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with a translation of his three memorials to emperor  
Wu*

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Abstract.

D.J.Helliwell: Tung Chung-shu and the New Text Confucian victory, with a translation of his three memorials to Emperor Wu. (M.Litt., University of Durham, 1981.)

The work consists of five sections, of which the fifth is the translation, made from the punctuated text of the Chung hua shu chü edition of the Han shu, and taking account of the glosses therein of Yen Shih-ku and others. The first of the four introductory sections considers the importance of Tung Chung-shu and the problem of his writings, and indicates the urgent need for an exhaustive textual inquiry into the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu. The second is concerned with that aspect of New Text Confucianism which was responsible for its victory, namely its Yin Yang teachings, together with the origin and absorption into Confucian dogma of this school of thought. The third considers the victory itself and examines Tung Chung-shu's part in it, which has hitherto been somewhat exaggerated. The fourth section is a specific introduction to the Han shu biography and the following translation of the three memorials. There is a bibliography of works quoted, and a list of Chinese characters.

Tung Chung-shu and the New Text Confucian victory, with  
a translation of his three memorials to Emperor Wu.

David John Helliwell.

Submitted for the degree of Master of Letters in the  
University of Durham, Department of Oriental Studies, 1981.

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17 MAY 1984

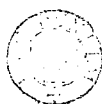
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Preface.

Although Tung Chung-shu is a figure who in both eastern and western approaches to Chinese thought has been the subject of considerable discourse, there are several major areas in the field of his study which have hitherto remained untouched. The principal need is for an exhaustive textual inquiry into the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu, but Tung Chung-shu's three memorials preserved in his Han shu biography, which give a comprehensive account of unquestionable authenticity of the New Text Confucian beliefs of the Former Han, are also required in modern English translation. It is to the latter end that the present dissertation is for the most part directed, but a number of outstanding issues in the study of Tung Chung-shu are discussed by way of introduction.

In the first section, consideration is given to the importance of Tung Chung-shu and the problem of his writings; the second is concerned with that aspect of New Text Confucianism which was responsible for its victory, and also with its ancestry; the third considers the victory itself and examines Tung Chung-shu's part in it, which has, in the past, been somewhat exaggerated; the fourth section is a specific introduction to the Han shu biography and the following translation of the three memorials, and the fifth is the translation itself. The Bibliography has been restricted to works referred to in the text of the dissertation, which are listed in the form in which they have been quoted, and the List of Chinese characters is



designed to keep the unattractive mixture of typescript and indifferent calligraphy in one place.

I should like to record my thanks to Archie Barnes both for his kind supervision of this work, and also for teaching me Chinese in the first place.

St George's Day, 1981

Oxford

1. Tung Chung-shu and his writings.

The first notice of Tung Chung-shu in the Han shu appears in the pên chi of Emperor Wu, where he is said to have distinguished himself along with Kung-sun Hung when questioned by the emperor on matters of government.<sup>1</sup> Both had come to court in response to one of the periodic edicts from the throne which required the higher officials, whether of central or local government, to seek out the "worthy and good" or otherwise qualified and send them to the capital for imperial scrutiny.<sup>2</sup> Tung Chung-shu was among those who stood "right at the head" of the scholars thus selected, and his replies to the emperor's questions earned him the position of chancellor to King I of Chiang-tu, the emperor's elder brother.<sup>3</sup> In the opinion of Liu Hsin, writing a century or so after Tung Chung-shu's death, he was the foremost Confucian scholar of his day.<sup>4</sup> By the time Pan Ku was compiling the Han shu, in his exposition of the Kung-yang school of Ch'un ch'iu studies and the principles of Yin and Yang during the reigns of emperors Ching and Wu, Tung Chung-shu had become the fount of Confucian orthodoxy.<sup>5</sup> He is credited with being the first to suggest not only the establishment of state education, but also the practice of requiring provincial officials to send able recruits to the

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1. HS6.161.

2. HS56.2495; 58.2613.

3. HS56.2495,2523. For the dating of these events, see below, pp.43-45.

4. HS56.2526.

5. HS27a.1317.

capital for government service,<sup>1</sup> despite the fact that his own presence at court was a result of that very procedure, which is well attested on several previous occasions.<sup>2</sup>

Tung Chung-shu's writings bulk large in contemporary literature: in the treatise on that subject in the Han shu, apart from the 16 p'ien in the Ch'un ch'iu section,<sup>3</sup> 123 p'ien are found in the section on Confucian philosophers,<sup>4</sup> a figure considerably in excess of that given for any other writer. Since the I wên chih is an abbreviated catalogue of the imperial library based on the accounts of Liu Hsiang and his son Liu Hsin rather than a national bibliography,<sup>5</sup> it gives an indication not only of the quantity of Tung Chung-shu's output, but also of the esteem in which it was held. The proportion of this output that Pan Ku selected for direct quotation in Tung Chung-shu's official biography is a further testimony to his stature: no other figure in either the Han shu or the Shih chi is quoted at such length.

There is a problem regarding Tung Chung-shu's works which arises, in the first instance, from a serious discrepancy between the account of them in the Han shu and the next known bibliographical record which occurs in Juan Hsiao-hsü's Ch'i lu of 523, to which most subsequent notices as well as the modern text of the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu can be related with certainty. According to his biography:

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1. HS56.2525.
  2. See below, p.33.
  3. HS30.1714.
  4. HS30.1727.
  5. HS30.1701.



"Tung Chung-shu's writings consist of works concerned with elucidating the meaning of the classics, and systematic instruction which was submitted to the throne, in all 123 p'ien; there are also several tens of p'ien, amounting to 100,000 words, with titles such as Wên chü, Yü pei, Fan lu, Ch'ing ming, and Chu lin on the subject of the Ch'un ch'iu, all of which have survived to the present."<sup>1</sup>

Whereas it is reasonable to assume that the 123 p'ien in the first category are identical with the 123 p'ien listed in the section on Confucian philosophers in the I wên chih, it would appear that the 16 p'ien listed in the Ch'un ch'iu section under the title Kung-yang Tung Chung-shu chih yü refer to something else: not only are there not "several tens of p'ien", but the surviving fragments of this work preserved in later quotation, and collected in greatest measure by Ma Kuo-han,<sup>2</sup> are of a Legalist nature as their title suggests, and do not seem to correspond with the essays in the second category.

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1. HS56.2525-2526.
  2. They are given the title Ch'un ch'iu chüeh shih in his Yü han shan fang chi i shu.

The Ch'un ch'iu fan lu in 17 chüan appears for the first time in the Ch'i lu.<sup>1</sup> This recension is subdivided into 82 p'ien, two of which are entitled Yü pei and Chu lin, and Fan lu is incorporated into the title of the whole work; Wên chü and Ch'ing ming have disappeared. The first to point these things out was Wang Yao-ch'ên in his Ch'ung wên tsung mu of 1034:

"This copy (i.e. the one in the imperial library, of which Ch'ung wên tsung mu is a descriptive catalogue) has only 82 p'ien. Its scope is immense, and it is clearly not a recent composition. Its p'ien are out of sequence, and there is no means of re-ordering them. Furthermore, I suspect the titles Yü pei and Chu lin have been added to them by a later hand."<sup>2</sup>

Ch'êng Ta-ch'ang, in the postface he wrote in 1175 to a copy which had been presented to the imperial library in

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1. The Ch'i lu was a descriptive bibliography composed in imitation of Liu Hsin's Ch'i lüeh, with which it is sometimes confused, and is described in the Sui shu Ching chi chih, of which it was one of the principal sources (Sui shu 32.907). The work is no longer extant, but its preface and general table of contents are preserved in Kuang hung ming chi, chüan 3, and many entries survive in later quotation. The Ch'un ch'iu fan lu entry is preserved in Chang Shou-chieh's chêng i commentary to the Shih chi (Takigawa 121.28), and Wang Ying-lin, in his Han i wên chih k'ao chêng (one of the Yü hai appendices), notes that the Ch'i lu, Sui shu, and T'ang shu all refer to the recension in 17 chüan, 82 p'ien (Su Yü, k'ao chêng, 5a).
  2. Su Yü, k'ao chêng, 1b.

the Shao-hsing period (1131-1162) by Tung Mou,<sup>1</sup> goes further and questions the authenticity of the entire work. Since then, although it has been under continuous suspicion, it has never been subjected to satisfactory analysis even by traditional techniques, so that the conclusion of the Ssu k'u ch'üan shu editors, in a statement of classic ambiguity, still holds good:

"If we examine the text, although it may not be entirely the work of Tung Chung-shu, the words contained therein, for the most part so logically construed, could not have come from the hand of a later imitator."<sup>2</sup>

It is regrettable that most modern accounts of Tung Chung-shu's thought have either ignored this controversy and taken the authenticity of the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu for granted, or accepted it after the most superficial enquiry. Notable exceptions are the work of Tain in his doctoral thesis,<sup>3</sup> and Hsü Fu-kuan in his general history of Han thought,<sup>4</sup> yet neither of these two scholars has examined the language and style of the text, an indispensable exercise if its authenticity is to be demonstrated, and the problem surely requires more extended discussion than either has devoted to it. Moreover, in quoting the Shih pu yü fu<sup>5</sup> Tain has even overlooked the

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1. Su Yü, k'ao chêng, 6b-8a.
  2. Ssu k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu t'i yao, p.598.
  3. Tain, pp.7-10.
  4. Hsü, pp.192-195.
  5. Tain, p.80.

longstanding work of Malmqvist, who has shown by phonological criteria that its traditional attribution to Tung Chung-shu is invalid, concluding that the work is either by an author of the Shu or Ch'u region, or possibly by a Later Han writer.<sup>1</sup> The most recent and authoritative bibliography of Chinese and Japanese works on Han thought, by Sakade Yoshinobu, does not to my knowledge list a single work which has examined the language and style of the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu, and few have seriously questioned the authenticity of the text at all; yet many of the surveys of Tung Chung-shu's thought listed in the large "Tô Chûjo, Shunjû hanro" section<sup>2</sup> quote extensively from it, if they are not based on it in their entirety. This is also the position with regard to Pokora's less recent account.<sup>3</sup>

The textual corruption of the 82 p'ien recension of the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu is first noted by Ou-yang Hsiu in 1038, who as an editor in the Hanlin Academy had seen what was probably the imperial library copy described in the Ch'ung wên tsung mu:

"In many places there are errors and duplications in the text. Furthermore, in response to an imperial request for [rare] books among the people, over 30 p'ien were submitted among which are several which are not to be found in the recension of 80 or so

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1. Malmqvist, pp.16,19.
  2. Sakade, pp.8-10.
  3. See Bibliography.

p'ien; hence we know that Tung's writings are scattered and incomplete."<sup>1</sup>

The first printed edition of the 82 p'ien recension, made by Lou Yüeh in 1211, must have been equally corrupt, as all later editions are based on it, and even the most carefully prepared version now available, which was published by Su Yü in 1910, contains many passages which are quite unintelligible without considerable reliance on Su Yü's commentary and frequent exercise of the imagination.<sup>2</sup>

In the above summary of the arguments surrounding the authenticity of the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu, the term "authentic" has been used strictly in the sense that the work is attributable with certainty to Tung Chung-shu: it is evident that this is far from the case, and is a matter requiring urgent investigation. Less debatable, however, is that the text may be dated on the grounds of its content to the time of Tung Chung-shu or shortly after. Wang Ch'ung makes numerous references to the arguments advanced by Tung Chung-shu which may be related to passages in the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu, though no words are quoted which can be found in the present text. He discusses, for example, Tung Chung-shu's theories on the obtaining of rain,<sup>3</sup> and also refers to his explanation of human nature

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1. Su Yü, k'ao chêng, 2a.
  2. Franke provides the most comprehensive history available of the printed editions of the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu (pp.142-169), but his account is somewhat confused and in need of revision.
  3. Lun hêng 22.134, 45.313, 55.372, 63.425-426; cf. CCFL 5 (Su Yü 3.14a-16a), 74 (Su Yü 16.5a-12b).

in terms of Yin and Yang,<sup>1</sup> by which he sought to reconcile the differences between Mencius and Hsün-tzu. Although, as Su Yü points out in his commentary, Tung Chung-shu was the first to produce this explanation, the considerable differences in detail between Wang Ch'ung's account and the version in the present Ch'un ch'iu fan lu give further cause to question its authenticity. Hsü Shên quotes Tung Chung-shu's explanation of the character wang in the Shuo wên, but again, his words are a paraphrase and not a direct quotation of the corresponding passage in the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu.<sup>2</sup> Other sections of the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu may be related to the ideas summarised in the three memorials, as indicated in the following translation. In its exposition of Yin Yang cosmology and the theory of portents, its interpretation of the classics in these terms, its acceptance of numerology and the deeper significance of language, yet in its avoidance of the excessively absurd speculation to which the apocrypha of slightly later times were prone,<sup>3</sup> there is no reason why the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu should not be accepted as a product of the Former Han and quoted as the principal source of its New Text Confucian beliefs, but it would be wrong to regard it as the work of Tung Chung-shu until it has been examined much more critically than hitherto.

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1. Lun hêng 13.65; cf. CCFL35(Su Yü 10.11a-b).
  2. Shuo wên 1a.9; cf. CCFL44(Su Yü 11.9a).
  3. Som, p.106ff; Dull.

There is however no cause to question the authenticity of those of Tung Chung-shu's writings which are preserved in the Han shu: a short memorial in the Shih huo chih,<sup>1</sup> which appears in the Tung tzu wên chi collections<sup>2</sup> under the title Ch'i chung mai hsien t'ien chang; a number of interpretations of portents, of which one is a memorial, contained in the Wu hsing chih:<sup>3</sup> these are gathered together in the Tung tzu wên chi collections under the title Ch'un ch'iu yin yang, but the memorial appears as a separate item entitled Kao miao yüan tsai tui; the three memorials in Tung Chung-shu's biography, of which an extract appears

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1. HS24.1137; tr.Swann, pp.177-183.
2. It is not known whether the Tung Chung-shu chi in 1 chüan listed in the Sui shu and Sung shih bibliographies, or the version in 2 chüan listed in the T'ang shu and Hsin t'ang shu, were identical either with each other, or with the present Tung tzu wên chi, which according to the Ssu k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu t'i yao (p.3728) was compiled by the censor Lu Yung, who had conceived the idea on a journey which had taken him close to Tung Chung-shu's birthplace in the year chi-hai of the Chêng-tê period. There is however no chi-hai year in this period, but Franke's suggestion that it may be a mistake for i-hai, 1515 (pp.109-110), is probably correct, as Lu Yung was a chin shih of 1511 (Ming ch'ing chin shih t'i ming pei lu so yin, p.2498). The collection consists simply of the Han shu fragments, together with five items from the Ku wên yüan, all of dubious authenticity. There is a preface reproduced in Chang P'u's edition (in Han wei liu ch'ao pai ming chia chi) which has been annotated by Yin Meng-lun (Han wei liu ch'ao pai san chia t'i tz'u, pp.7-9), but this is derived entirely from the Han shu biography and reveals nothing of the origin of the edition.
3. HS27.

chü,

in the Li yüeh chih;<sup>1</sup> another memorial in his biography, submitted to King I of Chiang-tu;<sup>2</sup> this appears with additions and alterations in the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu, where it is said to have been submitted to King Yüeh of Chiao-hsi;<sup>3</sup> and a brief passage in the account of the Hsiung-nu.<sup>4</sup> Of these, by far the most important in the study of New Text Confucianism are the three memorials in Tung Chung-shu's biography, which are therefore introduced and translated below.

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1. See below, p.47.
  2. HS56.2523-2524.
  3. CCFL32(Su Yü 9.3b-5a).
  4. HS94b.3831.



