An Introduction

Confucianism

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Ronnie L Littlejohn

I.B.TAURIS

Ronnie L Littlejohn is Professor of Philosophy and Director of the Center for Asian Studies at Belmont University, Nashville. He is the author of *Daoism: An Introduction* (I.B.Tauris, 2009) and co-edited, with Jeffrey Dippmann, *Riding the Wind: New Essays on the Daoist Classic Liezi* (also 2009).

'This book is a very useful one for everyone with a serious interest in things sinological to have on their bookshelves. Littlejohn has surveyed well modern Western scholarship on the manifold dimensions of the Confucian persuasion from its earliest beginnings to the present, and proffers it to the reader in a clearly written and commendably balanced narrative, complete with notes, references, and a working bibliography for further studies of this ancient but still vibrant philosophical and religious tradition we know as "Confucianism."' – ***Henry Rosemont, Jr, George B and Willma Reeves Distinguished Professor of the Liberal Arts Emeritus, St Mary's College of Maryland, and Visiting Professor of Religious Studies, Brown University***

'This is an altogether successful and comprehensive introduction to Confucianism. It is easily accessible to readers with no exposure to either Confucianism in particular or Chinese culture in general, and it is accurate in describing the nuanced ideas of this venerable and fascinating tradition. The abundance of charts, boxes and illustrations, along with the author's attractive story-telling style, make reading this book extremely enjoyable, as well as informative. While the text is particularly well-suited to undergraduates and general readers, scholars of Confucianism will also learn a great deal from it, both in refining their own understandings of Confucian ideas and in enabling effective ways of presenting these ideas to their students.' – ***Huang Yong, Professor of Philosophy, Kutztown University***

'China has "arrived", and Ronnie Littlejohn helps us know this antique culture better. In his entirely accessible introduction, Littlejohn has done the academy the timely service of resourcing the best contemporary research in sinology to tell the compelling story of a living Confucianism as it has meandered through the dynasties to flow down to our present time. True to the Chinese term used to designate Confucianism, *ruxue* or "literati learning," Littlejohn presents the tradition as a genealogy of eighty generations of scholars who followed Confucius in taking ownership of the cultural legacy of their time, in adapting the wisdom of the past to their own present historical moment, and then in recommending to the next generation that they do the same.' – ***Roger T Ames, Professor of Philosophy, University of Hawai'i***

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by

Ronnie L Littlejohn

I.B. TAURIS
LONDON · NEW YORK

Published in 2011 by I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd
6 Salem Road, London W2 4BU
175 Fifth Avenue, New York NY 10010
www.ibtauris.com

Distributed in the United States and Canada Exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan
175 Fifth Avenue, New York NY 10010

I.B.Tauris Introductions to Religion

ISBN: 978 1 84885 173 3 (HB)
ISBN: 978 1 84885 174 0 (PB)

A full CIP record for this book is available from the British Library
A full CIP record is available from the Library of Congress

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: available

Designed and Typeset by 4word Ltd, Bristol, UK

Printed and bound in Great Britain by TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall

Contents

For my own dear mother,
Imogene Gladys Milsap Littlejohn,
who was given back to me in this life
and who surely embodies all the treasured traits
of Meng Mu (Mencius's mother)

Acknowledgements

I want to express my appreciation to the East–West Center in Honolulu, Hawai'i, for awarding me a Research Fellowship in 2009 in order to complete this work, and to all those friends in the libraries at University of Hawai'i who assisted me. To my colleagues in the Association of Chinese Philosophers in America, the Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, the Society for Asian and Comparative Philosophy, the Southeast Regional Conference of the Association of Asian Studies, and the Southeast Early China Roundtable, I want to record my gratitude for their responses to papers and presentations which have found their way into this project. My personal thanks go out to those who have taught me Confucianism: Joseph Adler, Roger Ames, Huang Yong, Philip J. Ivanhoe, Keith Knapp, Peimin Ni, Jeffrey Richey, Henry Rosemont Jr, May Sim, Edward Slingerland, Deborah Sommer, Tu Weiming and Robin Wang. I owe these scholars and friends my gratitude for what is good in this introductory work, and I hope they will excuse the errors and superficialities that remain. As always, I acknowledge the deep personal support of Li Qingjun, who contributes greatly to making my work and study a true joy.

Preliminary Considerations and Conventions

My editor at I.B.Tauris, Alex Wright, approached me about writing this introduction to Confucianism shortly after I completed *Daoism: An Introduction* in Tauris's Series on Religion. It gave me great pleasure to accept this assignment and, like that introductory work, the purpose of this book is to provide a first overview of one of China's great spiritual traditions. With that mission for the work in mind, allow me to make a few remarks about other introductions to Confucianism that have great merit but differ in some significant ways from this project.

Xinzhong Yao's *An Introduction to Confucianism* is a fine work by an ethnic Chinese scholar who is Chair of the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Wales, Lampeter. It is probably the best work currently on the market for those seeking a robust and detailed volume that rewards the professor more than the general reader. The structure of the work offers about 50 pages on the history of Confucianism, but few nods to material culture, the arts and literature. This present introduction follows a historical frame and will make repeated references to Confucianism's influence on Chinese culture and ways in which it is interwoven with all aspects of Chinese life. John Berthrong's *Transformations of the Confucian Way* is a scholarly and highly detailed work that is likewise highly valuable to professors, but much less so to a general readership. Although arranged entirely on a historical framework, this work consistently bypasses the relation of Confucianism to Chinese culture, while keeping to its intention to offer deep philosophical and religious scholarship. Jennifer Oldstone-Moore's *Confucianism* is not intended to be a full-blown introduction to Confucianism. It provides only a minimalist 12 pages given to the historical development of the Confucian tradition and then divides the remainder into themes such as 'sacred texts', 'sacred persons' and

'ethical principles'. Its strengths are its striking visual appeal in color images and its handbook approach. John and Evelyn Berthrong collaborated to write *Confucianism: A Short Introduction*. This work is arranged according to the novel approach of taking a fictitious couple and showing their understanding and practice of Confucianism in the seventeenth century. The history of Confucianism is presented as a person lecturing to his students about the past.

Actually, the very best of the newest work on Confucianism has not been done in the form of a comprehensive introduction at all, but it has come to us in several fine scholarly studies of collected essays. These include *Teaching Confucianism,* edited by Jeffrey Richey; *Confucius and the Analects: New Essays,* edited by Bryan Van Norden; *Confucianism and Women*, by Li Hsiang-Lisa Rosenlee; *China's New Confucianism*, by Daniel Bell; and *Confucian Spirituality*, 2 vols, edited by Tu Weiming and Mary Evelyn Tucker.

Clearly, there is a growing appreciation and interest in the religious and philosophical traditions of China in the West. What I find remarkable about the current climate in the academy, and among the general public as well, is that Chinese traditions such as Confucianism are being studied for what they can contribute to Western intellectual and spiritual consciousness. They are no longer approached simply to attack their shortcomings compared to the Abrahamic traditions. Indeed, with the re-enchantment of Confucianism taking place in twenty-first century China, the need for a better-informed knowledge of that tradition surely commends itself to those interested in global dialog in a wide range of areas including political alternatives, moral and social guidance, and spiritual consciousness.

This work provides an overview of the story of Confucianism from the ideas that pre-dated and shaped Confucius, to the living thinkers and political activists that John Makeham groups together under the title of New Confucianism (*xin rujia*). Our introduction is academically robust, comprehensive and accurate up to the moment, but it does not cover every Confucian thinker or text across the vast history of the tradition, whether in China or in other East Asian cultures such as Korea ('the Second Home of Confucianism') and Japan. However, I do believe that the reader will be taken through the flow of thought and figures that are responsible for the most important shifts and developments of Confucianism. Additionally, along the

way, I pause to take note of how Confucianism is tied to the cultural practices, beliefs and accomplishments of China specifically.

I have tried to make the work easy to use for those not familiar with Chinese philosophy and religion, and yet still provide the kind of information that advanced students and even scholars of Chinese traditions will find useful. For readers who have no experience with Chinese names and words, I have included a quick pronunciation guide, which may be of some help. I am using the *Hanyu Pinyin* system of romanization for Chinese. As is the general practice of I.B.Tauris, I italicize the translated titles of Chinese works and index the English title from the text with its pinyin romanization and the Chinese characters in the Glossary of Titles. I italicize key Chinese terms in the text, putting them in parentheses and in the Glossary of Names and Terms, where I have alphabetized the pinyin and provided the Chinese characters. I only rarely interrupt the text with characters, and when I do so it is in order to make a point of emphasis. Names of important Confucian figures and key persons in Chinese culture and history are not italicized, but they appear in the Glossary of Names and Terms along with the Chinese characters that correspond to them.

Throughout our study, I have decided to use the Latinized names of the great classical philosophers of China. I am very much aware that there are arguments for not doing so, but I opted to stay with this procedure because I believe it will create somewhat less difficulty for the Western reader who wishes to know more about this important tradition of thought and practice. I will employ 'Confucius' for the Chinese name of the founder of Confucianism. Actually, Confucius's (551–479 BCE) name is Kong Qiu and he is respectfully known as Master Kong (Kongzi, also Kongfuzi), and it was one of the founders of the Italian Jesuit Chinese Mission, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), who was the first to use the Latin name 'Confucius' in the West. Likewise, I will use 'Mencius' for the author of one of the Four Books (*Sishu*) of Confucianism used for centuries as the basic educational texts in China, and through which the lineage of 'orthodox' Confucian tradition may be said to be traced. Mencius's (371?–289? BCE) name is Meng Ke and his honorific is Master Meng (Mengzi), or 'Master Meng the Second Sage' (*Yasheng Mengzi*). When I refer to the book attributed to Mencius, which contains his teachings, I will use *Mengzi*. As for the important classical figure Xunzi (310?–220?

BCE), his given name is Xun Kuang (a.k.a. Xun Qing) or Master Xun (Xunzi). When I refer to the book which contains his teachings, I will use *Xunzi*.

The conventions I follow in the treatment of a few very important terms require some explanation, because in speaking of Chinese thought in a Western language we use a terminology with a severely limited usefulness. I realize that not everyone will agree with the way I have handled these terms, but I believe that I have not done them violence and that knowing why I have chosen to treat them as I have will, at least, make the book easier to use.

The Chinese term *xin* (心) is not fully translatable by any word substitution into English. It is neither 'heart' or 'mind' but something more like 'heart–mind', and that is the way I express it throughout our study. The character is used in Chinese to refer to the physical organ of the heart and also to the seat of intelligence and emotion. There is no idea that the mind is in the brain, or that the emotions are separate from or incompatible with reason and thought. The heart–mind (*xin*) does emotional/moral/thinking whenever it is functioning properly.

Very often in the course of this study I need to use Confucian concepts that are closely related and have the same pinyin romanization, and even sometimes are pronounced the same (i.e., are homophones). An example is the concept *ren*, which in the same pinyin can have at least two recurring meanings in our study. So, I have followed this convention. For *ren* (人) I translated 'human' or 'person', and *ren* (仁) I translate as 'humaneness'. *Ren* (人) implies the possession of cognitive and affective wherewithal that shows itself in self-consciousness. In short, it refers to a human, rather than any other animal. But without *ren* (仁) , *ren* (人) is still only an animal, even if a very sophisticated and potentially special one (see Mencius 6A8). I do not believe *ren* (仁) should be rendered by any single affective or axiological term such as 'compassion' or 'benevolence'. I actually thought to leave this term untranslated and allow the reader to come to understand it by watching how it is used in Chinese and Confucianism specifically. But I do think that 'humaneness' is a fair rendering of the term into the target language of English.

There are occasions when the flow of the narrative might not make it clear whether a reference is to *li* (禮) as 'rites, ritual, morality, etiquette, cultural norm', and *li* (理) as 'principle or pattern of

reality'. In these cases, I retain the Chinese character in the text in the first instance of its use in context, then use the *pinyin* thereafter.

I leave untranslated the concept of *qi* (氣) that is sometimes rendered into English as 'vital energy' or 'spirit'. *Qi* is used in a variety of ways to talk about the energy of existence, but it is neither altogether immaterial nor completely material. It is an important concept in Confucianism after the work of Mencius in the 300s BCE and figures prominently in the thought of the Neo-Confucians during Confucianism's renaissance in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. *Qi* has internal dynamic correlational forces called *yin* (陰) and *yang* (陽) and coalesces into the Five Phases, concepts also introduced into Confucianism during the same period that the term *qi* comes into its discourse on spirituality. I leave *yin* and *yang* untranslated, and when I refer to the Five Phases I mean the Chinese concept of *wu-xing* (五行: wood, metal, fire, water and earth). In their concrescence, these Five Phases of *qi* form all the things of which reality is composed, and each thing is constantly morphing into a new form, whether in our sensory range or not.

Junzi (君子) can be a gender-neutral term, even if it is often translated as 'gentleman' or 'superior person'. I believe that the rendering of this term by Roger Ames and Henry Rosemont Jr is extremely effective and captures its language home and use in Chinese. So, I have followed their translation and rendered *junzi* throughout as 'exemplary person'.

I use 'BCE' for 'Before the Common Era' (formerly BC, 'Before Christ') and only use 'CE' for Common Era (formerly AD, 'In the Year of Our Lord') dates when these are in combination with BCE dates (e.g., 206 BCE–220 CE), or in cases in which there might be some confusion; otherwise I omit it (e.g., 907).

Major Periods in Chinese History

I have adapted this timeline from that done by Joseph Adler (http://www2.kenyon.edu/Depts/Religion/Fac/Adler/Reln270/History.htm)

Dynasty or period	Dates	Developments in religion
Shang	16th–11th century BCE	Court ritual: divination and sacrifice
Western Zhou	11th–8th century BCE	Emergence of the Doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven; beginnings of Six Classics
Eastern Zhou	8th–3rd century BCE	
'Spring and Autumn'	722–481 BCE	Confucius (551–479 BCE)
'Warring States'	480–221 BCE	Mencius, Xunzi (Classical Confucianism) Laozi, Zhuangzi (Classical Daoism)
Qin	221–6 BCE	Qin Shihuangdi (First Emperor of China) supports Legalism; Burning of the Books
Former Han	206 BCE–9 CE	Confucianism becomes state orthodoxy and its tensions with Daoism Liu Xiang's writing on women in Confucianism
Xin	9–23	Wang Mang, the 'usurper' of the Han throne
Latter Han	23–220	Ban Gu's writing on women in Confucianism Buddhism enters China
'Six Dynasties' (disunion; also known as Wei-Jin and Northern and Southern dynasties)	220–589	The Way of Mysterious Learning-Confucian and Daoist synergies in Wang Bi First Confucian National Academy in Korea (392) Confucian *Analects* introduced to the Japanese court (405)
Sui	589–618	Beginning of new schools of Buddhism: Pure Land, Tiantai, Huayan and Chan
Tang	618–907	Japanese Prince Shotoku's Seventeen Article Constitution under Confucian influence (720) Han Yu's Confucian criticisms of Buddhism (845)

Five Dynasties (disunion)	907–960	Expansions of the Confucian Exam System by Song emperor Taizong
Song	960–1279	The Original Way for a New Era the Confucian revival (Neo-Confucianism) Pure Land and Chan Buddhism flourish Morality Books such as *Tract of the Most Exalted on Action and Response*
Yuan (Mongol)	1279–1368	Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism becomes basis of civil service examinations Collections such as *Twenty-Four Filial Exemplars* An Hyang (1243–1306), 'Father of Korean Confucianism'
Ming	1368–1644	Wang Yangming's Neo-Confucianism Beginnings of 'Four-Seven Debate' in Korea Confucian influence on Japanese Tokugawa *bakufu* system
Qing (Manchu)	1644–1911	Critical study of ancient texts; Western learning and ideas influence China and Confucianism Yamazaki Ansai's (1618–82) efforts to harmonize Confucianism and Japanese Shinto 'Eastern Learning' movement in Korea and critique of Christianity Japanese 'Heart Learning' with curriculum of Confucianism for children and commoners James Legge's translations of the Confucian classics and writings on religions of China into English Liang Shuming (1893–1988), 'the Last Confucian' (?)
Republic of China (ROC)	1911–	Confucian bureaucratic and educational systems dropped; traditional religions maintained
People's Republic of China (PRC) (ROC moves to Taiwan)	1949–	Under Mao Zedong (d. 1976): Confucianism discredited, temples destroyed Since 1979: Confucianism regains some legitimacy The New Confucians and re-enchantment of Confucianism

Introduction
The Story of Confucianism

Confucianism is the great Chinese tradition that has gathered around the teachings of Confucius (Kongzi) for over 2,500 years. To understand it, we begin in its homeland and follow it across East Asia, especially to Korea and Japan, and take note of its emerging place in centers of global public dialog in the contemporary era. Confucianism encompasses a broad array of moral, social, philosophical and religious ideas, values and practices. It is an ancient and immense tradition of great subtlety and complexity. Nonetheless, in the twentieth century, it was reviled by Chinese intellectuals of the 1950s–80s who spoke of it as 'yellow silt clotting the arteries of China', or as 'an effete, patriarchal ideology whose welcome demise is making long-needed cultural transformation possible'.

The name 'Confucianism' suggests a unified tradition with a single founder. Confucius (551–479 BCE), whose Chinese name was Kong Qiu, a.k.a. Kong Zhongni, is better known as 'Master Kong' (Kongfuzi). This name was romanized by sixteenth-century Jesuit missionaries as 'Confucius'. Confucius stands within the tradition of learned scholars who were experts in the behaviors and customs, called 'rites' (*li*, 禮), that defined what it was to be an exemplary Chinese person. These scholars were known as *Ru,* and they were ritual masters and teachers in the courts of the various rulers of the states when Confucius lived; Confucius was one *Ru* teacher among many. In fact, as Anne Cheng observed, the third-century BCE thinker Han Fei gave us an account of eight *Ru* traditions (*rujia bapai*) (Cheng 2003). For himself, Confucius looked to the history, customs and literature of the Zhou dynasty (1045 BCE–256 BCE) as the period that had preserved the best of the wisdom of the earlier sages and kings. He lived during the troubled times known as the Spring and Autumn Period (722–481 BCE, *Chunqiu*), and his intention was to transmit the classical teachings about government and authoritative conduct to those of his own day. His disciples

recorded him saying that he was a transmitter, not an innovator (*Analects* 7.1).

In China, the term *jiao* is used for 'teachings' and serves to identify Buddhism (*Fojiao*), Daoism (*Daojiao*) and Confucianism (*Rujiao*). The Chinese phrase 'Three Teachings' (*sanjiao*) is the common way of speaking about the three traditions that have shaped the Chinese consciousness: Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism. It is *jiao* the Chinese used, having no actual character for 'religion', especially in any sense of this term that defines the Abrahamic religions of the West. The difficulties of categorizing non-Abrahamic teachings as 'religions' have been carefully explored by Tomoko Masuzawa in her *The Invention of World Religions, Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism*. Specifically, Johnathan Silk has written 'The Victorian Creation of Buddhism', David Lorenzen, 'Who Invented Hinduism?', and Norman Girardot, 'Finding the Way: James Legge and the Victorian Invention of Taoism'.[1] While the Chinese, and East Asians in general, would not say that they were 'followers of Confucius' (*wo shi yige rujiao tu*), as one might say that one followed Jesus, Buddha, or Muhammad, nevertheless if we asked to whom they sacrifice and whom they venerate, they would answer not only Confucius but also a host of Confucian worthies through history. For information on this contemporary reality, we may look to Anna Xiao Dong Sun, who has provided a survey of the recent attitudes toward Confucianism as a religion in the People's Republic of China.

Considering the nature of Confucianism as a religion, Zongsan Mou (1909–95) described it as a 'religion of ethics' in which the central issue is not redemption from one's sins, as in Christianity, or extinguishing desires that cause suffering, as in Buddhism, but how to become a sage within (*nei sheng*). He wrote:

> …being a sage or not being a sage depends upon self-consciously engaging in ethical practice, upon taking one's original heart–mind and human nature as the foundation for thoroughly clarifying one's life. This means that the full ethico-religious deep meaning is completely in this increasing, inexhaustible effort [of transformation], that the full morality of learning to be a sage within stems completely from this unceasing, untiring effort. (Mou 1999: 5–6)

'Becoming a sage within' is a quest for spiritual transformation of one's being. It is an elevation or ratcheting up of one's being

creatively from its present state to a new type of being. This goal may be expressed as increasing to a superlative level the degree to which one is human by moral, intellectual and emotional cultivation to such a point that one becomes a different kind of being. We may think of the Confucian ideal as a kind of 'person squared', or as one who had exponentially increased in the very best senses what it means to be human. Such transformation is neither wholly an internal, nor exclusively external, accomplishment, but the creation of a balance or harmony between the inner and the outer. In its social expression, the Confucian Way (*Dao*) of transformation is the creation of new dynamics of interacting and being with others, bringing out the best in them, benefitting them, learning from them, moving them along in the process of their own self-cultivation. In its individual, inner manifestation, it is wisdom, harmony and peace. 'Becoming a sage within' is, first and foremost, a result of the cultivation of one's knowledge. There can be no advance without the extension of knowledge. The classical text known as *The Great Learning* (*Daxue*) says:

> The ancients who wished to display illustrious virtue throughout the world, first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their own states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts (*xin*, 心). Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things. (Legge 1893)

We may consider the question whether this is a religious project or not under the humanities disciplines or under the social sciences. We may choose a definition of religion and then proceed to demonstrate that Confucian writings either do or do not show the necessary characteristics of a religious tradition according to that definition. An example of this kind of approach is Rodney Taylor's collection of essays, *The Religious Dimensions of Confucianism*. Taylor, using Frederick Streng's definition of religion, argues that Confucianism can usefully be analyzed as a 'means of ultimate transformation', the goal of which is sagehood, defined with reference to the transcendent realm of Heaven. A social science approach to the question is somewhat different. It studies Confucian practices, material culture and

writings to consider whether, given these phenomena, the tradition is something that plays itself out in ways that we speak of as a religion. My own position is that no matter which approach one takes, Confucianism may be classified as a religion.

