name here is Lâo *K*un (老君) I have stated (vol xxxix, p 40) that, with the addition of Thâi Shang, this is the common designation of Lâo-tze as the Father of Tâoism and deifying him, and that it originated probably in the Thang dynasty It might seem to be used simply here by Ko Hsuan with the same high application, and since in his preface he refers to different 'Divine Rulers,' it may be contended that we ought to translate Lâo *K*un by 'Lâo the Ruler' But I am unwilling to think that the deification of Lâo tze

[1] 'The three regions (三界)' here can hardly be the trilokya of the Buddhists, the ethical categories of desire, form, and formlessness They are more akin to the Brahmanic bhuvanatraya, the physical or cosmological categories of bhur or earth, bhuvah or heaven, and svar or atmosphere

had taken place so early The earliest occurrence of the combination Lâo *K*un which has attracted my notice is in the history of Khung Yung, a descendant of Confucius in the twentieth generation,—the same who is celebrated in the San Ze *K*ing, for his fraternal deference at the age of four, and who met with a violent death in A D. 208. While still only a boy, wishing to obtain an interview with a representative of the Lâo family, he sent in this message to him, 'My honoured predecessor and the honoured Lâo, the predecessor of your Lî family, equally virtuous and righteous, were friends and teachers of each other' The epithet *K*un is equally applied to Confucius and Láo-ze, and the combination Lâo *K*un implies no exaltation of the latter above the other

[2] See Tâo Teh *K*ing, chaps 18, 25, 53.

[3] T T *K*, chaps 1, 51, et al

[4] See *K*wang-ze, Bk II, par 2 'Passions,' that is, feelings, affections, as in the first of the thirty-nine Articles

[5] T T *K*, chaps 1, 25, 32, 51

[6] T. T *K*, ch. 25

2. Now, the Tâo (shows itself in two forms), the Pure and the Turbid, and has (the two conditions of) Motion and Rest[1] Heaven is pure and earth is turbid, heaven moves and earth is at rest The masculine is pure and the feminine is turbid, the masculine moves and the feminine is still[2] The radical (Purity) descended, and the (turbid) issue flowed abroad, and thus all things were produced[1].

The pure is the source of the turbid, and motion is the foundation of rest

If man could always be pure and still, heaven and earth would both revert (to non-existence)[3]

[1] This paragraph is intended to set forth 'the production of all things,' but it does so in a way that is hardly intelligible Comparing what is said here with the utterances in the former paragraph, Tâo would seem to be used in two

senses, first as an Immaterial Power or Force, and next as the Material Substance, out of which all things come Lî Hsî-yueh says that in the first member of par 1 we have 'the Unlimited (or Infinite) producing the Grand (or Primal) Finite' On the Tâo in par 2 he says nothing The fact is that the subject of creation in the deepest sense of the name is too high for the human mind

[2] Compare T T *K*, ch 61

[3] I do not understand this, but I cannot translate the Text otherwise Mr Balfour has —'If a man is able to remain pure and motionless, Heaven and Earth will both at once come and dwell in him' Lî explains thus —天清地靜一齊返入於無矣 Compare T T *K*, ch 16, and especially Ho-shang Kung s title to it,—歸根

3 Now the spirit of man loves Purity, but his mind[1] disturbs it The mind of man loves stillness, but his desires draw it away[1] If he could always send his desires away, his mind would of itself become still Let his mind be made clean, and his spirit will of itself become pure

As a matter of course the six desires[2] will not arise, and the three poisons[3] will be taken away and disappear

[1] Tâoism thus recognises in man the spirit, the mind, and the body

[2] 'The six desires' are those which have their inlets in the eyes, ears, nostrils, the tongue, the sense of touch, and the imagination The two last are expressed in Chinese by shăn, 'the body,' and î, 'the idea, or thought'

[3] 'The three poisons' are greed, anger, and stupidity,—see the Khang-hsî Thesaurus, under 毒

4 The reason why men are not able to attain to this, is because their minds have not been cleansed, and their desires have not been sent away

If one is able to send the desires away, when he then looks in at his mind, it is no longer his, when he looks out at his body, it is no longer his, and when he looks farther off at external things, they are things which he has nothing to do with

When he understands these three things, there will appear to him only vacancy This contemplation of vacancy will awaken the idea of vacuity Without such vacuity there is no vacancy

The idea of vacuous space having vanished, that of nothingness itself also disappears, and when the idea of nothingness has disappeared, there ensues serenely the condition of constant stillness

In this paragraph we have what Mr Wylie calls 'the subjection of the mental faculties,' and I must confess myself unable to understand what it is It is probably another way of describing the Tâoist trance which we find once and again in *K*wang-tze, 'when the body becomes like a withered tree, and the mind like slaked lime' (Bk II, par 1, et al) But such a sublimation of the being, as the characteristic of its serene stillness and rest, is to me inconceivable

5 In that condition of rest independently of place how can any desire arise? And when no desire any longer arises, there is the True stillness and rest

That True (stillness) becomes (a) constant quality, and responds to external things (without error), yea, that True and Constant quality holds possession of the nature

In such constant response and constant stillness there is the constant Purity and Rest

He who has this absolute Purity enters gradually into the (inspiration of the) True Tâo And

having entered thereinto, he is styled Possessor of the Tâo.

Although he is styled Possessor of the Tâo, in reality he does not think that he has become possessed of anything It is as accomplishing the transformation of all living things, that he is styled Possessor of the Tâo

He who is able to understand this may transmit to others the Sacred Tâo

This is the consummation of the state of Purity In explaining the former sentence of the fifth member, Lî Hsî-yueh uses the characters of T T *K*, ch 4, 道冲而用之或不盈, with some variation,—冲而用之,不自滿假

2 1 Lâo the Master said, Scholars of the highest class do not strive (for anything), those of the lowest class are fond of striving[1] Those who possess in the highest degree the attributes (of the Tâo) do not show them, those who possess them in a low degree hold them fast (and display them)[2] Those who so hold them fast and display them are not styled (Possessors of) the Tâo and Its attributes[2]

[1] Compare the T T *K*, ch 41, 1
[2] Compare the T T *K*, ch 38, 1

2 The reason why all men do not obtain the True Tâo is because their minds are perverted Their minds being perverted, their spirits become perturbed Their minds being perturbed, they are attracted towards external things Being attracted towards external things, they begin to seek for them greedily This greedy quest leads to perplexities and annoyances, and these again result in disordered

thoughts, which cause anxiety and trouble to both body and mind The parties then meet with foul disgraces, flow wildly on through the phases of life and death, are liable constantly to sink in the sea of bitterness, and for ever lose the True Tâo

3 The True and Abiding Tâo! They who understand it naturally obtain it And they who come to understand the Tâo abide in Purity and Stillness

Our brief Classic thus concludes, and our commentator Lî thus sums up his remarks on it —'The men who understand the Tâo do so simply by means of the Absolute Purity, and the acquiring this Absolute Purity depends entirely on the Putting away of Desire, which is the urgent practical lesson of the Treatise'

I quoted in my introductory remarks Lî's account of the origin of the Classic by its reputed author Ko Hsuan I will now conclude with the words which he subjoins from 'a True Man, Ʒo Hsuan'—'Students of the Tâo, who keep this Classic in their hands and croon over its contents, will get good Spirits from the ten heavens to watch over and protect their bodies, after which their spirits will be preserved by the seal of jade, and their bodies refined by the elixir of gold Both body and spirit will become exquisitely ethereal, and be in true union with the Tâo!'

Of this 'True Man, Ʒo Hsuan,' I have not been able to ascertain anything The Divine Ruler of the eastern Hwa, referred to on p 248, is mentioned in the work of Wang *Khî* (ch 241, p 21[b]), but with no definite information about him The author says his surname was Wang, but he knows neither his name nor when he lived.

APPENDIX II

Yin Fû *K*ing, or 'Classic of the Harmony of the Seen and the Unseen'

In the *Kh*ien-lung Catalogue of the Imperial Library, ch 146, Part III, this Book occupies the first place among all Tâoist works, with three notices, which all precede the account of Ho-shang Kung's Commentary on the Tâo Teh *K*ing From the work of Lâo-ʒze we are conducted along the course of Tâoist literature to the year 1626, when the catalogue of what is called 'the Tâoist Canon[1]' appeared Ch 147 then returns to the Yin Fû *K*ing, and treats of nine other works upon it, the last being the Commentary of Lî Kwang-lî, one of the principal ministers and great scholars in the time of *Kh*ien-lung's grandfather, known as Khang-hsî from the name of his reign

In the first of these many notices it is said that the preface of an old copy assigns the composition of the work to Hwang-Tî (in the 27th century B C), and says that commentaries on it had been made by Thâi-kung (12th century B C), Fan Lî (5th century B C), the Recluse of the Kwei Valley (4th century B C), *K*ang Liang (died B C 189), *K*û Ko Liang (A D 181–234), and Lî *Kh*wan of the Thang dynasty (about the middle of our 8th century)[2] Some writers, going back to the time of Hwang-Tî for the composition of our small classic, attribute it not to that sovereign himself, but to his teacher Kwang *Kh*ăng-ʒze[3],

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[1] 道藏目錄詳註

[2] See also Mâ Twan-lin's great work, ch 211, p 18ᵃ

[3] See *K*wang-ʒze, Bk XI, par 4

and many of them hold that this Kwang *Khăng*-ʒze was an early incarnation of Lâo-ʒze himself, so that the Yin Fû might well be placed before the Tâo Teh *K*ing[1] Lî Hsî-yueh is one of the scholars who adopt this view

I will not say that under the *K*âu dynasty there was no book called Yin Fû, with a commentary ascribed to Thâi-kung[1], for Sze-mâ *Kh*ien, in his biography of Sû *Kh*in (Bk lxix), relates how that adventurer obtained 'the Yin Fû book of *K*âu,' and a passage in the 'Plans of the Warring States' tells us that the book contained 'the schemes of Thâi-kung[1]' However this may have been, no such work is now extant Of all the old commentaries on it mentioned in the *Kh*ien-lung Catalogue, the only one remaining is the last,—that of Lî *Kh*wan, and the account which we have of it is not to be readily accepted and relied on

The story goes that in A D 441 Khâu *Kh*ien-*k*ih, who had usurped the dignity and title of Patriarch from the *K*ang family, deposited a copy of the Yin Fû *K*ing in a mountain cave There it remained for about three centuries and a half, till it was discovered by Lî *Kh*wan, a Tâoist scholar, not a little damaged by its long exposure He copied it out as well as he could, but could not understand it, till at last, wandering in the distant West, he met with an old woman, who made the meaning clear to him, at the foot of mount Lî, after which he published the Text with a Commentary, and finally died, a wanderer among the hills in quest of the Tâo, but the place of his death was never known[2]

The Classic, as it now exists, therefore cannot be traced higher than our eighth century, and many critics hold that, *as the commentary was made by Lî Khwan, so the text* was forged by him All that Hsî-yueh has to say in reply to this is that, if the classic be the work of Li *Kh*wan, then

[1] See the Khang-hsî Thesaurus under the combination Yin Fû

[2] See the account of Lî *Kh*wan in Wang *Kh*i's continuation of Mâ Twan-lin's work, ch 242, and various items in the *Kh*ien lung Catalogue

he must think of him as another Kwang *Khăng*-tze, but this is no answer to the charge of forgery

As to the name of the Treatise, the force of Fû has been set forth in vol xxxix, p 133 in connexion with the title of *K*wang-tze's fifth Book The meaning which I have given of the whole is substantially that of Lî Hsî-yueh, who says that the Yin must be understood as including Yang and grounds his criticism on the famous dictum in the Great Appendix to the Yî *K*ing (vol xvi, p 355), 'The successive movement of the Yin and Yang (their rest and active operation) constitutes what is called the course (of things)' Mr Balfour translates the title by 'The Clue to the Unseen,' which is ingenious, but may be misleading The writer reasons rather from the Unseen to the Seen than from the Seen to the Unseen

Mr Wylie gives his view of the object of the Treatise in these words —'This short Treatise, which is not entirely free from the obscurity of Tâoist mysticism, professes to reconcile the decrees of Heaven with the current of mundane affairs' To what extent the Book does this, and whether successfully or not, the reader will be able to judge for himself from the translation which will be immediately subjoined Lî Hsî-yueh, looking at it simply from its practical object, pronounces it 'hsiû lien *k*ih Shû, a Book of culture and refining[1]' This language suggests the idea of a Tâoist devotee, who has sublimated himself by the study of this Book till he is ready to pass into the state of an Immortal I must be permitted to say, however, that the whole Treatise appears to me to have come down to us in a fragmentary condition, with passages that are incapable of any satisfactory explanation

Ch 1 1 If one observes the Way of Heaven[1], and maintains Its doings (as his own)[2], all that he has to do is accomplished

[1] Dr Williams explains 'hsiû lien (修鍊 or 修煉)' as meaning 'becoming religious, as a recluse or ascetic'

[1] To explain 'the Way of Heaven,' Lî Hsî-yueh adduces the last sentence of the T T *K*, ch 9, 'When the work is done, and one's name has become distinguished, to withdraw into obscurity is the Way of Heaven'

[2] To explain 'the doings of Heaven,' he adduces the first paragraph of the symbolism of the first hexagram of the Yî, 'Heaven in its motion gives the idea of strength In accordance with this, the superior man nerves himself to ceaseless activity'

2 To Heaven there belong the five (mutual) foes [1], and he who sees them (and understands their operation) apprehends how they produce prosperity The same five foes are in the mind of man, and when he can set them in action after the manner of Heaven, all space and time are at his disposal, and all things receive their transformations from his person [2]

[1] The startling name thieves (= foes, robbers) here is understood to mean the 'five elements,' which pervade and indeed make up the whole realm of nature, the heaven of the text including also earth, the other term in the binomial combination of 'heaven and earth' According to the Tâoist teaching, the element of Earth generates Metal, and overcomes Water, Metal generates Water, and overcomes Wood, Water generates Wood, and overcomes Fire, Wood generates Fire, and overcomes Earth These elements fight and strive together, now overcoming, now overcome, till by such interaction a harmony of their influences arises, and production goes on with vigour and beauty

[2] It is more difficult to give an account of the operation of the five elements in the mind of man, though I have seen them distributed among the five viscera, and the five virtues of Benevolence, Righteousness, Propriety, Knowledge, and Faith Granting, however, their presence and operation in the mind, what shall be said on the two concluding members of the paragraph? There underlies them

the doctrine of the three coordinate Powers,—Heaven, Earth, and Man, which I have never been able to comprehend clearly