2. The nature of New Text Confucianism.

New Text Confucianism, of which Tung Chung-shu was the leading exponent in the Former Han, is a somewhat unsatisfactory term, as it anticipates the existence of an opposing school of Old Text Confucianism which did not arise until the end of that period, and brings to the fore an issue which was not in itself central to the philosophical and political disputes which later took place in its name, that is, the conflicting claims to authenticity of the various recensions of the Confucian canon. It was not considered exceptionable that all the po shih at the Han court until the usurpation of Wang Mang should be scholars of the New Text version,<sup>1</sup> as its canonical position had not yet become a contentious issue; nor was it unusual for men such as K'ung An-kuo, a po shih of the New Text Shang shu also to study the Old Text version.<sup>2</sup>

New Text Confucianism in the Former Han is not therefore concerned with the philological debate which became the preoccupation of men like Liu Hsin, who were dissatisfied with the unscholarly standards of contemporary thought and the administration which lay in the hands of its exponents,<sup>3</sup> but with the endeavours of those who accepted the current text of the Confucian canon as an embodiment of the

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1. Scholars of the Old Text version were summoned to the capital in A.D.4 or 5 (HS12.359, DubsIII, pp.84-85; HS99.4069, DubsIII, pp.192-194). There is however no record of the establishment of Old Text po shih in the Han shu.

2. HS81.3352, 88.3607. For others, see Som, p.140.

3. HS36.1967-1972.

essential principles for the ordering of society and its government, and who sought to demonstrate the validity of those principles in terms of the metaphysics of their age. Such was the nature of New Text Confucianism in general and of the Kung-yang school and Tung Chung-shu in particular, and the evidence suggests that it was principally due to their concern with the interpretation of portents and the Yin Yang theories that accounted for them that the Confucians of the Former Han first obtained recognition. Acceptance and institutionalisation of their social and ethical teachings was a subsequent development, and insofar as the classic account of the Confucian victory by Dubs<sup>1</sup> gives the effect as the cause whilst avoiding any mention of what the author considers the rather unscholarly matter of portents,<sup>2</sup> his judgement in this instance is fundamentally wrong.

Apart from Heaven, Earth, and Man, the universe in the Han Dynasty was seen to contain seven other entities which may with least inaccuracy be called "agencies": Yin and Yang, and the Wu hsing of Wood, Fire, Earth (in the sense of soil), Metal, and Water. Not even the Wu hsing were considered substances: they were always undergoing cyclical change, and had the dynamic aspect of either mutual production or mutual conquest; the system is thus less removed from the metaphysics of Buddhism than any western idea of "elements", a word which is inappropriately in common use as a translation of hsing, whose normal

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1. DubsII, pp.341-353(i.e.Appendix II).
2. See below, p.32.

meaning is "actions". The Wu hsing account not for the physical or chemical composition of material things, from which they have a separate though not unrelated existence, but for the nature of human affairs and the principles underlying their change. It was therefore to the distinct advantage of Han Dynasty politicians to understand their working, but particularly to that of the Confucians, with their characteristic preoccupation with human nature and relationships. The following passage from the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu proceeds from these assumptions:

"Heaven and Earth, Yin and Yang, Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, and Water make nine; with Man the total is ten, and this is the number of [agencies which constitute] the Universe.<sup>1</sup> It is for this reason that our numerical sequence and its written symbols stop at ten. What did the Sages esteem most highly? [The ten agencies] start with Heaven and extend to Man, and are thus complete. Beyond this come what are known as 'material things', which are thus relegated to a position outside what may be considered worthy of esteem. From this it is apparent how far Man stands above everything else, and is therefore the most estimable creature of the phenomenal world. Below, he stands at the head of all material things, and

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1. It is evident from this passage alone that t'ien does not only refer to the agency of Heaven, but in a more general sense to the universe or cosmos; t'ien ti is also understood in the wider sense, whereas t'ien hsia is taken to distinguish terrestrial from celestial phenomena.

forms a triad<sup>1</sup> with Heaven and Earth above. Now Man's good or bad handling of affairs, and the activity or quiescence, compliance or variance which he causes in the ether produce consequences which spread over the whole world through the effect they have on the increase or decrease in the alternation of Yin and Yang ... When the world is well governed and the people content, the ruler's aims moderate and his character good, the transforming power of Heaven and Earth operates sublimely and everything gives of its best; but when the world is badly governed and the people perverse, the ruler's aims depraved and his character antagonistic, the transforming power of Heaven and Earth is affronted and calamities ensue."<sup>2</sup>

There is in this passage a New Text Confucian synthesis of two or possibly three quite separate strands of late Chou philosophical enquiry: the San ts'ai of Confucianism, and the Wu hsing of Tsou Yen's school, which arose as a coherent entity in the state of Ch'i in the 4th century B.C., to which the elusive concept of Yin and Yang may be related.

The late Chou Confucians believed that the power of Heaven, usually considered benevolent, enabled the resources of Earth to provide for Man through his capacity to establish

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1. The character ts'an may have originally been a drawing of the three stars which form the belt of Orion (Karlgrén, p.172).
  2. CCFL81(Su Yü 17.6b-7b).

good order under the direction of a Sage, of which the Former Kings were the supreme example, instanced not only by the Confucians, but by any who wished to lend the least credibility to the theories they advanced. These three entities of Heaven, Earth, and Man are commonly referred to in Han Confucian literature as the "Three powers" (San ts'ai) who form a "triad" (ts'an) with each other.<sup>1</sup>

Differences in opinion between Mencius, whose general view was that Heaven was personal and benevolent, and Hsün-tzu, who regarded it as naturalistic, did not prevent both moulders of the Confucian tradition to which Tung Chung-shu was heir from agreeing that Heaven's relationship with Man was consistent, and that Man's interests were best served by discerning the principles underlying it and complying with them rather than opposing them. In practice, this meant eschewing any Way which gained no sanction from the Confucian interpretation of the actions of the Former Kings, records of which were objective, historical fact to thinkers of all persuasions. This line of reasoning is evidenced in many well-known passages in both Mencius and Hsün-tzu,<sup>2</sup> and is one of the mainstays of Tung Chung-shu's argument in his three memorials.

Authentic references to Yin and Yang do not occur until the late Warring States, by which time they are so accepted

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1. E.g. the 5th & 6th appendices of the I ching (Hsi tz'u chuan, commonly known as Ta chuan); the 7th chapter of the Hsiao ching.
  2. E.g. Mencius 9.5(p.219); Hsün-tzu 17(p.220).

a part of the Chinese world picture that they have become the property of all schools of thought. The Han shu refers to the school of Tsou Yen as the Yin yang chia,<sup>1</sup> but the fragments of his work reassembled by Ma Kuo-han<sup>2</sup> contain no mention of the term. The Shih chi however states quite definitely:

"He observed in detail the increase and decrease of Yin and Yang, and wrote many thousands of words on their abstruse fluctuation, such as his essays The beginning and the end, and The great sages."<sup>3</sup>

And again:

"In the time of kings Wei (357-320B.C.) and Hsüan (319-301) of Ch'i, the followers of Master Tsou discoursed upon the cyclicity of the Five powers ... Tsou Yen achieved fame with the feudal lords through his essay Concerning cyclicity, which dealt with Yin and Yang."<sup>4</sup>

The Wu hsing theories of Tsou Yen may be known from their straightforward if brief expression in Ma Kuo-han's fragments, whose content is to some extent confirmed by a further passage in the Shih chi:

"[Tsou Yen] first put present events in sequence and then went right back to the time of Huang Ti ... Starting with the separation of Heaven and Earth (i.e. the Creation) and coming down to the present, he quoted

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1. HS30.1734-1735.
  2. They are entitled Tsou tzu i chüan in his Yü han shan fang chi i shu.
  3. SC74.2344.
  4. SC28.1368-1369.

instances of the cyclicity of the Five Powers, and formulated the theory that each had its proper place, and that this corresponded to actuality (i.e. was proved by history)."<sup>1</sup>

Essentially, Tsou Yen held that there were Five Elements or Powers which came into being in strict rotation. Linked with their cycle was the rise and fall of dynasties, whose institutions were characterised by the virtues of whichever element was in the ascendant. The movement of the cycle was made known by Heaven through the manifestation of prodigies.

Two passages in Hsün-tzu shed light on the circumstances under which these apparently unrelated lines of thought coalesced. The first is from the chapter Concerning Heaven:

"If a meteor appears, or a tree groans, everybody is uneasy. Why should this be? There is no reason: such things are due to the movement of Heaven and Earth and the fluctuations of Yin and Yang, and rarely have any effect. It is all right to regard them as strange, but certainly not to fear them. Eclipses of the sun and moon, unseasonal wind and rain, and the appearance of strange constellations occur all the time. If the ruler is intelligent and his government equable, despite the continual appearance of these phenomena no harm will be done; but if the ruler is short-sighted and his government precarious, even if not a single one of these

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1. SC74.2344.

phenomena appears, the situation will be no better ...  
What about the sacrifices for rain? They achieve nothing: rain would come just as well without them. It should not be supposed that the sacrifices to rescue the sun and moon during an eclipse, the rain sacrifices at times of drought, or the divinations taken to decide matters of great moment are made to obtain what is required: they are simply frills. The gentleman takes them for what they are, the masses for the supernatural."<sup>1</sup>

This is totally at variance with the teaching of Tsou Yen, and completely contrary to that of Tung Chung-shu, whose writings include two chapters specifically concerning the obtaining or stopping of rain,<sup>2</sup> their authenticity attested by mention in the Shih chi and Han shu biographies.<sup>3</sup> Nor is it consistent with Mencius, who in the passage referred to above<sup>4</sup> suggested that Shun was adopted as Son of Heaven by a personal Heaven who chose to countenance his sacrifices.

The second passage is a vituperative attack on Tzu Ssu and Mencius from Hsün-tzu's chapter Against the twelve philosophers:

"There were those who modelled themselves on the Former Kings, but had no grasp of the principles; nevertheless, their ability was considerable, their ambition great, and their experience wide and varied. In formulating

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1. Hsün-tzu 17(pp.226-228).
  2. CCFL74,75(Su Yü 16.5b-14a).
  3. SC121.3128; HS56.2524.
  4. Mencius 9.5(p.219).



their theories they went back into antiquity and spoke of the Five Elements. Their teachings were grossly eccentric and without rational basis, abstruse and inexplicable, introverted and incomprehensible. Embroidering their speculations, they sought to lend them respectability by making out that they were genuinely the words of our former master (i.e. Confucius). Tzu Ssu (grandson of Confucius) led this chorus, and Mencius joined in; the benighted company of second-rate Confucian scholars babbled their assent in ignorance of their error, accepting it and handing it on, supposing that the names of Confucius and Tzu Yu would carry more weight with future generations. This crime is due to Tzu Ssu and Mencius."<sup>1</sup>

From these two passages it is clear that Hsün-tzu has a strong objection to the Mencian branch of Confucianism, that he connects this with the Five Element school, and that he has no time for the deeper implications of the prodigies and sacrifices with which the Five Element school concerned itself. He goes out of his way to dissociate himself from what he believes to be a heterodox branch of Confucianism which he encountered, no doubt, at the famous Chi-hsia Academy established under the patronage of the cultured King Hsüan of Ch'i,<sup>2</sup> of which he was a member.<sup>3</sup> Fung Yu-lan suggests that Mencius too was for a while

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1. Hsün-tzu 6(pp.62-64).
  2. Fung Yu-lan I, pp.132-133.
  3. SC74.2348.

involved in its activities,<sup>1</sup> and there is in any case no doubt that on numerous occasions he gave advice to King Hsüan.<sup>2</sup> Now the Shih chi passages referring to Tsou Yen's connexion with the Chi-hsia Academy strongly imply that if he was not its founder, he was certainly its most distinguished member, and gave the scholarship of the academy its distinctive stamp.<sup>3</sup> It was probably at Chi-hsia therefore that the compatibility of the two schools of Mencius and Tsou Yen was first demonstrated, and that their coalition began to take place. Two pieces of evidence from the Shih chi indicate that this was at least the belief in the Han Dynasty. Firstly, the Shih chi biography of Mencius consists of only five lines, in which it is said that he received instruction in the Confucian tradition from the disciples of Tzu Ssu, the grandson of Confucius.<sup>4</sup> Tsou Yen, his younger contemporary, was one of his followers, and it is to him that the next three pages are devoted. This can only be either because Ssu-ma Ch'ien regarded him as the more important of the two, or that he was so regarded by his contemporaries on whose records Ssu-ma Ch'ien relies. What stands out, however, is that Tsou Yen is seen as the inheritor of the Mencian Confucian tradition, as is clear from the second piece

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1. Loc.cit.

2. SC74.2343; Mencius 1.7(pp.14-25), 2.2-11(pp.29-47), et passim.

3. SC46.1875, 74.2345, 2346.

4. SC74.2343. The genealogy of the school outlined here is corroborated by the passage from Hsün-tzu quoted above.

of evidence:

"All his arts fell into this category (i.e. those of the Yin yang chia), yet if we look at the essentials of his teaching, we find that they consist in the [Confucian] virtues of Benevolence, Duty, Restraint, and Frugality, and the practice of the Six Relationships, ruler to subject, superior to inferior. It is just that his starting point is excessive."<sup>1</sup>

The syncretic aspect of New Text Confucianism is not therefore a sudden, peculiar product of the Former Han, much less of Tung Chung-shu, but has a long history thoroughly rooted in Confucian tradition. Indeed, Fung Yu-lan sees the origin of the entire Old-New Text controversy in the parting of the way at Chi-hsia.<sup>2</sup> It was its Former Han apologists however who shaped it into a coherent system, and their writings provide, for the first time, arguments whose appeal, if not whose validity, may still be

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1. SC74.2344. Needham has interpreted this passage as "a piece of apologetic on the part of Ssu-ma Ch'ien who feels he has to pretend, at least, to vindicate Tsou Yen's Confucian orthodoxy" (Needham II, p.233, n.e), and stated that conventional and orthodox Confucians of Han time "rejected Tsou Yen and all his works" (p.251). This is by no means the case. Both Needham's comments refer to a passage in the Shih chi quoted in the Yen t'ieh lun which deals with other aspects of Tsou Yen's thought. In the same breath he notes "how fully Naturalism (i.e. the Yin yang chia) had become absorbed by Confucianism" (p.249, n.c) when discussing a passage from the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu.
  2. Fung Yu-lan II, p.9.

appreciated, as in the following passage from the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu:

"If water is channelled on to level ground, it will run off the parched areas and flow to the moist ones; if fire is applied to identical pieces of wood, it will avoid the damp one and seek the dry one. All things avoid that from which they differ and pursue that with which they are alike. Thus if [two] ethers<sup>1</sup> are the same, they will coalesce, and if [two] notes are the same, they will vibrate in sympathy. The proof of this is crystal clear. Try tuning [two] zithers and lay them across each other. If you strike 'doh' or 're' on one, the 'doh' or 're' on the other will vibrate in sympathy. That the five notes should match and resound together has nothing to do with the

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1. CCFL58(Su Yü 13.7a) says: "The ether (ch'i) of the universe collected together is one; divided, it becomes Yin and Yang; quartered, it becomes the Four Seasons; divided still further, it becomes the Five Elements." Here it is clearly the two ethers of Yin and Yang that are being referred to.

supernatural: it is due to the way the world is constructed.<sup>1</sup> Good attracts good and bad attracts bad through the principle of [like] categories responding to each other. For example, if one horse neighs, another will reply; if one cow lows, another will low back. Now when a dynasty is about to arise, in just the same way good omens will first be manifest; and when a dynasty is about to collapse, bad omens will appear beforehand: indeed, things of a kind attract each other ... The universe<sup>2</sup> contains Yin and Yang, and so does Man. When the Yin ether of the universe stirs, the Yin ether of Man stirs in response, and vice versa: the principle is exactly the same. Whoever understands this will rouse the Yin [of Man] to influence the Yin [of the universe] should he desire rain, and similarly with the Yang should he wish the rain to stop. Therefore the bringing of rain is in no way supernatural, though its principle is so remarkable that one might suspect it ... In conclusion, when 'doh' is plucked on one zither,

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1. Shu refers to the characteristic Han belief in the theory which accounts for the construction of the natural world by the observation of chance numerical coincidences ("numerology"). For example: "Heaven is 1, Earth is 2, Man is 3. 3x3 makes 9. 9x9 makes 81. 1 governs the sun. The sun's number is 10. Therefore Man is born in the 10th month of his development." (Ta tai li chi 81, tr.Needham II, p.271.) This line of argument is accepted in the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu (CCFL56, Su Yü 13.1b-4b), and is taken to absurd lengths in the appendices to the I ching (Fung Yu-lan II, pp.88-132; Needham II, pp.304-345). Shu as a general term in the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu however simply means "the way things are".
  2. See above, p.15, n.1.

the 'doh' on another will vibrate in sympathy, owing to the principle of [like] categories influencing [each other]. This influence is caused by sound, and has no [tangible] form; it is invisible, and so can only be described as 'sympathetic vibration'. Furthermore, when there is a case of mutual influence with no apparent form, it is described as 'spontaneous'. The truth of the matter is that it is not spontaneous but has a definite cause, though admittedly this definite cause is intangible ... The Book of History tells us<sup>1</sup> that when the Chou Dynasty was about to arise, there appeared huge red birds with grains of corn in their beaks, which gathered on the roof of the royal dwelling; whereupon King Wu and all his ministers were overjoyed, and the Duke of Chou exclaimed: 'Magnificent! Magnificent! Heaven has shown us this to encourage us. Let us stand in awe of it!'"<sup>2</sup>

It is evident from this that just as the Neo-Confucian approach of the Sung was conditioned by the sophisticated metaphysics of Buddhism, so the New Text Confucianism of the Former Han was inextricably interwoven with the Yin Yang teachings of the school of Tsou Yen, which supplied it with the metaphysical element that in its original form it

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1. The following "farrago of absurdities" is not in the present text of the Shu ching; it was however in the recension of the T'ai shih ("Great Declaration") current in the Han Dynasty (Legge III, pp.295-296).
  2. CCFL57(Su Yü 13.4b-6b).

lacked; and it was only by the absorption of these ideas, whose universal acceptance had made them so characteristic a part of the Han world picture, that Confucianism was able to secure its position as the state ideology. It remains to examine how this victory was achieved, and what part Tung Chung-shu played in it.