However, Confucianism is not a religion in the sense of Abrahamic traditions. The Confucian path instantiates a profound spirituality in which commitment to learning and self-cultivation represent the ways to achieve self-transformation and self-transcendence. It is a relatively coherent unity of beliefs and practices that provide answers to the most fundamental of human questions. Nevertheless, in Confucianism one is learning to enhance that which is human. Moreover, Confucianism's collection of writings, traditions, practices and revered sages demonstrate that the patterns of self-transcendence vary and cannot be reduced to a single method. Yet, Confucian sage teachers through time do embrace a recurring set of virtues, including righteousness (*yi*), wisdom (*zhi*) and trustworthiness (*xin*), that, taken together, create humaneness (*ren*, 仁). Likewise, they stress the importance of behaviors that both exhibit and enable self-transcendence. These are grouped under the general concept of the rites of propriety (*li*, 禮).

Confucianism has been characterized as feudalistic, patriarchal and sexist, especially since the beginning of the modern period. Each of these charges will be discussed at the proper time in this volume; but for now, I want to tip my hand a little on the question of Confucianism's views on gender. As I read the Confucian tradition, there is nothing in the central teachings of Confucianism that precludes any person from reaching the kind of self-transcendence central to its teachings. All fully functioning human persons have within them the potential to reach the Confucian ideal, each in his or her own way.

In order to unveil the support for this position and indeed to consider many other issues as well, it is imperative that we consider the development of the tradition and how it has negotiated various external criticisms and internal tensions. Accordingly, in this volume, I have organized the introduction to Confucianism in the following manner:

I The World into which Confucius Came (c. 551–479 BCE). In this chapter, I will set the background for Confucius, explain the identity of the *Ru* and introduce what we know about Confucius's biography.

II What Confucius Taught: the *Analects*. The *Analects* is surely the most accessible and best known repository of Confucius's teachings, and in this chapter we will gain an overview of its structure and the teachings it contains.

III The Formation of Classical Confucianism. In this chapter, we will become acquainted with the principal figures and texts that gave shape to Confucianism in the early generations after Confucius's death.

IV Confucian Ascendancy in the Han Dynasty. The lasting influence and authoritative structure of Confucianism owes a great deal to a series of important decisions made in Chinese government and education during the period of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). This chapter provides a survey of the most important actions and figures associated with these decisions.

V Blending Confucianism with Other Worldviews. Confucianism had to position its teachings relative to those of the other indigenous spiritual tradition of China: Daoism. This chapter considers some of the ways Confucianism engaged Daoism.

VI Confucianism and Challenges from a Foreign Land. When Buddhism entered China, it presented the Chinese with a formidable alternative worldview to that of Confucianism, one that conceived of the human predicament and its solution in very different ways. This chapter introduces the resistance and incorporation of Buddhism by Confucian scholars.

VII The Renaissance Period of Confucianism. Neo-Confucianism is the name given to the form of the tradition that moved Confucianism back into a dominant place in the life of China and represented its rebirth. It was this interpretation of China that Koreans and the Japanese first understood Confucianism to mean.

VIII Conversations with Master Zhu. The greatest teacher of Neo-Confucianism, and arguably the third most important figure in Confucian intellectual history, is Zhu Xi. This chapter is an introduction to the range and depth of his thought.

IX Confucianism in New Homes and New Hearts. Confucianism found new homes in Korea and Japan, and new hearts among educated women in China, and faced challenges from Chinese thinkers influenced by Western intellectual and spiritual models. This chapter provides an overview of some of the key figures and writings associated with these places and figures.

X The Contemporary Period. Although Confucianism faced the most dangerous efforts to exterminate its tradition and influence in the mid-twentieth century, its return to the Asian and global stage as a viable spiritual option has characterized the last 20 years and the movement known as New Confucianism.

Chapter I
The World into which Confucius Came

China Before Confucius

In this section, I will consider the intellectual and religious context that shaped the thought world into which Confucius was born and how he expressed this worldview in his teachings. I begin by noting that Confucianism was born into one of the great 'cradles of civilization'. As far back as the Neolithic period, features that we recognize as belonging to Chinese culture had already appeared in China: patrilineal descent, use of ritual objects, social hierarchy and elaborate burial procedures (Van Norden 2002a: 4).[2] Ancient Chinese history is traditionally said to have begun with three sage-kings: Yao, Shun and Yu and the 'Three Dynasties (*san dai*)'. The Three Dynasties are the Xia, the Shang and the Zhou. Although its findings are still very controversial, the *Xia Shang Zhou Historical Project* (*Xia Shang Zhou Duandai Gongcheng*) was commissioned in 1996 by the People's Republic of China and gave its report in 2000. The report held that the Xia dynasty was real and not merely legendary and that its probable time span using a Western calendar was 2070–1600 BCE; that the Shang should be divided into an early phase (c. 1600–1300 BCE) and a later phase (c. 1300–1046 BCE); and that the Zhou dynasty was the most well documented of the three, extending from 1040 to 771 BCE.

The Zhou dynasty was founded by a family with the surname Ji (姬) and centered on the region of Haojing, located in Western China near present-day Xi'an. In 771 a civil war about proper succession to the throne culminated in the movement of the capital eastward to Luoyang in modern Henan province and resulted in what is known as the Eastern Zhou dynasty (c. 770–221 BCE). This period is typically divided into the Spring and Autumn Period (*Chunqiu Shidai*, c. 722–481 BCE) and the Warring States Period (c. 480–221 BCE). The Spring and Autumn Period was basically a set of feudal-type kingdoms with a weak center at the capital in Luoyang and correlated

with the reigns of the dukes of Lu. The period of the Warring States (see Figure 1) ended with the unification of China by the ruler of the state of Qin, Qin Shihuang (personal name Ying Zheng, 259–10 BCE), who is also known as the First Emperor of China.[3]

Figure 1: The Warring States Period

Confucius often mentioned favorably the founder of the Zhou dynasty King Wen (a.k.a. Zhou Wenwang, birth name Ji Chang, 1099–50 BCE), and his son, who was actually the commander who defeated the Shang dynasty forces, King Wu (Zhou Wuwang, birth name Ji Fa, r. 1046–43 BCE). However, Confucius had an even

greater admiration for the Duke of Zhou (Zhou Gong, birth name Ji Dan). Confucius appreciated the Duke of Zhou's administrative effectiveness and his humaneness. Once, when speaking of his own situation, Confucius said, 'How I have gone downhill! It has been such a long time since I dreamt of the Duke of Zhou' (*Analects* 7.5). The story that is most famously celebrated as an example of the Duke of Zhou's great-heartedness is his care for his nephew, the crown prince of the Zhou. The Duke of Zhou was a younger brother of King Wu, and when Wu died soon after the conquest of Shang, the throne passed to King Cheng (Zhou Chengwang, birth name Ji Song, r. 1042–21 BCE), who at that time was only a minor. The Duke of Zhou administrated the kingdom as regent and faithfully passed Cheng a good and harmonious kingdom when he became of age. He did not try to usurp the throne or eliminate his nephew.

Another tradition explaining the respect and admiration shown toward the Duke of Zhou by Confucius and countless generations of Chinese insists that it was he who explained why the Shang dynasty should be overthrown. In this account, the Duke of Zhou is credited with revealing the concept of the Mandate of Heaven (*tianming*). According to this concept, Heaven (*tian*) brought to power rulers and kingdoms to care for the people. As long as those rulers followed the Way (*Dao*) of Heaven, ruling justly and providing for the people, they would be blessed by Heaven and could continue to rule. However, if the kings became corrupt and oppressed the people, the Mandate (authorization to rule) would be withdrawn and Heaven would choose a new ruling dynasty to overthrow the corrupt one. The doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven became a fundamental principle in Chinese political thought for almost 3,000 years and it is used to explain changes in dynasties. Floods, famine, disease and troubles were regarded as warning signs that the loss of the Mandate was imminent.[4] The Duke of Zhou explained to the people of Shang that if their rulers had not misused their power, the Heavenly Mandate would not have been taken away from Shang and given to Zhou.

For our study of background to Confucius and the rise of Confucianism, the two sub-periods of the Eastern Zhou, the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period, are of extreme importance because Confucius lived during the Spring and Autumn Period, and the classical movements and texts of Confucianism were first formed during the Warring States Period. Confucius did not

create his thoughts in a vacuum and a number of early materials, including poems, ritual instructions, historical documents, religious and philosophical ideas, folklore and customs, influenced Confucius's thought. A great deal of work has been done on reconstructing the ideas, practices and everyday life of Warring States of China in particular.[5]

The *Ru* and the Six Arts

Confucius stood within the tradition of scholars called *Ru* (儒). In the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), two centuries after Confucius's life, Liu Xin (46? BCE–23 CE) says the *Ru* first appeared as an identifiable professional group in the early Zhou dynasty. They were noted for their allegiance to the sage-kings of ancient China, who followed the Way (*Dao*) of Heaven, and to the social, religious and moral rituals (*li*, 禮) of the distant and idyllic past when humaneness (*ren*, 仁) and moral righteousness (*yi*) prevailed. The *History of the Former Han* (Ban 2007: 1728) says that the function of the *Ru* was to follow the *Dao* of *yin* and *yang* and enlighten the people by education (1728). Liu Xin tells us the *Ru* were devoted to the 'Six Classics' (*Liujing*) and took Confucius as their master teacher. Of course, the late date of Liu Xin's account makes this comment about Confucius somewhat open to debate, and it probably represents an attempt to reconstruct history at a time when the Han literati were developing the texts that would form the core of the intellectual substance of their culture for generations to follow, even down to the present day.

The Han dynasty association of Confucius with the *Ru* in such great specificity has been questioned.[6] However, the first use of the character *Ru* in classical texts now in our possession is in the *Analects,* which is also the primary source for Confucius's teachings. In that text, he tells his disciples to be a *Ru* of an exemplary person (*junzi ru*), but to avoid being a *Ru* for a petty person (*xiaoren ru*) (*Analects* 6.13); it seems likely, all things taken together, that Confucius does stand in the tradition of the *Ru*.[7] If we see him as an extension of the *Ru*, we will better understand the snapshot we have of his teachings and practices in the *Analects.* Even though we may associate Confucius with the *Ru,* we should not think that the type of service given by the *Ru* and the nature of their work remained fixed from the time of the Shang dynasty through the Zhou, nor that all

Ru performed or mastered each and every task performed by other *Ru*. However, having said this, a general description of the kinds of things *Ru* taught as a group may help us understand Confucius. They were specialists in:

- religious rituals and political ceremonies, as well as divination probably using milfoil stalks (*shizhan*) by the time of the Zhou and perhaps by Turtle Shell Oracle Bone (*jia gu*) before the Zhou;
- communication with spirits (*shen*), including ancestors;
- practicing astrology (*qizheng*), calendrics (*dunjia*) and geomancy (*kanyu jia*);
- dance and performance;
- music;
- archery;
- poetry.

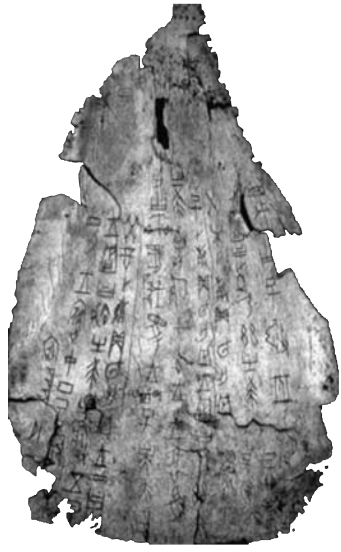

Figure 2: Oracle Bone Inscription

Surely not all *Ru* were skilled in all of these specialties, and Confucius seems not to have been a practitioner of some of them. By the time of the Spring and Autumn Period, the *Ru* masters principally made their living by conducting rituals, acting as consultants to rulers and officials, working with ancient texts and teaching private students who came their way. This sort of *Ru* profession included Confucius and it continued through the Warring States Period. Toward the end of that period, Han Fei (280?–33 BCE) observed that the two most famous schools of learning in his day were the school of Master Mo (Mozi, 470–391? BCE), known as the Mohists (Mojia), and the *Ru*, the most prominent figure of which was Confucius (Liao 1959: 2:298). Prior to the time of the Han dynasty, *Ru* had no systematic teaching or religious practice. In fact, we can understand the collection of Confucius's own teachings in the *Analects* as part of just such an effort. With the elevation of the status of Confucius in the Han dynasty, 'the teaching of Confucius' (*Kong jiao*) became substituted

for 'the teaching of the *Ru*' (*Ru jiao*) and took its place alongside 'the teachings of the *Dao*' (i.e., Daoism) (*dao jiao*) and other schools.

According to Liu Xin, the *Ru* practiced 'the Six Arts' (*liu yi*) or 'the Six Forms of Learning' (*liu xue*), with one of each embodied in the 'Six Classics' (*liu jing*) of the *Ru*. This connection between Confucius and the Six Classics is quite important in Chinese history and it is made earlier than Liu Xin. Actually, the Daoist work *Zhuangzi* uses an argument against Confucius in its 'Yellow Emperor' (*Huang-lao*) textual stratum (dating between 300 and 168 BCE), according to which Confucius comes seeking help from Laozi (the Daoist master) because no king or ruler will follow his 'Six Classics'.[8] The art of 'the Way of Heaven' that Confucius treasures seems to have been expressed in these Six Classics of the *Ru*.[9] The Han dynasty scholar, Dong Zhongshu, called on the government to set aside all other arts than these six (Ban 2007: 2523). The role of texts is significant in Confucianism. In fact, we may say that Confucianism is unlike Daoism in being a tradition of books, not lineage masters; transmission, not inspiration; and commentary, not numinal experiences. Later, when Daoists wrote down their traditions, they did so largely as an imitation of Confucianism. Writing and producing texts was not originally part of the Daoist way. Daoism was a master–disciple, lineage transmission, of acute numinal experiences and the practices relevant to producing them.

The Six Classics associated with the *Ru* are these:

- the *Classic of Poetry*;
- the *Classic of History*;
- the *Classic of Rites*;
- the *Classic of Music*;
- the *Classic of Changes*;
- the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.[10]

Just what these texts were like in the time of Confucius is not presently determinable. The reason for this is that the ruler of the Qin dynasty, also known as the First Emperor of China, in an effort to unify his empire and solidify his power, ordered the horrific actions of 'Burning the Books and Burial of the Scholars' (*Fengshu Kengru*)

in 213 BCE. According to the *Records of the Historian* (109–91 BCE), written and collected by Sima Qian (c. 145 BCE–6 BCE), only books concerning medicine, agriculture and divination were spared. All of the Six Classics were targets of this destructive policy. After the fall of the Qin, Han dynasty rulers commissioned remaining scholars to reformat the Six Classics. The *Classic of Music* seems to have been the one classic that was virtually irretrievable; we are unsure of its actual contents beyond what survives in the *Classic of Rites* and the *Chronicles of the Zuo*. It is clear to textual scholars now that new material was introduced to the reformatted versions of the now remaining Five Classics (*Wujing*) by the Han scholars. So, determining just which passages go back to the time of Confucius and before is not completely within our present ability to decide. Even so, we can take note of the contents of the Five Classics and have confidence that there is a substantial amount of material in them that is traceable to Confucius's era.

The *Classic of Poetry* (also called the *Book of Songs*)[11] contains 305 poems dating from about 1000–600 BCE, divided into three sections according to genre (i.e., folk songs (*guo feng*); minor festival songs (*xiaoya*) and major festival songs (*daya*); and religious hymns and eulogies (*song*)). The *Classic of Poetry* was well known to Confucius, and Sima Qian says in the *Records of the Historian* that he was its editor, reducing 3,000 poems to 305. In the *Analects,* Confucius refers twice to the 300 poems (2.2; 13.5) as an established group. It seems unlikely he would do so, unless they were already edited down to this number.

The *Classic of History*[12] is a collection of documentary materials related to the ancient history of China in 58 chapters. The fragments that survive are a mixture of myth and history. The earliest five chapters reach back to the legendary sage emperors Yao and Shun in the period of c. 2400 BCE, and the last 32 chapters cover the period of the Zhou dynasty down to Duke Mu of Qin (born Ying Renhao, r. 660 to 621 BCE). About half of the present text was actually added in the 300s CE. Traditions that Confucius edited this work are rejected for several reasons, not the least among which is the great Confucian Mencius's comment to the effect that it would be better not to have had this work at all rather than to believe it in its entirety.

The *Classic of Rites*[13] is a work containing social customs, practices of decorum and religious and ceremonial rituals for funerals, sacrifices, marriage, capping, conduct of a scholar and other observances taken

largely from the time of the Zhou dynasty. Traditionally it is believed that the work we now possess is a version written from memory by Confucian scholars after the 'Burning of the Books and the Burial of the Scholars', and pinpointing the date of the component passages in the *Classic of Rites* is extremely difficult. Although Sima Qian says Confucius 'put in order' the *Classic of Rites* in its received form, it contains works that may have separated individually, such as the *Great Learning,* the *Zhongyong* and the *Black Robes*. Moreover, there is also no early evidence beyond Sima Qian's remark to associate the book with Confucius as author or editor. Chapters 28 and 29 have to do specifically with narratives about Confucius and record many teachings purportedly given to his disciples on the rites. Within the *Classic of Rites*, in the sections generally thought to date from the Han dynasty, there are conversations between Confucius and his disciples that are not duplicated in the *Analects.* The *Classic of Rites* is a vast book and as Confucianism matured, some sections of it were pulled out to make self-contained texts in themselves. The best known of these are the *Great Learning* and *Zhongyong* to be discussed later.

The *Classic of Changes*[14] is characteristically said to be a work of divination. Throughout Chinese history until the modern era, it was believed that the principles of the *Classic of Changes* originated with the mythical Fu Xi, an early cultural hero in China to whom many advances in civilization are attributed. The story goes that a set of figures depicting the eight basic relationships between the foundational forces of *yin* – depicted in broken lines – and *yang* – consisting of an unbroken straight line – formed eight trigrams (a.k.a. the *bagua*, see Figure 3). These trigrams were revealed to Fu Xi as methods by which to understand the movement of the processes of the cosmos and history.

By the time of the sage ruler Yu, the trigrams had been developed into 64 hexagrams (*liushisi gua*), depicting all the possible combinations of *yin* and *yang* in the process of an event coming into experience. King Wen of Zhou is said to have given a description of the nature of each hexagram. Divination by use of milfoil stalks (*shizhan*) was used as early as the Zhou dynasty to determine the arrangement of the *yin* and *yang* lines for the hexagram governing an upcoming situation. This method gradually replaced the more ancient practice of Oracle Bone divination (Smith 1991: 19–22). In milfoil divination

Figure 3: Prayers in a Bagua *at Fu Xi's Tomb*

50 stalks were cast on the ground, divided into piles and counted off in sets of four to yield either a *yin* (even) or *yang* (odd) number. Each cast thus created a *yin* or *yang* line until six lines were determined. The result corresponded to one of the 64 hexagrams of the *Classic of Changes* (*Yijing*). Once a hexagram was determined, the *Book of Changes* could be consulted for guidance in decision-making by locating the hexagram in the book and reading its interpretation.