3. The nature of Heaven belongs (also) to Man, the mind of Man is a spring (of power) When the Way of Heaven is established, the (Course of) Man is thereby determined

These short and enigmatic sentences seem merely to affirm the general subject of the Treatise,—the harmony between the unseen and the seen

4 When Heaven puts forth its power of putting to death, the stars and constellations lie hidden in darkness When Earth puts forth its power of putting to death, dragons and serpents appear on the dry ground When Man puts forth his power of putting to death, Heaven and Earth resume their (proper course) When Heaven and Man exert their powers in concert, all transformations have their commencements determined

'The power of putting to death here' seems merely to indicate the 'rest' which succeeds to movement The paragraph is intended to show us the harmony of the Three Powers, but one only sees its meaning darkly The language of the third sentence about the influence of Man on Heaven and Earth finds its explanation from the phraseology of the thwan of the twenty-fourth hexagram of the Yî (vol xvi, pp 107, 108)

5 The nature (of man) is here clever and there stupid, and the one of these qualities may lie hidden in the other The abuse of the nine apertures is (chiefly) in the three most important, which may be now in movement and now at rest When fire arises in wood, the evil, having once begun, is sure to go on to the destruction of the wood When

calamity arises in a state, if thereafter movement ensue, it is sure to go to ruin

When one conducts the work of culture and refining wisely we call him a Sage

The constitution of man is twofold,—his mental constitution, quiet and restful, and his physical constitution, restless and fond of movement The nine apertures are the eyes ears, nostrils mouth, and the lower parts, and of these the eyes, ears, and mouth are the most important, but they all need to be kept in subjection and under restraint If indulged beyond reason the ruin of themselves and of the mind and body to which they belong is sure to ensue

2 1 For Heaven now to give life and now to take it away is the method of the Tâo Heaven and Earth are the despoilers of all things, all things are the despoilers of Man, and Man is the despoiler of all things When the three despoilers act as they ought to do, as the three Powers, they are at rest Hence it is said, 'During the time of nourishment, all the members are properly regulated, when the springs of motion come into play, all transformations quietly take place'

Compare ch 1, par 2 The mutual contention of the five elements in nature only conduces to the nourishment of all its parts, and so man, as one of the three Powers, consumes only to increase his store, and throws down only to build up

Where the concluding quotation is taken from is not known Of course any quotation is inconsistent with the idea of the early origin of the Treatise

2 Men know the mysteriousness of the Spirit's (action), but they do not know how what is not Spiritual comes to be so The sun and moon have their definite times, and their exact measures as

large and small The service of the sages hereupon arises, and the spiritual intelligence becomes apparent

Compare par 10 in the fifth Appendix to the Yi *King*

3 The spring by which the despoilers are moved is invisible and unknown to all under the sky When the superior man has got it, he strengthens his body by it, when the small man has got it, he makes light of his life

The thing is good in itself, but its effect will be according to the character of its user, and of the use which is made of it

3 1 The blind hear well, and the deaf see well To derive all that is advantageous from one source is ten times better than the employment of a host to do this thrice in a day and night is a myriad times better

That the loss of one sense may be in a manner compensated for by the greater cultivation of another,—in the case especially of the two senses specified,—is a fact, but I fail to perceive how this is illustrated by what follows in the rest of the paragraph The illustration is taken from the seventh of the hexagrams in the Yî, but I have not discovered the nexus of it in the text of that classic or in the Appendixes on the thwan or hsiang of the hexagram

It must be from this paragraph that the bearing of the Treatise on the conduct of military operations has been maintained

2 The mind is quickened (to activity) by (external) things, and dies through (excessive pursuit of) them The spring (of the mind's activity) is in the eyes

Heaven has no (special feeling of) kindness, but so it is that the greatest kindness comes from It

The crash of thunder and the blustering wind both come without design

Mr Balfour translates the first member here by—'The mind is produced from matter and dies with matter, the working faculty is in the eye,' and says that it embodies a bold denial of any future life, or the existence of spirit, apart from matter The meaning of the Text, however, is only what I have given;—is moral and not metaphysical The eye is singled out from the three most important apertures of the body in ch I, par 5

The rest of the paragraph has its parallelisms in Lâo-tze and Kwang-tze

3 Perfect enjoyment is the overflowing satisfaction of the nature Perfect stillness is the entire disinterestedness of it When Heaven seems to be most wrapt up in Itself, Its operation is universal in its character

A sequel to the preceding paragraph Lî Hsî-yueh observes that the having no feeling of kindness is equivalent to Lâo-tze's 'doing nothing' See the T T K, ch 35, 'The Tâo does nothing, and so there is nothing which It does not do'

4 It is by its breath that we control whatever creature we grasp Life is the root of death, and death is the root of life Kindness springs from injury, and injury springs from kindness He who sinks himself in water or enters amidst fire brings destruction on himself

The first member of this paragraph is very difficult to construe Mr Balfour gives for it —'The Laws affecting the animal creation reside in the Breath or Vital Fluid' The first character of it properly denotes 'birds' It is often found with another denoting 'quadrupeds,' and again it is found alone denoting both birds and beasts It is also interchanged with another of the same name, denoting 'to

seize or grasp,' in which meaning I have taken it, but the bearing of the saying on the general meaning of the Treatise I have not apprehended

The next four sayings are illustrations of Lâo-tze's 'contraries' of Tâoism The final saying is a truism,—is it introduced here as illustrating that whatever is done with design is contrary to the Tâo?

5 The stupid man by studying the phenomena and laws of heaven and earth becomes sage, I by studying their times and productions become intelligent He in his stupidity is perplexed about sageness, I in my freedom from stupidity am the same He considers his sageness as being an extraordinary attainment, I do not consider mine so

Some scholars have expunged this paragraph as not being genuine, it is certainly difficult to construe and to understand

6 The method of spontaneity proceeds in stillness, and so it was that heaven, earth, and all things were produced The method of heaven and earth proceeds gently and gradually, and thus it is that the Yin and Yang overcome (each other by turns). The one takes the place of the other, and so change and transformation proceed accordingly

*K*û Hsî praises this paragraph as very good, and the use of the character Jin (proceeds gently and gradually') as exquisite After all, what do we learn from it? That Creation proceeded without striving or crying? And that the same Creative Power continues to act in the same way?

7 Therefore the sages, knowing that the method of spontaneity cannot be resisted, take action accordingly and regulate it (for the purpose of culture) The way of perfect stillness cannot be subjected to numerical calculations, but it would seem that there

is a wonderful machinery, by which all the heavenly bodies are produced, the eight diagrams, and the sexagenary cycle, spirit-like springs of power, and hidden ghostlinesses; the arts of the Yin and Yang in the victories of the one over the other —all these come brightly forward into visibility

I cannot say that I fully understand this concluding paragraph of the Yin Fû *King* One thing is plain from it,—how the Yî *King* was pressed into the service of the Tâoism that prevailed when it was written I leave it with the judgment on it, quoted by Lî Hsî-yueh from a Lû Zhien-hsu 'The subject-matter of the Yin Fû and Tâo Teh is all intended to set forth the action by contraries of the despoiling powers in nature and society As to finding in them directions for the government of states, the conduct of war, and the mastery of the kingdom, with such expressions as those about a wonderful machinery by which the heavenly bodies are produced, the eight diagrams, the cycle, spirit-like springs, and hidden ghostlinesses —they all have a deep meaning, but men do not know it They who go to the Yin Fû for direction in war and use Lâo-tze for guidance in government go far astray from the meaning of both'

APPENDIX III

Yu Shû King, or 'The Classic of the Pivot of Jade'

Mr Wylie says (Notes, p 179) that the Pivot of Jade is much used in the ritual services of Tâoism, meaning that it is frequently read in the assemblies of its monks The object of the Treatise, according to Lî Hsî-yuch, is 'to teach men to discipline and refine their spirit,' and he illustrates the name by referring to the North Star, which is called 'the Pivot of the Sky,' revolving in its place, and carrying round with it all the other heavenly bodies So the body of man is carried round his spirit and by it, and when the spirit has been disciplined and refined, till it is freed from every obscuring influence, and becomes solid, soft, and strong as jade, the name, 'the Pivot of Jade,' is appropriate to it

The name of the Treatise, when given at full length, is—'The True Classic of the Pivot of Jade, delivered by the Heaven-Honoured One, Who produces Universal Transformation by the Sound of His Thunder' To this personage, as Wylie observes, the Tâoists attribute a fabulous antiquity, but there is little doubt that the author was a Hsuan-yang Ze, about the time of the Yuan dynasty (A D 1280–1367) From the work of Wang *Khî* (ch 243), we learn that this Hsuan-yang Ze was the denomination of Âu-yang Yu-yuen, a scion of the famous Âu-yang family What he says is to the following effect —

1 The Heaven-honoured One says, 'All you, Heaven-endowed men, who wish to be instructed

about the Perfect Tâo, the Perfect Tâo is very recondite, and by nothing else but Itself can it be described Since ye wish to hear about it, ye cannot do so by the hearing of the ear —that which eludes both the ears and eyes is the True Tâo, what can be heard and seen perishes, and only this survives There is (much) that you have not yet learned, and especially you have not acquired this! Till you have learned what the ears do not hear, how can the Tâo be spoken about at all?'

'Heaven-honoured (Thien Jun)' is a title given by the Tâoists to the highest objects of their reverence and worship Chalmers translates it by 'Celestial Excellency,' and observes that it is given to 'all the Three Pure Ones,' but its application is much more extensive, as its use in this Treatise sufficiently proves No doubt it was first adopted after the example of the Buddhists, by whom Buddha is styled 'World-honoured,' or 'Ever-honoured' (Shih Jun)

The phrase Thien Zăn, which I have translated here 'Heaven-endowed Men,' is common to the three religions of China, but the meaning of it is very different in each See the Confucian and the Tâoist significations of it in the Khang-hsî Thesaurus, under the phrase. Here it means 'the men possessed by the Tâo,—Tâo-Zăn of the highest class' In a Buddhist treatise the meaning would be 'Ye, devas and men'

2 The Heaven-honoured One says, 'Sincerity is the first step towards (the knowledge of) the Tâo, it is by silence that that knowledge is maintained, it is with gentleness that (the Tâo) is employed The employment of sincerity looks like stupidity, the employment of silence looks like difficulty of utterance, the employment of gentleness looks like want of ability But having attained to this, you may

forget all bodily form, you may forget your personality; you may forget that you are forgetting'

'All this,' says Lî Hsî-yueh, 'is the achievement of vacuity, an illustration of the freedom from purpose which is characteristic of the Tâo' Compare par 14 in the sixth Book of *K*wang-*s*ze

3 'He who has taken the first steps toward (the knowledge of) the Tâo knows where to stop, he who maintains the Tâo in himself knows how to be diligently vigilant, he who employs It knows what is most subtle

'When one knows what is most subtle, the light of intelligence grows (around him), when he can know how to be diligently vigilant, his sage wisdom becomes complete, when he knows where to stop, he is grandly composed and restful

'When he is grandly composed and restful, his sage wisdom becomes complete, when his sage wisdom becomes complete, the light of intelligence grows (around him), when the light of intelligence grows around him, he is one with the Tâo.

'This is the condition which is styled the True Forgetfulness,—a forgetting which does not forget, a forgetting of what cannot be forgotten

'That which cannot be forgotten is the True Tâo The Tâo is in heaven and earth, but heaven and earth are not conscious of It Whether It seem to have feelings or to be without them, It is (always) one and the same.'

4 The Heaven-honoured One says, 'While I am in this world, what shall I do to benefit life? I occupy myself with this subtle and precious Treatise for the good of you, Heaven-endowed men Those

who understand it will be allowed to ascend to the happy seats of the Immortals

'Students of the Tâo believe that there are (the influences of) the ether and of destiny But the (conditions of) climate being different, the constitutions received by men are naturally different, and hence they are ascribed to the ether And the (conditions of) wisdom and stupidity being different, their constitutions as fine and coarse are naturally different, and hence they are ascribed to the destiny The destiny depends on fate, the ether depends on Heaven.

'The restraints arising from the ether and destiny are the manacles decreed by Heaven But if one acquire the True Tâo, though stupid, he may become wise, though coarse, he may become fine,—if there only be the decree of fate

'Stupidity the darkest, and coarseness the densest, are consequences of climate, but the suffering of them and the changing of them may take place, when Heaven and Earth quicken the motive spring When this is done without the knowledge of men, it is said to take place spontaneously. If it be done with a consciousness of that want of knowledge, it is still said to take place spontaneously The mystery of spontaneity is greater than that of knowledge, but how it comes to be what it is remains a thing unknown But as to the Tâo, It has not begun to come under the influence of what makes stupid and coarse Hear this all ye Heaven (-endowed) men, and let all the multitude in all quarters rejoice'

It may be considered as a proof of the difficulty of the Text that to this long paragraph Lî Hsî-yuch does not subjoin a single explanatory remark

APPENDIX IV

Zăh Yung *K'*ing, or 'Classic of the Directory for a Day'

I have nowhere found any mention of the author of this brief composition, or of its date The use of Buddhistic expressions in it shows that it cannot have had a very early origin It belongs to the same category of Tâoist writings as the *Khing Kăng K'*ing, which is the first of these appendixes Li Hsi-yuch says, 'The Treatise is called "the Directory for a Day," as showing that during all the hours (the Tâo) should not be left for a single instant (comp the words of Confucius at the beginning of the *K'*ung Yung) Let the work be done, and there is sure to be the result promised, only there must be the Purity insisted on both of body and mind In the second paragraph it is said, "During the twelve hours of the day let the thoughts be constantly fixed on absolute Purity," and in the last paragraph, "During the twelve hours be always pure and undefiled,"—thus showing what the main teaching of the Great Tâoistic system is, and the pre-eminent place which Purity occupies in the "Directory for a Day" The style is so clear and simple that I have left it without note or comment'

1 As to what should be done in a day, when the eating and drinking has been arranged, let one sit straight with his mouth shut, and not allow a single thought to arise in his mind. Let him forget everything, and keep his spirit with settled purpose Let

his lips be glued together, and his teeth be firmly pressed against one another. Let him not look at anything with his eyes, nor listen to a single sound with his ears Let him with all his mind watch over his inward feelings Let him draw long breaths, and gradually emit them, without a break, now seeming to breathe, and now not In this way any excitement of the mind will naturally disappear, the water from the kidneys will rise up, the saliva will be produced in the mouth, and the real efficaciousness becomes attached to the body. It is thus that one acquires the way of prolonging life