3. The Confucian victory and Tung Chung-shu's part in it.

The Confucian victory is normally measured in terms of the increasing appointment of scholars of the Confucian persuasion to high government office on the grounds of their ability irrespective of birth. That ability was to see that the administration of the empire properly reflected the will of a benevolent Confucian Heaven as manifest in portents whose authority was universally acknowledged. Of the numerous instances in the Former Han when edicts went out from the capital to the provinces requiring the services of what were usually termed the "worthy and good" (hsien liang), by far the majority were occasioned by the observation of an eclipse of the sun, an adverse portent. In the recruitment of 178 B.C. for example, the imperial edict records:

"When the lord of men is not virtuous and his dispositions in his government are not equable, Heaven then informs him [of that fact] by a calamitous visitation, in order to forewarn him that he is not governing rightly. Now on the last day of the eleventh month there was an eclipse of the sun - a reproach visible in the sky - what visitation could be greater? ... Wherever this order arrives, let all think what are Our faults and errors together with the inadequacies of Our knowledge and discernment. We beg that you will inform and tell Us of it and also present [to Us] those capable and good persons who are foursquare and upright and are able to speak frankly and unflinchingly admonish [Us], so as to correct Our inadequacies."<sup>1</sup>

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1. HS4.116, tr. Dubs I, pp.240-241; cf. SC10.422.



It is widely recognised that portents served as a vehicle for popular opinion to reach the throne and thus provide the occasion for reform.<sup>1</sup> The evidence suggests that the extent to which this reform pursued an increasingly Confucian course was not due to any self-evident advantages which primitive Confucianism might have offered as a system of state ethics, but to the fact that the philosophy of the New Text Confucians who sought to effect it, under the leadership of Tung Chung-shu, derived more from the school of Tsou Yen in the importance they attached to the interpretation of omens. What is implicit in all the Former Han recruitment edicts finds clear expression in that of 46 B.C.: where "worthy and good" or some other Confucian epithet would normally be found, there appear the remarkable words "those who understand Yin and Yang, omens and portents."<sup>2</sup>

The Wu hsing chih illustrates not only the importance attached to omens and their interpretation in the Former Han, but provides further evidence of the nature of New Text Confucian philosophy and the reasons for its victory, the extent of which is illustrated by its very existence. Of the five treatises in the Han shu, the Wu hsing chih is quite the longest, yet in common with many other important sources for the study of New Text Confucianism, it has been the subject of no major work of scholarship or translation. It deals with historical events from the Ch'un ch'iu period up to the time of the Han emperors, the portents which surrounded them,

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1. Som, p.123; Dubs II, pp.287 & 364.  
2. HS9.284.

and their interpretation by leading scholars such as Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang in terms of Yin yang chia teachings.

For example:

"The 24th year of Duke Yen: 'There was a great flood.' Tung Chung-shu's view was that owing to the infidelity of Lady Ai Ch'iang, the Yin ether was [over-]abundant. Liu Hsiang considered that when Ai Ch'iang had first been brought to court, the duke had ordered his wife and concubines to give her a present of cloth at their introduction, (which was against the rules of propriety); furthermore, the duke had been unable to prevent her from having illicit relations with his two younger brothers. His ministers and subjects had despised him for this, so that in that year as well as the next, there was a great flood. Liu Hsin put it down to the fact that before this, when Yen had been decorating his ancestral temple, he carved the rafters and painted the pillars red for the delight of his ladies, (an act of gross impropriety). Such is the penalty for disrespect to the ancestral temples."<sup>1</sup>

And also:

"The Shih chi says that in the first year of the Ch'in emperor Erh Shih, there was thunder yet no clouds in the sky.<sup>2</sup> Liu Hsiang's view was that just as thunder is dependent on clouds, a ruler is dependent on his subjects: such is the harmony of Yin and Yang. Erh Shih had

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1. HS27a.1344.

2. I have been unable to locate this incident in the Shih chi.

treated the world ruthlessly, so that all his subjects entertained thoughts of rebellion. That year, Ch'ên Shêng led an uprising, the empire revolted, Chao Kao acted seditiously, and the downfall of Ch'in resulted."<sup>1</sup>

History is now explained in terms of Yin yang chia teachings, which are even used as the key to the Ch'un ch'iu, one of the Five Classics which was believed to have been written by Confucius himself. Thus interpreted, immense importance was attached to this historical work during the Han, as it provided an invaluable guide to contemporary statesmen which they could not afford to ignore. The first thing learned about Tung Chung-shu in his biography is that he was famous for his Ch'un ch'iu studies, on which account he became a po shih under Emperor Ching.<sup>2</sup> None surpassed him in this field of scholarship during the reigns of the first five Han emperors,<sup>3</sup> and indeed, it was on the portents recorded in the Ch'un ch'iu that his own Yin Yang theories were based.<sup>4</sup> Kung-sun Hung, his politically more adroit rival in the same field of scholarship, regarded Tung Chung-shu's preeminence as so serious a threat that he intrigued against him and brought about his downfall.<sup>5</sup>

Inevitably " ... the efficacy of portents depended on whether the person for whom they were intended was willing to acknowledge them as such",<sup>6</sup> also, on whether those who observed them felt it expedient to report them. Woo moreover

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1. HS27b.1430.
  2. SC121.3127; HS56.2495.
  3. SC121.3128.
  4. SC121.3128; HS56.2498,2525.
  5. SC121.3128; HS56.2525.
  6. Som, p.121.

interprets the passage from the biography of Tung Chung-shu "when [his theories] are put into practice throughout the state, it has never been known for the desired result not to be obtained"<sup>1</sup> as an ironical comment of Ssu-ma Ch'ien,<sup>2</sup> whom he presumably supposes not to have accepted their validity. Nevertheless, the opinion of Dubs that portents and their interpretation constituted " ... a pseudo-science not wholeheartedly accepted by the best minds"<sup>3</sup> is not borne out either by the degree to which they are accepted in all the literature of the age, or by the example of Tung Chung-shu himself, who narrowly escaped with his life when he ventured to interpret the conflagration of two imperial shrines in 135 B.C. as a reproach to the throne.<sup>4</sup> To accuse Former Han statesmen of cynicism in their application of theories such as these is to judge them by the standards of rather later times.

The idea of recruiting the "worthy and good" or otherwise qualified is itself a well-known product of Confucian influence, and is specifically attributed to Tung Chung-shu in his biography along with the equally important and related matter of state education:

"The establishment of the educational system and recommendation by the provinces (chou) and commanderies (chün) of the talented (mao ts'ai) and those who are

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1. SC121.3128; HS56.2524.
  2. Woo, p.22, n.3.
  3. Dubs II, p.364.
  4. SC121.3128; HS56.2524, 27a.1331-1333.

filial and incorrupt (hsiao lien) all began with Tung Chung-shu."<sup>1</sup>

These developments represent the greatest achievements of the New Text Confucians in the Former Han, and ensured that there would be no reversing of their victory, but their history reveals that Pan Ku is wrong to attribute them to Tung Chung-shu, and that the presence of this statement in his biography is in need of explanation.

Apart from the general instruction that the worthy should be sought out and retained for government service contained in Emperor Kao's edict of 196 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> specific recruitments of what were described as "the worthy and good, and those with the ability to speak out frankly and remonstrate without reservation" were made in 178 and 165 B.C. by Emperor Wên,<sup>3</sup> and in 140 B.C. by Emperor Wu, when those who came forward included some Legalists, subsequently expelled on the advice of Wei Wan.<sup>4</sup> The first time a

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1. HS56.2525. The punctuated text of the Chung hua shu chü edition makes it quite clear that the preceding passage, "when Tung Chung-shu came to write his memorials, he advocated the promotion of Confucianism and the suppression of the Hundred Schools", is complete in itself; but the two passages have often been taken together, so that these developments too are said to have begun with Tung Chung-shu. Tai Chün-jên however, in the article listed in the Bibliography, has demonstrated that this cannot have been the case.
  2. HS1b.71.
  3. HS4.116, SC10.422; HS4.127.
  4. HS6.155-156, SC12.452.

Confucian virtue is mentioned in one of these edicts is when Emperor Wu summoned the "filial and incorrupt (hsiao lien)" in 134 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> by which time Tung Chung-shu, if he came forward in 140 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> may have had the opportunity of exerting some influence; however, the context of these edicts does not permit any conclusion to be drawn from the qualities required on any particular occasion, despite the assumptions of later scholars, exemplified by Hsü T'ien-lin in his Hsi han hui yao,<sup>3</sup> who arrange them into categories: the very idea of recruiting able men into government service irrespective of their birth was a Confucian one, as is quite clear from the outset in Emperor Kao's edict of 196 B.C., and had been put into practice long before the time of Tung Chung-shu; and it is by the frequency of these edicts, which increases steadily throughout the dynasty, that the Confucianisation of Han China is measured.

Pan Ku's statement also holds Tung Chung-shu responsible for the "hsüeh hsiao chih kuan", which is usually taken as a general term referring to both the Academy (t'ai hsüeh) and the various types of provincial and municipal schools, but

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1. HS6.160.

2. See below, p.43.

3. Hsi han hui yao, chüan 44 & 45 (p.509ff.). Unlike the T'ang hui yao and Wu tai hui yao by Wang P'u, on which it was modelled, and which are of immense value in preserving primary sources now lost, Hsü T'ien-lin's Hsi han hui yao is no more than a rearrangement by topic of the Han shu. It is therefore used in Han studies only as a subject key to the Han shu, or, as here, to illustrate the assumptions of the compiler.

whatever the part he might have played in securing the recognition of these establishments, it is again by no means the case that it "all began" with him. Though much of the evidence on this subject has been considered by Shryock,<sup>1</sup> relying heavily on the later tradition of the Wên hsüan and Yü hai as interpreted in an early work by Biot, Essai sur l'histoire de l'instruction publique en Chine,<sup>2</sup> as his conclusions are open to question and some of the most interesting evidence left untouched, the position may be reconsidered with advantage.

The idea of establishing state schools as an instrument of government is first found in Mencius, who claims to be describing the institutions of the Hsia in his advice to Duke Wên of T'êng:

"Hsiang, hsü, hsüeh, and hsiao were set up for the purpose of education. Hsiang means 'rearing', hsiao means 'teaching', and hsü means 'archery'. In the Hsia Dynasty it was called hsiao, in the Yin hsü, and in the Chou hsiang, while hsüeh was a name common to all the Three Dynasties. They all serve to make the people understand human relationships. When it is clear that those in authority understand human relationships, the people will be affectionate."<sup>3</sup>

There is ample reason to suppose that it is this passage rather than those quoted by Shryock from Hsün-tzu which

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1. Shryock, pp.65-77.
  2. Shryock, p.76, n.30.
  3. Mencius 5.3(p.118), tr. Lau, pp.98-99.

inspired the Han educational system; not only is the terminology of the later references present, but the whole tenor of the passage, with its emphasis on the value of good human relationships, makes it a much more likely source of inspiration for Tung Chung-shu in his memorials than the strictures of Hsün-tzu with his moulds and dies, and lends further support to the view that the New Text Confucians of the Former Han were following the Mencian tradition.

The first occasion recorded in the Han shu on which the suggestion of implementing the Mencian idea was put before the throne was when Chia Shan recommended the establishment of a t'ai hsüeh and ming t'ang "to cultivate the Way of the Former Kings",<sup>1</sup> and is described in an essay entitled Chih yen in which he "discussed the ways of good and bad government, taking the Ch'in Dynasty as an example."<sup>2</sup> The work is written in the form of a memorial and constitutes almost his entire biography, in which respects it is remarkably similar to the three memorials of Tung Chung-shu, and may have been derived from the 8 p'ien of his works listed in the Confucian philosophy section of the I wên chih.<sup>3</sup> Shryock questions the authenticity of this passage since there is no reference to the matter in the pên chi,<sup>4</sup> possibly because he has interpreted it as a record of events rather than a suggestion to the throne; there is of course no reason why the contents of a memorial should have been entered in

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1. HS51.2336.
  2. HS51.2327.
  3. HS30.1726.
  4. Shryock, p.70.



the pên chi, especially if the advice was not acted upon. The memorial has no precise date, but refers to the felicitous events of the "first year [of the present reign]" (179 B.C.),<sup>1</sup> and "some time later, Chia Shan again remonstrated when Emperor Wên rescinded the edict against counterfeit cash",<sup>2</sup> that is, in 175 B.C.;<sup>3</sup> he begins with the words "I have heard that a subject should be utterly loyal and completely ingenuous, and make a point of remonstrating frankly without fear of even capital punishment: your servant Shan is such a one",<sup>4</sup> so perhaps he was one of "those with the ability to speak out frankly and remonstrate without reservation" recruited in 178 B.C.<sup>5</sup> There is therefore reason to believe that the suggestion of establishing an Academy elaborated by Tung Chung-shu during the reign of Emperor Wu had already been put to the throne over forty years earlier during the opening years of the reign of Emperor Wên.

Although Tung Chung-shu referred to the existence of provincial schools in remote antiquity,<sup>6</sup> his memorials contain a direct request only for the establishment of an Academy,<sup>7</sup> and even that was not acted upon until Kung-sun Hung had repeated the suggestion some ten years later. The first not merely to propose but actually to effect the

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1. HS51.2335.
  2. HS51.2337.
  3. HS4.121.
  4. HS51.2327.
  5. HS4.116.
  6. HS56.2503.
  7. HS56.2512.

building of a provincial school was a certain Wên Wêng, whose biography appears in the account of the Reasonable Officials.<sup>1</sup> It is divided into two sections, both entirely concerned with education. The first records that Wên Wêng was fond of learning and had studied the Ch'un ch'iu, like Tung Chung-shu, and had become the governor of Shu at the end of Emperor Ching's reign. To improve the backwardness and rusticity of that region, he had selected the more prepossessing of his petty officials and sent them to the capital to receive instruction from the po shih and in some cases to study law; they all acquitted themselves well, and were given high office on their return.<sup>2</sup> The second section is of even greater interest:

"He also built a school in the market place at Chêng-tu, and summoned the youth of the surrounding counties to become pupils there, exempting them from their normal duties. He employed the outstanding ones as officials, and the next as 'model workers'.<sup>3</sup> He used to select youths from the school and cause them to learn their jobs by sitting alongside [the officials]. Whenever he visited the counties, he would take with him in large numbers those pupils from his school who had

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1. HS89.3625-3626.