The *Classic of Changes* was likely the only one of the Six Classics of the *Ru* to have survived the burning of the books. The work also has appended to it a number of commentaries on the text ascribed to Confucius. These are called the 'Ten Wings' (*Shi Yi*). Virtually no contemporary scholar accepts the idea that these commentaries all come from Confucius. Instead, by means of linguistic and archaeological evidence, we may conclude that the text as it stands is most likely the result of a long history of the development of divinatory concepts through the period of the Zhou dynasty. The Ten Wings are most probably the product of late Warring States Period and even early Han scholars wishing to trade on the name of Confucius for authority.[15] It is generally accepted that while the original text of the *Classic of Changes* may be quite ancient and even date from the time

of Confucius or before, the Ten Wings section is associated with later Confucians and not with Confucius himself. A reason for believing that he did not author the Ten Wings is that they make use of some concepts that are foreign to the Confucius of the *Analects,* the most notable of which are *yin* and *yang*. *Yin* and *yang* as described above are ontological notions about the correlation of forces fundamental to a worldview of the cosmos emerging after Confucius lived and more closely associated with the period of the Jixia Academy (c. 300s BCE). The Ten Wings also rely on forms of numerology that are associated with the last stratum of the *Analects* (Chapters 16–20), which may have been formulated as late as the Jixia Academy or even into the early Han period. The use of this reliance on numbers by Confucian teachers is mentioned in the *Zhuangzi* (Chapter 33).

The *Spring and Autumn Annals* presents itself as a chronicle of events in the state of Lu, Confucius's home region, between about 722 and 481 BCE. Although Mencius (372–289 BCE) ascribed the authorship of some book entitled *Spring and Autumn* to Confucius, we do not know whether this is the work he meant or whether it was another by this title since there were several such works. Generally speaking, contemporary scholars believe the formation of the text is attributable to various chroniclers in the state of Lu. 'Spring and Autumn' is a phrase used in Chinese to mean 'the whole year' and was associated with the recording of events during the year, and this is why there are many works by this title. However, even if Confucius was not the author of the work, it is possible that he knew the *Spring and Autumn Annals* in a form much like its current one.

Two works traditionally called 'commentaries' on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* contain large amounts of independently derived materials and are also very important for a study of Confucius and Confucianism. Although not considered part of the Five Classics, they contribute to our understanding of the world in which Confucius lived. The *Chronicles of Zuo,* probably largely composed in the 300s BCE, is a general history of the period 722–481 BCE and may have actually been independent of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Although the traditional view that the *Chronicles of Zuo* was authored by Zuo Qiuming, who is mentioned in *Analects* 5.25, is no longer regarded as credible, the work still has considerable historical detail of value to the student of Confucius and Confucianism.[16] The *Commentary*

of Zuo records a period of political and social disorder with familial disruption, bureaucratic corruption and immorality in the Spring and Autumn Period. Accordingly, it reveals a situation that leaves little wonder why Confucius felt the need for reform and reestablishment of traditional values and bearings throughout the community. The *Spring and Autumn Annals* and the *Commentary of Zuo* also tell about the workings of the lords who managed the Zhou dynasty infrastructure. These lords were known as *ba*. Today, *ba* is often translated as 'tyrant' or 'hegemon'. This term expresses the sense that such persons ruled by force and arbitrary will and not according to merit. Likewise, they did not rise to power because of their merit, but because of heredity, intrigue, manipulation and even violence. Two of the famous *ba* mentioned in the *Analects* by Confucius are Duke Huan of Qi (Qi Huangong) and his minister Guan Zhong (*Analects* 3.22; 14.16–17). As *ba* vied for power, eventually the weakened central government of the Zhou recognized the de facto division of its state of Jin into three smaller states. Once this was done, the Warring States Period began, as each *ba* sought greater autonomy and power.

The *Commentary of Gongyang* is said to have originated with Zixia, one of Confucius's disciples, and was recorded by a man named Gongyang. The traditional belief is that it was the result of secret esoteric transmissions about the true mission of Confucius and the truth of his teachings through the centuries by his true disciples (Csikszentmihalyi 2002: 39).

Confucius is credited with the compilation, editing and even writing of some or all of each of the Six Classics; but as we have seen, this attribution is one of tradition and honor, not one of historical accuracy. Indeed, several of the components of the Six Classics are assigned to other authors/compilers. The *Zhongyong* section of the *Classic of Rites* is one of these. Throughout the history of Confucianism, the actual body and number of classics regarded as representative of the tradition changed many times.

Confucius (Kongzi)

The Classical Period (c. 500–221 BCE) represents that era into which Confucius (personal name Kong Qiu, a.k.a. Kong Zhongni, 551–479 BCE) was born, lived and taught. During this period, the traditions about Confucius were gathered and transmitted, and other important

classical figures in the creation of Confucianism taught and struggled to advance the teachings of the Master: Kong Ji (Honorifically, Zisizi, 'Master Zisi', c. 482–1 BCE), Mencius (Mengzi c. 372–289 BCE) and Xunxi (312–230 BCE).

The best-known source for the life of Confucius outside of the *Analects* is that compiled by the historian Sima Qian in *Records of the Historian*, from a number of sources both private and public.[17] It tells us that Confucius was born in the year that corresponds to 551 BCE in the village of Zouyi near Qufu, in the ancient state of Lu (now part of Shandong province), and that he died in 479 BCE. At the time of Confucius, Lu was a small state, surrounded by more powerful states on all sides. Sima Qian says the philosopher's given name was Kong Qiu and his style name was Zhong Ni. Stories about Confucius are included in several Han dynasty collections of worthy sages as well. In 1977, a list of 46 different stories about Confucius was discovered at a grave site in Anhui Province dating to 165 BCE, demonstrating that accounts of the Master's life were circulating independent of the *Analects*, entering some collections and being omitted from others (Csikszentmihalyi 2002: 144).

Figure 4: Confucius's Burial Mound in Qufu

Even with these sources, we possess very little reliable information about Confucius's birth and early life. His father is said to have died while Confucius was young, and this must have made it hard on the family. He himself said, 'I was of humble station when young. That is why I am skilled in many menial things' (*Analects* 9.6).[18] This remark suggests that Confucius was not from the sort of family in which a son can expect others to perform routine daily tasks around his birth home. Instead, he was a worker and tended to daily affairs himself, even though he had at least one elder brother (*Analects* 5.2). One tradition says this brother was disabled. It is commonly believed that Confucius came from a once-noble family that was reduced to a much lower standard and that he sought to return his family to its former station and prominence. If his elder brother was disabled and his father deceased, Confucius's role in the family carried especially heavy responsibility. If we are right that the family was once noble, Confucius's mother and male relatives would have stressed the importance of education and effort as a means to regain the family place. This may also explain Confucius's ability to maintain connections with *Ru* teachers, texts and rituals. It is likely that written resources valued by the *Ru* were available to him, as well as educated family members and an orbit of teachers who continued to serve the family (or once did so). In the *Analects,* he often quotes from the *Classic of Poetry,* associated with the *Ru* as one of the Six Classics.

Confucius had a strong work ethic, and he recommended the same to his students, acknowledging merit as the only just desert for ascendancy to rule and position. He was famous for having freely accepted students seeking learning. He said, 'I have never denied instruction to anyone who, of his own accord, has given me so much as a bundle of dried meat as a present' (*Analects* 7.7). However, he set a high standard, saying if he showed one corner of a problem to his students and they could return with the other three, he would not repeat the lesson for them (*Analects* 7.8).

Confucius had a wife, daughter and son (*Analects* 5.1; 11.8). However, his son did not outlive his father. It is often noted that one of Confucius's disciples characterized the relationship between Confucius and his son as 'distant' (*Analects* 16.13). We should not misunderstand this description. Confucius used the same term to describe what our relationship with the spirits (shen, 神) should be,

and it suggests only that a son should be 'respectful' and 'not too familiar' toward his father, just as persons should be 'respectful' or even 'reverential' toward the spirits.

Traveling as a counselor and advisor to rulers of neighboring states, Confucius visited the state of Qi (Northeast of Lu in modern Shandong Province). There he had conversations with Duke Jing (Jing Gong, *Analects* 12.11; 16.12). However, Duke Jing did not give heed to Confucius's counsel nor offer him a position, so he returned to Lu (*Analects* 18.3). Confucius remained very interested in political and social reform, perhaps because he felt the ordinary Chinese person was being neglected and even oppressed. Some time after his return to Lu, there was a revolt against the family of the Ji, one of the prominent ruling families in Lu. The revolt was led by Gongshan Furao and Confucius considered joining the cause in order to 'establish another Zhou in the East', creating a controversy among his disciples (*Analects* 17.5). We have accounts (*Chronicles of Zuo*, Duke Ding Year 10 and *Mengzi* 6B6) which suggest that Confucius did not join the revolt because some time between 505 and 495 BCE he was appointed to an executive position in Lu by the Chief Minister Jihuanzi, who was of the Ji family. The position he had was that of *si kou* (司寇), a type of judge. Confucius resigned this position for reasons seemingly associated with his frustration over Jihuanzi's laxness and the minister's failure to accept Confucius's advice (*Analects* 18.4 and *Mengzi* 6B6).

For the next decade, Confucius was itinerant, traveling to a number of states. We have only a few recorded incidents of his activities. For example, in the state of Wei, he had an interview with a woman simply called Nanzi. One of his disciples named Zilu was outraged because this woman was the concubine of Duke Ling of Wei and had an unseemly reputation. While traveling through the state of Song (宋), an attempt was made to assassinate Confucius by someone named Huan Tui, for what reason we do not know. Confucius returned to Wei, and later was invited back to Lu in 484 BCE by the new High Minister Jikangzi. Confucius was given a position in the government, but it may have been only an honorary one, 'following after the Counsellors' (*Analects* 11.8, 14.21). In 481 BCE, upon the assassination of Duke Jian of Qi, Confucius advised the ruling families of Lu to take military action, but they refused (*Analects* 14.21). Confucius died two years later, in 479 BCE.

Confucius's disciples were not without political success. Zilu, Ran Qiu and Ran Yong were each, at some point, stewards of the powerful Ji family (*Jishi zai*).[19] Zilu left the Ji family service and joined the ruling family of Wei, which he died defending (*Zuo zhuan,* Duke Ai, Year 15). Ran Qiu organized the defense of Lu against an invasion from Qi and led in combat (*Chronicles of Zuo,* Duke Ai, Year 11).

Based on this sketch of Confucius's life alone, it may be difficult to explain how and why he became so influential. Why did the great Chinese philosopher Mencius say, 'Ever since man came into this world, there has never been another Confucius' (*Mengzi* 2A2)? When trying to understand Confucius's remarkable greatness, we do well to remember that behind the scenes of the traditional image of a unitary Confucius, it is possible to uncover a number of sometimes contradictory views of this great man. Within about 200 years of Confucius's death, there were no less than eight competing Confucian sects according to the work *Hanfeizi*, #50 and each had its own version of the great teacher's work and merit. P.J. Ivanhoe has written on the different ways Confucius's teachings just on moral self-cultivation were interpreted by some of these groups (Ivanhoe 2000). No description of Confucius can be completely free from the interplay of text, legend and myth that surround him as a historical figure.[20] We can say that each era has its own Confucius (see Gu 1930, Vol. 2). Anyone familiar with the formation of biographical traditions about major figures associated with the world's great philosophical and religious traditions, such as Jesus, Gautama or Muhammad, will not be surprised to find that accounts of Confucius vary greatly as well.[21]

Evidence of such diversity reveals itself in the different narrative sources about the Confucius of legend. For instance, there are moral example stories about Confucius in two collections attributed to Liu Xiang (77–6 BCE): *New Preface* and *Garden of Sayings.* Other collections of material are devoted entirely to Confucius, including *Records of Confucius in the Three Courts* and *School Sayings of Confucius* attributed to Wang Su (195–256 CE). There are materials about Confucius in *Elder Dai's Record of Ritual* and in the recently discovered texts at Mawangdui and dated to c. 168 BCE. Yet, none of these many sources holds much promise for expanding reliably on what we know about Confucius from the *Analects* and the *Records of the Historian*.

Today, the commonly held view of Confucius is that he was a this-worldly, humanist, moral and social philosopher, who was distinctive in his era for avoiding the superstitious religious practices and naive cosmological science entrenched in the worldview of his contemporaries. This is a view of Confucius that had little, if any, traction in Chinese sources until the Song dynasty in the eleventh century of the Common Era. In contrast, the image of Confucius constructed during the Han dynasty was that he was destined by Heaven to achieve sagehood and set both the ruler and the people on the right Way (*Dao*). The 'biography' of Confucius in Sima Qian says that even his physical appearance marked him as extraordinary, likening him to those figures in the genre of immortals (*xian*), including a reference to his 'forehead like Yao and neck like Gao Yao (minister in the Xia dynasty), and shoulders like Zichan (former minister of the state of Zheng) and his being only three inches shorter than the great sage-king, Yu'.

We find these sorts of descriptions of other important teachers in other Han texts**.** For example, the *Biographies of the Immortals*, said to have been collected/composed by Liu Xiang in about 77 BCE, has striking 'biographies' of figures, such as Laozi, Master Redpine (Chisongzi) and the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi). Since those scholars advocating for the truthfulness and uniqueness of Confucius's vision were faced with great competition from other techniques of the Way during the Han dynasty, it is not surprising that they too showed an interest in presenting Confucius as extraordinary (*yi*) and confirming that his remarkable physiognomy is one evidence of this reality. Indeed, the Warring States Period is also known as the 'Period of the One Hundred Schools' (*bai jia*).[22] So, when Confucius became a teacher, his was not the only school of thought and practice competing for the attention of the rulers of the period from the Warring States into the Han dynasty. Traditions that he was a near-divinity supported claims to his authority.

Chapter II

What Confucius Taught: the *Analects*

The first access to Confucianism most students in the West have is through the *Analects*. This book is composed of short texts and brief conversations in which Confucius is often, although not exclusively, the main teacher. Its Chinese title is *Lunyu,* meaning 'selected sayings'. Our present *Analects* is divided into 20 books (roughly the size of chapters) that are further categorized into the sayings with the convention of listing the book first, then the analect (e.g., 3.1 is Book 3, analect 1).[23]

The Structure of the Analects Sayings Collection

The formation of the *Analects* took place after Confucius's death, and there were a number of versions of sayings in circulation as late as the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). Shortly after Confucius's death, a few of the disciples set down what they remembered the Master saying to them about various topics and also what they could recall about significant events in his life. Tradition says these disciples collected the first 15 chapters of the text (Rosemont and Ames 2009: 9).

The present *Analects* of 20 books was over three centuries in the making, but it does not contain every saying attributed to Confucius. The *Classic of Rites* is a multi-layered text, but in the sections generally thought to date from the Han dynasty, there are conversations between Confucius and his disciples that are not duplicated in the *Analects.* Moreover, interestingly, there are no quotes from the *Analects* in any pre-Qin source that has been identified up to now (Csikszentmihalyi 2002: 144–9). However, in 1973, a set of bamboo slips dating from 55 BCE was discovered in the tomb of Liu Xiu in Ding county, Hebei Province. These slips have some lines from narratives found in Books 3 and 14 of the *Analects.* Mark Csikszentmihalyi believes this kind of evidence suggests that quotations from the *Analects* continued to circulate in other collections even after the *Analects* was formed

(146). This almost certainly means that a principal objective in creating the *Analects* was to gather what could become an authoritative set of narratives about Confucius and distinguish these from other sets, and also provide a suitable collection of Confucius's sayings for use in the educational system of the Han dynasty. During the Han, texts began to circulate that presented themselves as having been written by Confucius. They alleged to contain 'esoteric' teachings and prophecies. One example of such a text is listed in the bibliographic survey in the *History of the Han*. The text is now lost, but its title was *The Charts and Models of Confucius and His Disciples.*

By the time of Emperor Xuan in 74 BCE, the title *Analects* was used to refer to a set of texts for advanced ritual officials and ministers associated with Confucius. Then, Ban Gu (32–92 CE), the scholar assigned the task of cataloging the books in the empire, listed three versions of the *Analects*:

- 'the ancient version' or *Gu lun* in 21 books;
- the State of Qi version in 22 books; and
- the State of Lu version in 20 books.

The finds at Dingzhou already show that attempts were being made to harmonize these versions as early as 55 BCE, a full 200 years before Zheng Xuan (127–200 CE) collated and edited the current *Analects* into 20 books.

Many editors had a hand in bringing about the text of the *Analects* we now have. John Makeham has argued that the principal source for the received version of the work was the 21 'books' (*pian*) of collected sayings purportedly discovered in the wall of Confucius's house, during the reign of Emperor Wu (r. 187–41 BCE), and known as the 'ancient version' (*Gu lun*) (Makeham 1996: 14). In contrast to the versions of the *Ru* classics with which Dong Zhongshu of the Han dynasty worked, known as the 'New Texts' (*jinwen jing*) because they relied on versions of the classics written in the officially recognized script of the Han dynasty, these works discovered in the wall were called the 'Old Texts' (*guwen jing*) by Han scholars because they were in an archaic script using characters from the Zhou dynastic period. A long line of interpretive controversies have centered on arguments over which one or the other of the New Texts or the Old Texts are regarded as most authentically Confucian.

Not everything in the *Analects* compiled by Zheng Xuan is traceable to Confucius. In fact, the *Analects* itself makes this quite clear by providing many other teachers' names and attributing sayings to them. The Qing dynasty (1644–1912) scholar Cui Shu (1740–1816) used a study of the language and expressions to show that Books 16–20 were composed much later than Books 1–15 (Van Norden 2002a: 13). Other scholars have divided Books 1–15 into strata, almost always holding that Books 3–9 are arguably the oldest analects and those most likely traceable with confidence to Confucius and his immediate disciples. As for Books 11–20, E. Bruce Brooks and Taeko Brooks divide this section into two strata: Books 11–15 and 16–20. However, this process of textual criticism is both complicated and controversial. Just because an analect is in a Book with evidences of a later time period does not mean that the analect itself was not early, or that it cannot be traced back to Confucius. For example, while Chapters 16–20 contain a great deal of material that is clearly much later than Confucius, Chapter 19 contains sayings collections from four of Confucius's disciples and may contain analects that are very early and authentic.

In what follows, I take the canonical *Analects* we have received and begin our discussion of it according to the division and account of the chronological formation of the text shown below:[24]

- Stratum One dating to Confucius. This stratum is Books 3–10. It represents the oldest materials in the *Analects* and contains the core sayings most likely traceable to Confucius himself, with only a few isolated analects from second-generation teachers as interpolations from a disciple turned teacher, such as Master Zeng (8.3–8.7). I consider Books 3 and 10 as 'bookends' to this stratum and take note that both are concerned with Confucius's remarks on ritual and his own ritual practices.
- Stratum Two dates from the second or disciples' generation and the disciples' disciples or third generation, and includes Books 1–2 and 11–15 along with 8.3–8.7. Books 1–2 contain a number of aphorisms that are likely still traceable to Confucius. On the whole, though, this stratum bears the marks of second-generation activity. For example, it has teachings specifically attributed to disciples of Confucius who are called by the honorific 'Master' (e.g., Master Zeng and Master You, named You Ruo), indicating

their ascent to leadership very soon after the death of Confucius and representing a period in which former disciples of Confucius were themselves being looked to as masters whose teachings could be placed alongside those of Confucius. Book 11 is a collection of Confucius's assessments of his disciples, and it is followed by Book 12, which offers a series of teachings Confucius gave in response to questions from his disciples on various topics. These books show evidence of comparisons between disciples and even suggest rankings or preferences on the part of Confucius. Books 11 and 12 represent a period in which disciples may have been vying for leadership roles. Book 13 is a section of sayings devoted to how to govern. Books 14 and 15 represent sayings gathered by various lineages of masters and disciples other than Confucius.

- Stratum Three dates from the third generation and beyond, showing patterns necessary to memorization and transmission (e.g., 'three types of beneficial friendship' or 'nine things on which the exemplary person' (*junzi*) focuses, etc.). Books 16 and 17 largely use 'Confucius said' rather than 'the Master said', indicating a later period. Book 18 appraises historical periods and persons, while Book 19 contains sayings of disciples who likely became masters of lineages of disciples themselves. Book 20 is a very late addition, with 20.3 providing the ending for the collection.

One interesting question is whether the content of Books 3–10 can help us date its formation as a collection. Bryan Van Norden believes that the mention of the Duke of Lu, by his posthumous name of Ai Gong, means that Books 3–9 could not be older than 469 BCE when he died (*Analects* 6.3). At the same time, the death of Zengzi recorded in Book 8 suggests his followers might have wanted to insert material about him shortly after his death, which occurred in 436 BCE. So, Books 3–10 as a formed unit may be traceable to the period between 469 and 436 BCE, about 50 years after Confucius's death (Van Norden 2002a: 17).

What seems to have happened is that Confucius's immediate disciples remembered many things about his teachings and actions. They recollected what he said on particular occasions, about certain individuals and even where he was when he said it. They, in turn, shared this information with their own disciples. But some time after 469

BCE, one or more of the disciples wrote down the information that had been passed along orally. There were very likely several motivations for forming a book about Confucius and his teachings. First among these was respect and even veneration for what he taught and how he lived. However, disagreements between various teachers about what Confucius did and said was another reason for establishing some kind of authorized version that could be attributed to him with reliability, or at least by consensus. A third reason is that the first generation of disciples was dying and the possibility of using their memories as an oral source was fading away.