2 During the twelve hours of the day let one's thoughts be constantly fixed on absolute Purity Where one thought (of a contrary kind) does not arise, we have what we call Purity, where nothing (of a contrary kind) enters the Tower of Intelligence (= the mind), we have what we call the Undefiled. The body is the house of the breath, the mind is the lodging of the spirit As the thoughts move, the spirit moves, as the spirit moves, the breath is distributed As the thoughts rest, the spirit rests, when the spirit rests, the breath is collected

The true powers of the five elements unite and form the boat-like cup of jade, (after partaking of which), the body seems to be full of delicious harmony This spreads like the unguent of the chrismal rite on the head Walking, resting, sitting, sleeping, the man feels his body flexible as the wind, and in his belly a sound like that of thunder. His ears hear the songs of the Immortals, that need no aid from any instrument, vocal without words, and resounding without the drum The spirit and the breath effect a union and the bloom of

childhood returns The man beholds scenes unfolded within him, Spirits of themselves speak to him, he sees the things of vacuity, and finds himself dwelling with the Immortals He makes the Great Elixir, and his spirit goes out and in at its pleasure He has the longevity of heaven and earth, and the brightness of the sun and moon He has escaped from the toils of life and death

Accustomed to the phraseology of the Text all his life, the commentator Lî, as has been seen, did not think it necessary to append here any notes of explanation A few such notes, however, will be welcome to an English reader 'The twelve hours of the day'—a Chinese hour is equal to two of our hours, and their twelve to our twenty-four The twelve hours are named by the twelve branch terms of the cycle

'The boat-like cup of jade' seems to be a satisfactory rendering of the Chinese characters tâo kwei in the Text, which might be translated 'knife, and jade-symbol' But tâo, commonly meaning 'knife,' is in the Shih *King* (I, v, VII, 2) used of 'a small boat' In the Khang-hsî Thesaurus, under the phrase, we have the following quotation, as if from Ko Hung's Biographies of Immortals — '*Khăn* Hsî, a native of the territory of Wû, was studying the Tâo in Shû, when the master Lâo sent a beautiful young lady to him with a tray of gold and a cup of jade filled with medicine, and the message, "This is the mysterious elixir, he who drinks it will not die" And on this he and his wife had each a tâo kwei' See the account in Ko Hung's work, which is much more diffuse

In the mention of 'the chrismal rite' there is a reference to what Dr Williams calls 'a kind of Buddhist baptism or holy unction, by sprinkling, which confers goodness,' 'administered to children, idols &c' (See under the characters kwân and ting)

3 Do not allow any relaxation of your efforts. During all the hours of the day strive always to be

pure and undefiled The spirit is the child of the breath, the breath is the mother of the spirit

As a fowl embraces its eggs, do you preserve the spirit and nourish the breath Can you do this without intermission? Wonderful! wonderful! The mystery becomes still deeper!

In the body there are seven precious organs, which serve to enrich the state, to give rest to the people, and to make the vital force of the system full to overflowing Hence we have the heart, the kidneys, the breath, the blood, the brains, the semen, and the marrow These are the seven precious organs They are not dispersed when the body returns (to the dust) Refined by the use of the Great Medicine, the myriad spirits all ascend among the Immortals.

If we were sure that we had exactly hit the meaning and spirit of every part of this paragraph, it would hardly be worth while to give more space to its illustration

A sufficient number of the best of the Treatises of the later Tâoism have been placed before the reader to show him how different they are from the writings of Lâo and *K*wang, and how inferior to them It might seem as if *K*wang-tze, when he ceased to write, had broken the staff of Tâoism and buried it many fathoms in the earth We can hardly wonder that Confucianists, such as *K*û Hsî, should pronounce, 'What the sect of Tâo chiefly attend to is,—the preservation of the breath of life,' and that Buddhists, such as Liû Mi, should say of it, 'Long life being attained, its goal is reached'

APPENDIX V

Analyses by Lin Hsi-*k*ung of several of the Books of *K*wang-tze

Book I

The Hsiâo-yâo in the title of this Book denotes the appearance of perfect ease and satisfaction The Yû, which conveys the idea of wandering or rambling about, is to be understood of the enjoyment of the mind The three characters describe the chief characteristic of our 'Old *K*wang's' life, and therefore he placed the Book at the beginning of his more finished compositions or essays

But when one wishes to enjoy himself in the fullest and freest way, he must first have before him a view like that of the wide sea or of the expanse of the air, in order that his mind may be free from all restraint, and from the entanglements of the world, and that it may respond in the fitting way to everything coming before it —it is only what is Great that can enter into this enjoyment Throughout the whole Book, the word Great has a significant force

In paragraph 1 we are presented with the illustration of the phăng Long was the journey which it would undertake, when it contemplated removing to the South That it required a wind of 90,000 lî to support it, and even then only rested after a flight of six months, was owing to its own Great size, and also because the Southern Ocean was not to be easily reached by a single effort

What is said, in paragraph 2, about men, when going anywhere, proportioning the provisions which they take

with them to the length of the journey has the same meaning How should such creatures as the cicada and the little dove be able to know this? Knowledge is great or small, because the years of the parties are many or few —so it is that one is inferior to another Have they not heard of the ming-ling and tâ-*kh*un, which make their spring and autumn for themselves? And so does the phăng, as we may understand Its not resting till the end of six months is really not a long time to it The case of Phăng Ǯû is not worth being taken into account

This description of the greatness of the phăng is not any fabrication of our author's own, nor any statement peculiar to the *Khî* Hsieh The same things are told in the 'Questions of Thang to *Kî*,' as in paragraph 3

As to the long journey of the phăng and the marsh-quail's laughing at it, that is not different from what the other two little creatures said above,—arising simply from the difference between the great and the small And what difference is there between this and the case of those who enjoy themselves for a season in the world? Yung-ʒze of Sung is introduced (and immediately dismissed), as not having planted himself in the right position, and not being Great Then Lieh-ʒze is brought forward, and dismissed as not being Great, because he had something to wait for It is only he who rides on the twofold primal ether of the Yin and Yang, driving along with the six elements through all their changes as they wax and wane, and enjoying himself at the gate of death, that can be pronounced Great This is what is called the Perfect Man, the Spirit-like Man, and the Sage Man

In illustration of this, as instances of the Great Man, we have, in paragraph 4, Hsu Yû, regardless of the name, the personage on the hill of Kû-shih, in paragraph 5, with no thought of the services he could perform, and Yâo with his deep-sunk eyes, in paragraph 6, no longer thinking much of his throne, and regardless of himself All these characteristics could be used, and made their possessor great, but let not this lead to a suspicion of greatness as

incompatible with usefulness As a caution against this, we have, in paragraph 7, the salve to keep the hands from being chapped,—a Great thing when used properly, but of little value when not so used Let those who exercise their minds look at this —should they not seek to be useful, and so become Great? We have also the weasel and the yak, the one of which gets into trouble by its being of use, while the other escapes harm by its being of no use Let those who have work to do in the world look at this The Great calabash and the Great tree are, each of them, a phăng —why may we not abandon ourselves to our natural feeling of enjoyment in connexion with them? Let men be satisfied with their Greatness and seek for nothing more

As to the style of the Book, the sudden statement and the sudden proof, the sudden illustration and the sudden reasoning, the decision, made to appear as no decision, the connexion, now represented as no connexion, the repetition, turning out to be no repetition —these features come and go on the paragraphs like the clouds in the open firmament, changing every moment and delightful to behold

Lû Fang-hû describes it well —'The guiding thread in the unspun floss, the snake sleeping in the grass'

Book II.

In writings intended to throw light on the Tào we find many different views, affirmations on one side and denials on the other These may be called Controversies, and the reason why they are not adjusted is that every one will hold fast to his own view But every peculiar view arises from the holder's knowledge Such knowledge, however, tends to the injury of his mind, and serves no purpose, good or bad, in illustrating the nature of the Tâo,—it only increases the confusion of controversy Hence when we wish to adjust controversies, we must use our knowledge well, and to use our knowledge well, we must stop at the point beyond which it does not extend.

In this whole Book knowing and not knowing is the thread that runs through it, (and binds its parts together) The expressions about men's being 'in darkness,' in paragraph 2, and the Tâo's being 'obscure,' in paragraph 3, *indicate the want of knowledge*, those, also in paragraph 3, about 'the light of the mind,' and 'throwing that light on a subject,' indicate the good use of knowledge, those, in paragraph 5, about 'the scintillations of light from the midst of confusion and perplexity,' and 'the store of light,' in paragraph 7, indicate the stopping at the point to which our knowledge does not extend And what is to be done when we stop at this point? Nothing more can be done, we have simply, as it is said in paragraph 6, to stop here

When Nan-kwo Ze-*khî* says, in paragraph 1, 'I had lost myself,' he fully expresses the subject-matter of the Book If we think that the affirmations and denials made by men's minds are fictions made out from nothing to be something, that is like the myriad different sounds of the wind, suddenly appearing in their innumerable variations But who is it that produces all these sounds? As is said in paragraph 2, they are 'the sounds of Earth which are really the notes of Heaven' The minds of men speak from their possession of knowledge However great or small their words may be they are all of their own making A discourse under a thousand Heads with a myriad Particulars suddenly arising and as suddenly stopping, may suggest the idea of what we call 'a True Ruler' But the idea is vague and though our knowledge does not reach to such a subject, men toil their intelligence to the end of their lives, never stopping till both mind and body are exhausted What is the reason of this? It is because they have their 'minds completely made up (par 3)'

Now if words were like the chirpings of very young birds that come upon the ear, there would be no difference between them as regards truth or falsehood, right or wrong, but there is some obscuring influence, through which the different views of the Literati and Mohists are produced, with their confusion and uncertainty All this is because

the parties do not use their knowledge well In their controversies each looks at the other's view only from his own standpoint, and throwing on the subject from that the light of Heaven, thus emptily replying to one another without end And is this purposely intended to make a violent end of their disputations? (It is not so), for the Tâo is originally one High and low, beautiful and ugly, ordinary and strange, success and overthrow, have nothing to do with it The intelligent know this, those who weary their minds in trying to bring about a unity do not know it At this point the sages throw on the subject the light of Heaven, also wishing to rest in Heaven, and so they come to a natural union —this is how they use their knowledge well

And what are we to consider the highest reach of knowledge (see par 5)? The ancients thought it necessary to place this in the time before anything began to be A second class would have it that there had (always) been (some) things, and a third class held that between those things (and men) there had been a relativity Thus it was that gradually there came differences of opinion, in affirmations and denials, and when these once arose, there could not but be the experiences of success and failure

But any one-sidedness in controversy is not sufficient to be accounted a proof of success or of failure Not only is the Tao radically one, but those who employ it, however they may seem to differ, will be found to be substantially one and the same When the sages, in the midst of slippery confusion and doubtful perplexity, yet find the clearness of conviction, is it not because they place the controversies that we speak of among the things that are not to be used?

But if there were no affirmations and denials, there would be no words And let me think here Suppose there were no words of controversy, we must not infer from that that there were no words at all Is this word correct? Then if I also employ it, I form one class with all who do so? Is it not correct? Then if I also deny it, I form another class with those who do the same Formerly,

when speaking of men's words, I said that they should change places, and look at things from the different standpoints of each other, so with reference to my own words, my holding my 'Yea,' does not interfere with my changing my place, and taking my position with those who say Nay' in the case If indeed there be no words of affirmation and denial, what words will there be? We must go back to the beginning when there were no words We must go back still farther,—to the vacuity before the beginning when there were no words If we try to go back even farther still, then great and small, long life and short life, heaven and earth and all things, fade away, blending together in the One But that ONE is also a word In this way we go on without end, wishing to make an end of controversy, and instead of doing that, our endeavour only serves to increase it The better plan is to stop, as is proposed in a former paragraph, to stop at this point —Even this word about having no controversy may be spared

The sage, by avoiding discussion, reasoning, and the drawing of distinctions, while he availed himself of words, yet retained the advantage of eschewing words, and was also afraid of calling the demarcations (of propositions) by their eight qualities (see par 7) Still, however, the trace of the use of words remained with him It is not so in the case of the Great Tâo and the Great Argument The Tao (which is displayed) is not the Tâo, the Argument (which is most subtle) does not reach the point, the degree of Non-action is very great, but notwithstanding it is difficult to speak of what is entirely empty of purpose The way by which the knowledge of the ancients reached the highest point was their stopping when their knowledge extended no farther If they could know what they did not know, it was by means of the Heavenly Treasure-house, it was thus they could take their place in the centre of the circle, to which all lines converged, and from which all questions could be answered If they added what they did know to the sum of what they did not know, they then

possessed the Store of Light; and it was thus that they made provision for the scintillations of slippery doubt

To the same effect was what Shun told Yâo (end of par 7) As to the referring what is advantageous and what is hurtful, and the mysteries of life and death, to the sphere of the unknown, that is set forth in the conversation between Nieh *Khueh* and Wang Î (par 8)

As to how it is that rulers and grooms, other men and one's self, do not know each other, that is seen in the conversation between *Khu* Zhiâo-tze and *Khang*-wû Zze.

As to what is said about the substance and shadow waiting on each to make their manifestations, and not knowing how they were brought about, and about the dreamer and the man awake doubting about each other, and not knowing how to distinguish between them, we have knowledge stopping at the point to which it does not extend, and gradually entering into the region of transformation.

Is there anything still remaining to be done for the adjustment of controversy? One idea grows up out of another in the Book, and one expression gives rise to another apparently quite different There is a mutual connexion and reference between its parts Suddenly the style is difficult as the slope of Yang-*khang*, and vanishes like the path of a bird, suddenly it looks like so many steep cliffs and successive precipices When ordinary scholars see this and cannot trace the connexion of thought, if they put it on one side, and did not venture to say anything about it, they might be forgiven But when they dare to follow their prejudices, and to append their licentious explanations, breaking up the connexion of thought, and bringing down to the dust this wonderful composition, the admiration of thousands of years,—ah! when the old *Kwang* took his pencil in hand, and proceeded to write down his thoughts, why should we be surprised that such men as these cannot easily understand him?

Book VI.