2. HS89.3625.

3. Throughout the Former Han it was the custom to reward the hsiao t'i (filially and fraternally pious) li t'ien (agricultural labourers) with either cash or exemption from forced labour in order to encourage these virtues among the populace and emphasise the importance of agriculture (see HS2.90; 3.96; 4.124; 8.250,254,259).

understood the classics and behaved diligently, and let them pass on his orders and use the inner gate. When the county officials saw this they were most impressed, and after some years would vie with one another to become pupils at the school, and the rich were even prepared to lay out money for it. He thus effected a great transformation, and there were as many students who went to study at the capital from the Shu region as from Ch'i and Lu. And so coming to the reign of Emperor Wu, the order that the empire's commanderies and kingdoms should all establish schools took its origin with Wên Wêng."<sup>1</sup>

It is clearly implied that Wên Wêng's school had been established under the emperor Ching, but a less flattering account of its success is given in the Ti li chih:

"In the reigns of Ching and Wu, Wên Wêng was the governor of Shu. He taught the people to read and obey his commands, but as yet they had no genuine belief in the Virtue of the Way, and on the contrary made fun of those with a fondness for learning and toadied to those with power."<sup>2</sup>

In Kung-sun Hung's well-known memorial,<sup>3</sup> not only is the Mencian ideal restated in its original terminology, but the working of the educational system which was to receive imperial assent for the first time is described in full:

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1. HS89.3626. Shryock's translation (p.68) is a travesty of the original text.
  2. HS28b.1645.
  3. SC121.3118-3120, tr. Watson II, pp.399-401; cf. HS88. 3593-3596.

able pupils were selected in the provinces and sent to the capital where they received further instruction; they were then examined and the successful candidates drafted into government service. The memorial does not appear in Kung-sun Hung's own biography,<sup>1</sup> but in the account of the Confucian Scholars, which serves to indicate the significance of the part it played in the Confucian victory. It is not dated, but the edict to which it is a reply, and which quotes it in an almost identical form, was promulgated in 124 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The development of the state educational system in the Former Han therefore arose under Confucian influence, and more specifically, from the Mencian tradition, whose perpetuation as the state ideology was thus assured. It seems to have developed piecemeal, and under the influence of no single person: clearly, as long as there were po shih either at the capital or in the provinces, there would be seats of learning, and it would be unreasonable to assume that the fully-fledged system described by Kung-sun Hung appeared suddenly in 124 B.C.; furthermore, if provincial and metropolitan teaching and examining and subsequent recruitment into the bureaucracy had been even remotely comparable with the institutions of later dynasties, it would not have been necessary for special edicts to be promulgated each time recruits were needed, yet such edicts appeared with increasing frequency throughout the dynasty,

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1. SC112; HS58.  
2. HS6.171-172.

and over two dozen instances can be found in the pên chi for the 1st century B.C. It is evident however that the role of Tung Chung-shu in the development of state education was minor: he was responsible neither for the conception of the idea nor its initial submission to the throne, and it was his jealous rival who eventually secured its recognition. Pan Ku's contention that it "all began" with him cannot be sustained, and some other reason must be sought for the inclusion of this remark in his biography.

4. The three memorials.

The ready acceptance of the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu as unquestionably the work of Tung Chung-shu has caused the three memorials preserved in the Han shu biography to take second place in the attention of scholars who have addressed themselves to a study of his thought. Yet they are, as indicated above, his only treatises whose authenticity is beyond doubt, and their length is striking: they completely dwarf the rest of the biography, which is only slightly more comprehensive than the Shih chi version. Even without the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu, there would still be sufficient preserved in Tung Chung-shu's biography to provide an adequate account of his philosophy, and the situation would be much better than for many of his contemporaries: Kung-sun Hung, for example, or the rather earlier agrarian Ch'ao Ts'o, whose teachings are well known, but only from fragments preserved in the Han shu.<sup>1</sup>

The three memorials, which together with the preceding edicts and introductory sentence are the subject of the following translation, form an integrated whole, and appear in the Tung tzu wen chi collections as a single item entitled Hsien liang ts'ê. They are presumably drawn from the first group of writings referred to in Tung Chung-shu's biography, the 123 p'ien which included "instruction (chiao)

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1. See De Bary, pp.229-232; Kuo Shên-po, pp.67-69. Ch'ao Ts'o is not surprisingly an attractive figure to Marxist writers, and a useful annotated collection of the fragments is provided in Ch'ao Ts'o chi ch'i chu tso, pp.77-134.

arranged in sections (t'iao) which were submitted to the throne (shang shu)",<sup>1</sup> a description to which they answer perfectly. In his edicts the emperor had required Tung Chung-shu to write his advice down so that he could examine it closely in person,<sup>2</sup> a formula which also occurs in the edict which preceeds Kung-sun Hung's memorial.<sup>3</sup> The bamboo slips (p'ien) on which the advice was written would then have been rolled up and stored in the imperial library, so that when Pan Ku came to write the dynastic history, he was able to select them from the 123 p'ien preserved there, and use them to augment Ssu-ma Ch'ien's rather brief sketch in the Shih chi.

The pên chi note that both Tung Chung-shu and Kung-sun Hung had distinguished themselves in the imperial enquiry of 134 B.C.;<sup>4</sup> but it has been assumed since at least the time of Ssu-ma Kuang<sup>5</sup> that Tung Chung-shu submitted his memorials and thus gained the chancellorship of Chiang-tu in 140 B.C., on the basis of the passage in his biography which states that this took place "when Emperor Wu had ascended the throne".<sup>6</sup> The earlier date is apparently corroborated by Kung-sun Hung's biography, which states that he distinguished himself "when Emperor Wu had first ascended the throne".<sup>7</sup> Evidence from the memorials

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1. HS56.2525.
  2. HS56.2507.
  3. HS58.2614.
  4. HS6.160.
  5. Tzu chih t'ung chien 17.549-556.
  6. HS56.2495; cf. SC121.3127-3128.
  7. HS58.2613.

themselves is of little help: although the final paragraph of the third memorial<sup>1</sup> would be anachronistic in advocating the suppression of non-Confucian disciplines unless written in 140 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> and even then of questionable originality, a passage in the first memorial suggests that the Han Dynasty had been established for "over seventy years",<sup>3</sup> and so could not have been written earlier than 137 B.C.; and a passage in the second memorial refers to the submission of Yeh-lang and K'ang-chü to the imperial Virtue and Righteousness,<sup>4</sup> which did not take place until 135 B.C. at the earliest.<sup>5</sup> Taking advantage of the ambiguity of the passage in Tung Chung-shu's biography "when Emperor Wu had ascended the throne", which could refer to the year 140 B.C. or any time thereafter, scholars have produced a variety of dates for the submission of the memorials, of which the most convincing are the year 134 B.C. or later.<sup>6</sup> It seems

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1. HS56.2523.

2. See Tain, p.51.

3. HS56.2505.

4. HS56.2511.

5. The annexation of Yeh-lang took place in 135 B.C., and is described in the Shih chi and Han shu accounts of the Southwestern Barbarians (SCL16.2993-2994, tr. Watson II, pp.291-293; HS95.3839). Tain (p.53) claims to be the first to note that a passage in the biography of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju suggests that the submission of K'ang-chü took place at the same time (SCL17.3044, tr. Watson II, p.322; HS57b.2577).

6. The position is reviewed by Tain, who also advances his own theory (pp.46-54). His account is essentially a reworking of the evidence gathered by Tai Chün-jên in the article listed in the Bibliography.



most likely that Tung Chung-shu first came to court as a result of the recruitment made by Emperor Wu on his accession in 140 B.C., an assumption which is not precluded by the notice in the pên chi that he distinguished himself in 134 B.C.; he submitted memorials to the throne from that time onwards, fragments of which are incorporated in the three memorials in his biography; as a result of his outstanding performance in the imperial enquiry of 134 B.C., in which he would have inevitably submitted more memorials, which may well constitute the basis though almost certainly not the entirety of those reproduced in his biography, he was rewarded with the post in Chiang-tu, though it is equally possible that this appointment had been both made and terminated before 134 B.C.

Although the evidence does not permit a definitive solution to the problem of dating the memorials, the need for one is to some extent circumvented by taking a broader view of Pan Ku's purpose in writing the biography of Tung Chung-shu, which was to provide a treatise on Confucianism and record of its victory under Emperor Wu, attached to the eminently suitable person of its leading exponent. At a distance of some two centuries, he is credited with promoting the expulsion from court of all non-Confucian statesmen, and initiating the establishment of Confucian educational institutions and the selection of government servants on the grounds of ability rather than birth, in all of which developments it has been shown that he played only a subsidiary if not peripheral role; and yet he was so famous among his contemporaries and his

writings so prodigious and representative of New Text Confucian thought that his eventual canonisation as the founder of the Confucian state and all its apparatus was inevitable. Pan Ku therefore compiles from the archives three closely matching edicts and memorials which best summarise the New Text Confucian position, their date being irrelevant to his purpose; he then extracts Tung Chung-shu's biography from the account of the Confucian Scholars in the Shih chi, and instead of lumping it together with its Han shu equivalent, combines it with the edicts and memorials, changing it only slightly, and makes it the subject of a separate chapter. Pan Ku is thus able on the one hand to enhance the importance of Tung Chung-shu and the Confucian panegyric, and on the other to quote from Tung Chung-shu's memorials at inordinate length without upsetting the balance of his chapter on the Confucian scholars. In such a venture it is scarcely surprising that one or two phrases should give rise to chronological confusion, just as Ssu-ma Ch'ien's biography of Li Ssu, whose purpose is in some respects similar though with whose artistry the biography of Tung Chung-shu is admittedly not to be compared, has produced problems of a similar nature.

The extent to which the memorials have been edited by Pan Ku or the Liu's in their capacity as imperial archivists must, in the absence of substantial evidence, remain a matter of conjecture. What cannot be doubted however is that they are a pastiche: such free rearrangement of the

edicts and memorials stored in the imperial archive to serve a particular purpose is characteristic of the chih (treatise) and chuan (biography) sections of the Han shu and indeed other dynastic histories, and the process is exemplified perfectly in what might have been taken as a fourth memorial of Tung Chung-shu preserved in the Li yüeh chih,<sup>1</sup> but is actually an abridgement of part of the first memorial with two fragments from the third. There are minor textual differences which invite analysis, but the sample is too small for sound conclusions to be drawn.

The memorials have been translated into a western language twice, on both occasions into German. Firstly there is the antique rendering of Pfizmaier,<sup>2</sup> which is best dismissed in the words of Franke:

" ... sie wimmelt von den grotesksten Missverständnissen, wie sie freilich bei dem damaligen Stande der sinologischen Kenntnisse erhlärlich sind, und bedient sich einer so wunderlichen Ausdruckweise, dass sie ohne den chinesischen Text überhaupt nicht, mit ihm aber auch nur schwer verständlich ist."<sup>3</sup>

Seufert's translation<sup>4</sup> is an entirely different matter: it is for the most part accurate, as Hulsewé recognised in his translation of the Li yüeh chih extract,<sup>5</sup> and is well provided with annotations concerned mainly with matters of language and meaning and the source of quotations. However, no

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1. HS22.1031-1032, tr. Hulsewé, pp.434-435.

2. See Bibliography.

3. Franke, p.91, n.2.

4. See Bibliography.

5. Hulsewé, p.446, n.34.

consideration has been given to the memorials as an expression of New Text Confucian thought, which has been shown to be the probable reason for their inclusion in the biography; and the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu, whatever its authorship, has hardly been mentioned, and then only by reference to Franke.<sup>1</sup>

The following translation has been made afresh from the punctuated text of the Chung hua shu chü edition of the Han shu, and account taken of the glosses therein of Yen Shih-ku and others. The figures in the left margin refer to the page and column number of that edition, discounting commentary. Reference has also been made to the commentary of Wang Hsien-ch'ien. Couvreur's Dictionnaire classique de la langue chinoise, which is based on the author's extensive reading in texts of identical nature to that under consideration, has been found an indispensable tool in the search for appropriate English, through French, equivalents. Since a translation, in expressing a choice between variant interpretations whenever these occur, is itself a form of commentary, it has proved possible to restrict explicit notices of this to a minimum. Nor has it been found necessary to repeat either the standard explanations of early Chinese philosophical terminology used in its ordinary sense, or any matter which has received adequate treatment by Seufert.

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1. There are also several partial translations noted by Seufert (pp.13-14). Tung Chung-shu's biography in the Shih chi has been translated by Burton Watson (II, pp. 409-411), and previously by Franke (pp.91-98) and Woo (pp.15-33), who have also taken into account the Han shu version.

5. Translation of the three memorials.

2495.3

When Emperor Wu had ascended the throne, he sought the recommendation of worthy and good scholars versed in letters to the number of several hundred, and Tung Chung-shu being included among them presented the following replies to the

2495.4

emperor's questions.<sup>1</sup> The [first] edict said:

"We have succeeded to our father's exalted position of leadership, and wish to ensure its perpetual continuance and make its presence universally felt, but the responsibility is great and the undertaking immense; day and night we take

2495.5

no time to rest in unremitting concern for the continuation of tradition, yet ever fearful of breaking with it. We have therefore invited men of superior ability from far and wide, and caused [the governors of] the commanderies and kingdoms and the feudal lords impartially to select scholars of

2495.6

ability, integrity, and wide learning, for we wish to hear the essentials of the great Way, and the ultimate truths of its highest principles. Now you, sirs, stand right at the

2495.7

head of those recommended, and this we consider a most excellent achievement. We will give ear to your finest

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1. For the date of these edicts and memorials see above, pp.43-45. The requirement that the scholars recommended should be "versed in letters" (wên hsüeh) is somewhat obscure, and does not appear in any of the recruitment edicts of Emperor Wu preserved in the pên chi. It may have crept into this passage by association with an order that went out in the summer of 82 B.C. under Emperor Chao: "Let the Three Ministers (San fu) and the Master of Ceremonies (T'ai ch'ang) recommend two each of the worthy (hsien) and good (liang), and the commanderies and kingdoms one scholar each of high standing (kao ti) and versed in letters (wên hsüeh)" (HS7.223).

sentiments and deepest thoughts, and then we will cross-examine them.

2496.1

Now I understand that the Way of the Five Emperors and Three Kings<sup>1</sup> was to obtain harmony in the world by reforming

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1. The Confucian view of ancient history is derived from the Shu ching. Mencius was among those who used it extensively in demonstrating the validity of their teachings, and Tung Chung-shu uses it in the same way throughout the three memorials. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, who may at one time have been his pupil (SC130.3297), gives an account of it in the first four chapters of the Shih chi. D.C.Lau has summarised it in a useful appendix to his translation of Mencius (Lau, pp.223-234), where the Five Emperors and Three Dynasties, of which the Three Kings were the founders, are defined. The terms "Sage Kings", "Former Kings", and "Former Sages" are used rather vaguely to designate those rulers of antiquity who achieved outstanding success in the ordering of the empire by modelling it on Heaven, and whose approach is therefore known as the "Kingly Way" or simply the "Way". The tyrant kings are obviously not included in the designation "Former Kings". The following rulers of antiquity, listed in chronological order, are referred to specifically by Tung Chung-shu in his arguments in the three memorials:

Yao & Shun: the last two of the Five Emperors; the archetypal Sages. As in Mencius, these are the only two of the Five Emperors mentioned by name. Whenever they are referred to by their dynastic names of T'ang & Yü, these have been changed to Yao & Shun to avoid confusion with the founders of the Shang & Hsia, which in Chinese are clearly distinguished by the use of different characters.

Yü: founder of the Hsia; one of the Three Kings.