Table 1: Composition of the *Analects* by Stratum

Stratum One	
Book 3	An 'Appraisal of the Practice of Ritual and Music' collection. Organized by sayings concerned largely with two topics: ritual and music. It may pair with Book 10.
Book 4	A 'Core Teachings Collection' constituting the most pristine and simple aphorisms of Confucius, representing the oldest part of the collection and the most durably transmitted of his teachings across disciple lineages.
Book 5	A 'Comments on Disciples and Personages' collection in which Confucius comments on disciples and other persons, with 5.27 and 5.28 as ending aphorisms for the collection.
Book 6	A supplement to Books 4 and 5, adding material that was overlooked in the initial collections: • *Analects* 6.1–6.16 conform to Book 5 subject matter and style. • *Analects* 6.17–6.30 conform to Book 4.
Book 7	Contains analects representing collections of two basic types: • A 'Self-Criticism' Collection showing Confucius practicing the art that he can find no one else doing (5.27): 7.1–7.3; 7.5–7.8; 7.11–7.12;

Book 7 (continued)	7.16–7.17; 7.19–7.20; 7.22–7.24; 7.26; 7.28–7.31; 7.33–7.37; • An 'Appraisal of Confucius's Character' collection: 7.4; 7.9; 7.10; 7.13; 7.14; 7.15; 7.18; 7.21; 7.25; 7.27; 7.32; 7.38.
Book 8	*Analects* 8.1, 2 and 8–21 are reminiscent of Book 4 and attributable to Confucius, but 8.3–8.7 are sayings of Master Zeng and belong to Stratum Two (see below).
Book 9	An 'Answers to Critics' collection consists of remembrances about how Confucius answered those who criticized him or how disciples defended him against critics (e.g., 9.4, 9.10, etc.).
Book 10	A 'Proper Ritual Conduct' collection, probably meant to be descriptive of Confucius's conduct and may pair with Book 3.
Stratum Two	
Books 1 and 2	Further collections of sayings of Confucius reminiscent of Book 4, but with sayings of disciples such as Master Zeng and Master You both of whom are called by the honorific of 'Master', indicating their rise to leadership after Confucius's death and the continuity of this layer of added materials with that in Book 8 as noted below.
Book 8	*Analects* 8.3–8.7 is a later interpolation into this book that otherwise belongs to Stratum One of a sayings collection by Master Zeng, indicating his rise to leadership after Confucius's death.
Book 11	An 'Appraisal of the Disciples' collection with 11.1–11.3 as the introduction telling what the first disciples were like, who left Confucius after the 'Chen and Cai incident', and offering a categorization of the disciples. *Analects* 11.4–11.24 then reports incidents with and teachings of a number of the disciples.
Book 12	A 'Teachings to the Disciples Sorted by Subjects' collection, with Confucius responding to questions by disciples grouped by subjects such as *ren*, *junzi*,

	discernment, governing, accumulating virtuous power (*de*), friendship and the like. The principal difference between Book 12 and Book 11 consists largely in the fact that analects in Book 11 typically *evaluate* a disciple's learning, practice or effort; whereas analects in Book 12 do not. They only report teachings given by Confucius in answer to disciples' questions.
Book 13	A collection of Confucius's teachings about 'How to Govern or Lead Effectively' (*zheng*, 政).
Book 14	A further collection of sayings that were overlooked or neglected, perhaps gathered by various master–disciple lineages. Each teaching must be evaluated individually to determine the reliability of ascribing it to Confucius.
Book 15	A further collection of sayings that were earlier overlooked or neglected, perhaps gathered by various master–disciple lineages. Each teaching must be evaluated individually to determine the reliability of ascribing it to Confucius.
Stratum Three	
Book 16	• This book has three long narrative analects sets using the formula 'Confucius said' rather than 'the Master said' to introduce the teachings, indicating a much later period, perhaps of third-generation disciples. Each narrative section has a proverb to go with it: 16.1; 16.11, 12; and 16.13. • There is a large section (16.2–16.10) interrupting Book 16, in which teachings and ideas are grouped by a later Confucian teacher lineage into numbers to help disciples remember them (e.g., beneficial friendship is of *three* types; the exemplary person (*junzi*) guards against *three* things; there are *nine* things on which the exemplary person focuses attention, etc.).

Book 17	• This book has five long narrative analects sets using 'Confucius said' rather than 'the Master said'. Each narrative section has at least one proverb to go with it: 17.1–17.3; 17.4–17.5; 17.7; 17.20–17.22; 17.23–17.26. • There are two analects interrupting Book 17 using the numbering method to aid memory, as found in Book 16: 17.6; 17.8. • There is an insertion of a set of analects (17.9–17.19) that uses 'The Master' and not 'Confucius said', suggesting it may be earlier than the other mentioned parts of Book 17.
Book 18	Book 18 inserts seven analects (18:1–18.4; 18:9–18.11) designed to evaluate historical periods and persons using 'Confucius said', suggesting a period when followers may have been reaching to grasp Confucius's authority for their own appraisals of periods and persons. There are four analects (18.5–18.8) in which 'Confucius said' is used to introduce and evaluate figures who withdraw from government service and are generally regarded favorably in the Daoist text *Zhuangzi*, suggesting a period of origin that may be as late as the mid-300s BCE for these analects.
Book 19	This Book contains analects grouped as teachings of prominent disciples. Zizhang said (19.1–19.3); Zixia said (19.4–19.15); Zengzi said (19.16–19); and Zigong said (19.20–19.25). Here we may have represented some of the heads of the earliest Confucian teacher–disciple lineages.
Book 20	Analect 20.1 may have stood alone at one time as a rough explanation of the origin of the ancient dynasties. Analect 20.2 returns to the numbering method, giving five virtues and four vices needed for government service using 'Confucius said'. Analect 20.3 was created by the compiler to the text to end the work, condemning anyone who does not understand ritual, fate, or the words in the book.

Principal Teachings of the *Analects*

In what follows, I have gathered the teachings of Confucius in the *Analects* according to his principal concerns as evidenced by the repetition, originality and proven historical significance of the concept or practice. Indeed, if we reflect in even a cursory way, we realize that these teachings of Confucius have influenced the life and belief of more persons than those of any other human being and that these teachings have their most basic representation in the *Analects*.[25] In what follows, I do not divide this section by stratum because, as Table 1 indicates, there seem to be analects, at least in Stratum Two, that can be reliably regarded as traceable to Confucius himself. Accordingly, I do not hesitate to use these in order to give a full picture of his teachings on a subject. I do, however, separate those analects I regard as most reliably those of Confucius that are in aphoristic form from those nested inside his responses to questions by disciples, critics, rulers or other figures. I do not make use of teachings from Stratum Three employing the pattern 'Confucius said' because I feel in those analects we may very well be far afield from Confucius's original teachings. I recognize them as forms of 'Confucianism', but since our focus at present is on gaining a snapshot of Confucius's teachings specifically, I will set them aside.

Filiality or Filial Piety (*xiao*, 孝)

Filiality or filial piety (*xiao*) may be considered the foundational value of Confucius's political understanding, as well as his social and ethical thought. In the family one learns how to treat others, and this carries over to life in the community and even the state (1.6, 11). Filiality is a theme that shows up several times in the strata of analects most likely traceable to Confucius himself. This should not be a surprise. In Chinese culture, the institution of the family is the foundation of a well-ordered and civilized society. Indeed, the relationship between ruler and subject is often thought of as a family. The ruler should care for all his subjects, as a father does for his children. It is reported that Confucius thought that being filial essentially was carrying out good government.[26] In Confucian tradition, filiality found expression in what were called 'the Five Relationships':

- parent–child;
- husband–wife;
- sibling–sibling;
- friend– friend;
- ruler–subject.

Moreover, respect for age and standing in the family embodied in filial piety are embedded in the Chinese language itself. In Chinese, one never says simply 'brother' or 'sister', it is always 'older brother' (*gege*) or 'younger brother' (*didi*); 'older sister' (*jiejie*) or 'younger sister' (*meimei*). Some other expressions used daily in China continue to reflect the importance of family. For example, the Chinese character for 'good' 好 (*hao*) is made up of two parts: woman 女 (*nu*) and son 子 (*zi*), reflecting a belief that having a family is good, even the pre-eminent example of a full life.

In Book 4, the editor lays four aphoristic sayings together in sequence that suggest the earliest and most authentic of Confucius's views on filiality:

> 4.18: The Master said, 'In serving your parents you may gently dispute with them. But if it becomes clear you cannot change their opinions, you should resume an attitude of deference and not oppose them; even if discouraged, do not be resentful.'
> 4.19: The Master said, 'While your parents are alive, you should not journey far afield; and if you travel, be sure to go to a specific destination.'
> 4.20: The Master said, 'A son who manages to carry on the household exactly as in his father's day for the three years mourning period after his father's death can be called a filial son.'
> 4.21: 'You must always be aware of the age of your parents. On the one hand, it is a cause for rejoicing, on the other for anxiety.'

In 8.21, Confucius appraises sage-king Yu, saying he has no faults and provides as evidence that Yu displayed filial devotion to the gods and spirits (*gui shen*) of his ancestors. In Book 11's collection of the record

of Confucius's evaluations of his disciples and others, he praises Min Ziqian for his filialty (11.5). In answer to inquiries, Confucius says that filial piety is best seen in obedience and in following the rites (*li*, 禮) or moral norms that guide what we have just identified as the Five Relationships (1.11), but he insists to Ziyou (2.7) and Zixia (2.8) that obedience and deference must always be funded by proper feelings of respect and affection and not reside in just going through the motions. He tells Meng Wubo that a filial child never gives his/her parents anything to be anxious or worry about, except in physical illness he/she cannot control (2.6). When Ji Kangzi, head of the families who ruled the state of Lu, asks how to get his people to do their utmost for their neighbors and for the community, Confucius tells him to display filiality to his elders and kindness to his juniors (2.2).

Rites, Rituals, Morality (*Li*, 禮)

Books 3 and 10 both contain numerous analects related to Confucius's teachings about the rites that govern human relationships, and assist us in transcending our animality and making a new form of human being. The rites include the behaviors that indicate moral appropriateness and cultured decorum in relationships and ceremonies. They present behaviors displayed by a person of moral character and refinement. In speaking of exemplary persons (*junzi*), Confucius observed that they 'learn broadly of culture, discipline this learning through observing the rites [*li*] and moreover, in so doing, can remain on course without straying from it' (6.27). For Confucius, observing the rites was a way to develop humaneness (*ren*) (3.3). Undisciplined by the rites, caution becomes timidity, boldness changes to rowdiness, candor to rudeness (8.2). On the other hand, disciplining oneself by the rites will bring spiritual transformation. Observing the rites is not merely about the superficial, such as giving gifts of jade and silk or about when to play the bells and drums; it was about changing one's inner being in a fundamental sense (17.11). The rites govern the employment and treatment of governmental ministers, the introduction of new family members into the household, funerals and burials, and indeed all aspects of life interactions with others. Confucius realized that the rites (*li*) changed with different dynasties and yet he did not approve of relativism. He definitely valued the rites of the Zhou

and insisted that some rules of propriety could simply not be changed (2.23, 3.9, 3.21, 9.3). For the creation of order and the sort of being that has a sense of moral bearing and shame, nothing is better than the use of the rites, and Confucius counseled rulers to prefer encouraging persons to live by the rites rather than to resort to penal law and punishment (2.3, 4.13). He taught that if those in high station cherish the rites, the common people will be easy to rule because they will be respectful and orderly (14.41). An exemplary person disciplines conduct by the rites (6.27, 15.18).

A good grasp of the detail of the rites can be had by looking through Book 10 of the *Analects.* There we find that a disciple has provided us descriptions of Confucius's refined conduct with regard to such everyday details as taking a meal, conversation, drinking, appropriate dress for the occasion, relating to officials of various ranks, receiving gifts, answering summons to court, and even his posture in sleeping. Yan Hui (Yan Yuan) once reported, 'The Master is good at drawing me forward a step at a time; he broadens me with culture and disciplines my behavior through the rites' (9.11). Indeed, we can best understand the importance of acting according to the rites in interpersonal relationship, ceremony and all aspects of life, when we notice Confucius's response to Yan Hui's question about what is entailed in being a truly humane (*ren*, 仁) person. Confucius replied, 'Do not look at anything that violates the observance of the rites; do not listen to anything that violates the observance of the rites; do not speak about anything that violates the observance of the rites; do not do anything that violates the observance of the rites' (12.1). Confucius responded to questions from Zigong about the exemplary person by associating such spiritual and character development with carving a fine piece of jade by means of the rites that govern our relationships (1.13). Responding to the pettiness of Fan Chi, Confucius observed that if rulers and superiors observe the rites, the people will never be disrespectful (13.4).

Humaneness (*Ren*, 仁)

Ren (仁) is a most difficult Chinese term to translate. It has been rendered as humaneness, compassion, benevolence, authoritative person and goodness. In deciding how to translate it for our study, I do not

take this concept as one virtue among many others; not even as the highest one. I take Confucius to be referring to a way of being in the world. The Chinese character is composed of two parts: 'person' (*ren*, 人); and what is usually taken simply as the number '2' (二). Herbert Fingarette takes this to mean that *ren* refers to the virtue of compassion and goodness that exists when two *homo sapiens* are making each other into 'human beings' (1972: 227). There are many analects in which it does seem that Confucius talked about a trait of consummate human moral and interpersonal excellence when he spoke of *ren*. Accordingly, I have chosen to translate *ren* as 'humaneness' for reasons that are similar to those of Fingarette. My decision is based not only on the uses of the concept in the *Analects*, but also on its employment in the *Classic of Poetry* that is universally acknowledged to be a direct inspirational text for Confucius. In that work, *ren* is an adjective for a remarkable person, someone whose very comportment, words and actions suggest that in this specific individual the human being is particularly striking.

In the first stratum of the *Analects* materials, Confucius left little doubt that someone who has moved to the level of *ren* has skills in the rites (*li*, 3.3). As we have seen with the concept of filiality, the editor of the first stratum material also gathered a series of analects on *ren* in Book 4. *Ren* is a major theme of the earliest stratum of the *Analects* and the sayings collected in 4.1–4.8 give a good picture of the *ren* person. This person is one who is able:

1. to endure hardship and enjoy happy circumstances (4.2);
2. to identify without prejudice and with accuracy the individuals who are truly good and evil (4.3);
3. to be free from the desire to do wrong (4.4); and
4. to stand out from those who go astray (4.7).

When considering where one will live, Confucius believed that nothing could be more attractive than being able to take up residence in a community where *ren* persons live (4.1). This, of course, gives new meaning to the concept of 'location, location, location'! For Confucius, what was most important in choosing where to live was not the size of the house, the beauty of the place, or the wealth of the neighbors, but whether they are *ren*. Even in this early stratum of

the *Analects,* Confucius refused to say whether he knew anyone who had raised humanity up to the next level and become *ren*. He was prepared to admit that one person or another had improved this or that character trait, but he withheld the attribution of *ren* (4.6). A *ren* person does not become anxious whatever they may face in life (6.23, 9.29). In responses to Fan Chi's inquiries about *ren*, Confucius told him that such a person has achieved success only after triumphing over challenge and difficulty (6.22). *Ren* persons establish others in establishing themselves; they make those around them better (6.30).

In Book 12's 'Collection of Teachings to the Disciples by Topics', the book begins with a series of analects explaining *ren*, first to Yan Hui (12.1), then to Zhonggong (12.2) and Sima Niu (12.3), in which Confucius reinforces the teaching that *ren* comes through self-cultivation and observing the rites. In Book 5's 'Comments on Disciples and Personages' collection, although he was highly praised by his fellow disciples, Confucius refused to say that Zhonggong (a.k.a. Ran Yong) was *ren*, even if he was known for being eloquent and winning arguments (5.5). He likewise said he was unsure whether his disciple Zilu (Zhong You) was *ren*, even if he could be in charge of a city of a thousand households, or whether Ranqiu, Zihua (Gongxi Chi) or minister Ziwen were *ren*, even if they did their utmost and were incorruptible (5.8, 5.19). However, Confucius said that Yan Hui, his most loved disciple, would go for months without departing from *ren* thoughts and feelings, whereas others he knew only occasionally gave this goal consideration. This disciple was content with only a bowl of rice, a gourd of water and a small hovel in which to live (6.11). When his disciple Zigong (Duanmu Ci) asked about the legendary heroes Bo Yi and Shu Qi of the Shang dynasty, Confucius at least said that he knew they set themselves on being *ren* (7.15). Confucius denied that he should be called *ren* (7.34).

Why did Confucius hesitate to approve the appellation of the use of *ren* to so many seemingly good persons who follow teachings that he was reported to have given? We cannot be sure, but perhaps it is because being *ren* was, in his mind, moving the human being to a new level and he simply did not feel that these persons stood out in that way.

Self-Cultivation (*haoxue*, 好學)

There is no single word in the *Analects* for self-cultivation, but as a concept Confucius taught, its imprint is very often present in the earliest stratum of teachings. In thinking of the dedication and commitment needed for cultivating oneself, Confucius called on his disciples to give their utmost (*zhong*) (3.19). Being willing to learn from others is crucial to self-cultivation. Confucius said, 'When walking with two other people, I will always find a teacher among them. I focus on those who are good and seek to emulate them, and those who are bad remind me what needs to be changed in myself' (7.22). Confucius thought of all persons as he did himself. They were in need of refinement, learning and education. In Confucianism, persons must make something out of themselves. Confucianism has a rigorous work ethic. Self-cultivation is not simply learning from books; it includes character development, enhancement of talents (e.g., archery, music, building, management, etc.) and refinement (*wen*, 文) of one's very humanity in itself (5.15).

Others can help us refine ourselves and move toward the goal of *ren* and a new type of human being. If others are of exceptional character, we should stand shoulder to shoulder with them (4.17); but if they are not, we should not imitate them, but look inwardly and examine ourselves (4.17); and we should not befriend anyone who is not as good as we are (9.25).

Confucius recognized that the Way (*Dao*) or path to *ren* requires strength and effort (6.12), and he admitted that he too was on the path to growth and transforming himself, that he had no natural propensity to simply change for the better (7.20). In fact, he said that what he worried about was that he would not grow morally, that he would fail to understand righteousness (*yi*) or he would be unable to reform his poor conduct. Making mistakes, though, is not a reason to give up. Everyone makes mistakes, what is tragic is to repeat a mistake or fail to reform after making one (9.25).

What is needed is a love of learning (*haoxue*). As Confucius put it, 'Study as though you can't catch up to it, as though you fear to lose it' (8.17). Speaking of his own quest for cultivation, the Master said, 'There are in a town of ten households, bound to be people who are better than I am in doing their utmost [*zhong*] and in making good

on their word, but there will be no one who can compare with me in the love of learning [*haoxue*]' (5.28).

Confucius told Duke Ai that Yan Hui truly loved learning, as was shown by his never making the same mistake twice (6.3). In his response to Zigong noted above, Confucius thought of all of us as entering this world like raw pieces of jade; and we must carve, polish and refine ourselves (9.13). This carving ourselves into something beautiful and valuable is the most important analogy for the Confucian project of spiritualization.

The commitment needed for one to walk the way of self-cultivation explains Confucius's disappointment in some of his disciples: 'Zai Wo was sleeping during the daytime. Confucius said, "Rotten wood cannot be carved, and a wall of dung cannot be plastered. As for Zai Wo, what would be the use of reprimanding him?"' (5.10). Self-development is a lifelong task that may be compared not only to carving ourselves into a fine piece of jade, but also to building up a mountain: 'If I stop even one basketful of earth short of completion, then I have failed completely' (9.19).