'The Great and most Honoured Master' is the Tâo It appears separately in the Heavenly and Human elements (of our constitution), and exists alone and entire in what is beyond death and life, being, as we say, that which nothing can be without To describe it as that which stands out superior and alone, we use for it the character *K*oh (卓) (par 5), to describe it as abiding, we call it the True, to describe it as it vanishes from sight, we apply to it the names of Purity, Heaven, and Unity (par 12)

When men value it, it is possible to get possession of it But he who wishes to get it must, with the knowledge which he has attained to, proceed to nourish what that knowledge is still ignorant of When both of these are (as it were) forgotten, and he comes under the transformation of the Tâo, he enters into the region in which there is neither life nor death,—to the Human element (in him) he has added the Heavenly

Now what knowledge does not know is the time of birth and death, and what it does know is what comes after birth and precedes death It would seem as if this could be nourished by the exercise of thought, but if we do this after birth and before death, we must wait for the time of birth and death to verify it If we try to do so before that time, then the circumstances of the Human and the Heavenly have not yet become subject to their Ruler It is this which makes the knowledge difficult, and it is only the True Man with the True Knowledge who has no anxiety about it

In the position which the True man occupies, he has his adversities and prosperities, his successes and defeats, his gains and his losses, his seasons of security and of unrest,—all the changes of his circumstances, but his mind forgets them all, and this result is due to his possession of both the Knowledge and the Tâo

As to his bodily conditions, he has his sleeping and

awaking, his eating and resting,—his constant experiences; but his mind (also) forgets them all For the springs of action which move to the touch of Heaven, and the movements of desire are indeed different in men, but when we advance and examine the proper home of the mind, we find no difference between its place and nature at the time of birth and of death, and no complication in these after birth and before death —so it is that the Mind, the Tâo, the Heavenly, and the Human are simply One Is not the unconsciousness of the mind the way in which the True man exercises his knowledge and nourishes it? Carrying out this unconsciousness, from the mind to the body and from the body to the world, he comprehends the character of the time and the requirements of everything, without any further qualification Hence, while the mind has not acquired this oblivion, the great work of life always suffers from some defect of the mind, and is not fit to be commended But let the mind be able to exercise this quality, and it can be carried out with great and successful merit, and its admirable service be completed This is the mind of the True man, never exercised one-sidedly in the world, and gaining no one-sided victory either Heavenward or Manward

Given the True Man with the True Knowledge like this, the nature of death and life may begin to be fully described Death and life are like the night and the dawn, —is there any power that can command them? Men cannot preside over them This is what knowledge does not extend to, but within the sphere of knowledge, there is that which is dearer than a Father (par 5), and more to be honoured than a Ruler, the Eminent, the True, and that moreover over which Heaven cannot preside Valuable therefore is the nourishing of this Knowledge, and what other art in nourishing it is there but the unconsciousness of which we speak? Why do we say so? The body is born, grows old and dies. This is the common lot However skilful one may be in hiding it away, it is sure to disappear Men know that the body is not easily got, but

they do not know that what might seem like man's body never comes to an end Being hidden away in a place from which there is no escape for anything, it does not disappear This takes place after birth and before death, and may be verified at the times of birth and death, but how much better it is to consider Heaven good, old age good, the beginning good and the end good, than vainly to think that the nourishing of knowledge is making the body good! The doing this is what is called the Tâo And the sage enjoys himself in this, not only because the Tâo itself does not disappear, but also because of all who have got it not a single one has ever passed away from notice

But it is not easy to describe the getting of the Tâo In the case about which Nu Yu told Nan-po Ʒze-khwei (par 8), the talents of a sage and the Tâo of a sage came together in the study of it, three, seven, and nine days are mentioned as the time of the several degrees of attainment, the learner went on from banishing all worldly matters from his mind as foreign to himself till he came to the utter disregard of time In this way was he led from what was external, and brought inwards to himself, then again from the idea of the Tâo's being a thing, it was exhibited as Tranquillity amid all Disturbances, and he was carried out of himself till he understood that neither death nor life is more than a phenomenon The narrator had learned all this from writings and from Lo-sung, searching them, and ever more the more remote they were Truly great is the difficulty of getting the Tâo!

And yet it need not be difficult It was not so with Ʒze-yu (par 9), in whose words about one arm being transformed into a fowl, and the other into a cross-bow, we see its result, as also in what he said about his rump-bone being transformed into a wheel, his spirit into a horse, and one loosing the cord by which his life is suspended

(Again) we have a similar accordance (with the Tâo) in Ʒze-lî's question to Ʒze-lâi (par 10), about his being made the liver of a rat or the arm of an insect, with the latter's reply and his remark about the furnace of a founder

These were men who had got the Tâo; as also were Ze-fan and *Khin Kang* (par 11), men after the Maker's mind, and who enjoyed themselves, disporting in the one vital ether of heaven and earth

The same may be said of Măng-sun Zhâi (par 12) If he had undergone a transformation, he would wait for the future transformation of which he did know So it was that he obtained the Tâo He and all the others were successful through the use of their mental unconsciousness, and they who pursue this method, must have the idea of I-*r* Ze, who wished to have his branding effaced, and his dismemberment removed by hearing the substance of the Tâo (par 13).

Parties who have not lost the consciousness of their minds and wish to do so must become like Yen Hui (par. 14), who separated the connexion between his body and mind, and put away his knowledge, till he became one with the Great Pervader

Of such as have lost (in part) the consciousness of their minds and wish to do so entirely, we have an instance in Ze-sang (par 15), thinking of Heaven and Earth and of his parents as ignorant of his (miserable) condition, and then ascribing it to Destiny He exhibited the highest obliviousness —was he not, with the knowledge which he possessed, nourishing that of which he was ignorant? Such were the True Men, and such was the True Knowledge.

In this Book are to be found the roots of the ideas in the other six Books of this Part In this they all unite It exhibits the origin of all life, sets forth the reality of all cultivation, and shows the springs of all Making and Transformation, throwing open the door for the Immortals and Buddhas Here is the wonderful Elixir produced by the pestle of Jade, the touch of which by a finger produces the feathers of Transformation As to its style, a vast lake of innumerous wavelets, the mingling of a hundred sparkling eddies, a collection of the oldest achievements in composition, a granary filled with all woods,—it is only in the

power of those who admire the leopard's spots to appreciate it!

Book IX

Governing the world is like governing horses There is the government but the only effect of it is injury. Po-lâo's management of horses (par 1) in a way contrary to their true nature was in no respect different from the way of the (first) potter and the (first) carpenter in dealing with their clay and wood in opposition to the nature of those substances, yet the world praises them all because of their skill, not knowing wherein the good government of the world consists

Now the skilful governors of the world simply caused the people to fulfil the conditions of their regular nature (par 2) It was their gifts which they possessed in common, and their Heaven-inspired instincts which constituted the (Early) age of Perfect Virtue When the sages fashioned their benevolence, righteousness, ceremonies, and music, and the people then began to lose their perfect virtue, it was not that they had themselves become different For benevolence, righteousness, ceremonies, and music, are not endowments forming a part of their regular nature,—they are practised only after men have laid aside the Tâo and its characteristics, and abandoned the guidance of their nature and its feelings This is what we say that the mechanic does when he hacks and cuts the raw materials to form his vessels Why should we doubt that it was by Po-lâo's dealing with horses that they became wise enough to play the part of thieves (par 3), and that it was by the sages' government of the people that their ability came to be devoted to the pursuit of gain? The error of the sages in this cannot be denied

From beginning to end this Book is occupied with one idea The great point in it grew out of the statement in paragraph 3 of the previous Book, that 'all men are furnished with certain regular principles,' and it is the easiest to construe of all *K*wang-tze's compositions, but

the general style and illustrations are full of sparkling vigour Some have thought that, where the ideas are so few, there is a waste of words about them, and they doubt therefore that the Book was written by some one imitating *K*wang-ze, but I apprehend no other hand could have shown such a mastery of his style

Book XI.

That the world is not well governed is because there are those who try to govern it When they try to govern it, they cannot but be 'doing' (to that end) Unable to keep from this 'doing,' they cause the world to be happy or to be miserable, both of which things the instincts of man's nature refuse to accept Although the arts of governing are many, they only cause and increase disorder Why so? Because they interfere with men's minds

Now when men are made to be miserable or happy, they come to have great joy or great dissatisfaction The condition ministers to the expansive or the opposite element (in nature), and the four seasons, the cold and the heat, all lose their regularity This causes men everywhere in a contentious spirit to indulge their nature to excess, bringing about a change of its attributes, and originating the practice of good and evil All unite in bringing this state about, and in the end all receive its consequences Hence such men as *K*ih the robber, Zăng Shăn, and Shih Zhûi ought not to be found in a well-governed age But those who governed the world went on to distinguish between the good and the bad, and occupied themselves with rewarding and punishing When they wished men to rest in the requirements of their nature, was it not difficult for them to realise the wish?

And how much more was it so when they went on in addition to insist on acute hearing and clear vision, on benevolence, righteousness, ceremonies, music, sageness, and knowledge (par 2)! They did not know that these eight things were certainly of no use to the world, but injurious to it Led astray by them, and not perceiving

this, they continued to practise them, and to do this every day more and more This is what we see indeed in the ordinary men of the world, but not what we should have expected from superior men The Superior man does nothing, and rests in the instincts of his nature He values and loves his own person, which fits him to be entrusted with the charge of the world, and thereupon we see things becoming transformed of themselves Yes, we see indeed that men s minds are not to be interfered with (par 3)

Let me try to attest this from (the example of) the ancient Tîs and Kings These in their interference with the minds of men, began with their inculcation of benevolence and righteousness, proceeded to their distinctions of what was right and wrong, and ended with their punishments and penalties Their government of the world ended with the disordering of it And the result can be seen, the Literati and the Mohists still thinking how they can remedy them

But let us ask who it really was that brought things to this pass The answer is supplied to us in the words of Lâo Tan (see T. T *K*, ch 19), 'Abolish sageness and cast away wisdom, and the world will be brought to a state of good order' But the issue does not commence with the state of the world When Kwang *Khăng-tze* replied to Hwang-Tî's questions, he said (par 4), 'Watch over your body, and increase the vigour of things Maintain the unity, and dwell in the harmony' What he said, about the rain descending before the clouds collected, about the trees shedding their leaves before they were yellow, about the light (of the sun and moon) hastening to extinction, about Hwang-Tî's mind being that of a flatterer of which he would make no account, and about how he should do nothing but rest in the instincts of his nature, and not interfere with the minds of men —all these are expressions bearing on the value and love which should be given to the body And the lesson in his words does not end with the watching over the body

There are the words addressed by Hung Mung to Yun

*K*iang, 'Nourish in your mind a great agreement (with the primal ether) (Things) return to their root, and do not know (that they are doing so) As to what you say, that "the mysterious operations of Heaven are not accomplished, that the birds all sing at night, that vegetation withers under calamity, and that insects are all overtaken by disaster —about all these things there is no occasion for anxiety" While you do nothing, rest in the promptings of your human nature, and do not interfere with the minds of men,—such is the genial influence that attracts and gathers all things round itself (par 2)'

But the Superior man's letting the world have its own course in this generous way,—this is what the ordinary men of the world cannot fathom When such men speak about governing, they examine carefully between others and themselves, and are very earnest to distinguish between differing and agreeing Their only quest is to find how they may overcome others, and the end is that they are always overcome by others They do not know that in order to reduce others to the level of things, there must be those who cannot be reduced by others to that level Those are said to be the sole possessors of the power (par 6)

The teaching of the Great man, however, is not of this nature He responds to others according to their qualities, without any selfish purpose Although he is the sole possessor of the power, that power comes to be nothing in his view Between having and not having there is to him no difference in the use Doing nothing, and yet sometimes obliged to act, he forthwith does so, when he acts, yet no one sees that he has acted, and it is the same as if he did not act So it is according to the Tâo, but therein there are both the Heavenly and the Human elements In accordance with this there are (in actual government) the Lord and the Minister (par 7) When one discerns this, and knows which element is to be preferred, convinced that it is doing nothing which is valuable, what difficulty has he in governing the world?

The thread of connexion running through this Book is 'Doing Nothing' Whether it speaks of the promptings of the nature or of the minds of men, it shows how in regard to both there must be this 'doing nothing' In the end, with much repetition it distinguishes and discusses, showing that what doing there may be in doing nothing need not trouble us, and is not the same as the 'Extinction' of the Buddhists There is not much difference between the teaching of this Book, and what we read in the Confucian Analects, 'He did nothing and yet governed efficiently (Bk XV, ch iv)' This is an instance of the light thrown by our 'old *K*wang' on the *K*ing, and shows how an understanding may take place between him and our Literati

In the style there are so many changes and transformations, so many pauses and rests as in music, conflicting discussions, and subtle disquisitions, the pencil's point now hidden in smoke and now among the clouds, the author's mind teeming with his creations, that no one who has not made himself familiar with a myriad volumes should presume to look and pronounce on this Book

Book XX

The afflictions of men in the world are great, because their attainments in the Tâo and Its Attributes are shallow The Tâo with Its Attributes is the Author of all things To follow It in Its transformings according to the time is not like occupying one's self with the qualities of things, and with the practice and teaching of the human relations, *which only serve to bring on disaster and blame He who* seeks his enjoyment in It however, must begin by emptying himself Hence we have, 'Rip your skin from your body, cleanse your heart, and put away your desires (par 2),' then afterwards 'you can enjoy yourself in the land of *Great Vacuity' In this way one attains to the status represented by coming across 'an empty vessel'* and escapes 'the evils which the close-furred fox and the elegantly-spotted leopard' are preparing for themselves

These are the ideas in the paragraph about Î-liâo of

Shih-nan which may help to illustrate, and receive illustration from, what *K*wang-ze says (par. 1) that 'he would prefer to be in a position between being fit to be useful and wanting that fitness'

In the case of Pei-kung Shê collecting taxes for the making of a peal of bells, we have only the exercise of a small art (par 3) He could, however, put away all thought of self, and act as the time required He was 'as a child who has no knowledge, so slow was he and hesitating in this respect, there escorting those who went, here welcoming those who came But from all this we may know how far he had advanced (in the knowledge of the Tâo)

But on consideration I think it was only Confucius of whom this could be spoken Did not he receive a great share of the world's afflictions (par 4)? When Thâi-kung *Z*ăn spoke to him of 'putting away the ideas of merit and fame, and placing himself on the level of the masses of men,' he forthwith put away the idea of himself and complied with the requirements of the time This was the art by which he enjoyed himself in the Tâo and Its attributes, and escaped the troubles of the world

He could put away the idea of self in responding to the world, but he could not do so in determining his associations In consequence of this, more distant acquaintances did not come to lay further afflictions on him, and his nearer friends perhaps came to cast him off because of those afflictions What was he to do in these circumstances?