Chieh: a tyrant; last emperor of the Hsia.

T'ang: founder of the Shang; one of the Three Kings.

Tchou: a tyrant; last emperor of the Shang. Spelt with an initial "t" (after Lau) to avoid confusion with the Chou Dynasty.

Wên: father of Wu. Although the Shang Dynasty was not overthrown in his lifetime, he is usually considered joint founder, with Wu, of the Chou.

Wu: founder of the Chou; one of the Three Kings.

Duke of Chou: younger brother of Wu, whom he assisted in the overthrow of Tchou. Though never emperor, he is nevertheless reckoned a Sage.

Ch'êng & K'ang: 2nd & 3rd emperors of the Chou; good rulers, but not Sages.

Li: 10th emperor of the Chou; a tyrant.

Yu: a tyrant; last emperor of the Western Chou.

King Hsüan: the enlightened ruler of Ch'i from 319 to 301 B.C. Patron of the Chi Hsia Academy.

institutions and having music composed, and that the vassal kings did likewise. Of the music of Shun, none was performed  
2496.2 more often than the Shao, and under the Chou none more often than the Shuo.<sup>1</sup> After the passing of the Sage Kings, although the music of the bells, drums, flutes, and strings had not yet declined, the great Way was becoming eroded, and reached  
2496.3 its nadir with the activities of Chieh and Tchou, when the Kingly Way was laid to ruin. For five hundred years there have been many gentlemen preserving the outward forms and scholars in official positions who have wished to use the  
2496.4 example of the Former Kings for the benefit of their times, but none has succeeded in returning to it, and they have fallen daily by the wayside until the reigns of latter-day  
2496.5 kings.<sup>2</sup> Surely the values they uphold do not represent an heretical break with tradition? Though the destiny ordained  
2496.6 by Heaven is irrevocable, will it only end in universal decline? Alas, will all my activity, rising before dawn and retiring after dusk, taking pains to model my regime on remote antiquity, be of no avail? [The rulers of] the Three Dynasties received [Heaven's] mandate: where is its counterpart [in my reign]? What causes the alternation of

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1. The Shao was the music of Shun, and the Shuo that of the Duke of Chou. In the Li yüeh chih, the names of these pieces are given etymologies, characteristically Han, in accordance with the contemporary theory of music: "The Shao 'hands down' (a pun) [the institutions of] Yao"; "the name Shuo means that [the piece] is capable of 'ladling out, as wine' (another pun) the Way of the Former Ancestors" (HS22.1038). See also below, p.68.
  2. The expression "latter-day kings" (hou wang) forms an elegant contrast with "Former Kings" (hsien wang).

2496.7

portents? The 'disposition' of 'destiny' and 'nature' is such that life is sometimes short, sometimes long; men are sometimes worthy, sometimes degenerate: we have often heard these terms, but never understood the principles behind them.<sup>1</sup> We wish to put our commands into practice by

propagating good customs, and to reform treachery whilst

2497.1

making punishments lighter, so that the common people will be content, and the aims of my government made clear to all.

What must I do to make rich dew descend, the crops flourish,

my Virtue<sup>2</sup> enrich the Four Seas, my favours reach even the

2497.2

plants, the Three Luminaries (i.e. sun, moon, & stars) shine forth in their fulness, and cold and heat come in even measure? How can I receive Heaven's blessing and the divine powers of the spirits? How will my Virtue and favours spread forth and be extended beyond the empire, even unto the whole of creation?

2498.1

You, gentlemen, have understood the calling of the Former Sages, and are conversant with the way in which customs change and their proper sequence; you have long been expounding their highest principles: now explain them to me. Explain

2498.2

every detail separately, and do not lump things together.

Rack your brains, and consider well your reply. If you know

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1. The terms hsing, ming, and ch'ing are understood by Tung Chung-shu in a rather specialised sense, explained in his reply, p.57 below. They are also referred to in the third memorial, p.78.
  2. Tê, like the English word "virtue" which is used to translate it, can mean either "inherent power" or "moral excellence". When Tung Chung-shu uses it in its Confucian sense of "a good moral example", one of the cardinal virtues, it is given an initial capital.



of any instances of dishonesty or disloyalty, or corruption  
2498.3

in the administration, write it down secretly and submit it  
to ourselves: have no fear of redress. Speak your minds,  
gentlemen, and conceal nothing: we will personally examine  
your reply."

2498.4

Tung Chung-shu replied as follows:

2498.5

"Your majesty has spoken in Virtuous accents, and  
promulgated an illustrious decree; he has enquired into  
Heaven's 'mandate', and into 'disposition' and 'nature':

all these things are beyond the reach of his ignorant  
2498.6

servant. I am only able to consider the past events of  
times gone by as recorded in the Spring and Autumn Annals,  
and thereby observe the awesome relationship between

Heaven and Man. When a state was about to err from the  
Way, Heaven produced a calamity beforehand in order to

2498.7

reprimand it; if it did not then have the sense to examine  
itself, Heaven then sent a prodigy in order to startle it;  
if, even then, it failed to change its ways, disaster would  
ensue. From this we can see that the mind of Heaven is

2498.8

benevolently disposed towards a ruler, and wishes to prevent  
him from falling into disorder.<sup>1</sup> Even if there has been

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1. This is a classic statement of the theory of portents and is closely paralleled in remarkably similar words by passages in the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu (CCFL30, Su Yü 8.24b) and, as noted by Su Yü in his commentary, the biographies of K'ung Kuang (HS81.3359-3360) and Ku Yung (HS85.3450); the ideas also occur, as we should expect, in several Later Han locations (see Su Yü, loc. cit.). The Ch'un ch'iu fan lu passage is translated by Derk Bodde (Fung Yu-lan II, p.55) and De Bary (I, p.171).

no great departure from the Way, Heaven is still entirely desirous of upholding and safeguarding him, and merely  
2498.9 requires that he make an effort. He should make efforts in learning, so that his reputation spreads and his knowledge is famous; he should make efforts in practising the Way, so that his Virtue increases daily and his measures have great effect: all these efforts will enable him swiftly  
2499.1 to achieve his aims and will immediately produce results.

The Book of Odes says: 'From dawn to dusk unflagging',<sup>1</sup> and the Book of History says: 'Make the effort! Make the effort!'<sup>2</sup>

These are all references to [the need for] forcing oneself on.  
2499.2

The Way is the path by which we arrive at good order, and the virtues of Benevolence, Righteousness, Ritual, and Music are its tools. That the descendants of the Sage Kings enjoyed peace for several centuries after their passing is  
2499.3

entirely due to the civilising effect of their Ritual and Music. When a king has not yet composed his own music, he

adopts such of the music of the Former Kings as is suitable  
2499.4

for his times and uses it to deepen his civilising effect upon his subjects. If this civilising effect is not

achieved, the music of the Ya and Sung will not have been perfected; hence the king who achieves his purpose and has

music composed is one who takes pleasure in his royal power.<sup>3</sup>  
2499.5

Music is a means of transforming social attitudes and customs, and its operation is simple and plain for all to

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1. Cf. Legge IVii, pp.543,546.

2. Cf. Legge IIIi, p.74.

3. There is a pun on the two meanings of yüeh, 'music' and 'to take pleasure in'.

see. Its sounds arise from a state of [social] harmony  
and are rooted in the human disposition: they touch the  
2499.6  
flesh and are stored in the bones. So even though the  
Kingly Way has become eroded, the sound of the pipes and  
strings is not lost. It is a long time since Shun held  
the reins of government, but some traditional melodies  
2499.7  
from his music are still preserved, so that Confucius heard  
the Shao in the state of Ch'i.<sup>1</sup> Now there was no ruler  
who did not wish to safeguard his position nor was afraid  
of being deposed, yet many states were in disorder and their  
2499.8  
existence precarious: those in office were not the right  
men, and the policies they followed were not the right Way,  
so that the administration went daily from bad to worse.  
The decline of the Way of the kings of Chou under Yu and  
Li did not take place because [knowledge of] it had been  
2499.9  
lost, but rather because Yu and Li failed to follow it.  
Coming down to King Hsüan, mindful of the erstwhile Virtue  
of the Former Kings, reviving the defunct and making good  
the defective, he set forth the noble profession of Wên  
and Wu, so that the Way of the kings of Chou was restored  
2500.1  
in all its glory. The poets then wrote in his praise, and  
Heaven blessed him and provided him with worthy ministers;  
later generations sang his praise without ceasing, even  
unto the present. This was brought about by that good  
conduct [which the Book of Odes referred to in the words]  
2500.2  
'from dawn to dusk unflagging'. Confucius said: 'It is

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1. Confucius was so impressed by the Shao on this occasion that "for three months he did not know the taste of meat". (Analects VII.13, Legge I, p.199.)

Man that glorifies the Way, not the Way that glorifies Man';<sup>1</sup>  
order and disorder take their rise within Man (i.e. the  
ruler) himself: it is not that the destiny ordained by Heaven  
2500.3  
is irrevocable, or that the values which have been upheld  
represent an heretical break with tradition.

2500.4  
Your servant has heard that a king appointed by Heaven  
must possess something which comes by itself, and cannot be  
achieved by human effort, and that this is a sign that he has  
2500.5  
received the mandate; with like mind, people will turn to him  
as to their own parents. Good omens therefore arise in

response to a sincere effort. The Book of History says: 'A  
white fish entered the royal barge; fire descended to the  
2500.6  
roof of the palace, and took the form of a crow.'<sup>2</sup> These  
were the signs that the mandate had been received. The Duke  
of Chou exclaimed: 'This is the recompense! This is the  
recompense!' Confucius said: 'Virtue is never found in  
isolation: there are invariably attendant circumstances.'<sup>3</sup>

2500.7  
Such is the result of consistently good conduct. Coming to  
later times, we find over-indulgence, indolence, decline,  
and decay, no qualities for the governance of all creation.

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1. Analects XV.28, Legge I, p.302.
  2. Neither this nor the following quotation appear in the present text of the Shu ching. The episode occurs however in the New Text recension of the T'ai shih ("Great Declaration") that was current in the Han Dynasty (see Legge IIIii, p.298) and incorporated into the Shih chi (SC4.120), but the wording is not identical.
  3. Analects IV25, Legge I, p.172. The classical quotations used by Tung Chung-shu in his arguments are, needless to say, translated in accordance with his understanding of them.

The nobles overstep the limits of their authority, oppress  
2500.8 the people, and wrest their land from them; they abandon  
persuasion through moral example, and employ punishments  
instead. Such punishments are inappropriate, and consequently  
produce a poisonous atmosphere. This poisonous atmosphere  
grows among the lower orders, while resentment builds up  
2500.9 above. When rulers and ruled are in disharmony, Yin and Yang  
get seriously out of step and omens of misfortune arise.

Such is the cause of portents.

2501.1

Your servant has heard that the term 'destiny' means  
'Heaven's command' and 'nature' means 'the inherent qualities  
of a being'; 'disposition' [on the other hand] refers to  
Man's aspirations.<sup>1</sup> A long or short life, or a worthy or

degenerate character are things which are die-cast: they  
2501.2 cannot be refined and improved. [Men] are not uniform,

insofar as each contains within himself the seeds of either  
order or chaos. Confucius said: 'The inherent quality of  
a Gentleman is like the wind; that of the common man is

2501.3

like grass. The grass falls prostrate when the wind blows  
over it.'<sup>2</sup> When Yao and Shun set a good moral example, the  
people were good and lived long; when Chieh and Tchou  
committed atrocities, the people were evil and died young.

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1. A contrast is being made between the terms ming and hsing, which refer to phenomena beyond the control of the individual, and ch'ing, which can become whatever he chooses to make it.

2. Analects XII.19, Legge I, p.259.

You see, for a ruler to transform the ruled, and for the  
2501.4

ruled to submit to the ruler, is like having clay on a

potter's wheel: only a potter can model it; it is like metal  
2501.5

in a mould: only a metalsmith can cast it. Such is the

meaning of [the words of Confucius]: 'He would make them

content, and they would take heart; he would move them, and

they would live in harmony.'<sup>1</sup>

2501.6

Your servant has carefully examined the text of the Spring  
and Autumn Annals in search of the principle underlying the

Kingly Way, and has found it in the term chêng (the first

month of the year).<sup>2</sup> The term chêng comes after wang (the

king), and wang comes after ch'un (spring). Ch'un is

2502.1

ordained by Heaven, but chêng (the first month of the year)

is what the king (wang) has established. The meaning is

that [the king (wang)] uses what Heaven has ordained (i.e.

ch'un) to regulate (a pun on chêng) his own activities, so

that in the term chêng (the first month of the year) we

find the principle which underlies the Kingly Way. This

2502.2

being the case, whenever a king wishes to do anything, he

should take his example from Heaven. Now the most important

feature of Heaven's Way consists in Yin and Yang; Yang

stands for [government by] Virtue and Yin for [government

by] coercive penalties. Whereas coercive penalties concentrate

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1. Analects XIX.25.4, Legge I, p.349.

2. The following passage is a highly contrived interpretation of the formula used throughout the Ch'un ch'iu to introduce events: ch'un, wang chêng yüeh, "in spring, in the first month of the year according to [the calendar of] the kings [of Chou]." (The state of Lu used the Chou calendar.)

2502.3

on execution, the essence of Virtue is preserving life.

Yang reaches its maximum at the height of summer, and its function is to bring everything to its fullest growth; but

Yin reaches its maximum in midwinter, and accumulates in  
2502.4

empty, useless places. We see, therefore, that Heaven

makes use of Virtue, but not of coercive penalties. Heaven

causes Yang to spread forth from above, and take control of

the year's activity; it causes Yin to lie concealed below,  
2502.5

and emerge at the proper time to assist Yang. If Yang

does not obtain the assistance of Yin, it cannot bring the

year to fruition by itself. In the end, however, it is

Yang which is the more notable in the matter of bringing

the year to fruition: such is Heaven's purpose. The king

should comply with Heaven's purpose in the conduct of his  
2502.6

government, and rule by Virtue rather than by coercive

penalties. Mankind can no more be ruled by coercive

penalties than the year can be brought to fruition by Yin.

Since rule by coercive penalties goes counter to [the will  
2502.7

of] Heaven, the Former Kings were never willing to employ

them.<sup>1</sup> Is not the present dismissal of those officials

who favour the Former Kings' rule by Virtue, and the

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1. The Mencian concept of government by Virtue (tê), but now tempered with penal law (hsing), is here given cosmic justification. The tenor of this passage is closely paralleled in CCFL51 (Su Yü, 12.5b-6a) and CCFL47 (Su Yü, 11.15b-16a). It is characteristic of New Text Confucianism to interpret the Confucian virtues in this way. Elsewhere in the Ch'un ch'iu fan lu, for example, Filial Piety (hsiao) and Loyalty (chung) are justified in terms of Five Element cosmology (CCFL42, Su Yü, 11.3a-4a); one chapter is entirely concerned with such an interpretation of the Hsiao ching passage "Now Filial Piety is the pervading principle of Heaven ... " (CCFL38, Su Yü, 10.21b-23b).

appointment only of those who wish to practise rule by law,  
2502.8

a case of ruling by coercive penalties? Confucius said:

'To punish a man who has not been taught otherwise is cruel indeed'.<sup>1</sup> When such tyranny is being practised, it is certainly difficult for the influence of Virtue to spread throughout the world.

2502.9

Your servant has carefully investigated the reason why the Spring and Autumn Annals uses the word yüan (original) instead of i (first) [in the expression 'the first year (of the reign)']. The One (i) is that from which all phenomena take their rise; the Origin (yüan) is what the Great

Appendix [to the Book of Changes] describes as great. To  
2502.10

use the word yüan (original) instead of i (first) is to emphasize the greatness of the beginning (i.e. that from which all phenomena take their rise) and attests a desire to put fundamentals on a correct footing. The Spring and Autumn Annals inquires deeply into these fundamentals, and so, tracing them back to their origin, begins with what

2503.1

is regarded [in the Great Appendix] as noble.<sup>2</sup> The ruler, therefore, should regulate his own feelings in order to regulate those of his court; and when his court is in order, his officials will fall into line, and consequently his subjects and the entire world: near and far, none will fail

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1. Analects XX.3.2, Legge I, p.353.