Exemplary Persons (*junzi*, 君子) and Sages (*shengren*, 聖人)

'Exemplary person' is the translation I use for *junzi*. In their discussion of the approbationary remarks Confucius makes about persons, Roger Ames and Henry Rosemont hold that there are several categories of persons represented in the *Analects*. To make their case, they give particular attention to these three types of persons: apprentice (*shi*); exemplary person (*junzi*); and sage (*shengren*). The goal toward which the *shi* is striving is to become a *junzi*. What the *shi* **does**, the *junzi* **is**. In the *Analects*, the exemplary person is described, not instructed or taught, presumably because this sort of person does not need instruction:

> He has traveled a goodly distance along the way, and lives a goodly number of roles. A benefactor to many, he is still a beneficiary of others like himself. While he is still capable of anger in the presence of inappropriateness and concomitant injustice, he is in his person tranquil. He knows many rituals and much music, and performs all of his functions not only with skill, but also with grace, dignity, and beauty, and he takes delight in the performance. He is still filial toward

> his parents and elders, but now takes all under Heaven (*tian*) as his dwelling. (Ames and Rosemont 1998: 62)

The heart of the authentic teachings of Confucius in the *Analects*, contained largely in the first stratum of the text, consists of a number of analects concerned with the exemplary person. Six of Book 4's analects specifically describe this kind of individual. Such persons always do what is righteous/appropriate (*yi*) (4.10, 16), cherish moral excellence (*de*) (4.11), and are not driven by desires (4.10). Exemplary persons take the high road, not the low one (14.23), and they feel ashamed if their high-sounding words are not fully reflected in their deeds (14.27). Indeed, exemplary persons cherish their excellence of character and self-cultivation over land or thought of gain. Exemplary persons take as much trouble discovering what is right as lesser men take to learn what will pay (4.16). Confucius said:

> Wealth and rank are what people want, but if they are the consequence of deviating from the Way [*Dao*], I would have no part in them. Poverty and disgrace are what people deplore, but if they are the consequence of staying on the Way, I would not avoid them. Wherein do the exemplary persons who would abandon their *ren* warrant that name? Exemplary persons do not take leave of their *ren* even for the space of a meal. (4.5)

Book 15, which belongs to what we are calling Stratum Two of the *Analects*, preserves a collection of aphorisms from Confucius on the exemplary person (15.19, 20, 21, 22, 23). The teachings and sentiments are consistent with those we find in Stratum One. Exemplary persons are the sort who are distressed by their own deficiencies, not by the failure of others to praise them (15.19); they cannot stand the thought of not distinguishing themselves in virtue and excellence (15.20); they make demands on themselves, whereas petty persons make demands on others (15.21); they are self-possessed, calm and not contentious (15.22); and they promote others on merit, not on words (15.23).

In his instructions to his disciples, Confucius told Zixia to seek to be a *Ru* for an exemplary person, not for a petty one (6.13). He approved of Shiyu's estimation of Qu Boyu, noting that Qu showed himself an exemplary person because when the Way of Heaven was being followed in a state, he gave his service, but when it was not, he

left government (15.7). And in an exchange with Ji Kangzi, he made clear why such a choice of association was possible. The ruler who is an exemplary person can affect the entire kingdom with appropriateness and moral excellence, like the wind that blows over the grass (12.19), while the petty ruler is no different than the grass.

While the exemplary person is the highest level to which most of us can aspire, there is a loftier ideal in the *Analects*. It is to become a sage (*shengren*). We may call this 'the Confucian path to spiritual progress' (Rosemont 2001: 88; and 2002). Rosemont thinks this is made clear in the *Analects* because the sages are portrayed as possessing all the traits and abilities of the exemplary person, but the exemplary persons hold them in honor. All sages are exemplary persons, and all exemplary persons were formerly *shi*, but the converse does not hold. More precisely, apprentices (*shi*) are, relatively speaking, fairly numerous; exemplary persons are more scarce; and sages are very few and rare. In *Analects* 7.26, Confucius said, 'I will never get to meet a sage – I would be content to meet an exemplary person.' Likewise, he rejected the appellation of 'sage' when others used it of him (9.6), even though he certainly made it clear that becoming a sage was a desirable ideal worthy of his striving after. Confucius observed, 'How would I dare to consider myself a sage or *ren*? What can be said about me is simply that I continue my studies without respite and instruct others without growing weary' (7.34).

The Confucian tradition has no abstract spiritual limit for human development. There are only specific human examples of sages of the past: Yao, Wu, Wen and Shun. Confucius looked back to them, but also forward to the novelty and creativity embodied in present and future persons. Of Yao:

> The Master said, 'How great indeed was Yao as ruler! How majestic!… How expansive was he – the people could not find the words adequate to praise him. How majestic was he in his accomplishments, and how brilliant was he in his cultural achievements'. (8.19)

Persons such as Yao and Shun have been theomorphized, just as some later follower did for Confucius in the last stratum of the *Analects* text: 'Confucius is the sun and moon which no one can climb beyond' (19.24).

Heaven, Gods and Spirits, the Religious Life

While today we generally think of Confucius as a humanist moral or social philosopher, the earliest stratum of the *Analects* leaves little doubt that he had religious beliefs and experiences, led and participated in religious rituals and valued an active religious life.[27] One way in which this found expression, as recorded in the earliest stratum of the *Analects*, is the use of language about Heaven or *tian* (天).

There are many uses for *tian* in Chinese thought. In the *Analects*, *tian* is sometimes used for 'nature', sometimes for 'sky', sometimes as 'heaven and earth' (all things). This is the reason a single translation for *tian* in English is not possible (Louden 2002: 81). We may classify Confucius's uses of *tian* as a religious term in the following manner. In *Analects* 2.4, he spoke of *tian* as though it directs reality and had a plan for his life:

> From fifteen, my heart–mind [*xin*] was set upon learning; from thirty I took my stance; from forty I was no longer doubtful; from fifty I realized the decrees of *tian* [*tianming*]; from sixty my ear was attuned; from seventy I could give my heart–mind free rein without overstepping the boundaries.

Confucius affirmed that a person can know the movement of *tian,* and he spoke boldly about his own sense of having a special place in *tian's* purposes in *Analects* 9.5. Zigong told the Grand Minister that *tian* had set Confucius on the path to become a sage (9.6). Confucius felt that *tian* watched and judged him and that he could not fool *tian* (6.28; 9.12). These sentiments raise the question whether Confucius recognized a higher standard of judgment than human civilization at its best, and they suggest that he did. In *Analects* 7.23, he left no doubt that he felt that *tian* gave him life and from it he had developed the power of virtue (*de*). In *Analects* 8.19, he said the lives of the sages and their communion with *tian* are interwoven:

> The Master said, 'How great indeed was Yao as ruler! How majestic! Although only *tian* is truly great, and only Yao took it as his model. How expansive was he – the people could not find the words adequate to praise him. How majestic was he in his accomplishments, and how brilliant was he in his cultural achievements.'

In *Analects* 17.19, Confucius made it clear that *tian* communicated to him, even if it were not in words. However, this is not to say that we should identify *tian* with the concept of a personal God, such as one finds in the Abrahamic traditions of the West, or as an independent creator or transcendent Being.

Confucius's use of religious language, such as the concept of *tian,* is not the only way of approaching his understanding of spiritual and religious reality and his experience of it. In *Analects* 6.22, the text says, 'Fan Chi asked about wisdom. The Master said, "Devote yourself to what is appropriate [*yi*] for the people, and show reverence [*jing*] for the ghosts and spirits [*gui shen*] while keeping them at a distance, this can be called wisdom".' Although this passage has been taken to mean that Confucius thought wisdom lay in keeping one's distance from any religious beliefs about spirits, perhaps suggesting an agnosticism on his part, another interpretation is surely possible. Confucius seemed to be saying that a wise person approaches numinal entities like gods and spirits by giving careful attention to the appropriate ritual decorum (*li*, 禮) for relating to them. One shows them reverence and does not try to get too familiar with them or overstep one's position.[28] Instead of teaching his students there are no numinal entities and that to be wise is to recognize this, Confucius taught them to be respectful toward spirits and to honor their power. This same line of interpretation helps us understand *Analect* 7.21 that says, 'The Master had nothing to say about strange happenings, the use of force, disorder, or the spirits (*shen*).' The proper decorum (*li*) about describing one's experiences with numinal entities requires circumspection and discretion when speaking about them.

More can be learned about Confucius's religious beliefs from *Analect* 3.12:

> The expression 'sacrifice as though present' is taken to mean 'sacrifice to the spirits as though the spirits are present.' But the Master said: 'If I myself do not participate in the sacrifice, it is as though I have not sacrificed at all.'

In this passage, Confucius endorsed the statement, 'sacrifice as though the spirits are present'. However, in spite of the use of 'as though', he was not counseling his students merely to go through the motions of doing religious rituals while actually believing there are no such things as spirits. Confucius never advised his students to do anything

with this kind of duplicity, insincerity or sham. We can know the point he was getting at by focusing on the remaining part of 3.12. In it, he said, 'If I myself do not participate in the sacrifice, it is as though I have not sacrificed at all.' Confucius affirmed that something significant does take place in his religious activity; he got something out of it. When he practiced religious acts, he had meaningful religious experiences.

Confucius's respect for rites (*li*), whether ceremonial, moral or religious, led him to become a ritual master, probably as was the case for many *Ru* before him. It may sound odd to call Confucius a ritual master. Perhaps we are so conditioned to think of him only as a moral philosopher that the appellation of ritual master seems immediately wrong. However, in early China, the fusion of the philosopher and the ritual master in the same person was not uncommon, and the *Analects* will not let us overlook the fact that Confucius played this role. *Analect* 10.9 is one description of Confucius's work as a ritual master:

> After assisting his Duke at a sacrifice, he would not keep the portion of the sacrificial meat bestowed upon him overnight. When sacrificing at home he would not let the meat sit for more than three days. If it had sat for more than three days, he would not eat it.

There was no hygienic requirement for eating the meat from the duke's sacrifice on the same day. The lapse of time is not the point. The significant meaning here is Confucius's religious belief that the spiritual benefit of the sacrifice would dissipate if not consumed promptly.[29]

When Confucius conducted rituals, not only was he careful with the sacrificial remains, but also *Analects* 7.18 reports that he used only the proper pronunciations in the rites. While it is not entirely clear what this means, we do know that masters employed formulas to transform objects used in the ritual so that they could become sacred and full of numinal presence. It was very important to use only the appropriate formulas in such transformations.

With respect to his private religious practices, *Analects* 10.11 tells us that Confucius always took a small portion of each type of his food and placed it in the sacrificial vessels as an offering to his ancestors. This practice of giving a little food to his ancestors gives us a background for understanding *Analects* 3.13 that begins with a question

from Wang-sun Jia about ancestral offerings made in the home. He asked Confucius, 'What do you think about the saying, "It is better to pay homage to the spirit of the kitchen stove than to the corner shrine"?' Confucius replied, 'Not so. Once you have incurred the wrath of Heaven, there is no one to whom you can pray for help.' Confucius's answer implies his belief in the efficacy of such small rituals and in the communion with spirits they were meant to establish.

There is some evidence that Confucius participated in rituals he did not lead or help conduct. One of the most interesting is 10.14: 'When the villagers were performing the end of the year exorcism [*nuo*], he [Confucius] would stand on the Eastern steps dressed in full court regalia.' The ritual referred to is probably the New Year's exorcism in which the entire populace participated. Its purpose was to drive away evil spirits and bad influences from the previous year. During the ritual, Confucius stood solemnly in the position of the host of the house (the East steps), facing the direction to which the spirits of the dead return to their proper place. Of course, what he experienced in participating in the ritual is unknown to us.[30]

Chapter III
The Formation of Classical Confucianism

A crucial question very often totally ignored is: what happened in the development and creation of Confucianism between Confucius's death (479 BCE) and the suppression of Confucianism in the massacre of scholars and burning of books that occurred in 213 BCE under Qin Shihuang, the First Emperor of China? The answer is that many important events related to Confucianism were taking place.

We have already seen that it was largely during this period that the *Analects* as the primary sourcebook of Confucian teachings was taking shape. After his death, Confucius's disciples began to spread his teachings and influence, and some of his disciples became masters with lineages of students of their own. The *Analects* contains internal sub-collections not only of Confucius's core teachings, but also of his thoughts about his own disciples, his teachings to specific persons on particular topics, an 'Answers to Critics' collection and several small groupings of 'disciples become masters' sayings. But there were Confucian texts other than the *Analects* being formed between 479 BCE and 213 BCE.

The *Zhongyong*

Our story of the significant events that took place between Confucius's death and the massacre of scholars and burning of books begins with Kong Ji (c. 483–402 BCE). Kong Ji was the grandson of Confucius, born to his son Boyu, who appears twice in the *Analects*. Kong Ji is best known as Master Zisi (Zisizi), and we shall refer to him as Zisi.

There are important Confucian works that were being formed during this period and one of these is a work called *Zhongyong*. In early records, Master Zisi is associated with the authorship of this text.[31] How to translate the title of this work is an issue of debate in itself. It has been rendered as 'The Doctrine of the Mean' (James Legge), 'The Unwobbling Pivot' (Ezra Pound) and 'Focusing the

Familiar' (Roger Ames and David Hall). The *Zhongyong* may have existed originally in a stand-alone version, but it is now known to us because it is included in the *Classic of Rites.* We can say, along with Ames and Hall, that Zisi is 'emerging out of the mists of history as one of the missing links between the teachings of Confucius' and the great masters of Confucianism associated with the Jixia Academy in the 300s BCE: Mencius and Xunzi (Ames and Hall 2001: 131).

Zisi was not only the grandson of Confucius but also, and perhaps more important to his transmission of Confucian teaching, a student of Master Zeng (Zengzi, 505–436 BCE). Zengzi was a prominent disciple of Confucius, and one of the major figures in the later books of the *Analects.* He is generally regarded as one of the eight most prominent proponents of Confucius's teachings in the immediate years after the Master's death. Many of his teachings are included in the *Analects* and he is credited with the authorship (in whole or in part) of the important Confucian work the *Great Learning* that, like the *Zhongyong*, is included in the Han reassembled version of the *Classic of Rites*. Moreover, the *Records of the Historian* tells us that one of Zisi's disciples was the teacher of Mencius. Accordingly, this lineage of teaching from Confucius, to Master Zeng, to Zisi, to his disciple and then to Mencius, is regarded now as the 'orthodox transmission' of Confucius's teachings and known as the 'Si-Meng lineage'.

As for the *Zhongyong* itself, we cannot be certain of its original date, but Ames and Hall argue that it is likely prior to 300 BCE (2001: 145–6). Like the *Analects*, it is a composite work, collecting teachings of Zengzi and Confucius.[32] The *Zhongyong* is not a long book. It consists of only 33 passages, and its work shows an awareness of the teachings of other schools. In *Zhongyong* 1, the text says, 'What Heaven [*tian*] orders [*ming*] is called the tendencies of one's nature [*xing*]; living in accord with these tendencies is called the Way [*Dao*]; building and broadening the Way is called education [*jiao*].' In the *Zhongyong*, the exemplary person cannot leave the work of broadening the Way even for an instant, and the way in which such a person is distinguished is in his ability to *zhongyong*. In doing so, he can avoid nets, traps, pitfalls and problems (*Zhongyong* 7). The stress here is on the difficulty and effort required to follow the Confucian Way. *Zhongyong* 14 says, 'as in archery, so in the conduct of the exemplary person: In failing to hit the bull's-eye, look for the reason inside of oneself and not elsewhere.'

The ideal Confucian in this work is presented as a master of problems and difficulties of life. According to *Zhongyong* 11, Confucius said directly that, while there are those who hide themselves away and practice esoteric arts (probably a reference to Daoists), he was not willing to quit halfway through his commitment to live by walking the proper Way. And the proper Way is described in very social and practical terms, not as something mystical. It is not far from reciprocity: 'putting oneself in the place of others' (*shu*, 恕) doing to them as one would wish them to do to one in return.

In the *Zhongyong,* the ideal of relationships between persons is often compared to the creation of musical harmony. Quoting the *Classic of Poetry*, the text says, 'The loving relationship with wife and children, is like the strumming of the zither and the lute; In the harmony between older and younger brothers, there is great joy and pleasure' (*Zhongyong* 15).

The *Zhongyong* is very direct in its theory of rulership. In it we find a characteristic Confucian point of view: having a wholesome and proper government depends entirely upon securing the right person, the exemplary person, as ruler. This is an unmistakable meritocratic theory of government (Chapter 18). Indeed, the text concludes with a chapter devoted to a series of quotes from the *Classic of Poetry,* affirming this understanding: 'Harboring the highest virtue (*de*) in one's breast, there is no need for loud words or intimidating looks.… The influence of virtue is as light as a feather' (Chapter 33).

The *Great Learning* and the *Classic of Filial Piety*

Zengzi, one of the prominent disciples turned master from the *Analects,* is believed by tradition to have been the transmitter of the *Great Learning* and the *Classic of Filial Piety,* which became two of the most popular of Confucian texts throughout Chinese history. The *Great Learning,* like the *Zhongyong*, is known to us as a part of the Han dynasty reassembled version of the *Classic of Rites*. It consists of a very short text of sayings attributed to Confucius and then comments on these associated with Zengzi.

The Great Learning

The *Great Learning* is known, in part at least, for its teaching that the ruler has what is now called a fiduciary responsibility to his people.

That is, he is the trustee of their well-being and rules for the sake of the people, in order that they may be able to follow the Way and cultivate themselves into exemplary persons (Chapter 1). Accordingly, as we have seen in the *Zhongyong*, the ruler must cultivate and possess the highest virtue in himself (Chapter 4). The *Great Learning* tells the ruler to act as if he were watching over an infant, and in this way the text keeps close to its theme that a prince must rule his kingdom on the model of caring for his family. Zengzi comments, 'When a ruler loves what the people love, and hates what the people hate, then is he what is called the parent of the people' (Legge 1893: X. 3).

As the text says, 'From the Son of Heaven down to the common people, all must consider the cultivation of the person the root of everything' (Chapter 6). In Zengzi's comments, he says, 'In *The Classic of Poetry*, it is said, "Look at that winding course of the Qi, with the green bamboos so luxuriant! Here is our elegant and accomplished prince! As we cut and then file; as we chisel and then grind; so has he cultivated himself. How grave is he and dignified! How majestic and distinguished! Our elegant and accomplished prince never can be forgotten"' (III. 4). The *Great Learning* is one of the best sources for the Confucian emphasis on self-correction and self-monitoring. Zengzi admonishes all who would be exemplary persons, saying that they must allow no self-deception. The identification of one's errors and failings is like becoming aware of a bad smell and taking steps to remove the cause (VI. 1). The commentator offers this reading of Confucius's comment that the cultivation of the person depends on rectifying the mind: 'If a man be under the influence of passion, he will be incorrect in his conduct. He will be the same, if he is under the influence of terror, or under the influence of fond regard, or under that of sorrow and distress' (VII. 1).

The Classic of Filial Piety

The 'Biography of the Disciples of Confucius', in the *Records of the Historian* states specifically that Zengzi was a person who was able to penetrate into the depths of the way of filial piety (*xiao*, 孝). Several passages in the *Classic of Rites* record that he questioned Confucius about conflicts or difficulties in living the life of filial piety. Along with apocryphal stories about Zengzi's great devotion to filiality, this is the main evidence for the tradition that Zengzi was the author of

the *Classic of Filial Piety.* Actually, we do not know who the author or compiler of this text was.

During the Tang dynasty, Emperor Xuanzong ordered his scholars to provide him with an official text of the work in 719 CE, and other scholars, including the great Southern Song Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi, admired the work. In its present form, the book is well crafted. Ten of the 18 chapters conclude with a quote from the *Classic of Poetry*.[33]

The work begins with an exchange between Confucius and Zengzi in which Confucius inquires whether Zengzi knows how the great sage-kings were able to bring the empire into accord, and how the people were able to attain harmony and live with each other as good neighbors. When Zengzi says he does not know, Confucius answers that the secret was that those kings knew how to live with reverence for their families (*xiao*). There follows, then, an extension and application of this principle in the subsequent chapters. For example, rulers who love their parents cannot presume to hate the parents of others. Officials who draw upon the devotion and love they feel toward their parents, spouse and children serve the people with such a heart likewise:

> Those who are truly able to serve their parents are not arrogant in high station, are not rebellious in a subordinate position, and are not contentious when only one among many… Until these three attitudes – arrogance, defiance, and contentiousness – are set aside, even though someone were to feed their parents on beef, mutton, and pork, they still could not be deemed filial. (Rosemont and Ames 2009: 111)

When applying the principles of filiality in the text to the relationship between leader and subject, there is no praise for blind obedience. Quite to the contrary, one section is devoted to 'remonstration':

> Of old, an Emperor had seven ministers who would remonstrate with him, so even if he had no vision of the proper Way [*Dao*], he still did not lose the empire. The high nobles had five ministers who would remonstrate with them, so even if they had no vision of the proper Way [*Dao*], they still did not lose their states. The high officials had three ministers who would remonstrate with them, so even if they had no vision of the proper Way [*Dao*], they still did not lose their clans. If the lower officials had just one friend who would remonstrate with them, they were still able to preserve their good names; if a father has a

> son who will remonstrate with him, he will not behave reprehensively. Thus, if confronted by reprehensible behavior on his father's part, a son has no choice but to remonstrate with his father, and if confronted by reprehensible behavior on his ruler's part, a minister has no choice but to remonstrate with his ruler. Hence, remonstrance is the only response to immorality. How could simply obeying the commands of one's father be deemed filial? (Rosemont and Ames 2009: 114)

The *Mengzi* (孟子)

Very soon after the death of Confucius and as his students began to spread his teachings, other masters and their followers became quite critical of this emerging 'Confucianism'. These included the teacher Mozi (c. 470–391 BCE) and his followers, who composed the essay, 'Against Confucians'. Another critic encountered by those wishing to foster Confucius's teachings was Yang Zhu (c. 370–319 BCE).[34] By the time of the mid-300s BCE, another group, fast forming its own tradition later to be known as Daoism and represented by Zhuang Zhou (c. 365–290 BCE) and the emerging texts of the *Daodejing* and *Zhuangzi,* also criticized Confucius and the Confucians.[35]

To solidify the teachings of Confucius as a master and to spread the basic practices of the Confucian way of life, Confucianism needed a champion of great stature. A climate of lively philosophical and spiritual debate existed during the period from Confucius's death to the formation of what was known as the Jixia Academy (Jixia Xuegong). This Academy, probably founded around 340 BCE and lasting until about the 220s BCE,[36] was a center of activity for scholars of widely different viewpoints called 'The One Hundred Schools' (*baijia*).