If one be able to comply with the requirements of the time in his relations with men, but cannot do so in his relations to Heaven, then in the world he will indeed do nothing to others contrary to what is right, but he will himself receive treatment contrary to it, and what is to be done in such a case? Ze-sang Hû saw the difficulty here and provided for it What he said about 'a union of Heaven's appointment,' and about 'the intercourse of superior men being tasteless as water,' shows how well he knew the old lessons about a connexion growing out

of external circumstances and one founded in inward feeling When one has divested himself of the idea of self, there will not again be such an experience as that of Confucius, when his intimate associates were removed from him more and more, and his followers and friends were more and more dispersed

And Confucius himself spoke of such a case What he said about its being 'easy not to receive (as evils) the inflictions of Heaven,' and 'difficult not to receive as benefits the favours of men (par 7),' shows how truly he perceived the connexion between the Heavenly and the Human (in man's constitution), and between 'the beginning and end' of experiences When one acts entirely according to the requirements of the time, the more he enlarges himself the greater he becomes, and the more he loves himself the more sorrow he incurs If he do not do so, then we have the case of him who in the prospect of gain forgets the true instinct of his preservation, as shown in the strange bird of the park of Tiâo-ling (par 8), and the case of the Beauty of the lodging-house, who by her attempts to show off her superiority made herself contemned How could such parties so represented occupy themselves with the Tâo and Its attributes so as to escape the calamities of life?

This Book sets forth the principles which contribute to the preservation of the body and keeping harm far off, and may supplement what still needed to be said on this subject in Book IV The Tâo and Its attributes occupy the principal place in it, the emptying of Self, and conforming to the time, are things required by them The exquisite reasonings and deep meaning of the Book supply excellent rules for getting through the world Only the sixth paragraph is despicable and unworthy of its place It is evidently a forgery, and I cannot but blame Kwo Ze-hsuan for allowing it to remain as the production of *K*wang-ze

Book XXII

The Tâo made Its appearance before Heaven and Earth. It made things what they are and was Itself no THING,

being what is called their Root and Origin (par 2) If we consider It something existing, It was not such, if we consider It as something non-existing, that does not fully express the idea of it The 'I know it (of Hwang-Tî)' is an addition of 'Knowledge' to the idea of it, and (his) 'I will tell you' is the addition of a description of it (par 1) Therefore he who would embody the Tâo can only employ the names of 'Do Nothing' and 'Returning to the Root,' and then go forward to the region of the Unknown and the Indescribable

Now the Tâo originally was a Unity The collection of the breath, constituting life, and its dispersion, which we call death, proceed naturally The denominations of the former as 'spirit-like and wonderful' and of the latter as 'foetor and putridity' are the work of man But those of 'Non-action' and 'Returning to the Root' are intended to do honour to the Unity Knowledge, Heedless Bluster, and Hwang-Tî, all perceived this, but they also went on to reason about it, showing how not to know is better than to know, and not to talk better than to talk

As it is said in par 2, 'the beautiful operations of Heaven and Earth, and the distinctive constitutions of all things,' from the oldest time to the present day, go on and continue without any difference But who is it that makes them to be what they are? And what expression of doubt or speculation on the point has ever been heard from them? It is plain that the doctrine of the Tâo originated with man

When Phei-î (par 3) told Nieh *Khueh*, 'Keep your body as it should be, look only at the One thing, call in your knowledge, make your measures uniform'—all this was saying to him that we are to do nothing, and turn to (the Tâo as) our Root When he further says to him, 'You should have the simple look of a new-born calf, and not ask about the cause of your being what you are'—this is in effect saying that knowledge is in not knowing, and that speech does not require the use of words

If you suddenly (like Shun in par 4) think that the Tâo

is yours to hold, not only do you not know what the Tâo is, but you do not know yourself How is this? You are but a thing in the Tâo If your life came to you without its being produced by the Tâo, you would yourself be a life-producer But whether one lives to old age or dies prematurely he comes equally to an end Your life properly was not from yourself, nor is your death your own act You did not resist (the coming of your life), you do not keep it (against the coming of death), you are about to return to your original source This simply is what is meant by the Sage's Do nothing, and return to your Root As to 'the bodily frame coming from incorporeity and its returning to the same (par 5),' that certainly is a subject beyond the reach of our seeing and hearing, and how can any one say that the Tâo is his to hold?

What Lâo-tze (says to Confucius in par 5), and what *Khāng* tells Shun (in par 4), have not two meanings, but notwithstanding it should not be said that the Tâo is not to be found anywhere (par 6) Speaking broadly, we may say that its presence is to be seen in an ant, a stalk of panic grass an earthenware tile, and in excrement Seeking for it in what is more delicate and recondite, let us take the ideas of fulness and emptiness, of withering and decay, of beginning and end, of accumulation and dispersion These are all ideas and not the names of things, and (the Tâo) which makes things what they are has not the limit which belongs to things No wonder that Tung-kwo Tze should have been so perplexed as he was!

Those who think that the Tâo has no positive existence (par 7), speak of it as 'The Mysterious and Obscure,' and then it would seem to be equivalent to the name 'Mystery,' which cannot be rightly applied to it And those who think that it has a positive existence speak of it as being considered now noble and now mean, now bound and compressed now dispersed and diffused, and what is One is divided into the noble and the mean, the compressed and the dispersed,—a mode of dealing with it, of which the Tâo will not admit Better is it to say with No-

beginning, 'There should be no asking about the Tâo; any question about it should not be replied to.' The opposite of this would imply a knowledge of what is not known, and the use of words which should not be spoken In accordance with this, when Star-light puts his question to Non-entity, and it is added, 'To conceive the ideas of Existence and Non-existence is not so difficult as to conceive of a Non-existing non-existence,' this is an advance on speaking of (the Tâo) as Non-existent, and when the forger of Swords says to the Minister of War that by long practice he came to the exercise of his art as if he took no thought about it (par 9), this is an advance on speaking of (the Tâo) as existent

The substance of what we know is to this effect — The Tâo was produced before heaven and earth It made things what they are and is not itself a thing It cannot be considered as of ancient origin or of recent, standing as it does in no relation to time It had no beginning and will have no end Life and death, death and life equally proceed from It To speak of It as existing or as non-existing is a one-sided presentation of It Those who have embodied It, amid all external changes, do not change internally They welcome and meet all men and things, and none can do them any injury (par 11) Whatever they do not know and are unequal to, they simply let alone This is the meaning of 'Doing nothing, and turning in everything to the Root' Where the want of knowledge and of language is the most complete, *Zăn Khiû* (par 10) and Yen-ze (par 11) apply to *Kung*-nî for his judgment in the case, and the consideration of it comes to an end

In this Book the mysteries of the Tâo are brought to light, one slight turn of expression after another reveals their successive depths, beyond the reach of Reasoning Lû Fang-hû says, 'Master this Book, and the Mahâyâna of the Tripitaka will open to you at the first application of your knife'—Well does he express himself!

Book XXVI

Those who practise the Tâo know that what is external to themselves cannot be relied on, and that what is internal and belonging to themselves, does not receive any injury (par 1) They are therefore able to enjoy themselves in the world, emptying their minds of all which would interfere with their pursuing their natural course

What men can themselves control are their minds, external things are all subject to the requirements and commands of the world Good and evil cannot be prevented from both coming to men, and loyalty and filial duty may find it hard to obtain their proper recompense From of old it has been so, and the men of the world are often startled to incessant activity with their minds between the thoughts of profit and injury, and are not able to overcome them (par 1) But do they know that among the enemies (of their serenity) there are none greater than the Yin and Yang? The water and fire of men's minds produce irregularity in their action, and then again overcome it, but after the harmony of the mind has been consumed, there remains in them no more trace of the action of the Tâo

On this account, when Kung-ni was obstinately regardless of a myriad generations (in the future), Lâo Lâi-tze still warned him to have done with his self-conceit (par 5) His reason for doing so was that wisdom had its perils, and even spirit-like intelligence does not reach to everything (par 6) It was so with the marvellous tortoise, and not with it only The sage is full of anxiety and indecision (par 5), and thereby is successful in his undertakings, the man of the greatest knowledge puts away (the idea of) skill, and without any effort shows his skill —they can both look on what seems to have no use and pronounce it useful, and allow their nature while it is able to enjoy itself to take its course without being anxious about its issue in advantage or injury (par 1)

And moreover, it is not necessary that they should leave

the world in order to enjoy themselves There are the distinctions of antiquity and the present day indelibly exhibited in the course of time (par 8) The way in which the Perfect man enjoys himself is by his passing through the world of men without leaving any trace of himself His way is free and encounters no obstruction (par 9), his mind has its spontaneous and enjoyable movements, and so his spirit is sure to overcome all external obstructions Very different is this from the way of him who is bent on concealing himself, and on extinguishing all traces of his course (par 8) He will seek his enjoyment in the great forest with its heights and hills and not be able to endure the trouble of desiring fame, having recourse also to violence, laying plans, seeking to discharge the duties of office so as to secure general approval

Thus the Perfect man obtains the harmony of his Heaven (-given nature), and his satisfactions spring up, he knows not how, as when the growing grain in spring has been laid by the rains (par 9) As to the arts of curing illness, giving rest to old age, and restraining hasty measures to remedy the effects of errors, he can put them on one side, and not discuss them, thus playing the part of one who has apprehended the ideas and then forgets the words in which they were conveyed (par 11) Let him who occupies himself with the Tâo beware of 'seeking the fish-baskets and hare-snares,' and falling into such mistakes as are instanced in the cases of emaciation to death, or suicide by drowning

This Book points out the true form of substances, and gave rise to the talk in subsequent ages about the Khân and Lî hexagrams, and about the lead and quicksilver Nearly the whole of it has been called in question, and the second, third, and fourth paragraphs are so marked by the shallowness of their style, and the eccentricity of their sentiments, that it may be doubted if they are genuine I suspect they were written and introduced by some imitator of Kwang-ze, and therefore call attention to them and cast them out of my analysis

Book XXXII

Lin Hsî-*k*ung omits Books XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, and XXXI from his edition of *K*wang-tze's Writings Our Book XXXII, the Lieh Yu-khâu, is with him Book XXVIII He explains and comments on its various paragraphs as he does in the case of all the previous Books Instead of subjoining an Analysis and Summary of the Contents in his usual way, he contents himself with the following note —

In the Notice given by Sû Ze-*k*an[1] of the Sacrificial Hall to *K*wang-tze, he says that after reading the last paragraph of Book XXVII (the Yu Yen, or 'Metaphorical Words'), about Yang Ze-*k*u, and how (when he left the inn) the other visitors would have striven with him about the places for their mats, he forthwith discarded the four Books that followed,—the *Z*ang Wang, the Tâo *K*ih, the Yueh *K*ien, and the Yu-fû, making the Lieh Yu-khâu immediately follow that paragraph Having done so, he fully saw the wisdom of what he had done, and said with a laugh, 'Yes, they do indeed belong to one chapter!'

So did the old scholar see what other eyes for a thousand years had failed to see No subsequent editor and commentator, however, ventured to take it on him to change the order of the several Books which had been established, following therein the Critical Canon laid down by Confucius about putting aside subjects concerning which doubts are entertained[2], but we ought not to pass the question by without remark

The subject of the last paragraph of the Lieh Yu-khâu is *K*wang-tze, 'when he was about to die' It clearly

[1] Sû Shih (蘇軾), styled Ze-*k*an (子瞻) and also, and more frequently, Tung-pho (東坡), one of the most celebrated statesmen and scholars of the eleventh century (1036–1101) The notice of the Sacrificial Hall of *K*wang-tze was written in 1078 See Appendix viii

[2] See the Confucian Analects II, xviii —'Learn much and put aside the points of which you stand in doubt, while you speak cautiously at the same time of the others'

intimates how he, the man of *Khî*-yuan, from that time ceased to use his pencil, just as the appearance of the Lin (in the Zo-*k*wan) did in the case of Confucius Not a single character therefore should appear as from him after this We have no occasion therefore to enter into any argument about the Thien Hsiâ (Book XXXIII) We may be sure that it was made, not by *K*wang-tze, but by some editor of his writings Later writers, indeed, contend vehemently for *K*wang-tze's own authorship of it We can only say, Great is the difficulty in treating of the different views of Scholars [1]

[1] The arguments both of Sû Shih and Lin Hsî-*k*ung as set forth in this note are far from conclusive

APPENDIX VI

List of Narratives, Apologues, and Stories of various kinds in the Writings of *K*wang-ʒze

Book I

Paragraph 1 The enjoyment of the Tâo by such vast creatures as the Khwăn and the Phăng

2 The enjoyment and foolish judgments of smaller creatures Big trees and Phăng ʒû

3 Questions put by Thang to *K*î The Tâo in different men —Yung-ʒze, Lieh-ʒze, and an ideal Tâoist The Perfect man, the Spirit-like man, and the Sagely-minded man

4 Yâo wishing to resign the throne to Hsu Yû

5 *K*ien Wû and Lien Shû on the ideal Tâoist

6 A cap-seller of Sung Yâo after visiting the four Perfect ones

7 Hui-ʒze and *K*wang-ʒze —the great calabashes, the hand-protecting salve, and the great Ailantus tree

Book II

Par 1 Nan-kwo ʒze-*khî* in a trance, and his disciple The notes of heaven, earth, and man

4 'In the morning three'—the monkeys and their acorns

7 Yâo and Shun,—on the wish of the former to smite some small states

9 Lî *K*î before and after her marriage

10 The penumbra and the shadow *K*wang ʒze's dream that he was a butterfly

BOOK III.

Par 2 King Wăn-hui and his cook,—how the latter cut up his oxen

3 Kung-wăn Hsien and the Master of the Left who had only one foot

4 The death of Lâo-tze, and adverse judgment on his life

BOOK IV

Pars 1, 2 Yen Hui and Confucius,—on the proposal of the former to go and convert the ruler of Wei

3, 4 Tze-kâo and Confucius,—on the mission of the former from *Kh*û to *Kh*î

5 Yen Ho and *K*u Po-yu,—on the former's undertaking to be tutor to the wayward son of duke Ling of Wei

6 The master-mechanic and the great tree,—so large and old through its uselessness

7 Nan-po Tze-*kh*î and the great tree, preserved by its uselessness Trees of Sung cut down because of their good timber Peculiarities exempting from death as sacrificial victims

8 The deformed object Shû and his worth

9 Rencontre between Confucius and the madman of *Kh*û

BOOK V

Par 1 Confucius explains the influence of the cripple Wang Thâi over the people of Lû

2 The fellow-students Tze-*kh*ân and the cripple Shăn-thû *K*iâ

3 Confucius and Toeless of Shû-shan Judgment of Toeless and Lâo-tze on Confucius

4 Duke Âi of Lû and Confucius,—on the ugly but most able and fascinating man, Âi-thâi Tho Admiration for Confucius of duke Âi

5 The deformed favourites of duke Ling of Wei and duke Hwan of *Kh*î Argument between *K*wang-tze and Hui-tze, growing out of the former's account of them

BOOK VI.