2. This passage is another contrived interpretation of a Ch'un ch'iu formula, the precise meaning of which is far from clear.



2503.2

to be at one with the norm he establishes, and no baleful influences will cause dissension among them. Therefore Yin and Yang will be in harmony, and wind and rain will arrive in due season; all creation will be at peace, and

the people will prosper; the Five Cereals will reach fruition,  
2503.3

and subsidiary crops will flourish;<sup>1</sup> the whole earth, nourished with these blessings, will overflow with abundance, and all mankind, on hearing of [the ruler's] ample Virtue,

will flock to become his subjects. Of all possible blessings,  
2503.4

every conceivable good fortune, none will eventually fail to arrive, and the Kingly Way will be fulfilled indeed.

2503.5

Confucius said: 'The phoenix does not arrive, the river does not give forth the chart: it is all over with me!'<sup>2</sup> He was grieved that although he possessed the ability to cause these things to appear, since he occupied such a lowly

2503.6

station, he had no opportunity of doing so. Now your majesty holds the exalted position of Son of Heaven, and has the riches of the Four Seas; he occupies the highest station it is possible to achieve, has in his grasp all attainable

2503.7

power, and is endowed with the greatest ability; his actions are noble and his generosity abundant; his wisdom is manifest and his intentions excellent; he loves his people and favours scholars; he is most assuredly a righteous ruler. Why is it,

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1. The Five Cereals, whose precise listing varies, are cultivated for food on the plain, whereas 'subsidiary crops' (ch'ê mu) grow wild above the cultivation line, and include such things as timber for fuel and building.
  2. Analects IX.8, Legge I, p.219.

then, that the earth has yet shown no response, and blessings  
2503.8

have not arrived? It is all because the people have not  
fallen into line as no organs of Instruction have been

established. Now the tendency of the common people to pursue  
profit is like that of water to flow downwards, and unless it  
2503.9

be by the embankments of Instruction, its course cannot be  
stemmed. When Instruction is administered and depravity  
ceases, it is because the embankments are sound; but if

Instruction is neglected and immorality becomes rife, no  
2503.10

amount of punishments can put things right, and the

embankments collapse. The kings of antiquity understood this

clearly, and in their government never failed to stress the  
2503.11

importance of Instruction. They established the Academy for  
teaching on a national scale, and the schools for municipal  
instruction. They steeped the people in Benevolence, honed

them with Righteousness, and restrained them with Ritual, so  
2504.1

that although their penal code was very lenient, their orders  
were not flouted: Instruction was effected, and their customs  
were refined.

2504.2

When the Sage Kings succeeded to the disorder [of former  
ages] they swept away all traces of it, and restored

Instruction to its original position of honour. Instruction  
2504.3

thus established and customs defined, their progeny followed  
their example for five or six centuries without fail. But  
the Chou, in their final period, went completely counter to

the Way, and so lost the empire. The Ch'in followed them,  
2404.4

but far from changing things, made them even worse: they  
prohibited literature, so that books became unavailable; they

rejected Ritual and Righteousness, and sought to discredit them, with the aim of eradicating completely the Way of the  
2504.5 Former Kings, and establishing their own irresponsible rule of licence, so that after a period of only fourteen years their dynasty collapsed. From antiquity to the present day, there has never been any government which, in seeking to  
2504.6 remedy disorder with more disorder, has oppressed the people more cruelly than the Ch'in. Even today, traces survive of their poisonous legacy, causing the customs to be treated  
2504.7 with contempt, and the people to be obstinate and obstructive: such is the seriousness of its corruption. Confucius said:  
2504.8 'Rotten wood cannot be carved, nor walls of dung decorated with the trowel'.<sup>1</sup> Now the Han Dynasty has succeeded to the Ch'in, as if to rotten wood and a wall of dung, so that its desire to improve things is to no avail. Laws are made, but  
2504.9 crime is rampant; orders are given, but deception is rife. It is like trying to prevent a cauldron from boiling over by adding hot water to it, or to put out a fire by piling fuel on it: it makes the situation worse than ever. I would compare it to a zithern which is out of tune: in extreme cases, to make it playable the strings must first be released  
2505.1 and then tensioned again; just so when government is proving ineffective: in extreme cases, only a change of policy will produce good order. When an instrument needs re-stringing, if this is not done, not even a skilled craftsman can make it

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1. Analects V.9, Legge I, p.176.

2505.2

stay in tune; and when a change of policy is required, if none is forthcoming, not even the most worthy man can govern well. Now from the time the Han Dynasty gained control of the empire to the present, although it has constantly desired to

2505.3

govern well, it has continually failed to do so, as it has not made the necessary changes of policy. The ancients had a saying which ran: 'It is much better to go away and make a fishing net than to gaze down into the pool from the brink,

2505.4

longing for the fish.' We have now been on the brink of good government for over seventy years, and it would be much better if we went away and changed our policy. If we changed our policy, good government would ensue, and calamities would

2505.5

grow fewer and prosperity greater by the day. The Book of Odes says: 'He treats his people correctly, he treats his officials correctly, and so receives his reward from Heaven'.<sup>1</sup>

If government is conducted so that the people are treated correctly, the reward will certainly be received from Heaven.

2505.6

It is the Five Cardinal Virtues of Benevolence, Righteousness, Ritual, Wisdom, and Sincerity that the king should cultivate, and when he cultivates them, he will receive Heaven's

protection and the divine powers of the spirits; his Virtue

2505.7

will reach beyond the empire, extending even unto the whole of creation."

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1. Legge IVii, p.481.

2506.1

The emperor examined Tung Chung-shu's reply, but did not

agree with it, and so issued another edict, which said:

2506.2

"I have heard that in the days of Shun, [the emperor]

strolled along his verandahs with his hands clasped idly

together doing nothing at all, yet the empire enjoyed an era

of Great Peace.<sup>1</sup> King Wên of Chou [on the other hand] took

no time for a meal until late in the afternoon, yet the

2506.3

empire was equally well governed. But surely the principle

underlying the practice of the Kingly Way was the same in

both cases? What difference does it make whether one takes

it easy or works hard?

2506.4

Now the Frugal One (i.e. Shun) made no great display of

flags and banners. But when we come to the Chou Dynasty,

large city gates were erected, and [the rulers] rode forth

in sumptuous carriages; their shields were decorated with

vermillion, and their battle-axes wrought of jade; eight

teams of dancers performed in their courtyards, and the

2506.5

music of the odes rang forth. Yet surely the aims of the

Kingly Way [which underlay these divergent approaches] were

not different? It is said that one does not carve good jade;

but it is also said that without the external form there is

no means of giving expression to the inherent quality: the

2506.6

two principles are contradictory!

2507.1

In the Yin Dynasty, they exercised the Five Mutilating

Punishments in order to reprove evil: they injured the body

---

1. A Shu ching allusion. See Legge IIIii, p.316.

in order to punish crime. But Ch'êng and K'ang [of the Chou  
Dynasty] did not use them for over forty years, yet there  
2507.2 was no crime in the empire and the gaols were empty. The  
Ch'in Dynasty used them, executing thousands, and everybody  
one met in the street had undergone some form of mutilation.

How wasteful was this short-sighted policy!  
2507.3

Alas! We retire after dusk and rise before dawn,  
pondering over the example of our predecessors, and constantly  
thinking of how we might attain to the noblest of stations  
and set forth the great profession, which consists in  
2507.4

encouraging agriculture and employing the worthy. Now we till  
the fields in person in order to stress the primacy of  
agriculture; we encourage the Filial and exalt the Virtuous;  
our emissaries are despatched in great numbers, enquiring  
into the conditions of those who toil and comforting orphans  
2507.5

and the childless. We have exerted our mind to its utmost,  
but cannot even begin to say that we have obtained any  
reward for our efforts. Now Yin and Yang are out of step,  
and harmful ethers fill the atmosphere; the myriad creatures  
seldom reach maturity, and the lot of the common people is  
2507.6

unrelieved; the honest and corrupt are mingled together, and  
the worthy confused with the degenerate. We have not yet  
obtained any truthful servants, and wonder how many there  
may be among the outstanding scholars we have so carefully  
2507.7

invited! Now some of you hundred or more gentlemen who  
await our command have said that the exigencies of the  
present time are unrelieved; you have examined the different  
approaches of former ages but have had difficulty in applying

2507.8

them to the present. Are you so shackled to their outward forms that you are failing to progress beyond them? Or is it that you are trying to make us adopt a different policy and giving us alternative advice? Let each of you consider

2507.9

well his reply and write it down. Do not be afraid of the officials. Give a clear outline of your views, and investigate the matter carefully, in accordance with the imperial wish."

2508.1

Tung Chung-shu replied as follows:

2508.2

"Your servant has heard that when Yao received [Heaven's] mandate, he considered the empire a grievous burden, and could take no pleasure in his position. So he punished and expelled his rebellious ministers, and took pains to seek out men of worth, and thus obtained the services of Shun,

2508.3

Yü, Chi, Hsieh, and Kao-yao. These sagely men gave expression to his inner nature, and their ability assisted him in his task. Instruction was practised widely, and harmony prevailed in the empire. The people took pleasure in Benevolence and Righteousness: each found his rightful

2508.4

place, complied with Ritual, and readily conformed with the Way. And so Confucius said: 'Even if a true king were to appear, it would still take a generation for Benevolence to

2508.5

prevail'.<sup>1</sup> When Yao had been on the throne for seventy years, he abdicated in favour of Shun, and on his death it was to Shun, rather than his son Tan-chu, that the empire passed.

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1. Analects XIII.12, Legge I, p.167.

When Shun realised he could not decline [this honour], he  
2509.1 ascended the throne, and made Yü his chancellor and employed  
the ministers of Yao, thus continuing the institutions that  
Yao had established; the empire therefore was well governed,  
whilst Shun, with his hands clasped idly together, did  
nothing at all. And so Confucius said: 'The Shao is not only  
2509.2 the ultimate in beauty, but also in goodness'.<sup>1</sup> But Tchou  
of the Yin Dynasty went against Heaven and did violence to  
its creatures; he massacred the worthy and wise, and oppressed  
2509.3 the common people. Po-i and T'ai-kung were both good men of  
that time, but lay hidden and refrained from becoming  
ministers. Those in office fled for their lives, and took  
refuge in far-flung regions. The empire went to rack and  
2509.4 ruin, and the people were unable to live in peace. The  
people of the empire therefore forsook the Yin and gave  
allegiance to the Chou. King Wên obeyed Heaven and brought  
its creatures into order. He employed worthy men, therefore  
2509.5 Hung-yao, T'ai-tien, San-i-shêng and others flocked to his  
court. His love was bestowed on the multitudes, and the  
empire submitted to him, and so T'ai-kung emerged from  
retirement to become one of the Three Ministers. At this

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1. Analects III.25, Legge I, p.164. The original meaning of this Analect is far from clear, but, characteristically, the Han interpretation is based on the supposed etymology of the term Shao. Since the Shao "handed down" (a pun) the institutions of Yao, Shun's predecessor, which were modelled directly on Heaven, it was not only the ultimate in beauty, but also in goodness. The activities of later kings however, albeit through force of circumstances, departed in varying degrees from the Heavenly Way of Yao and Shun, which consisted in non-activity (see pp.81-83 below); their music, therefore, could not be described as completely good.



2509.6

time, Tchou was still on the throne, though his office had fallen into disrepute, and the people were in confusion. King Wên was therefore filled with grief and desirous of improving their lot, which is why he took no time for a meal until late in the afternoon. When Confucius was

2509.7

writing the Spring and Autumn Annals he put the terms chêng and wang first, and related to them the various events, thus demonstrating that he had the ability of a king if not the position. Viewed in this light, there is indeed only one principle of kingship, but the degree of labour

2509.8

involved varies with the circumstances. And so Confucius said: 'The Wu is the ultimate in beauty, but not quite in goodness'.<sup>1</sup>

2510.1

I understand that the establishing of sumptuary regulations and appropriately coloured insignia is a means of indicating rank, distinguishing differences in wealth, and encouraging the Virtuous. So the things which the rulers mentioned in the Spring and Autumn Annals attended

2510.2

to first on assuming office were the changing of the first day of the month and altering the colours of the dynastic robes in order to accord with Heaven. Therefore the regulations concerning [the size of] dwellings and flags and banners were as they were for a reason. Confucius

2510.3

said: 'Extravagance leads to insubordination, and frugality

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1. Loc.cit. See note above.

to obstinacy'.<sup>1</sup> Frugality is not the right policy for a wise ruler. Your servant has indeed heard that one does not carve good jade, as its natural disposition, being moist and fine, does not warrant it, just as the man from the village of Ta-hsiang, being intuitively wise, had no need to study.<sup>2</sup> However, if ordinary jade is not carved, it does not achieve the form [to which its inherent qualities make it suited], and if the Gentleman does not study, he cannot fulfil his inherent potential.

Your servant has heard that when the Sage Kings ruled the empire, they educated their subjects when they were young, and employed them according to their talents as they grew older; they established ranks and emoluments to develop their natural abilities, and penalties to discourage them

from vice, so the people were made aware of Ritual and Righteousness, and were ashamed to go against the wishes of their ruler. King Wu excelled in his exercise of Righteousness, and pacified the rebellious. In his practice of Ritual and Music, the Duke of Chou gave form to

[Righteousness], and when we come to the halcyon days of Ch'êng and K'ang, the gaols were empty for over forty years. Such is the pervasive effect of Instruction in Benevolence and Righteousness: it is not the result of mutilating the body. Under the Ch'in, however, things were not so.

---

1. Analects VII.35, Legge I, p.207.

2. This is Tung Chung-shu's interpretation of Analects IX.2, Legge I, p.216. According to a note by Mêng K'ang, the village was called Hsiang-t'ò.

2510.8

Embracing the laws of Shên Pu-hai and Shang Yang, and putting into effect the theories of Han Fei, they reviled the Kingly Way and established greed and avarice as the norm, having neither outward form nor inner Virtue with which to

2510.9

instruct the lower orders. They punished the semblance [of crime] without investigating the facts, so that the innocent were not necessarily acquitted nor the guilty punished.

Those in office therefore made a display of empty words

2510.10

with no regard for the truth; they gave the appearance of serving their ruler while inwardly turning their back on him; they acted falsely and plotted deceit in the shameless pursuit of profit. [The Ch'in] were also wont to employ

2511.1

cruel officials, impose taxes without measure, and work the people to the limit, so that they fell into disarray and were unable to till the land or weave cloth, which gave rise to banditry on a large scale. And so there were many who suffered mutilating punishments, and huge numbers were

2511.2

condemned to death, yet crime did not cease, as the changing of the social norm encouraged it. And so Confucius said: 'If you lead the people with laws, and regulate them with punishments, they will simply try to evade [the laws and punishments], but will have no sense of shame'.<sup>1</sup>

2511.4

Now your majesty holds sway over the whole empire, and there is none on earth who does not submit to him; you have examined everything and heard all, exhausting the knowledge

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1. Analects II.3.1, Legge I, p.146.

of your subjects and obtaining the finest the world can  
provide; your supreme Virtue extends brilliantly beyond the  
2511.5

frontiers of the empire: the vast area from Yeh-lang to  
K'ang-chü rejoices in your Virtue and turns to your

Righteousness. Surely this is the ultimate age of Great

Peace! Yet the reason why no benefits of your achievement  
2511.6

accrue to the common people is because you have not yet

applied your kingly spirit to it. Tsêng-tzu said: 'He  
respects what he hears and so manifests his greatness; he  
puts into effect what he learns and so increases his glory.

Manifesting his greatness and increasing his glory consists  
2511.7

in none other than applying his mind to it'.<sup>1</sup> If only

your majesty would make use of what he hears, take it to

heart, and put it to maximum effect, how would he differ

from the Three Kings?