The *Records of the Historian* tells us that one of Zisi's later disciples was the teacher of a person whose influence was so significant that he would become known as 'Mengzi the Second Sage' (*Yasheng Mengzi*). His name is Mencius (Meng Ke or Master Meng, Mengzi, c. 372–289 BCE). Mencius is often considered to be the clearest and best interpreter of Confucius. As we shall see, the great Neo-Confucians who revived interest in Confucianism during and after the eleventh century CE believed that the 'true' teachings of Confucius were transmitted to Mencius, but were then lost until they revived them. Recent scholars speak of the Si-Meng lineage pointing to the descent

of teachers and disciples from Confucius, to Master Zeng, to Zisi, and finally to Mencius. A number of evidences support the continuity of the lineage of Confucian thought from the *Analects* through the *Zhongyong*, thought to be Zisi's text, and to the work containing Mencius's teachings entitled, simply, *Mengzi*. For example, the *Mengzi* and the *Zhongyong* both use the standard Confucian vocabulary of concepts and values, such as humaneness (*ren*), self-cultivation, exemplary person and filial piety, and they both make extensive use of the *Classic of Poetry* (Ames and Hall 2001: 131–3).

Sima Qian's biography of Mencius, in his *Records of the Historian*, has many of the same problems we have seen with that of Confucius. In general, a good deal of what it contains that is accurate may be also found in the *Mengzi*, and when it differs from that work, Sima Qian tends to be wrong. According to his text, Mencius was born in the small state of Zou, on the border of the state of Lu, not far from Confucius's home in present Shandong Province. Like Confucius, Mencius sought a position in government, but he may have had a more active political career and is often pictured giving counsel to various rulers in the *Mengzi*, including those of the states of Liang and Qi. However, just as was the case with Confucius, the rulers would not follow his righteous advice, and he too retired to teach.

The *Mengzi* is the text that contains virtually all of the significant teachings of Mencius. This work became one of the Four Books (*Sishu*) that formed the core established by Zhu Xi for China's civil education and examination system from the 1100s to 1905.[37] It appears to have been collected by Mencius's disciples, some of whom are referred to in the text as 'masters' themselves, indicating a later period of composition for those passages. The received text of the *Mengzi* was edited by Zhao Qi (d. 201 CE) into seven books, each in two parts, and each part with a number of passages. When scholars cite from it, the form is always in this manner: book, section, passage (e.g., 3B9). This citation form enables the reader to locate the passage in any of the complete translations of the text.

In some ways, the historical context in which Mencius lived was even more challenging than that of Confucius. He lived in the beginning of what is known as the Warring States Period. During this period, constant warfare and misrule drove the common people into famine and made their lives chaotic. Although rulers invited counselors, such as Mencius, to come to their courts, they were

actually looking more for those skilled in cunning and deceitful tactics (later to be known as Machiavellian strategies) for gaining and maintaining power than for those teaching the Way (*Dao*). This may go a long way toward explaining why Mencius's advice was not heeded.

Mencius's Mother in Chinese Legend and Tradition

Given the turmoil of the early Warring States Period, and since Mencius's father died while he was young, his mother and he were left in precarious circumstances. Mencius was fortunate, though, because his mother was a strong woman of solid values. Chinese folklore has many stories about her, and they have become so well known in China that they are embodied in four character idioms, the meaning of which is known by all Chinese.

The most famous of these idioms is 'Mencius's Mother Moved Three Times' (*Mengmu san qian*). According to the story upon which the idiom is based, after the death of her husband, Mencius's mother wanted to find a suitable environment and living place to raise her son. She first moved next to a cemetery, where Mencius played at performing funerals. Coming to feel this was inappropriate for a child, she moved to a house near a marketplace, where Mencius began to imitate the sellers hawking goods. Still unsatisfied, she moved to a home beside a school, where Mencius played at being a teacher. She decided this place was appropriate.

Each day, upon his return from the school, his mother asked Mencius what he has learned. One day, when he answered casually and with no substance, she cut the woven cloth she was weaving, thereby ruining it. Mencius was shocked since his mother's weaving was their source of income and he did not know why she would waste it. She explained that his waste of a day of learning was as bad as her wasting a day of work. In Chinese, there is still the four character idiom 'Meng's Mother Cut the Fabric' (*Mengmu duan ji*).[38]

Figure 5: Meng's Mother Cut the Fabric

While it may very well be the case that Sima Qian was correct and one of the teachers of Mencius had been a student of Zisi, the grandson of Confucius, Mencius's greatness lies in the way he employed his own intellect to establish the truth and application of the Confucian Way (*Dao*) in the face of two formidable challenges to the Confucian worldview: those of Mozi and Yang Zhu.

Defending Confucius against Other Worldviews

One place in which the master teachers of the various philosophical and spiritual streams of Warring States of China converged for debate seems to have been the Jixia Academy. Whether this academy was some sort of actual school or simply an area in which learned teachers gathered need not concern us. The academy seems to have been established during the Warring States Period in Linzi, the capital city of the state of Qi (modern Shandong Province), in the area not far from Mencius's home. It is presented in record and legend as a kind of ancient think-tank, where scholars from the One Hundred Schools were represented. King Wei (a.k.a. Tian Yinqi r. 358?–320? BCE) is credited with sending out the call for these teachers in the eighteenth year of his reign. Sima Qian reported the names of only 17 teachers who were there during that long period. Those named include Zou Yan (305–240 BCE), one of the principal intellects responsible for the systematization of the Five Phase (*wu-xing*, 五行) cosmology used to explain how all things are combinations of five basic phases of *qi* (氣), the supreme energy of the universe, and Zhuang Zhou, the person associated with the earliest materials in the Daoist work, the *Zhuangzi*.

Mencius was also said to have been at the Jixia Academy. If Sima Qian's account is reliable, it is possible Mencius, Zhuang Zhou and Zou Yan could have overlapped at Jixia, and another Confucian thinker, Xunzi (310–220 BCE), might have been there at the same time as a young student before later returning as the 'Chief Libationer' (i.e., the head of the Academy) around 270 BCE.

We can be confident that scholars at Jixia had some sort of collections of the teachings of Confucius, although almost certainly not the *Analects* in the form we have it now. Other teachers were likewise recording the teachings of their masters. All this created a rich environment of debate. Mencius wrote of his own work: 'I wish

to safeguard the way of the former sages against the onslaught of Yang [Yangzi, a.k.a. Yang Zhu 440?–360? BCE] and Mo [Mozi, a.k.a. Mo Di] and to banish excessive views. Then advocates of heresies will not be able to arise. For what arises in the mind will interfere with policy' (*Mengzi* 3B9).

Mohism and Mozi as Rivals to Confucianism

One rival philosophical school to the teachings of Confucius and those who followed him was that of Mozi (470–391 BCE). The tradition is that Mozi was a carpenter who ascended to an official position by strength of learning and his moral character. Like Confucius, he had disciples who were seeking to find a way into positions of rulership at one level or another. As with most texts from this period, the title of the work containing his teachings simply bears his name. We believe the book *Mozi* now in our possession is much shorter than its original version. Our current text was not compiled until the Song dynasty (960–1279), and this reconstruction was partial and corrupt.[39] For example, of the three chapters 'Against Confucianism', only one remains. In this chapter, Mozi criticized the Confucians for approving of a kind of graded or partial love, rather than universal love (*jian ai*), which Mozi thought to be natural and appropriate. He accused the Confucians of believing in fate (*ming*) as a sort of determinism of all things by Heaven (*tian*), therefore implying that human effort and plans are of no value whatever. He complained that Confucians would undermine society by always emphasizing that the exemplary person must not make changes and try new things, even though the sage-kings actually invented things by trying to be creative and do something new. Mozi attacked Confucius personally as inconsistent and as actually encouraging rebellion in order to acquire a position for himself.

Of course, these descriptions of Confucianism came from an opponent and must be viewed critically. Each of Mozi's criticisms is arguable and that is the reason Mencius sought to set the record straight. Although Mozi himself lived before Mencius, his ideas were continued by his disciples. He seems to have agreed with Confucius on the need for reforming a corrupt social order; he is reported to have led an organized utopian movement whose members engaged in direct social action, including military defense of cities he judged to be victims of aggression.

Against Confucianism

from the *Mozi*, translated by Y.P. Mei
(revisions © Bryan W. Van Norden (2002b), edited by R. Littlejohn)

1. The Confucian says: 'Love among relations should depend upon the degree of relationship, and honor to the virtuous should be graded.' This is to advocate a discrimination among the near and the distant relations and among the respectable and the humble…. What perversity can be greater than this!
3. Further, he holds tenaciously to the dogma of fate [*ming*] and argues: 'Old age or early death, poverty or wealth, safety or danger, order or chaos are destined by the fate of Heaven and cannot be modified…' [cf. *Analects* 6.10, 9.5, 11.9, 14.36]. When the different officers believe this they will neglect their several duties. And when the common people believe this they will neglect their work…. This is to destroy the people of the empire.
6. Again, the Confucian says: 'The exemplary person [*junzi*] conforms to the old but does not make innovations' [cf. *Analects* 7.1]. We answer him: In antiquity Yi invented the bow, Yu invented armor, Xi Zhong invented vehicles, and Qiu invented boats. Would he say, the tanners, armorers, and carpenters of today are all superior men, whereas Yi, Yu, Xi Zhong, and Qiu were all ordinary men?
7. Again he says: 'When the exemplary person [*junzi*] is victorious he does not pursue the fleeing enemy. When the enemy is kept at bay he does not shoot. When the enemy retreats he will help them pushing their carts.' We answer him… suppose a sage starts out to destroy a curse on behalf of the empire. He raises an army to punish the wicked and cruel state. When he is victorious, let us suppose him to follow the Confucian Way and command his army: 'Don't pursue the fleeing enemy. Don't shoot when the enemy is at bay. Help them pushing the carts when they retreat.' The wicked men will thus be set free and the curse of the world will not yet be removed. This is to harm the parents of the multitudes and greatly to ruin the world. Nothing can be more unrighteous!
10. Lord Jing of Qi asked Yanzi: 'What kind of a man is Confucius?' Yanzi answered not. The lord reiterated the question and there was still no answer. Lord Jing said: 'Many have told me about this fellow Confucius and all said he was a virtuous man. Now that I am asking you about him, why should you not answer?' Yanzi replied: 'I am not wise and cannot know virtuous men. Yet I have heard that a virtuous man must be one who, upon entering a state, will endeavor to bring about friendly relations between the ruler and the ministers and dissolve the grudges between superior and subordinates. This man Confucius once visited the state of Jing. He heard of the plans of Duke Bo to revolt and introduced him to Shi Qi [who became his follower in the revolt]. As a result, the lord almost

perished and Duke Bo was executed. I have also heard that the virtuous man does not obtain confidence of the superior by flattery or that of the subordinates by threat. If his counsels are listened to by the lord they will benefit the people, if his instructions are followed by the subordinates they will benefit the superior. His speech is plain and easy to understand and his conduct is plain and easy to follow. His righteous conduct enlightens the people and his thoughtful counsel convinces the lord and his ministers. Now, this man Confucius with elaborate plans conspired with the rebels and with devious plots committed depravity. To persuade the subordinates to plot against their superior and tell the ministers to assassinate their lord is not the conduct of a virtuous man.'

16. His followers and disciples all imitated him: Zigong and Jilu assisted Kong Li and committed high treason against the state of Wei. Yang Huo rebelled against Qi. Bi Xi was entrusted with the territory of Zhongmou and revolted. Qi Diao had a ferocious appearance. Nothing can be worse than this! Of course the disciples and pupils, following a teacher, will advocate his doctrines and imitate his conduct. But they are not as powerful and not as clever. Now, since such was the conduct of this fellow Confucius, the Confucian scholars are naturally to be objects of suspicion.

Mozi differed most sharply with the Confucians on the idea that caring for others should be graded or based on who the other persons are and what their relationship to us is. He believed that our own best interest can be served by practicing 'universal or inclusive love' (*jian ai*) toward each other. In the long run, the consequences for us will be best if we are fair and do not show favorites. Mozi was what we would call today a 'consequentialist'. What is useful and profitable for all concerned is equivalent to what is good and moral (Ivanhoe 2000: 15). With respect to rulership, for example, providing food, clothing, shelter, preventing war and not over-taxing the people would, in the long run, be in everyone's interest. Useless things are those that destroyed or wasted resources, lives and social goods. Mozi believed that elaborate funerals, for example, were unprofitable for the persons involved and for the village too. Armaments and war were wastes of human capital and lives; only defensive wars could be justified.

When Master Mo spoke about impartial care, or what is often translated as 'universal love' (*jian ai*), he did not mean anything emotional by it; neither did he mean selflessness or self-sacrifice. It has nothing to do with friendship. It is more like what moral philosophers today call 'reciprocal altruism'. That is, we help others because

we want their help now or later. Mozi simply thought that if persons look out for their own self-interests these include the interests and well-being of others because, in the long run, helping someone else get a job or be healthy will be in one's self-interest. That is what Mozi meant when he said treat others impartially or with universal love. He said that Heaven, the gods and the spirits bless and reward those who practice this kind of love and they punish those who do not. So, reality is not fated, as Mozi thought the Confucians believed. We are responsible for our own condition and for that of others as well. For example, Mozi did not believe that Confucius was unsuccessful in getting a position of rulership because of fate. He thought Confucius failed because he was wrong. For Mozi, the problems of the Warring States would be resolved by remediation of practical things like providing food, shelter, clothes and peace, and not by ritual or the niceties of court life which he associated with Confucian interest.

Yang Zhu as a Rival to Confucianism

Mencius wrote that he wished to safeguard the way of the former sages against the onslaught of Yang and Mo. We now have a picture of what Master Mo taught, but what about Yang Zhu? Yang Zhu seems to have been able to inspire a number of followers (often called 'Yangists') enough surely to provoke a great deal of opposition to his views from Confucians, Mohists, and even the Daoist text *Zhuangzi*. What we know of him comes largely from his critics, although some of them did quote his views, allowing us to reconstruct some of them. It is possible that some of his teachings are recorded in the *Zhuangzi* and in the beginning of the encyclopedic *Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals*. He was an independent and highly individualistic thinker who publicly renounced the traditional worldview of both the Confucians and Mohists that one should serve the state or the tradition. He resisted involvement in the affairs of others and instead focused on his own interests. Mencius said of him, 'Even if he could benefit the whole world by pulling out only one hair he would not do it' (7A26).

Actually, it seems more accurate to describe his view as resisting sacrificing himself in order to *gain* the world, not a refusal to help the world (Graham 1990: 149). He stressed the importance of valuing one's life and not allowing material things, desire for reputation or fear of authority, to control one. Instead of living a hedonistic

lifestyle, doing whatever he wanted in overindulgence, Yangzi actually controlled his desires and lived a restrained life. He did not think that life was to be found in the control, management or wielding of intrigue, nor was he ambitious or greedy (156). He found the nature of public life contrary to his inner nature. Both Confucians (e.g., Mencius and Xunzi) and Mohists saw this concern for oneself as undesirable and even as a threat to the ruler's effectiveness.

Mencius's Teachings: Defending Confucianism against Mo and Yang

One way of accessing Mencius's teachings is to notice how they are embedded in his responses to Mozi and Yangzi. Mencius's own thoughts are well reflected in the criticisms of other thinkers of his period. For example, Mozi advocated a kind of 'universal love' calling for persons to treat strangers as though they were family, with impartiality. This can be done because it has nothing to do with emotional attachment for others. It consists of treating all people without favoritism in order to produce the best consequences for all concerned, including ourselves. In contrast, Mencius strongly resisted linking morality to benefit or profit, whether calculated in terms of oneself or everyone in general. He thought judging what to do based on the concept of resulting benefit would mean losing sight of the nature of morality itself, which is humaneness (*ren*) and righteousness (*yi*). Mencius emphasized instead our inner access to moral knowledge, not to defining it by the effects of our conduct. For Mencius, doing what is righteous may not benefit us or be profitable.

In this, Mencius believed he was defending the view of Confucius. His focus was on the inner moral sensibilities that all persons have inside them as endowments from Heaven (*tian*). Heaven gives every human being a nature (*xing*), and all persons share universally the inborn moral sentiments that make us human. Mencius expressed this using an agricultural metaphor for human nature, saying all persons have four inborn seeds or germs (*duan*, 端) of moral consciousness in our heart–minds (*xin*). He believed that without these seeds, no being, whatever it was, could be human. The Confucian Way (*Dao*) is the method of self-cultivation that Mencius thought would develop these seeds into sprouts and then into full and masterful moral sensibility and judgment. Accordingly, persons in possession of well-cultivated moral sensibilities have neither the need nor the inclination to calculate benefit and usefulness as Mozi thought of

it. The most crucial passage in the *Mengzi* that sets out this understanding is 2A6:

> My reason for saying that no man is devoid of a heart–mind sensitive to the suffering of others is this. Suppose a man were, suddenly, to see a young child on the verge of falling into a well. He would certainly be moved with compassionate apprehension, not because he wanted to get in the good graces of the parents, nor because he wished to win the praise of his fellow villagers or friend, nor even because he disliked the cry of the child. From this it can be seen that whoever is devoid of the heart–mind of compassion is not human, whoever is devoid of the heart–mind of shame is not human, whoever is devoid of the heart–mind of courtesy and modesty is not human, and whoever is devoid of the heart–mind of moral discretion is not human. The heart–mind of compassion is the seed of benevolence; the heart–mind of shame, of dutifulness; the heart–mind of courtesy and modesty, of observance of the rites; the heart–mind of moral discretion, of wisdom. Humans have these four seeds [*duan*] just as they have four limbs. For a person possessing these four seeds to deny his own potentialities is for him to cripple himself; … If a man is able to develop all of these four seeds, it will be like a fire starting up or a spring coming through. When these are fully developed, he can tend the whole realm within the Four Seas, but if he fails to cultivate them, he will not be able even to serve his parents. (Lau 1970: 82–3)

In this passage, Mencius made the difference between himself and Mozi very clear. He thought all humans have inborn moral sensibilities conferred by Heaven, just as assuredly as we are born with four limbs. His point about the child on the verge of the well was that these sensibilities incline us toward rescue. The cultivation of these seeds will enable a person to be like a fire that continually builds or a spring that has begun to vent and flows ever more strongly, increasing the capability to be good (6A6). Mencius believed a person can, by virtue of cultivating inborn moral sensibilities, find a special kind of energy that he calls 'flood-like energy' (*haoran zhi qi*), that brings joy over one's decisions and power to perform morally. Mencius said that for the cultivated person doing what is right pleases the heart–mind in the same way that succulent meat pleases the palate (6A7).

The result is that the moral discretion of such persons will so refine judgment that they can rule the entire realm benevolently

like Yao or Shun, the sage-kings of the past. If we try to interact with our world without a cultivated heart–mind, we will wander around lost and puzzled. However, if we cultivate these capacities we will act naturally from our inner nature and follow the Way of Heaven. Mencius said, 'For a man to give full realization to his heart–mind is for him to understand his own nature, and a man who knows his own nature will know Heaven. By retaining his heart and nurturing his nature, he is serving Heaven' (7A1); 'There are cases where one person is twice, five times or countless times better than another person, but this is only because there are people who fail to make the best of their native endowment' (7A6). Like Confucius before him, Mencius turned to the *Classic of Poetry* to make his final point:

> Heaven produces the teeming masses,
> And where there is a thing there is a norm.
> If the people held onto their constant nature,
> They would be drawn to superior virtue. (#260)

Cultivation of the moral self in Mencius's world of agricultural metaphors occurs both gradually and as the result of a wholesome environment that nurtures rather than suppresses development.[40] Mencius told the famous parable of the Farmer of Song to stress the gradual nature of the self-cultivation project:

> There was a man from Song who pulled at his rice shoots because he was anxious for them to grow. After pulling on the shoots, he went home, not realizing what he had done. He said to his family, 'I am worn out today; I have been helping the plants to grow'. His son rushed out of the house to look at the plants and found that they had all withered. (2A2)

One must neither neglect one's moral plants nor try to force them to grow. Neglect of development is easy to understand, but what is it like for someone to follow the Farmer of Song's example? Mencius said that this sort of person is one who acts at virtue but is not virtuous: 'A man who is out to make a name for himself will be able to give away a state of a thousand chariots (for the fame of it), but if he is not really this kind of person, giving away a cup of rice or a bowl of soup will show in his face' (7B11). This sort of forced virtue that tugs at the sprouts of one's moral development is not the same as

knowing what is right and delaying to do it because it is inconvenient. Mencius responded straightforwardly in 3B8:

> Tai Ying Chi said, 'We are unable in the present year to change over to a tax of one in ten and to abolish custom and market duties. What would you think if we were to make some reductions and wait till next year before putting the change fully into effect?' 'Here is a man,' said Mencius, 'who appropriates one of his neighbor's chickens every day'. Someone tells him, 'This is not how an exemplary person (*junzi*) behaves.' He answers, 'May I reduce it to one chicken every month and wait until next year to stop altogether?' 'When one realizes that something is morally wrong, one should stop it as soon as possible. Why wait for next year?'