Par 8 Nan-po Ʒze-khwei and the long-lived Nu Yu How Pû-liang Î learned the Tâo

9 Four Tâoists, and the submission of Ʒze-yu, one of them, a poor deformed hunchback, to his lot, when he was very ill

10 The submission of Ʒze-lâi, another of the four, as his life was ebbing away

11 Three Tâoists, and the ways of two of them on the death of the third Conversation on the subject between Confucius and Ʒze-kung

12 Confucius and Yen Hui on the mourning of Măng-sun Ʒhâi

13 Î-r Ʒze and Hsu Yû How the Tâo will remove the injuries of error, and regenerate the mind

14 Confucius and Yen Hui The growth of the latter in Tâoism

15 Ʒze-yu and Ʒze-sang The penury of the latter and submission to his fate

BOOK VII

Par 1 Nieh *K'h*ueh, Wang Î, and Phû-i-ʒze That Shun was inferior in his Tâoistic attainments to the more ancient sovereign, Thâi

2 *K*ien Wû and the recluse *K'h*ieh-yu ,—on the ideal of government

3 Thien Kán and a nameless man ,—that non-action is the way to govern the world

4 Yang Ʒze-*k*u and Lâo Tan on the nameless government of the Intelligent Kings

5 Lieh-ʒze and his master Hû-ʒze How the latter defeated the wizard of *K*ăng

6 The end of Chaos, wrought by the gods of the southern and northern seas

BOOK VIII.

Par 4 How two shepherd slaves lose their sheep in

different ways The corresponding cases of the righteous Po-î and the robber *K*ih

BOOK X

Par. 1 Murder of the ruler of *Kh*î by Thien *Kh*ăng-ʒze, and his usurpation of the State

2 How the best and ablest of men, such as Lung-fāng, Pî-kan, *Kh*ang Hung, and ʒze-hsu, may come to a disastrous end, and only seem to have served the purposes of such men as the robber *K*ih

3 Evils resulting from such able men as ʒăng Shăn, Shih *Kh*iû, Yang *K*û, Mo Tî, Shih Khwang, *Kh*ui, and Lî *K*û

4 Character of the age of Perfect Virtue, and sovereigns who flourished in it in contrast with the time of *K*wang-ʒze

BOOK XI

Par 3 ʒhui *Kh*u and Lâo-ʒze The latter denounces the meddling with the mind which began with Hwang-Tî, and the spread of knowledge, as productive of all evil

4 Hwang-Tî and Kwang *Kh*ăng-ʒze, his master, who discourses on the mystery of the Tâo, and how it promotes long life

5 Yun *K*iang and Hung Mung, or the Leader of the Clouds and the Great Ether,—the wish of the former to nourish all things and how they would be transformed by his doing nothing

BOOK XII

Par 4 The loss and recovery by Yâo of his dark-coloured Pearl,—the Tâo

5 Hsu Yû's reply to Yâo on the character of Nieh *Kh*ueh and his unfitness to take the place of Sovereign

6 Yâo rejects the good wishes for him of the Border-warden of Hwā

7 Yu and Po-*kh*ăng ʒze-kâo The latter vindicates his resignation of dignity and taking to farming

9 Confucius and Lâo-ʒze,—on the attitude to the Tâo of a great sage and ruler

10 *K*iang-lu Mien and *K*î *Kh*êh ,—on the counsel which the former had given to the ruler of Lû

11 Ʒze-kung and the old gardener ,—argument of the latter in favour of the primitive simplicity, and remarks thereon by Confucius

12 *K*un Mâng and Yuan Fung ,—on the government of the sage, of the virtuous and kindly man, and of the spirit-like man

13 Măn Wû-kwei and *Kh*ih-*k*ang Man-*kh*î ,—that there had been confusion and disorder before the time of Shun, and the character of the age of Perfect Virtue

Book XIII

Par. 6 Yâo and Shun ,—on the former's method of government

7 Confucius, wishing to deposit some writings in the royal Library, is repulsed by Lâo-ʒze Argument between them on Benevolence and Righteousness in relation to the nature of man

8 Shih-*kh*ăng *K*hî and Lâo-ʒze ,—the strange conferences between them, and the charges brought by the one against the other

10 Duke Hwan and the wheelwright Phien ,—that the knack of an art cannot be conveyed to another, and the spirit of thought cannot be fully expressed in writing

Book XIV

Par 2 Tang, a minister of Shang, and *K*wang-ʒze on the nature of Benevolence

3 Pei-măn *Kh*ăng and Hwang-Tî ,—a description of Hwang-Tî's music, the Hsien-*kh*ih

4 Yen Yuan and *K*in, the music-master of Lû, on the course of Confucius ,—the opinion of the latter that it had been unsuccessful and was verging to entire failure

5 Confucius and Lâo-ʒze The former has not yet got the Tâo, and Lâo-ʒze explains the reason

6 Confucius and Lâo-ʒze Confucius talks of Benevolence

and Righteousness, and how the tables are turned on him He is deeply impressed by the other

7. Sze-kung, in consequence of the Master's report of his interview, goes also to see Lâo-tze, and is nonplussed and lectured by him

8 Confucius sees Lâo-tze again, and tells him how he has profited from his instructions The other expresses his satisfaction with him

Book XVI

Par. 2 The state of Perfect Unity, and its gradual Decay.

Book XVII

Pars 1–7 The Spirit-earl of the Ho and *Zo* of the Northern Sea,—on various metaphysical questions growing out of the doctrine of the Tâo

8 The khwei, the millipede, the serpent, the wind, the eye, and the mind,—how they had their several powers, but did not know how

9 Confucius in peril in Khwang is yet serene and hopeful

10 Kung-sun Lung and Mâu of Wei The Frog of the dilapidated well, and the Turtle of the Eastern Sea The greatness of *K*wang-tze's teachings

11 *K*wang-tze refuses the invitation of the king of *Khû* to take office The wonderful tortoise-shell of the king

12 Hui-tze and *K*wang-tze The young phoenix and the owl

13 Hui-tze and *K*wang-tze,—how *K*wang-tze understood the enjoyment of fishes

Book XVIII

Par 2 Hui-tze and *K*wang-tze,—vindication by the latter of his behaviour on the death of his wife

3 Mr Deformed and Mr One-foot,—their submission under pain and in prospect of death

4 *K*wang-tze and the skull,—what he said to it, and its appearance to him at night in a dream

5 The sadness of Confucius on the departure of Yen Hui for *Khî*, and his defence of it to Ze-kung The appearance of a strange bird in Lû, and his moralizings on it

6 Lieh-ze and the skull The transmutations of things

Book XIX

Par 2 Lieh-ze and Kwan Yin,—on the capabilities of the Perfect man

3 Confucius and the hunchback, who was skilful at catching cicadas with his rod

4 The boatman on the gulf of *Khang*-shăn, and his skill

5 Thien Khâi-*kih* and duke Wei of *Khâu*,—on the best way to nourish the higher life How it was illustrated by Thien's master, and how enforced by Confucius

6 The officer of sacrifice and his pigs to be sacrificed

7 Duke Hwan gets ill from seeing a ghostly sprite, and how he was cured

8 The training of a fighting-cock

9 Confucius and the swimmer in the gorge of Lu

10 *Khing* the worker in rottlera wood, and the bell-frame,—how he succeeded in making it as he did

11 Tung-ye *Ki* and his chariot-driving,—how his horses broke down

12 The skill of the artisan Shui

14 The weakling Sun Hsin and the Master Ze-pien *Khing*-ze, with his disciples

Book XX

Par 1 *Khwang*-ze and his disciples,—the great tree that was of no use, and the goose that could not cackle

2 Î-hao of Shih-nan and the marquis of Lû,—how the former presses it on the marquis to go to an Utopia of Tâoism in the south, to escape from his trouble and sorrow

3 Pei-kung She and prince *Khing*-*kî*,—how the former collected taxes and made a peal of bells

4 How the Thâi-kung *Zân* condoled with Confucius on his distresses, and tried to convert him to Tâoism

5 Confucius and Zze-sang Hû The Tâoistic effect of their conversation on the former The dying charge of Shun to Yu.

6 *K*wang-zze in rags before the king of Wei The apologue of the climbing monkey

7 Confucius and Yen Hui,—on occasion of the perilous situation between *Kh*ăn and Zhâi Confucius expounds the principles that supported him

8 *K*wang-zze's experiences in the park of Tiâo-ling,—has the character of an apologue

9 The Innkeeper's two concubines,—the beauty disliked and the ugly one honoured

Book XXI

Par 1 Thien Zze-fang and the marquis Wăn of Wei

2 Wăn-po Hsueh-zze and the scholars of the Middle States

3 Confucius and Yen Hui,—on the incomprehensibleness to the latter of the Master's course

4 Conversation between Confucius and Lâo-zze on the beginning of things

5 *K*wang-zze and duke Âi of Lû —on the dress of the scholar

6 Pâi-lî Hsî

7 The duke of Sung and his map-drawers

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5 Debate between *K*wang-ʒze and Hui-ʒze, illustrating the sophistry of the latter

6 The artisan Shih cleans the nose of a statue with the wind of his axe, but declines to try his ability on a living subject

7 Advice of Kwan *K*ung on his death-bed to duke Hwan of *Kh*i about his choice of a successor to himself

8 The king of Wû and the crafty monkey His lesson from its death to Yen Pu-i

9 Nan-po Ʒze-*kh*i and his attendant Yen *Kh*ăng-ʒze

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10 Confucius at the court of *Khû* along with Sun Shû-âo and Î-liâo

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4 King Yung of Wei and his counsellors —on his desire and schemes to be revenged on Thien Mâu of *Khî* Tâi Ȝin-*z*ăn and his apologue about the horns of a snail

5 Confucius and the Recluse at Ant-hill in *Khû*

6 The Border-warden of *Kh*ang-wu's lessons to Ȝze-lâo *K*wang-ȝze's enforcement of them

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9 Confucius and the historiographers, — about the honorary title of duke Ling of Wei

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Par 2 Against delaying to do good when it is in one's power to do it The apologue of *K*wang-ȝze meeting with a goby on the road

3 The big fish caught by the son of the duke of *Z*ăn

4 The Resurrectionist Students

5 How Lâo Lâi-ʒze admonished Confucius

6 The dream of the ruler Yuan of Sung about a tortoise

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Par 2 *K*wang-ʒze and Hui-ʒze on Confucius,—did he change his views in his sixtieth year?

3 Confucius and his other disciples —on Ʒăng-ʒze and his twice taking office with different moods of mind

4 Yen *K*hăng Ʒze-yû tells his Master Tung-kwo Ʒze-*kh*î of his gradual attainments

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Par 1 Yâo's proffers of the throne to Hsu Yû and Ʒze-*k*âu *K*ih-fû Shun's proffers of it to Ʒze-*k*âu *K*ih-po, to Shan *K*uan, and to the farmer of Shih-hû Thâi-wang Than-fû and the northern tribes Prince Sâu of Yueh

2 Counsel of Ʒze-hwâ Ʒze to the marquis *K*âo of Han

3 The ruler of Lû and the Tâoist Yen Ho, who hides himself from the advances of the other

4 Lieh-ʒze and his wife, on his declining a gift from the ruler of *K*ăng

5 The high-minded and resolute sheep-butcher Yueh, and king *K*ao of *K*hû

6 The poor Yuan Hsien and the wealthy Ʒze-kung Ʒăng-ʒze, in extreme poverty, maintaining his high and independent spirit The satisfaction of Confucius in Yen Hui refusing, though poor, to take any official post

7 Prince Mâu of *K*ung-shan, living in retirement, was not far from the Tâo

8 Confucius and the disciples Yen Hui, Ʒze-lû, and Ʒze-kung, during the perilous time between *K*hăn and Ʒhâi

9 Shun and the northerner Wû-*k*âi who refuses the throne Thang, and Pien Sui and Wû Kwang, who both refused it.

10 The case of the brothers Po-î and Shû-*k*hî, who refused the proffers of king Wû

Book XXIX

Par 1 The visit of Confucius to the robber *K*ih, and interview between them

2 Ze-*k*ang and Mân Kâu-teh (Mr Full of Gain-recklessly-got) on the pursuit of wealth

3 Mi Dissatisfied and Mr Know-the-Mean, — on the pursuit and effect of riches

Book XXX

How *K*wang-ze dealt with the king of *K*âo and his swordsmen, curing the king of his love of the sword-fight The three Swords

Book XXXI

Confucius and the Old Fisherman,—including the story of the man who tried to run away from his shadow

Book XXXII

Par 1 Lieh-ze and the effect of his over-manifestation of his attractive qualities Failure of the warnings of his master

2 The sad fate of Hwan of *K*ăng, a Confucianist, who resented his father's taking part with his Mohist brother

5 *K*û Phing-man and his slaughtering the dragon

8 *K*wang-ze's rebuke of Zhâo Shang for pandering to the king of Sung, and thereby getting gifts from him

9 Description to duke Âi of Lû of Confucius by Yen Ho as unfit to be entrusted with the government

11 Khâo-fû the Correct, and his humility

12 *K*wang-ze's rebuke of the man who boasted of having received chariots from the king of Sung, and comparison of him to the boy who stole a pearl from under the chin of the Black Dragon when he was asleep

13 *K*wang-tze declines the offer of official dignity The apologue of the sacrificial ox

14 *K*wang-tze, about to die, opposes the wish of his disciples to give him a grand burial His own description of what his burial should be

BOOK XXXIII

Par 1 The method of the Tâo down to the time of Confucius

2 The method of Mo Tî and his immediate followers.

3, 4 The method of Mo's later followers

5 The method of Kwan Yin and Lâo-tze

6 The method of *K*wang-tze

7 The ways of Hui Shih, Kung-sun Lung, and other sophists

APPENDIX VII

I

THE STONE TABLET IN THE TEMPLE OF LÂO-TZE BY HSIEH TÂO HÄNG OF THE SUI DYNASTY[1]

1 After the Thâi Kî (or Primal Ether) commenced its action, the earliest period of time began to be unfolded

[1] Hsieh Tao hang 薛道衡, called also Hsüan Ching (玄卿) was one of the most famous scholars and able ministers of the Sui dynasty (581 618), and also an eloquent writer His biography is given at considerable length in the fifty seventh chapter of the Books of Sui

For about 200 years after the end of the Jin dynasty the empire had been in a very divided and distracted state The period is known as the epoch of 'The Southern and Northern Dynasties' no fewer than nine or ten of which co existed, none of them able to assert a universal sway till the rise of Sui The most powerful of them towards the end of the time was 'The Northern Kiu,' in connexion with the Wu Zhang (武成) reign of which (558 561) the name of our Hsieh first appears In the Wu phing (武平) reign of 'The Northern Khî (570 576) we find him member of a committee for revising the rules of 'The Five Classes of Ceremonial Observances' and gaining distinction as a poet

When the emperor Wan (文帝), by name Yang Kien (楊監), a scion of the ruling House of Sui, a small principality in the present Hu pei and founder of the dynasty so called, had succeeded in putting down the various conflicting dynasties and claimed the sovereignty of the empire in 581, Hsieh freely yielded his allegiance to him and was employed in the conduct of various affairs The important paper of the translation of the greater part of which a translation is here attempted was the outcome of one of them Wän Ti regularly observed the Confucian worship of God but also kept up the ceremonies of Buddhism and Taoism Having repaired the dilapidated temple of Lâo tze at his birth-place, he required from Hsieh an inscription for the commemorative tablet in it, the composition of which is referred to the year 586 'the sixth year of Sui's rule over all beneath the sky

Hsieh appears to have been a favourite with the emperor Wan but when Wan was succeeded in 605 by his son, known as Yang Ti (煬帝) his relations with

The curtain of the sky was displayed, and the sun and moon were suspended in it, the four-cornered earth was established, and the mountains and streams found their places in it. Then the subtle influences (of the Ether) operated like the heaving of the breath, now subsiding and again expanding, the work of production went on in its seasons above and below, all things were formed as from materials, and were matured and maintained. There were the (multitudes of the) people, there were their rulers and superiors.