2512.1

Your majesty has tilled the fields in person in order to

stress the primacy of agriculture; he has retired after

dusk and risen before dawn, and showed concern for the

common people; he has thought deeply of antiquity and taken

pains to seek out the worthy: thus indeed did Yao and Shun

2512.2

apply their minds, but the reason you have not yet been

able to say that you have obtained any reward for your

efforts is because hitherto, scholars have received no

encouragement. Now seeking out the worthy while giving no

previous encouragement to scholars is like expecting jade

---

1. Ta tai li chi 57(5.6b).

2512.3

to achieve form without carving it. Of the principal means of encouraging scholars, none is greater than the Academy: the Academy is an institution to which worthy scholars attach themselves, and is fundamental to Instruction. That there

2512.4

is none in the whole empire whose qualities correspond with the requirements of your edict is a sure sign that the

Kingly Way is being lost. I should like your majesty to

2512.5

establish an Academy and install enlightened teachers to encourage the world's scholars; examine them frequently to make the most of their capabilities, and one ought thus to be able to obtain outstanding candidates. The governors and prefects of the present time are the leaders of the people,

2512.6

and their charge is to proclaim change in accordance with inherited tradition. So if the leaders are not worthy men, the ruler's Virtue is not proclaimed, and his kindness does not flow forth. Now the officials give no instruction to

2512.7

the lower orders, and sometimes even disregard the example of their superiors; they oppress the common people and strike bargains with the treacherous, so that the impoverished and helpless feel a sense of injustice and neglect their duties:

2512.8

surely this is not your majesty's intention? And so Yin and Yang are out of step, and harmful ethers fill the atmosphere; the myriad creatures seldom reach maturity, and the lot of the common people is unrelieved: all this is due to the unenlightened conduct of the senior officials. Now

2512.9

the senior officials are for the most part drawn from the ranks of the lang chung and chung lang; these are normally chosen from the sons of officials with a salary of 2,000 piculs, and

are not necessarily worthy because they are rich. Furthermore,  
2512.10

the criterion by which the ancients judged merit was the degree to which an official had fulfilled the requirements of the post to which he had been appointed, not the length of time he had managed to hang on to it. So a man of little ability never progressed beyond a minor appointment, however

2513.1

long his service; and even if a worthy man had only been in office for a short time, he was not prevented from becoming a minister. Therefore the officials exerted themselves to the utmost in the performance of their duties, and thus achieved promotion. Nowadays, however, things are not so.

2513.2

They gain preferment by hanging on, and attain to the highest office by time serving. It is for this reason that the honest and corrupt are mingled together, and the worthy confused with the degenerate, so that your majesty has not yet obtained any truthful servants. I suggest, in my

ignorance, that your majesty cause the feudal lords, governors,  
2513.3

and officials with a salary of 2,000 piculs each to select the most worthy of their functionaries, and supply two of them every year to serve as night guards in the palace, and observe the abilities of the great ministers. If they have supplied

2513.4

worthy men, let them be rewarded, and if they have supplied degenerates, let them be punished. In this way, the feudal lords and officials with a salary of 2,000 piculs will be induced to strive to the utmost in their search for the

worthy, and the empire's scholars will be found and employed  
2513.5

as officials. This done, your majesty will easily achieve the prosperity of the Three Kings, and attain to the fame of Yao

and Shun. Do not consider mere length of service meritorious,  
2513.6  
but consider first its quality and ability. Make  
appointments by assessing merit, and confer rank in  
consideration of Virtue, then the honest and corrupt will be  
distinguished, and the worthy separated from the degenerate.

Your majesty has been most generous in overlooking the  
2513.7  
transgressions of his servant; he has ordered him not to be  
constrained by literary form, thus enabling him to investigate  
the matter carefully: here, therefore, he begs to finish."

2513.8  
Thereupon, the emperor issued a further edict, which said:

2513.9  
"I have heard that one is not speaking properly of Heaven  
unless one makes clear its connexion with Man, nor speaking  
properly of the past unless one demonstrates its relevance  
to the present. I have therefore inquired into the

2513.10  
relationship between Heaven and Man, extolled the merits of  
Yao and Shun, and bewailed the crimes of Chieh and Tchou; I  
have enacted reforms honestly in accordance with the  
ever-changing<sup>1</sup> Way. Now you, gentlemen, understand how Yin

2514.1  
and Yang effect creation and change, and are familiar with  
the Way of the Former Sages, but no outward manifestation  
of this is yet apparent: surely you are not confused as to  
the exigencies of the present age? Or is your failure to

2514.2  
achieve complete thoroughness and consistency due to my own  
lack of understanding? Have I been listening but not hearing?

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1. The obscure phrase ch'in wei ch'in mieh ch'in ming ch'in ch'ang, literally "gradually diminishing, gradually becoming extinguished, gradually brightening, gradually shining forth" must, in view of what follows, be a reference to the dual aspect of the Way evidenced in the increase and decrease of Yin and Yang.

Some say that the teachings of the Three Kings each had a different origin, and each had its faults; others say that

2514.3 the Way is that which endures unchanging: surely these sayings are not contradictory? Now you, gentlemen, have set forth the highest principles of the great Way, and the causes of order and chaos, and elaborated them in great

2514.4 detail. But does the Book of Odes not say: 'Ah! ye Gentlemen! Do not reckon on your repose being permanent.

So shall the spirits hearken to you, And give you large measures of bright happiness'.<sup>1</sup> We are now going to

2514.5 examine you in person, so strive your utmost to explain it!"

2514.6 Tung Chung-shu again replied as follows:

2514.7 "I have heard that it says in the Analects of Confucius:

'Is it not the sage alone who can unite in one the beginning and the consumation [of learning]?'<sup>2</sup> Your majesty has

favoured me with his kindness, retaining and giving ear to his servant who is heir to the teachings [of former times],

2514.8 and he has once more promulgated an illustrious decree in order to determine his [servant's] meaning. However, it is

beyond the capacity of his ignorant subject to explain fully the Virtue of a Sage. My failure to achieve complete thoroughness and consistency in my previous reply is

2515.1 entirely the fault of my vile self in not making the language clear and meaning plain.

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1. Tr. Legge IVii, p.366.

2. Analects XIX.12.2, tr. Legge I, p.343.



2515.2

Your edict said: 'One is not speaking properly of Heaven unless one makes clear its connexion with Man, nor speaking properly of the past unless one demonstrates its relevance to the present.' I understand that Heaven is the parent of

2515.3

the myriad creatures, and therefore protects them all without exception; it ordains sun and moon, wind and rain in order to comfort them, and regulates Yin and Yang, cold and heat in order to bring them to maturity. Therefore

the Sages took Heaven as their model when establishing the

2515.4

Way, exercising universal love with no private favours, displaying Virtue and Benevolence to benefit [the people], and leading them with Righteousness and Ritual. Just as spring is Heaven's way of creating, so Benevolence is the

2515.5

ruler's way of showing love; just as summer is Heaven's way of bringing [its creatures] to maturity, so Virtue is the ruler's way of nurturing [his subjects]; just as Heaven cuts its creatures down with frost, so the ruler punishes

2515.6

his subjects with penalties. Viewed in this way, the connexion between Heaven and Man is the Way of both past and present. When Confucius was writing the Spring and Autumn Annals, he planned it in accordance with the Way of Heaven, and arranged its contents with regard to Man's

2515.7

disposition; he made it consistent with ancient practice, and tested its application to the present. So the things which the Spring and Autumn Annals derided are those which encounter disaster, and the things which it abhorred are

2515.8

those which are visited with omens. It records the faults of a state, and conjoins them with the calamities that

follow, thus demonstrating that the actions of Man, however good or bad, are caught in one flow with Heaven and Earth, and correspond in their fluctuation: such indeed  
2515.9  
is the single principle of Heaven.

The ancients appointed officials to take charge of Instruction, and took pains to transform the people with Virtue; the people having thus undergone such a great transformation, not a single prisoner was to be found in  
2515.10  
the gaols of the empire. But nowadays these matters are neglected, so that there are no means of transforming the people, who consequently reject the practice of Righteousness, and risk the death penalty for the sake of wealth and profit; they break the law and crime is rampant, so that in a single  
2515.11  
year the inmates of the gaols are counted in millions. Thus we see the necessity of following ancient practice, and why the Spring and Autumn Annals derided any departure from it.

Heaven's command is known as 'destiny' or 'the mandate',  
2515.12  
and can only be exercised by a Sage; the basic quality of a being is known as 'nature', and can only be brought to maturity through Instruction; human aspirations are known as 'disposition', and can only be regulated by statutory laws.

The king should therefore take care in interpreting Heaven's  
2515.13  
will, in order to comply with the terms of his mandate; he should painstakingly attend to the Instruction of his people, in order to develop their nature; he should regularise the laws and establish an order of precedence in order to prevent  
2516.1  
[improper] aspirations. When these three matters have been attended to, the great foundation will have been laid.

Man has received the mandate from Heaven, and so differs immeasurably from its [other] creatures: on the one hand he has the relationship of kinship between father and son, elder and younger brother, and on the other, the relationship of duty between ruler and subject, superior and inferior.

2516.2

He is a social creature, and therefore seeks to establish his status; he has refined cultural forms to regulate his dealings with others, and the quality of kindness with which to express his love for them: this is the reason why he is

2516.3

the most exalted [of Heaven's creatures]. [Heaven] provides the Five Cereals to feed him, silk and hemp to clothe him, the Six Cattle to nourish him; he yokes the ox and harnesses the horse, ensnares the leopard and cages the tiger: such is

2516.4

the divine favour which Heaven bestows on him, and the degree to which he is exalted above other creatures. Confucius

said: 'Of all the world's creatures, Man is the most exalted'.<sup>1</sup>

2516.5

[Man] is aware of Heaven's nature, and so realises that he is the most exalted of its creatures. This realisation leads to an understanding of Benevolence and Righteousness; understanding of these engenders respect for the prescriptions of Ritual;

2516.6

respect for these brings contentment in doing what is right; contentment in doing what is right leads to pleasure in orderly conduct; and one who takes pleasure in orderly conduct may indeed be called a Gentleman! And so Confucius said: 'If a man does not understand [Heaven's] mandate, there is no way in which he might become a Gentleman'.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Hsiao ching 9(9a).

2. Analects XX.3.1, Legge I, p.354.

2517.1

Your edict said: 'I have extolled the merits of Yao and Shun, and bewailed the crimes of Chieh and Tchou; I have enacted reforms honestly in accordance with the ever-changing Way.' I have heard that one achieves abundance by amassing

2517.2

trifles: therefore a Sage will not fail to achieve glory by starting with a glimmer, or to become illustrious by means of the insignificant. Yao, therefore, emerged from the ranks of the feudal lords, and Shun appeared from the depths of the

2517.3

mountains: neither achieved fame overnight, but attained to it gradually. Words that come from the heart cannot be repressed, and actions prompted by the core of one's being

2517.4

cannot be concealed. [Such] words and actions are the essence of good government, and the means by which the Gentleman moves Heaven and Earth. So he who concentrates on little things will become great, and he who pays attention to trifles will achieve

2517.5

fame. The Book of Odes says: 'Now this King Wên / Was very circumspect and reverent'.<sup>1</sup> So Yao went in trembling in his daily pursuit of the Way, and Shun proceeded fearfully in his practice of Filial Piety: their [little] acts of goodness accumulated into a blaze of glory; their Virtue was manifest

2517.6

and their persons revered: such is that 'ever-changing Way'.

The accumulation of goodness in a man is an unconscious process, like that of growing up; and the accumulation of evil in him takes place insidiously, as a fire melts fat.

2517.7

Unless he inquire into his 'disposition' and 'nature', and investigate his own social tendencies, who can perceive it?

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1. Tr. Waley, p.261. Cf. Legge IVii, p.433.

This is how Yao and Shun gained a good reputation, and how  
2517.8

Chieh and Tchou caused so much bitterness. Now good and evil follow each other (i.e. good follows good, and evil follows evil), as the shadow corresponds to the form, or the echo to the sound. So when Chieh and Tchou enacted their cruelty,

2517.9

banditry arose on a large scale; the worthy hid themselves away, crime grew daily, and the country entered into a state of chaos. They considered themselves as secure as the sun in the sky, but finally came to an ignominious end. Now the

2517.10

elimination of the unscrupulous cannot take place overnight, but is something which is achieved gradually; so although Chieh and Tchou did not act in accordance with the Way, they clung to power for over ten years. This, too, is one aspect of that 'ever-changing Way'.

2518.1

Your edict said: 'Some say that the teachings of the Three Kings each had a different origin, and each had its faults; others say that the Way is that which endures unchanging: surely these sayings are not contradictory?' Your servant

2518.2

has heard that the Way is that which causes contentment without disorder, and which is capable of repeated application without causing oppression; the Way is that which can endure for ten thousand generations without a flaw: should there be a flaw, it is a sign that the Way has been lost. The various methods by which the Former Kings followed

2518.3

the Way each had their distinctive features, so that when their government was not functioning correctly through shortsightedness, it is these that were used to rectify its faults. The reason why [it is said that] the Ways of the

Three Kings each had a different origin is not because they  
2518.4 were opposed to each other, but because the circumstances  
they encountered in bridling excess and arresting decline  
were different. So Confucius said: 'May not Shun be instanced

as having governed well without exertion?'<sup>1</sup> All he did was  
2518.5 change the first day of the month and alter the colours of the  
dynastic robes in accordance with Heaven's mandate; in other  
matters, he followed Yao, for what was the point of doing  
otherwise? So the king should be seen to be changing the  
regulations, without actually altering the Way. He should

2518.6 make use of what he has inherited: the loyalty which was  
valued by the Hsia, the respect which was valued by the Yin,  
and the outward forms which were valued by the Chou.

Confucius said: 'The Yin dynasty followed the regulations of  
2518.7 the Hsia: wherein it took from or added to them may be known.

The Chou dynasty has followed the regulations of the Yin:  
wherein it took from or added to them may be known. Some  
other may follow the Chou, but though it should be at the  
distance of a hundred ages, its affairs may be known'.<sup>2</sup>

2518.8 That is to say, the practices of no matter how many dynasties  
that follow will inevitably be derived from these three. The  
Hsia followed the regulations of Shun, which is why in their  
case alone [Confucius] does not speak of taking away or  
adding: their Way was at one [with his], and their values

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1. Analects XV.4, Legge I, p.295.

2. Analects II.23.1, tr. Legge I, p.153.

2519.1

identical. The main features of the Way originate with Heaven, and just as Heaven is unchanging, so are they. So Yü succeeded Shun, and Shun succeeded Yao: the three Sages received from each other, and guarded, the one Way. There were no 'policies for rectifying its faults', and so

2519.2

[Confucius] does not speak of 'wherein it took from or added to it'. And so we see that for [a ruler] who succeeds to a state of good order, the Way is the same, but for one who succeeds to a state of chaos, the Way is different. Now

2519.3

the Han Dynasty, succeeding to a state of great disorder, should take away a little from the highly refined forms of the Chou, and make use of the loyalty of the Hsia.

2519.4

Now your majesty practises illustrious Virtue and an excellent Way; he is saddened by the dissipation of popular customs, and is grieved that the Kingly Way is no longer in evidence. He has therefore selected upright scholars of

2519.5

ability and integrity to discuss matters with him and answer his questions, being desirous of restoring the excellent virtues of Benevolence and Righteousness, of making known the institutions of the emperors [of antiquity], and of establishing the Way of Great Peace. Your subject is stupid and degenerate, merely passing on what he has heard,

2519.6

rehearsing what he has learnt, and repeating his teacher's words, scarcely managing to avoid error. To discuss the successes and failures of government policy and investigate what is of profit or loss to the state is the responsibility

2519.7

of the chief ministers, and quite beyond the capacity of Tung Chung-shu! Yet I humbly advance my peculiar theories.