Mencius insisted not only on the gradual nature of self-cultivation and the effort required to achieve it, but also on the importance of a certain kind of environment as necessary to produce the morally mature person. Circumstance can affect us. Evil and violent times can retard the youth, just as drought can harm the crops (6A7; 6A9). The great and luxuriant trees of Ox Mountain are beautiful, but if constantly lopped by axes, can we be surprised if the mountain appears bald and ugly? The same is true of a person who repeatedly cuts down the sprouts of his moral intuitions and follows a way of immorality (6A8). Such a one appears to lack all moral goodness and sensibility. The environment in which persons live, the persons whom they befriend or the net result of habitual activity may destroy the evidences of the natural endowment of Heaven. Still, Mencius pointed out that water naturally flows downhill if the dikes and dams do not restrict it, and likewise human beings tend toward the good (6A2). In summary, moral self-development is not rooted in our assessment of the consequences of behavior, but in our nature itself and the sensibilities which, if heeded, lead us to supreme virtue.

Xunzi

The great Confucian master simply called Xunzi (Xun Kuang; a.k.a. Xun Qing, ?312–230? BCE) seems to have come from a different lineage of descent from Confucius than does Mencius. We know precious little about Xunzi's life, not even his year of birth or death, but he is reported to have been from the state of Zhao (modern Shanxi Province).

One source does suggest that he lived to see the establishment of the empire of Qin, but we cannot be certain. Xunzi, unlike Confucius and Mencius, has no romanized name, probably because when the Western missionaries arrived in China they heard little about him. The orthodox line from Confucius is traced through Mencius, not Xunzi, who was a harsh critic of Mencius. Moreover, to the missionaries' way of thinking, the Confucius/Mencius relationship fitted well into their understanding of the Jesus/Paul relationship in Christianity.

If we are right about Xunzi's year of birth, he was about 20 when Mencius died. Sima Qian reports that Xunzi studied at the Jixia Academy, and it is not impossible that he could have been well acquainted with Mencius's ideas directly or through first-generation disciples. Xunzi left Jixia, perhaps because his ideas differed so stridently from those of Mencius, or perhaps in order to begin a governmental career, but tradition says he returned to lead the Academy, most probably in the period when his ideas were gaining greater currency politically. He and his disciples seem to have been highly regarded by the rising Qin rulers. In fact, two of his students, Han Fei (280?–233? BCE) and Li Si (280?–208 BCE), constructed the theory of law and justice used in the Qin dynasty and known simply as Legalism (*fajia*). They advocated use of power and punishment to control and shape the people and the state. Li Si served as Prime Minister under the first two emperors of Qin.

By the time Xunzi matured into the position as a teacher, the situation in China was grave indeed, much worse than in Mencius's day. The chaos, violence and political corruption of his day influenced his thinking and interpretation of Confucius's teachings. In short, the context made him feel that it was obvious that Mencius was wrong. Humans have no inborn seeds of virtue; they do not tend toward the good, like water running downhill. Xunzi believed Mencius was mistaken in his understanding of Confucian teachings about human nature, the rites (*li*, 禮), Heaven's nature and role, and the understanding of government. We will take Xunzi's corrections of what he considerd to be Mencius's errors each in turn. In the course of this brief survey, our primary source will be the text known simply as the *Xunzi*.[41] This book in its received form is 32 chapters that are essentially self-contained essays.

Correction of Mencius: Human Nature is Perverse, not Good

Unlike Mencius, Xunzi believed that human nature is selfish and that left to our own devices, without restrictions of external morality and law, the human inclination to selfishness will breed disorder and chaos. We do not naturally grow the four seeds of virtue as Mencius thought, but we twist toward violence, willful violation of others and destruction. Xunzi says that our human nature is produced by nature: 'The nature of man is that he is born with a love of profiting himself. Following this nature will cause aggression and greed to grow, while deference is lost' (Knoblock 1988–94: 3, 155). We naturally love ourselves, follow what we want and look to our own interests. As a result, humans are filled with envy, hate and greed. All these emotions are results of our greed and desires. Our only hope lies in restricting these inclinations by means of external shaping of our actions by means of education, morality and law. To exercise the virtues about which Confucius taught is against our nature, and they can be realized only by great effort.

Correction of Mencius: The Rites are Inventions of Humans, not Reflections of Heaven's Way (Dao)

Xunzi said the rites (specifically moral discriminations of right and wrong, etc.) were established by the sage-kings. He was a humanist and he believed that human beings invented morality – they did not discover it or have it disclosed to them by Heaven (Goldin 2005: 126). If the sage-kings had not invented the rites, there would have been no civilization and no order. There is a significant difference between Xunzi and Mencius coming into view now. For Mencius, the seeds of morality were inborn. While we have to cultivate them, nevertheless the universe does imprint and embed them in human nature. But for Xunzi, the rites of morality are created by humans, and we might have ones different from those we now live by. A way of extending the importance of this difference between the two great philosophers is to notice the shift in metaphors that Xunzi made.

Mencius's metaphors for the rites and their role in human experience were taken from agriculture. We have the seeds of moral goodness within us. We have only to cultivate them and not try to force them (pull on the plants) or allow them to be destroyed (as the trees on Ox Mountain). Xunzi's preferences ran to craft metaphors, specifically to carpentry and wood craft. Humans by nature are like warped

pieces of wood that must be steamed, put into a press and forced to bend into a straight shape (Knoblock 1988–94: 3, 151). According to Xunzi, our teachers use education to shape us. Even children must be taught to love their parents and be filial, a position contrary to that of Mencius. If education does not work, law and even punishment is required to straighten the behavior of a person.

Correction of Mencius: Heaven is Simply the Regular Course of Nature, It has no Will, Morality or Love for Us

Mencius said that Heaven has bestowed our nature, implying that Heaven is moral or concerned with morality. Xunzi certainly did not believe that Heaven gives us a nature that is disposed to goodness and caring. In Chapter 17 of the *Xunzi*, Xunzi made the point that Heaven does not care about human behavior at all or how the course of things affect humans. Heaven cannot be appeased or persuaded to bring humans good fortune. If there is good fortune for humans, it is because they make it happen through responsible government and well-ordered society. Neither does Heaven make people poor or bring calamities. Heaven has no will and no mind and, thus, does not act to bring judgment or reward. In effect, this means Xunzi set aside the doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven (*tianming*): '*Tian* does not give up the winter because people dislike cold… Tian has a constant way of action.' Sima Qian, in *Records of the Historian*, made it clear that Xunzi had strong words of condemnation and disdain for rulers and priests who focused on what he thought to be magic or superstitious interpretations of natural occurrences: 'The falling of stars, the crying of trees – these are changes of Heaven and Earth, transformations of *yin* and *yang*, or the presence of material anomaly. To wonder at it is acceptable, but to fear it is not' (Goldin 2005: 125).

Xunzi's ultimate goal was not to turn us into religious skeptics. His point was that instead of fearing a Heaven that cannot 'act' because it lacks a mind and will, it is human irresponsibility that should really be feared. When villagers fail to make provision for dikes to withstand floods, and homes and persons are lost or farmers fail to weed their crops and the harvest is slight or the government is corrupt – these are the real enemies of humankind.

For Xunzi, religious rituals, prayers and ceremonies are occasions for people to come together or for a ruler to show his wealth and culture, but they have no effect on the operations of Heaven at all:

> If the sacrifice for rain [is performed], and it rains, what of it? I say: It is nothing. Even if there had been no sacrifice, it would have rained. When the sun and moon are eclipsed, we rescue them [by performing the proper rites]; when Heaven sends drought we [perform] the sacrifice for rain; we decide great matters only after divining with turtle shell and milfoil. This is not in order to obtain what we seek, but in order to embellish [such occasions]. Thus the noble man [*junzi*] takes [these ceremonies] to be embellishment, but the populace takes them to be spiritual. (Goldin 2005: 126)

Xunzi likewise had no tolerance for belief in ghosts and spirits, attributing such sightings to confusion, being startled or mistakes. Nonetheless, Xunzi did value some rituals so long as their function was properly understood:

> Sacrificial rites give expression to the feelings of remembrance and longing for the dead. There inevitably come times when one is overwhelmed by emotions of grief and loss, and a loyal minister or a filial son finds that, even while others are given to the enjoyment of congenial company, these sorrowful emotions arrive. Therefore the ancient kings established certain forms so that the duty of honoring those who deserve honor and demonstrating affection for those who deserve affection might be fulfilled. Therefore I say that the sacrificial rites give expression to the feelings of remembrance and longing. They are the perfection of loyalty, good faith, love, and reverence, and the flourishing of ritual deportment and refined demeanor... The exemplary person understands them as the human way; the hundred names [common people] think of them as matters having to do with spirits. (Bloom 1999: 177)

Correction of Mencius: Government Will Need to Make Use of Rewards and Punishments to Create Order, at Least in the Beginning

Xunzi followed both Confucius and Mencius in thinking that a great deal of the suffering of the people and their difficulties in life lay at the feet of corrupt rulers. He was involved in governmental service and taught in a period in which the political situation was especially chaotic and corrupt. Government officials sell their own people, murder their superiors and do whatever they can to stay in power and protect their own self interest. Xunzi, like Confucius and Mencius, thought rulers should care for the people, live in such a way as to

be righteous role models and protect the commoners. While Xunzi believed it might be necessary, especially in turbulent times, to rule by reward and punishment, he did not believe this to be the ideal goal of government. He knew well the words of Confucius: 'Lead the people with governmental measures and regulate them by law and punishment, and they will avoid wrongdoing but will have no sense of honor and shame. Lead them with virtue and regulate them by the rites (*li*, 澧), and they will have a sense of shame and, moreover, set themselves right' (*Analects* 2.3). Even though two of Xunzi's disciples are associated with the development of Legalism as a political philosophy and with the ruthlessness of civil administration in the Qin dynasty, Xunzi seemed not to have fully condoned such an approach and surely did not consider Legalism's rigidity to be the ideal of a true Confucian ruler.

Chapter IV
Confucian Ascendancy in the Han Dynasty

Rise of the Han Dynasty

Legalism pitted itself as a rival to Confucianism because it grew dramatically in influence after the rise of the Qin dynasty under Qin Shihuang, the first emperor of China. The chief architect of this movement was Han Fei, known as Master Han Fei or Hanfeizi (281–233 BCE). Han Fei was born into the ruling family of the state of Han. According to tradition, he was a student of Xunzi, the noted Confucian thinker, associated with the Jixia Academy as its 'Chief Libationer'. Han Fei's philosophy centered on the ruler. In fact, his text called *Hanfeizi* may have been written as a handbook for statecraft delivered to his cousin the King of Han. According to Han Fei, the ruler should control the state by use of power (*shi*), political strategies (*shu*) and laws (*fa*). Perhaps following Xunzi, Han Fei believed that persons needed the guidance and correction of rules and laws, as well as the use of punishment and reward, in order to shape them as self-cultivation, make them loyal to the state and obedient to their moral duties and responsibilities. Accordingly, Han Fei held that the state must severely punish any unwanted action, while at the same time rewarding those who follow its laws. It also appears that another disciple of Xunzi, Li Si, was responsible for one of the most horrific incidents of the Qin dynasty: the burning of books and burial of scholars.[42]

While the Qin rulers had unified the Chinese warring states by conquest, their empire soon collapsed under rebellion. The two major rebel factions were led respectively by Xiang Yu (d. 202 BCE) of Chu and Liu Bang (d. 195 BCE) of Han. Liu Bang defeated Xiang Yu at the Battle of Gaixia, in modern-day Anhui Province. Liu Bang assumed the title 'emperor' (*huangdi*) and Chang'an (Xi'an) was chosen as the new capital of the reunified empire known as the Han dynasty.

Burning of Books and Burial of Scholars

Fengshu Kengru, 213 BCE

Figure 6: Burning of Books and Burial of Scholars

In the sixth chapter of the *Records of the Historian* we read, 'The Basic Annals of the First Emperor of Qin', 34th year [i.e., 213 BCE]. Chancellor Li Si said, 'I, your servant propose that all historian's records other than those of Qin's be burned. With the exception of the academics whose duty includes possessing books, if anyone under Heaven has copies of the *Shijing* [*Classic of Poetry*], *Shujing* [*Classic of History*], or the writings of the hundred schools of philosophy, they shall deliver the books to the governor or the commandant for burning… Anyone who uses history to criticize the present shall have his family executed. Any official who sees the violations but fails to report them is equally guilty. Anyone who has failed to burn the books after thirty days of this announcement shall be subjected to tattooing and be sent to build the Great Wall. The books that have exemption are those on medicine, divination, agriculture and forestry. Those who have interest in laws shall instead study from officials [not books]… The first emperor therefore directed the imperial censor to investigate the scholars one by one. The scholars accused each other, and so the emperor personally determined their fate. More than 460 of them were buried alive at Xianyang [near the capital at Chang'an (Xi'an)], and the event was announced to all under Heaven for warning followers. Many people were internally exiled to border regions.'

The growing authority of Confucius during the Han dynasty is evident in the appearance of a number of hagiographies of his life, alongside those of figures such as the putative founder of Daoism, Laozi, and in a number of works containing teachings attributed to him (Csikszentmihalyi 2002: 135–6). As a result of the Burning of the Books and Burial of Scholars, Han rulers had to commission scholars in the Han to reconstruct the classical texts of China's heritage including, at least, five of the six *Ru* classics, the *Classic of Music* being apparently lost forever. Texts containing sayings of the teachers of the One Hundred Schools, including the *Analects* of Confucius, were still in a very fluid form. In 1973, a partial version of what we have received as

The Image of Confucius in the Han

Works containing narratives and sayings of Confucius not found in the later canonical *Analects* include the partially extant *Records of Confucius in the Three Courts* and the *School Sayings of Confucius,* believed to have been edited by Wang Su (195–256 CE). Yang Xiong's (53 BCE–18 CE) imitation of the *Analects*, entitled *Model Sayings*, contains many references to Confucius. The elevation of Confucius's authority surely was not exclusively a result of the texts in circulation containing his sayings, but also because of the growing belief that he was more than an earthly sage – he was also a Heavenly teacher. During the Han, Confucius was presented as possessing numinal insight and enjoying a special relationship with Heaven.[43] Confucius's physical resemblance was likened to the sage-kings of the past and understood to be an emblem of his sagehood. We should not be surprised about this development. Already in the *Mengzi*, Mencius makes use of the popular belief that a great sage arises every 500 years to rule China and says that Confucius was that master for his generation. This led to the Han belief that Confucius had been rejected by the corrupt rulers of his day, but he was nevertheless the 'uncrowned king' (*suwang*) of his era. Some texts appeared and offered themselves as presenting secret and esoteric teachings of Confucius. One such work mentioned in the *History of the Former Han* was the now-lost *Charts and Models of Confucius and His Disciples.* The reference to 'charts' and 'models' in this title is associated with the Five Phase cosmology and the concept that the Heavenly way, natural world and human affairs are all interdependent if one knows the way to achieve their harmony. As the Han dynasty developed the belief that its rulers were instantiating the Red Governance (*chizhi*) in the Five Phase (*wu-xing*) system as an explanation for its claim to possess the Mandate of Heaven to rule, it was Confucius who gave the knowledge and power of the Red Governance to the Han rulers (see Csikszentmihalyi 2002: 136–42).

the *Analects* was discovered on bamboo slips at Dingzhou. The tomb in which they were found in Hebei Province dates only to 55 BCE.[44] From the time of the Jixia Academy to 55 BCE, the creation of what were known as the New Texts of the Five Classics, and the circulation of a number of sayings collections and pieces of the teachings of even so great a master as Confucius himself, created a very open dialog on spiritual alternatives for citizens of the Han dynasty.

Daoism as a Rival to Confucianism in the Han

When we speak of Daoism as a movement during the period from the late Warring States to the Han dynasty, we do not mean that it was one single philosophical system of belief. Just as within Confucianism there were several master lineages and different streams of influence and emphasis, this was also true in Daoism. The great Daoist texts of the *Daodejing* and *Zhuangzi* were being collected, edited and constructed during roughly the same period as were the texts of Confucianism. While Daoists trace their spiritual lineage back to a shadowy figure known as Laozi, who was reported to have been a teacher of Confucius, it was arguably the teacher Zhuang Zhou (a.k.a. Master Zhuang, Zhuangzi), who may very well have been at the Jixia Academy at the same time as Mencius, who set Daoist teachings into opposition to Confucian thought and practice. This process is made evident in the many passages in which Confucius is an actor in the Daoist text *Zhuangzi*. During the Han dynasty, Daoist ideas and Confucian teachings were locked in an intense debate and rivalry. Daoist texts themselves make their criticisms of Confucianism obvious and unmistakable.

Based on Daoist teachings in general, here are some of the most basic conflicts between that spiritual worldview and that of Confucianism of the period from the Jixia Academy through the Han dynasty (i.e., 340 BCE to 221 CE):

1. The *Dao* in Daoism is not rational or logical, nor does it move by a natural law. *Dao* is not a being, has no will and possesses no mind by which to form intentions to operate in such a way as to achieve its purposes. While Daoists think that the natural course of *Dao*'s movement will lead to the best, Confucians believe that education and learning are required to alter the natural course. In Confucianism, humans should tamper with nature, change

it, direct and redirect it to higher ends and purposes. While this view may be more obvious in Xunzi, we cannot say that it is absent from Mencius. His use of agricultural metaphors for the spiritual journey of self-cultivation leaves no doubt that the rites and education were necessary to a person's ascent in *ren* to be an exemplary person. Daoists think of such forces as the rites and education as enemies of the person's ability to unite with *Dao.*

2. Daoists think that creating and employing moral and social concepts such as humaneness (*ren)* and righteousness (*yi*) get in the way of stillness and peace found by following the *Dao*. For a Daoist, any willful human intervention will ruin the harmony of the natural transformation process of *Dao*, and as the *Daodejing* says, 'those who try to do something with the world, will lose it' (Chapter 29). Daoists believe that moral rules and guidelines, as well as cultural and ceremonial activities and institutions, actually prohibit individual virtue and growth. However, Confucians valorize the human creation of culture, morality and the rites. For Daoists, the making of such discriminations is not the way to human self-cultivation and self-transcendence, but they actually represent the very problem to be overcome. Daoists think that as long as one distinguishes good and evil, right and wrong, beauty and ugliness, they will be estranged from *Dao* and caught in conflict and turmoil, both externally and internally.
3. Daoism stresses *wu-wei* as a kind of spontaneous natural action that follows the experience of oneness with *Dao*. *Wu-wei* is best translated 'acting naturally', meaning not willfully trying to oppose how Dao is moving you, whereas Confucius wants us to change the world and be proactive (i.e., to act, *wei*) in setting things straight. He admonishes his disciples to make something out of themselves, to cultivate themselves by carving themselves like fine jade. The image of choice in Daoism is very different. In its texts the disciple should become like uncarved wood.
4. Arguably, it may be said that generally speaking Daoism focuses on the individual; Confucius, on society, family and interrelationships. Following the teachings of Daoism may be done in a solitary way. Daoists moved into the mountains, left

the towns and cities and found their own way to oneness with *Dao*. But in Confucianism, self-cultivation and the elevation of humanity to a new level embodied in the ideal of the *junzi* is realized in relationships. In fact, relationships are necessary to the achievement of this ideal.