2. As to the august sovereigns of the highest antiquity, living as in nests on trees in summer, and in caves in winter, silently and spirit-like they exercised their wisdom. Dwelling like quails, and drinking (the rain and dew) like newly-hatched birds, they had their great ceremonies like the great terms of heaven and earth, not requiring to be regulated by the dishes and stands, and (also) their great music corresponding to the common harmonies of heaven and earth, not needing the guidance of bells and drums.

3. By and by there came the loss of the Tâo, when its Characteristics took its place. They in their turn were lost, and then came Benevolence. Under the Sovereigns and Kings that followed, now more slowly and anon more rapidly, the manners of the people, from being good and simple, became bad and mean. Thereupon came the Literati and the Mohists with their confused contentions, names and

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the throne became less happy. Offended by a memorial which Hsieh presented, and the ground of offence in which we entirely fail to perceive, the emperor ordered him to put an end to himself. Hsieh was surprised by the sentence, and hesitated to comply with it, on which an executioner was sent to strangle him. Thus ended the life of Hsieh Tao-hung in his seventieth year. His death was regretted and resented, we are told, by the people generally. A collection of his writings was made in seventy chapters, and was widely read. I do not know to what extent these have been preserved; if many of them have been lost, and the paper here in part submitted to the reader, were a fair specimen of the others, the loss must be pronounced to be great. Of this paper I have had two copies before me in translating it. One of them is in Jiâo Hung's 'Wings to Lao-tze,' the other is in 'The Complete Works of the Ten Philosophers.' Errors of the Text occur now in the one copy, now in the other. From the two combined a Text, which must be exactly correct or nearly so, is made out.

rules were everywhere diffused. The 300 rules[1] of ceremony could not control men's natures, the 3000 rules[1] of punishment were not sufficient to put a stop to their treacherous villanies But he who knows how to cleanse the current of a stream begins by clearing out its source, and he who would straighten the end of a process must commence with making its beginning correct Is not the Great Tâo the Grand Source and the Grand Origin of all things?

4 The Master Lâo was conceived under the influence of a star Whence he received the breath (of life) we cannot fathom, but he pointed to the (plum-) tree (under which he was born), and adopted it as his surname[2], we do not understand[2] whence came the musical sounds (that were heard), but he kept his marvellous powers concealed in the womb for more than seventy years When he was born, the hair on his head was already white, and he took the designation of 'The Old Boy' (or Lâo-tze) In his person, three gateways and two (bony) pillars formed the distinctive marks of his ears and eyes, two of the symbols for five, and ten brilliant marks were left by the wonderful tread of his feet and the grasp of his hands From the time of Fû-hsî down to that of the *K*âu dynasty, in uninterrupted succession, dynasty after dynasty, his person appeared, but with changed names In the times of kings Wăn and Wû he discharged the duties, (first), of Curator of the Royal Library[3], and (next) of the Recorder under the Pillar Later on in that dynasty he filled different offices, but did

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[1] Compare vol xxviii, p 323, par 38

[2] Lî (李), a plum-tree For this and many of the other prodigies mentioned by Hsieh, see what Julien calls 'The Fabulous Legend of Lâo-tze,' and has translated in the Introduction to his version of the Tâo Teh *K*ing Others of them are found in the Historical, or rather Legendary, Introduction in the 'Collection of Tâoist Treatises,' edited by Lû Yu in 1877

[3] The meaning of the former of these offices may be considered as settled,—see the note in Wang *K*ăn-*k*âi's edition of the 'Historical Records (1870),' under the Biography of Lâo tze The nature of the second office is not so clearly ascertained It was, I apprehend, more of a literary character than the curatorship

not change his appearance As soon as Hsuan Nî[1] saw him, he sighed over him as 'the Dragon,' whose powers are difficult to be known[2] Yin (Hsî), keeper of the (frontier) gate, keeping his eyes directed to every quarter, recognised 'the True Man' as he was hastening into retirement (By Yin Hsî he was prevailed on) to put forth his extraordinary ability, and write his Book in two Parts[3],—to lead the nature (of man) back to the Tâo, and celebrating the usefulness of 'doing nothing' The style of it is very condensed, and its reasoning deep and far-reaching The hexagram which is made up of the 'dragons on the wing[4]' is not to be compared with it in exquisite subtlety (The Jo Kwan) which ends with the capture of the Lin, does not match it in its brightness and obscurity If employed to regulate the person, the spirit becomes clear and the will is still If employed to govern the state, the people return to simplicity, and become sincere and good When one goes on to refine his body in accordance with it, the traces of material things are rolled away from it, in rainbow-hued robes and mounted on a stork he goes forwards and backwards to the purple palace, on its juice of gold and wine of jade he feasts in the beautiful and pure capital He is lustrous as the sun and moon, his ending and beginning are those of heaven and earth He who crosses its stream, drives away the dust and noise of the world, he who finds its gate, mounts prancing up on the misty clouds It is not for the ephemeral fly to know the fading and luxuriance of the Tâ-khun[6], or for a Fâng-î[7] to fathom the depth of an Arm of the sea Vast indeed (is the Tâo)! words are not sufficient to describe its excellence and powers!

5 Kwang Kâu tells us, that, 'when Lâo Tan died,

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[1] Confucius, who was styled after the beginning of our era for several centuries 'Duke Nî, the Illustrious'

[2] See vol xxxix, pp 34, 35 [3] See vol xxxix, p 35

[4] The Khien or first of all the hexagrams of the Yî King, but the sentence is to be understood of all the hexagrams —or the Yî as a whole

[5] Compare Pope's line, 'The juice nectareous, and the balmy dew'

[6] Vol xxxix, p 166 [7] Vol xxxix, p 244

Khin Shih went to condole (with his son), but after crying out three times, immediately left the house[1].' This was what is called the punishment for his neglecting his Heaven (-implanted nature), and although it appears as one of the metaphorical illustrations of the supercilious officer, yet there is some little indication in the passage of the reappearance of the snake after casting its exuviae[2].

[At this point the author leaves the subject of the Tâo and its prophet, and enters on a long panegyric of the founder of the Sui dynasty and his achievements This sovereign was the emperor Wăn (文帝), the founder of Sui (隋高祖), originally Yang *Kien*, a scion of the House of Sui, a principality whose name remains in Sui-*kâu* of the department Teh-an in Hû Pei He was certainly the ablest man in the China of his day, and deserves a portion of the praise with which Mr Hsieh celebrates him after his extravagant fashion He claimed the throne from the year 581 While doing honour to Confucianism, he did not neglect the other two religions in the empire, Tâoism and Buddhism, and having caused the old temple of Lâo-ŧze to be repaired in grand style in 586, he commissioned Hsieh Tâo-hăng to superintend the setting up in it a commemorative Tablet of stone

I pass over all this, which is related at great length, and proceed to give the inscription It occupies no fewer than 352 characters in 88 lines, each consisting of four characters The lines are arranged in what we may call eleven stanzas of equal length, the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth lines of each rhyming together There is a good deal of art in the metrical composition In the first six stanzas the rhyming finals are in the even tone and one of the deflected tones alternately In the last five stanzas this arrangement is reversed The rhymes in 7, 9, and 11 are deflected, and in 8 and 10 even The measure of four characters is the most common in the Shih *King* or Ancient Book of Poetry

[1] Vol xxxix, p 201

[2] Referring, I suppose, to the illustration of the fire and the faggots

It continued to be a favourite down to the Thang dynasty, after which it fell very much into disuse Through the many assonances of the Chinese characters, and the attention paid to the tones, we have in Chinese composition much of the art of rhyming, but comparatively little of the genius of poetry]

II

THE INSCRIPTION

St 1 Back in the depths of ancient time,
Remote, before the Tîs began,
Four equal sides defined the earth,
And pillars eight the heaven sustained
All living things in classes came,
The valleys wide, and mighty streams
The Perfect Tâo, with movement wise,
Unseen, Its work did naturally

St 2 Its power the elements[1] all felt,
The incipient germs of things[2] appeared
Shepherd and Lord established were,
And in their hands the ivory bonds[3]
The Tîs must blush before the Hwangs[4],
The Wangs must blush before the Tîs[4]
More distant grew Tâo's highest gifts,
And simple ways more rare became

St 3 The still placidity was gone,
And all the old harmonious ways
Men talents prized, and varnished wit,
The laws displayed proved but a net

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[1] 'The five essences,' meaning, I think, the subtle power and operation of the five elements

[2] So William, under Wei (微) See also the Khang-hsî Thesaurus under the phrase 三微

[3] 'Bonds' with written characters on them superseded the 'knotted cords' of the primitive age That the material of the bonds should be, as here represented slips of ivory, would seem to anticipate the progress of society

[4] The Hwangs (皇) preceded the Tîs in the Tâoistic genesis of history, and as being more simple were Taoistically superior to them, so it was with the Tîs and the Wangs or Kings

Wine-cups and stands the board adorned,
And shields and spears the country filled
The close-meshed nets the fishes scared
And numerous bows the birds alarmed

St 4 Then did the True Man[1] get his birth,
As 'neath the Bear the star shone down[2]
All dragon gifts his person graced,
Like the stork's plumage was his hair
The complicated he resolved[3], the sharp made blunt[3],
The mean rejected, and the generous chose,
In brightness like the sun and moon,
And lasting as the heaven and earth[3]

St 5 Small to him seemed the mountains five[4],
And narrow seemed the regions nine[4],
About he went with lofty tread,
And in short time he rambled far
In carriage by black oxen drawn[5],
Around the purple air was bright
Grottoes then oped to him their sombre gates,
And thence, unseen, his spirit power flowed forth

St 6. The village near the stream of Ko[6]
Traces of him will still retain[6],
But now, as in the days of old,
With changed times the world is changed

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[1] This of course was Lao-tsze

[2] See above, p 313, par 4

[3] In the Tao Teh King, p 50, par 2, and p 52, par 1 The reading of line 7 is different in my two authorities — in the one 日角月角, in the other 乃前月角 I suppose the correct reading should be— 日前月角, and have given what I think is the meaning

[4] Two well known numerical categories See Mayers's Manual, pp 320, 321, and p 340

[5] So it was, according to the story, that Lâo tsze drew near to the barrier gate, when he wished to leave China

[6] The Ko is a river flowing from Ho nan into An hui, and falling into the Hwâi, not far from the district city of Hwâi yuan It enters the one province from the other in the small department of Po (亳州), in which, according to a Chinese map in my possession, Lâo tsze was born The Khang-hsî Thesaurus also gives a passage to the effect that the temple of his mother was hereabouts, at a bend in the Ko

His stately temple fell to ruin,
His altar empty was and still,
By the nine wells dryandras grew[1],
And the twin tablets were but heaps of stone

St 7. But when our emperor was called to rule,
All spirit-like and sage was he
Earth's bells reverberated loud,
And light fell on the heavenly mirror down
The universe in brightness shone,
And portents all were swept away,
(All souls), or bright or dark[2], revered,
And spirits came to take from him their law

St 8 From desert sands[3] and where the great trees grow[3],
From phoenix caves, and from the dragon woods,
All different creatures came sincere,
Men of all regions gave their hearts to him
Their largest vessels brought their gifts,
And kings their rarest things described,
Black clouds a thousand notes sent forth,
And in the fragrant winds were citherns heard[4]

St 9 Through his transforming power, the tripods were made sure,
And families became polite and courteous

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[1] The nine wells or bubbling springs, near the village where Lâo was born, are mentioned by various writers, but I fail to see how the growth of the trees about them indicated the ruin of his temple

[2] I have introduced the 'all souls' in this line, because of the 鬼 in the second character Williams defines the first character, yao (曜), as 'the effulgence of the sun, and of 'heavenly bodies generally,' the second (魄) is well known as meaning 'the animal soul,' and 'the dark disk of the moon' The Thesaurus, however, explains the two characters together as a name for the pole star (北辰, see Analects I, 1), and perhaps I had better have followed this meaning

[3] The 'desert sands' were, no doubt, what we call 'the desert of Gobi' The trees referred to were 'in the extreme East' The combination phan-mû is not described more particularly

[4] This and the three preceding lines are not a little dark

Ever kept he in mind (the sage) beneath the Pillar[1],
Still emulous of the sovereigns most ancient[2]
So has he built this pure temple,
And planned its stately structure,
Pleasant, with hills and meadows around,
And lofty pavilion with its distant prospect

St 10 Its beams are of plum-tree, its ridge-pole of cassia,
A balustrade winds round it, many are its pillars,
About them spreads and rolls the fragrant smoke[3],
Cool and pure are the breezes and mists
The Immortal officers come to their places[4],
The Plumaged guests are found in its court[4],
Numerous and at their ease,
They send down blessing, bright and efficacious

St 11 Most spirit-like, unfathomable,
(Tâo's) principles abide, with their symbolism attached[5]
Loud is Its note, but never sound emits[6],
Yet always it awakes the highest echoes
From far and near men praise It,
In the shades, and in the realms of light, they look up for Its aid,
Reverently have we graven and gilt this stone
And made our lasting proclamation thereby to heaven and earth

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[1] 'The (sage) beneath the Pillar' must be Lâo-tze. See above in the Introductory notice, p. 313.

[2] See the note on the meaning of the expression 太上, vol. xxxix, p. 40.

[3] 'The smoke,' I suppose, 'of the incense, and from the offerings.'