Indeed, the empire of today is no different from that of  
2520.1 antiquity, but in antiquity it was well ordered: superiors  
and inferiors cooperated with each other, and popular customs  
2520.2 were refined; people acted without awaiting orders, and  
desisted without need for prohibitions; there was no treachery  
among the officials, nor banditry among the common people;  
the gaols were empty; Virtue extended even unto the plants,  
favours reached the whole world; phoenixes assembled, and  
2520.3 unicorns roamed about. How the present falls short when  
measured by the standards of the past! How is it that things  
2520.4 have come to such a sorry pass? Is there anything in our  
approach which errs from the Way of the ancients? Is there  
anything which goes counter to Heaven's principles? How  
can we know, except by referring it to antiquity, and to  
Heaven?  
2520.5 Now there are those of Heaven's gifts which are conferred  
selectively. Creatures which have been endowed with upper  
incisors lack horns, and those which have been given feathers  
have [only] two feet; similarly, those who have been endowed  
2520.6 with great things may not be in receipt of lesser ones.  
Those whom the ancients had provided with official emoluments  
(i.e. the shih) did not eat through manual labour (like the  
nung), nor engage in the subsidiary professions (of the kung  
and shang), thus demonstrating how being in receipt of great  
things whilst lacking lesser ones does indeed accord with  
2520.7 Heaven's will. If not even Heaven can enable its creatures  
to be endowed with both great and lesser things, how much  
less can Man! This is why the people are complaining about



their insufficiencies with much wailing: if those who are  
2520.8 favoured with positions of eminence, having warm houses and  
substantial salaries, use the resources of their wealth and  
position to compete for profit with the common people, how

can the people tolerate it? Or if [the wealthy] devote  
2520.9 unlimited attention to swelling the ranks of their servants  
and livestock, extending their estates and property, and

hoarding their supplies of grain, thereby oppressing the  
2521.1 common people, the condition of the latter will be weakened  
daily, and they will gradually be reduced to great

extremities. If the rich indulge in licence and extravagance,  
the poor will be brought into dire need; when the poor are in  
dire need and their ruler does nothing to save them, they will

2521.2 lose their desire to live; when they have lost their desire to  
live and do not even attempt to avoid death, how can they

avoid crime? This is why depravity cannot be overcome, even  
2521.3 if punishments are increased. Therefore those households

which are in receipt of an official salary should live off  
their salary and nothing more. They should by no means vie  
for property with the common people, for only then will there  
be an equal distribution of benefits and adequate provision  
for the households of the people. This would exalt Heaven's

2521.4 principles and the Way of remote antiquity, and is what the  
Son of Heaven should take as the model for his institutions,  
and what the officials should follow and put into practice.

Thus when Kung-i Tzu, having become a minister in the state  
2521.5 of Lu, entered his house and saw the brocade [which his wife  
had woven], he was annoyed and put her away; and when he had

been given dinner by a retainer at which delicious vegetables had been served, he angrily rooted up his own crop, saying:

'Should I, who am provided with an official salary, deprive  
2521.6 gardeners and weavers of their livelihood?'<sup>1</sup> The worthy  
Gentlemen of antiquity invariably comported themselves thus

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1. The ability of Kung-i Tzu, or Kung-i Hsiu, is noted by Mencius (p.284, tr. Lau, p.175), and the episodes referred to here appear in his biography in the Shih chi, which recalls in striking detail the arguments here advanced by Tung Chung-shu: "Kung-i Tzu was an Erudite from the state of Lu, who on account of his outstanding ability became Prime Minister. Such was his respect for the law and adherence to principle that the various officials fell into line without his having to make any changes. He caused those in receipt of official salaries not to compete for profit with the lower classes [on the grounds that] it is not given to those who have been endowed with great things also to take possession of the smaller ones. One of his retainers once sent him a fish, but he refused it. The retainer said: 'I had heard that your lordship was fond of fish, and therefore sent you one as a present: why, then, have you refused it?' The Prime Minister replied: 'Precisely because I am Prime Minister did I refuse your gift. In my present position, I am able to provide myself with fish; but if I accepted your fish and were dismissed as a result, who would ever give me a fish again? It is for this reason that I have refused it.' Having eaten a meal at which delicious vegetables were served, he uprooted his own crop and threw it away; and on seeing how fine the brocades in his house were, he angrily expelled his maids and burnt their loom, saying: 'Where on earth do you expect the farmers and weavers to sell their products?'" (Shih chi 119.3101-3102.)

in their respective positions; the lower orders therefore respected their behaviour and followed their teaching; being transformed by their honesty, they were no longer covetous. But when we come to the decline of the Chou Dynasty, its chief ministers were slow in their practice of Righteousness, but quick in their pursuit of profit; they had little time for restraint, but were ever ready to engage in litigation over land. The poets therefore reviled them, and criticised them in these words: 'Lofty is that southern hill, With its masses of rocks! Illustrious art thou, Master Yin, And all the people look to you'.<sup>1</sup> If you value Righteousness, the people will turn to Benevolence and their customs will improve; but if you set store by profit, they will become depraved and their customs will deteriorate. Thus we see that it is from the Son of Heaven and the chief ministers that the common people take their example, and to whom the inhabitants of distant regions look for guidance. Surely it is not possible for one to whom peoples both near and far look for their example to enjoy the position of a superior man whilst performing the actions of a commoner! Now to busy oneself with the pursuit of wealth and constantly worry about not achieving a sufficiency is the preoccupation of the common man; but to be active in the quest for Benevolence and Righteousness and anxious lest one fail to transform the people is the

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1. Legge IVii, p.309. The ode continues by lamenting the wretched state of the kingdom, and blaming it on the conduct of Master Yin, who was one of the chief ministers.

2521.12

superior man's objective. The Book of Changes says: 'He is a burden-bearer, and yet rides in a carriage, thereby exciting robbers to attack him'.<sup>1</sup> To ride in a carriage befits the status of a Gentleman, but carrying things on one's back is a task for the lesser man; this means that one

2521.13

who occupies the position of a Gentleman yet does the work of a commoner will inevitably be overtaken by disaster. If one wishes to occupy the position of a Gentleman and engage in conduct appropriate to that station, then one can never

2521.14

forsake the example of Kung-i Hsiu when he was a minister in the state of Lu.

2523.1

The Great Unity<sup>2</sup> referred to in the Spring and Autumn Annals is the eternal principle of Heaven and Earth, the universal Righteousness of past and present. If teachers

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1. Tr. Legge, Yi king, p.363. The commentary continues: "Burden-bearing is the business of a small man. A carriage is the vehicle of a gentleman. When a small man rides in the vehicle of a gentleman, robbers will think of taking it from him. [When one is] insolent to those above him, and oppressive to those below, robbers will wish to attack him." The I ching passage refers to the usurpation of privileges to which one is not entitled, and the misfortune this will entail. Tung Chung-shu however completely inverts the sense: misfortune will arise if a gentleman (one who rides in a carriage) starts doing the work of a commoner (a burden-bearer).
  2. Ta i t'ung is the age when the entire world will be governed by one ruler. The term is found at the beginning of the Kung-yang chuan in the explanation of the opening passage of the Ch'un ch'iu.

now put forward a different way, if men now propound variant theories, and if the common people engage in heterodox  
2523.2 practices, so that their objectives are never the same, the ruler will never embrace that Unity; if the regulations are changed frequently, the lower orders will never know which to observe. Your servant suggests that all subjects which do not fall within the scope of the Six Arts and the teachings  
2523.3 of Confucius should be banned, and their dissemination forbidden. Only when heterodox theories are eliminated can the law be made known according to a single principle, so  
2523.4 that the people will know what to follow."

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List of Chinese characters.

- Ai Ch'iang 哀姜
- ch'an wei 織緯
- Chang P'u 張溥
- Chang Shou-chieh 張守節
- Chao Kao 趙高
- Ch'ao Ts'o 晁錯
- Ch'ao Ts'o chi ch'i chu tso 晁錯及其著作
- ch'ê mu 岫木
- Ch'ên Shêng 陳勝
- chêng 正
- chêng i 正義
- Chêng-tê 正德
- Ch'êng 成
- Ch'êng Ta-ch'ang 程大昌
- Ch'êng-tu 成都
- Chi 稷
- chi-hai 己亥

Chi-hsia 稷下

ch'i 氣

Ch'i 齊

Ch'i chung mai hsien t'ien chang 乞種麥限田章

Ch'i lu 七錄

Ch'i lüeh 七略

Chia Shan 賈山

Chiang-tu 江都

Chiao-hsi 膠西

Chieh 桀

chih 志

Chih-yen 至言

chin shih 進士

Ch'in 秦

ch'in wei ch'in mieh ch'in ming ch'in ch'ang 寔微寔滅

Ching 景 寔明寔唱

ch'ing 情

Ch'ing ming 清明

chou 州

Chou (Dynasty; Duke of) 周

Chou (Emperor) 紂

Chu lin 竹林

Ch'u 楚

chuan 傳

ch'un 春

Ch'un ch'iu 春秋

Ch'un ch'iu chüeh shih 春秋決事

Ch'un ch'iu fan lu 春秋繁露

Ch'un ch'iu fan lu i chêng 春秋繁露義證

Ch'un ch'iu yin yang 春秋陰陽

ch'un wang chêng yüeh 春王正月

chung 忠

Chung-kuo chung ku ssu hsiang shih 中國中古思想史

chung lang 中郎

Ch'ung wên tsung mu 崇文總目

chüan 卷

chün 郡

Erh Shih 二世

Fan lu 蕃露

Han 漢

Han Fei 韓非

Han i wên chih k'ao chêng 漢藝文志考證

Han-lin 翰林

Han shu 漢書

Han shu pu chu 漢書補注

Han Wei Liu Ch'ao pai ming chia chi 漢魏六朝百名家集

Han Wei Liu Ch'ao pai san chia t'i tz'u chu

漢魏六朝百三家題辭注

Han Wu Ti i ch'u pai chia fei fa tzu Tung Chung-shu k'ao

漢武帝抑黜出百家非發自董仲舒考

hou wang 後王

Hsi Han hui yao 西漢會要

Hsi tz'u chuan 繫辭傳

Hsia 夏

hsiang 庠

Hsiang-t'o 項橐

hsiao 校

- hsiao (Filial Piety) 孝
- Hsiao ching 孝經
- hsiao lien 孝廉
- hsiao t'i li t'ien 孝弟力田
- Hsieh 高
- hsien liang 賢良
- Hsien liang ts'ê 賢良策
- hsien wang 先王
- Hsin T'ang shu 新唐書
- hsing (punishments) 刑
- hsing (nature) 性
- hsing (actions, elements) 行
- Hsiung-nu 匈奴
- hsü 序
- Hsü Fu-kuan 徐復觀
- Hsü Shên 許慎
- Hsü T'ien-lin 徐天麟
- Hsüan 宣
- hsüeh 學

- hsüeh hsiao chih kuan 學校之官
- Hsün-tzu 荀子
- Hsün-tzu chien shih 荀子簡釋
- Huang Ti 黃帝
- Hung-yao 閔天
- i 一
- I (King) 易
- I ching 易經
- i-hai 乙亥
- I wên chih 藝文志
- Juan Hsiao-hsü 阮孝緒
- K'ang 康
- K'ang-chü 康居
- Kao 高
- Kao miao yüan tsai tui 高廟園災對
- kao ti 高第
- Kao-yao 各繇
- k'ao chêng 考證
- Ku wên yüan 古文苑

Ku Yung 谷永

Kuang hung ming chi 廣弘明集

kung 工

Kung-i Tzu (Hsiu) 公義子(休)

Kung-sun Hung 公孫弘

Kung-yang 公羊

Kung-yang chuan 公羊傳

Kung-yang Tung Chung-shu chih yü 公羊董仲舒治獄

K'ung An-kuo 孔安國

K'ung Kuang 孔光

Kuo Shên-po 郭湛波

Lan-chou ta hsüeh chung wên hsi 蘭州大學中文系

lang chung 郎中

Li 厲

Li Ssu 李斯

Li yüeh chih 禮樂志

Liang Ch'i-hsiung 梁啓雄

Liang Han ssu hsiang shih, ti êrh chüan 兩漢思想史

Liu Hsiang 劉向 第二卷

Liu Hsin 劉歆

Liu P'an-sui 劉盼遂

Lou Yüeh 樓鑰

Lu 魯

Lu Yung 盧雍

Lun hêng 論衡

Lun hêng chi chieh 論衡集解

Ma Kuo-han 馬國翰

mao ts'ai 茂材

Mêng K'ang 孟康

Mêng-tzu i chu 孟子譯注

ming 命

Ming Ch'ing chin shih t'i ming pei lu so yin 明清進士

ming t'ang 明堂 題名碑錄索引

nung 農

Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修

Pan Ku 班固

pên chi 本紀

p'ien 篇



Po hu t'ung 白虎通

Po-i 伯夷

po shih 博士

Sakade Yoshinobu 坂出祥伸

San fu 三輔

San-i-shêng 散宜生

San ts'ai 三才

Shang (Dynasty; merchants) 商

Shang shu 尚書

shang shu t'iao chiao 上疏條教

Shang Yang 商鞅

Shao 韶

Shao-hsing 紹興

Shên Pu-hai 申不害

shih 士

Shih chi 史記

Shih chi hui chu k'ao chêng 史記會註考證

Shih huo chih 食貨志

Shih pu yü fu 士不遇賦



Shin Kan shisô kenkyû bunken mokuroku

秦漢思想研究  
文獻目錄

shu 數

Shu 蜀

Shu ching 書經

Shun 舜

Shuo 勺

Shuo wên 說文

Shuo wên chieh tzu 說文解字

Ssu k'u ch'üan shu 四庫全書

Ssu k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu t'i yao 四庫全書總目題要

Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷

Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如

Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光

Su Yü 蘇轍

Sui shu 隋書

Sui shu ching chi chih 隋書經籍志

Sung 宋

Sung 頌

Sung shih 宋史

- Ta chuan 大傳
- Ta-hsiang 達巷
- ta i t'ung 大一統
- Ta tai li chi 大戴禮記
- Tai Chün-jên 戴君仁
- t'ai ch'ang 太常
- t'ai hsüeh 太學
- T'ai-kung 太公
- T'ai shih 泰誓
- T'ai-tien 大顛
- Takigawa Kametarō 瀧川龜太郎
- Tan-chu 丹朱
- T'ang 湯
- T'ang (i.e. Yao) 唐
- T'ang hui yao 唐會要
- T'ang shu 唐書
- Tchou, see Chou
- tê 德
- T'êng 滕

Ti li chih 地理志

t'ien 天

t'ien hsia 天下

t'ien ti 天地

Tô Chujô, Shunjô hanro 董仲舒·春秋繁露

ts'an 參

Tsêng-tzu 曾子

Tsou tzu i chüan 鄒子遺卷

Tsou Yen 鄒衍

Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒

Tung Chung-shu chi 董仲舒集

Tung Mou 董某

Tung-tzu wên chi 董子文集

Tzu chih t'ung chien 資治通鑑

Tzu Ssu 子思

Tzu Yu 子游

wang 王

Wang Ch'ung 王充

Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙

- Wang Mang 王莽
- Wang P'u 王溥
- Wang Yao-ch'ên 王堯臣
- Wang Ying-lin 王應麟
- Wei 威
- Wei Wan 衛綰
- Wên (Emperor; Duke) 文
- Wên chü 聞舉
- Wên hsüan 文選
- wên hsüeh 文學
- Wên Wêng 文翁
- Wu (Emperor; music) 武
- Wu hsing 五行
- Wu hsing chih 五行志
- Wu Tai hui yao 五代會要
- Ya 雅
- Yang 陽
- Yao 堯
- Yeh-lang 夜郎

Yen 嚴

Yen Shih-ku 顏師古

Yen t'ieh lun 鹽鐵論

Yin 陰

Yin (Dynasty) 殷

Yin (Master) 尹

Yin Mêng-lun 殷孟倫

Yin yang 陰陽

Yin yang chia 陰陽家

Yu 幽

Yü 禹

Yü (i.e. Shun) 虞

Yü hai 玉海

Yü han shan fang chi i shu 玉函山房輯佚書

Yü pei 玉杯

yüan 元

yüeh 樂

Yüeh (King) 越