[4] Tâoist monks are called 'Plumaged or Feathered Scholars (羽士),' from the idea that by their discipline and pills, they can emancipate themselves from the trammels of the material body, and ascend (fly up) to heaven. Arrived there, as Immortals or Hsien (仙), it further appears they were constituted into a hierarchy or society, of which some of them were 'officers,' higher in rank than others.

[5] An allusion to the text of the hexagrams of the Yî *K*ing, where the explanations of them by king Wân,—his thwan, are followed by the symbolism of their different lines by the duke of *K*âu,—his hsiang.

[6] See the Tâo Teh *K*ing, ch. xli, par. 2.

APPENDIX VIII

RECORD FOR THE SACRIFICIAL HALL OF *K*WANG-ʒZE BY SÛ SHIH[1]

1 *K*wang-ʒze was a native (of the territory) of Măng and an officer in (the city of) *Kh*î-yuan He had been dead for more than a thousand years, and no one had up to this time sacrificed to him in Măng. It was Wang *K*ing, the assistant Secretary of the Prefect, who superintended the erection of a Sacrificial Hall (to *K*wang-ʒze), and (when the building was finished) he applied to me for

[1] The elder of two brothers, both famous as scholars poets, and administrators in the history of their country, and sons of a father hardly less distinguished The father A D 1009–1066) was named Su Hsun (蘇洵), with the designation of Ming yun (明允), and the two names of locality, Lao *kh*wan (老泉) and Mei shân (眉山) Of the two brothers the elder (1036–1101), author of the notice here adduced, was the more celebrated His name was Shih (軾) and his designation ʒze *k*ân (子瞻), but he is more frequently styled Tung pho (東坡) from the situation of a house which he occupied at one time His life was marked by several vicissitudes of the imperial favour which was shown to him and of the disgrace to which he was repeatedly subjected He was versed in all Chinese literature, but the sincerity of his Confucianism has not been called in question His brother (1039-1112), by name *K*eh (轍), by designation ʒze yû (子由), and by locality Ying pin (潁濱), has left us a commentary on the Tâo Teh *K*ing nearly the whole of which is given by ʒiâo Hung, under the several chapters It seems to have been *K*eh's object to find a substantial unity under the different forms of Confucian Buddhistic, and Tâoist thought

The short essay for it is more an essay than 'a record,' which is here translated is appended by ʒiâo Hung to his 'Wings to *K*wang-ʒze' It is hardly worthy of Shih's reputation

a composition which might serve as a record of the event, (which I made as follows) —

2 According to the Historical Records (of Sze-mâ *Kh*ien), *K*wang-tze lived in the time of the kings Hui of Liang (B C 370–333 [?])[1] and Hsuan of *Kh*î (B C. 332–314). There was no subject of study to which he did not direct his attention, but his preference was for the views of Lâo-tze, and thus it was that of the books which he wrote, containing in all more than ten myriad characters, the greater part are metaphorical illustrations of those views He made 'The Old Fisherman,' 'The Robber *K*ih,' and 'The Cutting Open Satchels,' to deride the followers of Confucius, and to set forth the principles of Lâo-tze (So writes Sze-mâ *K*hien, but) his view is that of one who had only a superficial knowledge of *K*wang-tze My idea is that *K*wang wished to support the principles of Khung-tze, though we must not imitate him in the method which he took to do so (I will illustrate my meaning by a case of a different kind) —A prince of *Kh*û[2] was once hurrying away from the city in disguise[2], when the gate-keeper refused to let him pass through On this his servant threatened the prince with a switch, and reviled him saying 'Slave you have no strength!' On seeing this, the gate-keeper allowed them to go out The thing certainly took place in an irregular way, and the prince escaped by an inversion of what was right —he seemed openly to put himself in opposition, while he was secretly maintaining and supporting If we think that his servant did not love the prince, our judgment will be wrong, if we think that his action was a model for imitation in serving a prince, in that also we shall be wrong In the same way the words of *K*wang-tze are thrown out in a contradictory manner, with which the tenor of his writing does not agree The correct interpre-

[1] Compare vol xxxix, pp 36, 37, 39 Sze-mâ *Kh*ien enters king Hui's death in this year The 'Bamboo Books' place it sixteen years later, see 'The General Mirror of History,' under the thirty-fifth year of king Hsien of *A*ân

[2] I suppose this incident is an invention of Sû Shih's own I have not met with it anywhere else In Jiâo's text for the 'in disguise' of the translation, however, there is an error He gives 徽服 instead of 微服

tation of them shows them to be far from any wish to defame Khung-ʒze

3 And there is that in the style which slightly indicates his real meaning (In his last Book for instance), when discussing the historical phases of Tâoism, he exhibits them from Mo Tî, *Khin* Hwâ-lî, Phăng Măng, Shăn Tâo, Thien Pien, Kwan Yin, and Lâo Tan, down even to himself, and brings them all together as constituting one school, but Confucius is not among them[1] So great and peculiar is the honour which he does to him!

4 I have had my doubts, however, about 'The Robber *Kih* (Bk XXIX),' and 'The Old Fisherman (Bk XXXI),' for they do seem to be really defamatory of Confucius And as to 'The Kings who have wished to Resign the Throne (Bk XXVIII)' and 'The Delight in the Sword-fight (Bk XXX),' they are written in a low and vulgar style, and have nothing to do with the doctrine of the Tâo Looking at the thing and reflecting on it, there occurred to me the paragraph at the end of Book XXVII ('Metaphorical Language') It tells us that when Yang ʒze-*ku* had gone as far as *Khin*, he met with Lâo-ʒze, who said to him, "Your eyes are lofty, and you stare, who would live with you? The purest carries himself as if he were defiled, and the most virtuous seems to feel himself defective" Yang ʒze-*ku* looked abashed and changed countenance. When he first went to his lodging-house, the people in it met him and went before him The master of it carried his mat for him, and the mistress brought to him the towel and comb The lodgers left their mats and the cook his fire-place, as he went past them When he went away, the others in the house would have striven with him about (the places for) their mats'

After reading this paragraph, I passed over the four intermediate Books,—the *Zang* Wang, the Yueh *Kien*, the Yu Fû, and the Tâo *Kih*, and joined it on to the first paragraph of the Lieh Yu-khâu (Book XXXII) I then read how Lieh-ʒze had started to go to *Khi* but came back

[1] See Book XXXIII, pars 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

when he had got half-way to it (When asked why he had done so), he replied, 'I was frightened, I went into ten soup-shops to get a meal, and in five of them the soup was set before me before I had paid for it' Comparing this with the paragraph about Yang Ze-ku, the light flashed on me I laughed and said, 'They certainly belong to one chapter!'

The words of Kwang-tze were not ended, and some other stupid person copied in (these other four Books) of his own among them We should have our wits about us, and mark the difference between them The division of paragraphs and the titles of the Books did not proceed from Kwang-tze himself, but were introduced by custom in the course of time [1]

Recorded on the 19th day of the 11th month of the first year of the period Yuan Făng (1078–1085)

[1] Few of my readers, I apprehend will appreciate this article, which is to me more a jeu d'esprit than 'a record' It is strange that so slight and fantastic a piece should have had the effect attributed to it of making the four Books which they call in question be generally held by scholars of the present dynasty to be apocryphal, but still Sû Shih avows in it his belief in Book XXXIII Compare the quotation from I in Hsî Kung on pp 296, 297

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Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East.

Consonants.	Missionary Alphabet I Class.	Missionary Alphabet II Class.	Missionary Alphabet III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew	Chinese.
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k		. .	क	𐬐	𐭠	ک	ك	כ	k
2 ,, aspirata	kh			ख	𐬑	𐭡	.		ך	kh
3 Media .	g			ग	𐬒	𐭢	گ		ג	. .
4 ,, aspirata .	gh	.		घ	𐬓	𐭣			ג	. .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. .	. .	.	. . .		ق	ق	ק	
6 Nasalis .	ṅ (ng)	. .		ङ	𐬔 (ng) 𐬕 (N)					
7 Spiritus asper	h			ह	𐬀 (𐬁 hv)	𐭤	ه	ه	ה	h, hs
8 ,, lenis .	'	.					ا	ا	א	.
9 ,, asper faucalis . .	'h		. .	.	.	.	ح	ح	ח	
10 ,, lenis faucalis . .	'h	. .	.	. .		.	ع	ع	ע	. .
11 ,, asper fricatus . .	.	'ḥ	.				خ	خ	ח	.
12 ,, lenis fricatus . .	. .	'ḥ					.	. .	.	. .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis		k		च	𐬖	𐭨	چ	. .	. . .	k
14 ,, aspirata		kh	.	छ		.	. .	. .	. .	kh
15 Media .		g		ज	𐬗	𐭩	ج	ج	. .	. .
16 ,, aspirata . .	.	gh		झ			ج	ج	. .	. . .
17 . Nasalis . .	.	ñ	. .	ञ	.		. .	. .	. . .	. . .

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
18 Semivocalis . .	y	.	.	य	𐬬 𐬫 𐬭 init	و	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper . . .	. . .	(ẏ)	. . .	.	.	. .		. .	. .	
20 ,, lenis . . .	.	(ẏ)	.	. .	. . .	.	.	.		.
21 ,, asper assibilatus	. .	s	. . . .	श	𐬱	ش	ش	ش		.
22 ,, lenis assibilatus . .	. .	z		. . .	𐬲	ژ	ژ	. . .	. .	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .	. .	त	𐬙	ت	ت	ت	ת	t
24 ,, aspirata . .	th	. . .	. .	थ	𐬚	.	. .	. . .	ת	th
25 ,, assibilata . .	. . .	. . .	TH	. .	.	. .	ث	ث	. .	. .
26 Media	d	. . .	. . . .	द	𐬛	د	د	د	ד	.
27 ,, aspirata . .	dh	. . .	. .	ध	𐬜	.	. . .	.	ד	. .
28 ,, assibilata . . .	. . .	. .	DH	. . .	. .	.	د	د	. . .	.
29 Nasalis	n	. . .	. . .	न	𐬝	ا	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .	. . .	ल	. . .	ل.ل.ا	ل	ل	ל	l
31 ,, mollis 1 . .	. . .	l	. . . .	ळ	. .	. . .	. .	.	. . .	. .
32 ,, mollis 2 . . .	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. .	. . .	. .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .	. . . .	स	𐬯	س	(ث)س	س	ס	s
34 ,, asper 2 . . .	. . .	.	s (ʃ)	. . .	. . . .	. .	. . .	. . .	ס	. . .
35 ,, lenis	z	. . .	. . .	.	𐬰	ک	(ذ) ز	ز	ז	z
36 ,, asperrimus 1	. . .	. .	z (ʒ)	. .	. . . .	. . .	ص	ص	ש	ʒ, ʒh
37 ,, asperrimus 2	. .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. .	. . . .	. . .	ص	. . .	. . .	. . .

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)											
38 Tenuis	.	*t*		ट			ट	ط	ط	ט	
39 „ aspirata	.	*th*		ठ			ठ	ط	ط		
40 Media		*d*		ड	ڈ	ڈ					
41 „ aspirata	.	*dh*		ढ							
42 Nasalis		*n*		ण	ڼ						
43 Semivocalis	r			र	ڑ	ڑ, ڑ, ڑ	ر	ر	ר		
44 „ fricata		*r*									r
45 „ diacritica			R								
46 Spiritus asper	sh			ष	ش	ش					sh
47 „ lenis	zh										
Labiales.											
48 Tenuis	p			प	پ	پ	پ	پ	פ		p
49 „ aspirata	ph			फ					פ		ph
50 Media	b			ब	ب	ب	ب	ب	ב		
51 „ aspirata	bh			भ					ב		
52 Tenuissima		*p*									
53 Nasalis	m			म	م	م	م	م	מ		m
54 Semivocalis	w				ۋ						w
55 „ aspirata	hw										
56 Spiritus asper	f				ف	ف	ف	ف			f
57 „ lenis	v			व	و	و, ۋ	و	و	ו		
58 Anusvâra		*m*		ं	ں						
59 Visarga		*h*		ः							

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew	Chinese.
1 Neutralis . . .	0	. . .	. . .		.	. .	. . .	. . .	—	ă
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ĕ				. .	. . .	. . .	.	. . .	. .
3 „ labialis . . .	ŏ				. . .	ا fin.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. .
4 Gutturalis brevis . . .	a	.	.	अ	ا	ا init	ـَ	ـَ	ـַ	a
5 „ longa	â	(a)	.	आ	ا	ا	ـا	ـا	ـָ	â
6 Palatalis brevis	ı	.	.	इ	ی	. .	ـِ	ـِ	ـִ	ı
7 „ longa	î	(ı)		ई	ی	ی	ـِي	ـِي	ـִי	î
8 Dentalis brevis . .	ḷı		. . .	ऌ			. .	.	. .	. . .
9 „ longa .	ḷ			ॡ		. .	.	.	.	. .
10 Lingualis brevis	ṛı			ऋ		.			.	. .
11 „ longa . . .	ṛ	.	. .	ॠ	.	.	. .	. .	. . .	. . .
12 Labialis brevis . . .	u		. .	उ	و	. .	ـُ	ـُ	ـُ	u
13 „ longa . . .	û	(u)	.	ऊ	و	ا	ـُو	ـُو	ـוּ	û
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis . .	e	.	. .	. . .	ε (e) ξ (e)	. . .	. .	.	ـֶ	e
15 „ longa . . .	ê (ai)	(e)	. .	ए / ए	ئ, ئ	و	. . .	. .	ـֵ	ê
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	âı	(aı)	.	ऐ / ऐ	. . .	. .	ـَي	ـَي	. .	âı
17 „ „	eı (ĕı)	.	. . .	. .	. .		. .	. . .	. .	eı, êı
18 „ „	oı (ŏu)	. . .	. . .	.	.	.	.	. .	. .	. . .
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis . . .	o	. .	. . .	. . .	ل	.	. . .	.	ـֹ	o
20 „ longa . .	ô (au)	(o)	. . .	ओ	ل	ا	.	. .	ـֹו	. . .
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	âu	(au)	. . . .	औ	ئو (au)	. .	ـَو	ـَو	. .	âu
22 „ „	eu (ĕu)	. . .	.	. .	. .	. . .	. .	. . .	. . .	. . .
23 „ „	ou (ŏu)	. . .	. .	.	. . .			. . .	.	. . .
24 Gutturalis fracta	a	. .		.	. . .	.	. . .	.	. .	. . .
25 Palatalis fracta . . .	ī	. .	.		. . .			. .	. . .	. . .
26 Labialis fracta	ū	. . .	. .	. . .	. . . .	.		.	. . .	ū