5. In Daoism, the person who wants to know the *Dao* by experience is basically told not to reason, to follow no school of thought and to open oneself in meditation. In contrast, Confucians place great value on study, working to 'solve' problems and the creation and defense of policy and political strategy. For a Daoist, the very thought that some context in life is a 'problem', that life is sometimes 'knotted', is an understanding that must be emptied from our minds. As the *Daodejing* says, 'The *Dao* untangles its knots and turns down the glare' (Chapter 56). *Dao* accomplishes this by itself. It does not need the help of human contrivance. But in Confucianism, training, learning and cultivating the craftsmanship of leadership and problem-solving is absolutely essential to the advancement of each human and humanity writ large. Many analects, especially those found in the sections on teachings to students by topic, give ample evidence that untangling life's knots cannot be done without effort, strategy and even political machination.
6. Daoists accused the Confucians of treating human life as though it occurs in a vacuum, where the whole process of existence can be reduced to human values, purposes and interests, while neglecting the fact that humans are embedded in nature and may learn from and be made whole by nature. Daoists stress that human life takes place in a natural reality that is not co-extensive with human interests. In Daoism, even the human body is a microcosm of the universe. In our body we reproduce the plan of the cosmos. For example, our five inner organs correspond to the Five Phases (*wu-xing,* water, fire, earth, wood, metal). The system of correspondence between humans and the universe is not of human making, and we ignore it at our own peril. In Confucianism, nature has its patterns and movement, but these are subsumed under the more powerful and promising role of human reason. Civilization and culture

are the blossoms on nature's tree, the fruition and highest expression of humankind's transcendence of natural bonds and even supremacy over nature.

7. The ideal person in Confucianism as a *junzi* is a father or mother who is much honored, or perhaps a ruler and leader who is known for generosity and devotion to the rites and traditions, but always one who is learned and cultured. The ideal person in Daoism (*zhenren*) is the one who lives in the mountains, 'rides on the clouds', does not feel the heat of fire or the cold of the river and is unaffected by the twists and turns of life. The Daoist avoids leadership entirely or leads only in *wu-wei*, eschews the social and moral expectations placed on him and moves with the flow of the *Dao*.

Table 2: Laozi and Confucius Text Blocks[45]

12g, 132–3	Dialog with Confucius (called by his personal name, Qiu), in which Laozi attacks rhetoricians (such as Confucius) and those who try to make plans and strategies for trying to do something. Their fate will be disastrous like that of the nimble monkey and rat-catching dog that are valued only for their tricks and made to serve their masters. They must forget all this.
13c, 149–50	Dialog with Confucius about the 12 classics he wants to put into the royal library. When Laozi finds that the central thrusts of those works are the distinctions of benevolence (*ren*) and righteousness (*yi*), the flags which only bring confusion to men, he refuses to accept them.
14e, 161–2	Dialog with Confucius, who complains that he has not found the *Dao* in benevolence and righteousness, and Laozi tells him that this is not surprising, that he should instead rest in *wu-wei*.
14f, 162–3	Dialog with Confucius, in which Laozi again condemns running around trying to practice benevolence and righteousness and recommends instead being natural, like the white of the goose and the black of the crow.
14h, 165–6	Dialog with Confucius as Qiu over the fact that no ruler listens to him when he takes his Six Classics to them and presents them as the key to cultivation and life. Laozi says that it is a good thing they do not listen, and he criticizes the Six Classics as worn-out paths, with the dialog concluding by Confucius realizing that he must act naturally.

In the Daoist text entitled the *Zhuangzi*, there are more direct attacks on Confucius and Confucianism through a set of passages belonging to the Huang-Lao materials in that work. In Table 2, I reference chapter and page numbers to the Burton Watson translation.

In addition to these texts in the *Zhuangzi*, the way in which Confucius is pictured in this Daoist text is even more interesting.

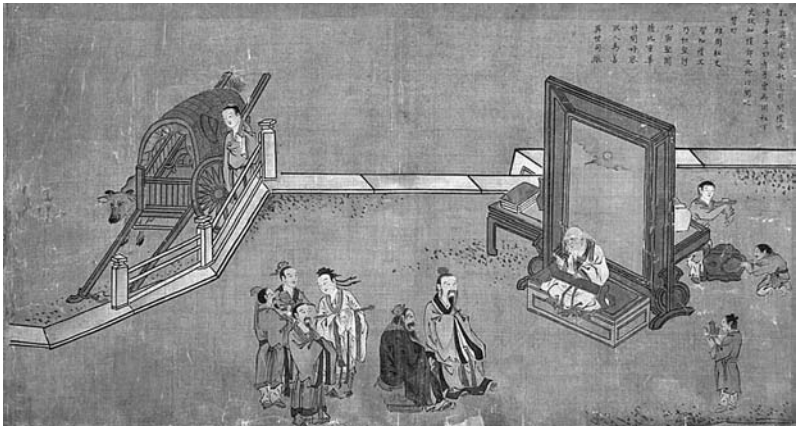

Figure 7: Laozi Teaching Confucius the 'Rites'

There are actually 35 passages in which Confucius is a character in the *Zhuangzi*. Sometimes Confucius is presented as a Right-Thinking Teacher (13 passages) or a Right-Thinking Student (nine passages), but when he is cast in this role, he is always either teaching Daoist ideas that we would never find in his mouth in the *Analects*, or he is abandoning his own ideas and agreeing with some teacher of Daoist concepts. Whenever Confucius is presented as Wrong-Thinking Teacher (eight passages) or Wrong-Thinking Student (five passages), he is presented as teaching those ideas with which we associate him in the *Analects,* although there are no direct quotes of the *Analects* in the *Zhuangzi* (see Littlejohn 2010). The narratives about Confucius in the *Zhuangzi* are not to be taken as historical. They are almost certainly all the creation of the authors and editors of the *Zhuangzi* materials. Table 3 highlights the places in the *Zhuangzi* where Confucius is cast into the various roles of teacher and student that the Daoist editor wishes him to play.

Table 3: Confucius as Teacher and Student in the *Zhuangzi*

Right-Thinking Teacher 4, 57–8; 5, 72–4; 6, 86–7; 6, 88–9; 17, 184–85; 19, 199–200; 19, 200–1; 19, 204–5; 21, 223–4; 22, 246–7; 25, 285–6; 28, 317; 32, 358.	Wrong-Thinking Teacher 4, 66–7; 4, 68–9; 5, 71–2; 12, 134–6; 13, 149–50; 14, 161–3; 14, 165–6; 29, 323–1
Right-Thinking Student 6, 88–9; 6, 90–1; 20, 213–14; 20, 214–16; 20, 217–18; 21, 224–7; 22, 238–40; 28, 318–19; 31, 344–52	Wrong-Thinking Student 4, 59–61; 12, 132–3; 14, 162–5; 26, 297–8; 29, 323–31

Confucian Ascendancy in the Han Dynasty

The creation of a state-sponsored imperial Confucian ideology, transmitted through an educational and examination system, began in the Han dynasty. In many ways we may say that this move in Chinese political and social history was a result of the failed legalism of the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE). In 136 BCE, Emperor Wu created the position of erudit in the Five Classics (the old Six Classics of the *Ru* without the *Classic on Music*). From 124 to 41 BCE the Great Academy (*Taixue*), created to educate potential officials, grew rapidly in enrollment. The increasing importance and role of Confucian texts in the imperial examination system, and even the establishment of official educational and policy positions devoted to their study, were the driving force behind consolidating and editing a canonical text of Confucius's sayings, and reissuing the classics that were destroyed in the Burning of the Books and Burial of the Scholars.

A major figure in this elevation of Confucian teachers and texts was Dong Zhongshu (179–4 BCE). Tradition says Dong convinced Emperor Wu that only the six classical Ru disciplines should be taught as the intellectual currency to guarantee the success of the empire. In the *History of the Former Han*, Dong encourages the emperor to establish a Grand Academy for the teaching of the 'Kingly Way', by which is meant the way of Confucius, the uncrowned king, in this way:

> The Grand Academy is an institution to which scholars will come. It is the source of transformation in learning. Now with numerous

> scholars in each commandery of the kingdom, there is a deficiency in responding to your decrees. This means that the Kingly Way will be lost. Your humble minister asks your majesty to establish an academy and appoint enlightened teachers to guide the world's scholars, frequently examine them, and question them to make the most of their talents, and then it will be possible to obtain outstanding candidates for rule… In his modest knowledge your minister suggests that everything that is not in the six disciplines or arts of Confucius should be cut off and not promoted. Only after evil and immoral theories are destroyed will it be possible to unify rules and regulations and clarify standards and measures so that the people will know what to follow. (Ban, 36/2512, 56/2523)

Dong was also one of the driving forces behind the reconstruction of the texts of the Six Arts and he had access to many, if not all, of these. He was associated with what is known in Confucian history as the New Text School because these reconstituted works were in the 'new' Han script.

Dong is traditionally regarded as the author of *Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals*. This is a work that incorporates Confucian ideas, Daoist concepts related to the Yellow-Emperor (*Huang-Lao*) tradition, and a type of worldview developed largely at the Jixia Academy by a figure named Zou Yan and called the Five Phase (*wu-xing*) cosmology. Dong's association with this commentary is interesting because in this work we find the belief that Confucius received the Mandate of Heaven (*tianming*) to rule, but he was blocked by the chaotic politics of his day, and therefore he became 'the uncrowned king'. Dong seems to have believed that Confucius left behind a blueprint for the perfect state and conduct of a ruler embedded in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the authorship of which was ascribed to Confucius in the Han period (Queen 1996: 232). A principal theme in *Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals* is human nature. As John Berthrong notes, Dong's views reached back to the tensions between Mencius and Xunzi on human nature, but also extended to theories associated with Yellow-Emperor Daoism and the Five Phase (*wu-xing*) cosmology (1998: 44). Ultimately, Dong's position seems somewhat closer to that of Xunzi. He wrote:

> My way of evaluating human nature differs from that of Mencius. Mencius evaluates it in comparison with the doings of birds and beasts

> below, and therefore he calls nature good itself. I evaluate it in comparison with the doings of the sages above, and therefore I say that nature is not good. Goodness transcends nature, just as the sage transcends goodness. (Fung 1952: 2, 37)

Nevertheless, Dong wrote, 'Heaven has produced humankind with a nature containing the "basic stuff" of goodness but unable to be good (in themselves)' (2, 46). Dong took the Daoist viewpoint that our inner human nature flowed like water, according to the *Dao,* but he turned this perspective upside down. He taught that if we do not rely on transformation through moral instruction as the dam to stop a downward tendency to evil, then human nature will devolve as naturally as water flows downhill! In taking this position, Dong's Confucian sympathies are very evident. 'Hence, when moral instruction has been established, evil and corrupt practices cease because the dikes have been perfected' (Queen 1996: 132). It is no wonder that Dong's political views were readily accepted by the Han emperor. He taught that Heaven's purpose was to put kingship in place in order to provide instruction for the people and enable them to cultivate themselves (Fung 1952: 2, 46). This kind of belief about the role of the ruler became the intellectual power behind the promotion of the Confucian examination program. If the ruler's task were to teach the people and help them raise themselves to a new level morally and socially, having worthy rulers and ministers of merit was absolutely imperative. In many ways, Confucians continued to reflect on the choice and training of leaders throughout Chinese history. One example of this effort is Liu Shao's (c. 240 CE) analysis of the contribution talent makes to spiritual ascent as an illustrated methodology for human development to transcendence in his *Study of Human Ability.*

The Chinese Imperial Civil Service Examination System (*keju*)

There were many reasons the Chinese adopted the Confucian examination system. In the beginning, during the Han period, the reasons were tied to the continuation of the dynasty and to its attempts to standardize a way of life without repeating the mistakes of the Qin. In the succeeding dynasties, any founding ruler of a dynasty would always be faced with the problems of governing the country, the lack of capable officials and the fear that military governors in charge of distant provinces would go their own way, decentralizing power and

disrupting social order. Thus, rulers found that the use of the examination system provided them with some roughly objective and institutionalized method of recruiting governmental personnel who would be loyal to them. By using the examination system, and with the exception of the throne itself, all offices were theoretically open to anyone; this made the struggle against the emperor for the control of the government less intense. Also, the syllabus learned by the scholars was Confucian in nature which stressed state loyalty, and this predicted the support of officials for the emperor and his dynasty. During the Han dynasty only those people who were fortunate enough to be selected for official posts sat for civil examinations. In practice, only the sons of the well-to-do could find the time and expense for examinations; so, the long line of civil servants continued to come from the land-owning families who could afford to educate their sons. This situation continued until Emperor Yang of Sui (569–618, a.k.a. Suiyangdi) established a new exam for recommended candidates for the bureaucracy (*jinshi*) in 605. For the first time, an examination system was explicitly instituted for a category of local talents. This is generally accepted as the actual beginning of what we consider the imperial examination system (*keju*). During the Tang dynasty it was used for recruiting civil officials on a small scale and for continuing to educate bureaucrats on a much wider one.

The Song dynasty (960–1279) emperors supported civil service examinations in order to limit the development of alternative military and aristocratic power centers. Pragmatically speaking, China's examination system was for the masses only from the Song dynasty onwards (i.e., after 960). But it was still nearly impossible for the ordinary person to make his way through the system. The common person simply did not possess the necessary resources to find a teacher or to have sufficient leisure to study.

The examinations became less important for gaining office between 1200 and 1500. A family's wealth, power and prestige were enough to propel their sons into official posts.

The Mongols of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) never realized the importance of having Chinese officials who had an intimate familiarity with the bedrock on which Chinese civilization rested until it was too late. The failure to make the link between examinations and public service was one of the many reasons for the inability of the Mongols to enjoy a prolonged rule and it was also one of the principal reasons why the Ming dynasty arose.

During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) the fortunes of the exam system varied with the ruler. Hong Wu abolished it for about ten years (1373–82). It was reinstated with selective criteria for participation in 1382. In Zhu Di's reign (1360–1424, a.k.a. the Yongle 'Perpetual Happiness' Emperor) the original intent of the examination system was recovered, the selection process put aside and only the actual top examination graduates from the Hanlin Academy (Hanlin yuan) established in Chang'an (Xi'an)[46] were assigned appointments.

After 1644, the invasion of China by the Manchus, and the establishment of the Qing dynasty (1644–1912), Qing rulers were clever enough to avoid the mistakes of the Mongols and win tacit endorsement and general acquiescence during their rule by continuing the examination system. The Manchus managed to channel the talents of the Confucian literati and thereby preserve their dynasty much longer than would have been possible otherwise.

Confucianism and Women in the Han

Figure 8: An Exemplary Woman

At roughly the same time he was collecting stories for the Daoist text, *Biographies of the Immortals*, Liu Xiang (79–8 BCE) edited a number of morality tales into the *Biographies of Exemplary Women*.[47] This work is the earliest extant book in the Chinese tradition solely devoted to the moral education of women. It became the standard work used for female education for the next two millennia. Like the conduct books in early modern England hundreds of years later, the *Biographies of Exemplary Women* was written by a man for women and not by a woman for women. Prior to Liu Xiang's effort there were no special efforts made to educate women in Confucian subjects, and there is no evidence that a special curriculum existed to instruct females in their duties. Most of the stories collected by Liu Xiang can be found in earlier texts, such as the earliest narrative history of China known

as the *Chronicles of Zuo* (c. 400 BCE) and the fourth century BCE history book the *Guoyu*.

The seven categories of feminine behavior under which Liu Xiang organized his material are: (1) Matronly Models; (2) Worthy and Enlightened; (3) Benevolent and Wise; (4) Chaste and Obedient; (5) Principled and Righteous; (6) Accomplished Speakers; and (7) Depraved Favorites. These correspond, one each, to seven scrolls. An eighth scroll is 'Supplemental Biographies'.

Anne Kinney holds that the new stress on Confucian learning in female education reflects a belief in the Han that only when the entire population engaged in self-cultivation will the empire achieve an era of great peace and high civilization (Kinney 1999). So, *Biographies of Exemplary Women* may be understood as an attempt to shape the female population in the Confucian mould. Moreover, given the fact that there were opportunities for upward social mobility available to women during the Han, there was an effort to lessen the numbers of uneducated women at court during a period when classical learning became the standard means of establishing a person's social and political credentials. Imperial women had acquired considerable power during this period, and Kinney believes that Confucians used texts such as the *Biographies of Exemplary Women* to exert moral influence over females they could not control by political means.

Table 4: *Biographies of Exemplary Women,* by chapter

Chapter	Chinese	Translation
1	母儀傳	Matronly Models
2	賢明傳	The Worthy and Enlightened
3	仁智傳	The Benevolent and Wise
4	貞順傳	The Chaste and Obedient
5	節義傳	The Principled and Righteous
6	辯通傳	The Accomplished Speakers
7	孽嬖傳	Depraved Favorites
8	續列女傳	Supplemental Biographies

Kinney writes:

> Contemporary memorials written to warn the emperor about the destructive influence of both uneducated and unscrupulous court women reach their most fevered pitch when an investigation of the untimely death of emperor Cheng (7 BC) revealed that the emperor's favorite but barren concubine had persuaded him to kill two infant sons borne by other court women, leaving him without heirs and the dynasty in crisis. According to one source, it was for this emperor that Liu Xiang composed the *Traditions of Exemplary Women* in the hope that the emperor would use the text to instruct his womenfolk. (1999)

Classical Confucianism and Women

The plight of Chinese women throughout history is well known: the binding of feet, female infanticide, loveless marriages, second wives, a widow's obedience to her eldest son, widow suicide and concubinage. The oppressive practices are often blamed on Confucianism and, indeed, this association can be defended by solid evidence. Confucian classical texts are well known for teaching the 'three obeys' (obey father, obey husband, obey eldest son, if husband dies) and 'four virtues' (chastity, modesty, meekness and domesticity). The historical connection of leading Confucian and classical texts with the oppression of women cannot be doubted or rationalized away, but we may still ask: Did the thinkers who formed the tradition hold such views? The answer to this question must be a resounding 'no'. Oppression of women is not embedded in the central teachings of Confucius and in the Zisi–Mencius lineage or in Xunzi. Moreover, the fundamental teachings of the pre-Han founders of Confucianism actually support a human, not gender-based, spiritual Way. There is gender equity in the pursuit of the Confucian Way.

Ban Gu, the Han court historian who composed the *Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall,* had a younger sister named Ban Zhao (c. 45–116 CE) who was arguably the most important female Confucian of the age of Han. She took her brother's place by serving as imperial historian under Emperor Han Hedi (r. 88–105 CE). She completed the work her brother began, known as the *History of the Former Han,* a history of the Western Han dynasty 206 BCE–25 CE, which is generally regarded as second in historical significance only to that of Sima Qian. Ban Zhao received her early education from her literate mother. She followed a rather conventional course,

marrying at the age of 14. Although her husband died young, she never remarried, devoting herself instead to literary pursuits and acquiring a reputation for scholarship and a graceful moral character. Ban Zhao also composed a commentary on the popular *Biographies of Exemplary Women*, and later she produced the text for which she is best known, *Precepts for Women,* that traditionally was taken to be a manual for proper feminine virtue and behavior in the Confucian Way.

Ban Zhao's *Precepts for Women*

From this time on every one of you strive to practice these lessons.

Humility

On the third day after the birth of a girl the ancients observed three customs: first to place the baby below the bed; second to give her a potsherd [*a piece of broken pottery*] with which to play; and third to announce her birth to her ancestors by an offering. Now to lay the baby below the bed plainly indicated that she is lowly and weak, and should regard it as her primary duty to humble herself before others. To give her potsherds with which to play indubitably signified that she should practice labor and consider it her primary duty to be industrious. To announce her birth before her ancestors clearly meant that she ought to esteem as her primary duty the continuation of the observance of worship in the home.

These three ancient customs epitomize woman's ordinary way of life and the teachings of the traditional ceremonial rites and regulations. Let a woman modestly yield to others; let her respect others; let her put others first, herself last. Should she do something good, let her not mention it; should she do something bad, let her not deny it. Let her bear disgrace; let her even endure when others speak or do evil to her. Always let her seem to tremble and to fear. When a woman follows such maxims as these then she may be said to humble herself before others.

Let a woman retire late to bed, but rise early to duties; let her not dread tasks by day or by night. Let her not refuse to perform domestic duties whether easy or difficult. That which must be done, let her finish completely, tidily, and systematically. When a woman follows such rules as these, then she may be said to be industrious.

Let a woman be correct in manner and upright in character in order to serve her husband. Let her live in purity and quietness of spirit, and attend to her own affairs. Let her love not gossip and silly laughter. Let her cleanse and purify and arrange in order the wine and the food for the offerings to the ancestors. When

a woman observes such principles as these, then she may be said to continue ancestral worship.

No woman who observes these three fundamentals of life has ever had a bad reputation or has fallen into disgrace. If a woman fails to observe them, how can her name be honored; how can she but bring disgrace upon herself?

Husband and Wife

The Way of husband and wife is intimately connected with *yin* and *yang*, and relates the individual to gods and ancestors. Truly it is the great principle of Heaven and Earth, and the great basis of human relationships. Therefore, the 'Rites' [the *Classic of Rites*] honor union of man and woman; and in the 'Book of Poetry' [the *Classic of Poetry*] the 'First Ode' manifests the principle of marriage. For these reasons the relationships cannot but be an important one.

If a husband be unworthy, then he possesses nothing by which to control his wife. If a wife be unworthy, then she possesses nothing with which to serve her husband. If a husband does not control his wife, then the rules of conduct manifesting his authority are abandoned and broken. If a wife does not serve her husband, then the proper relationship between men and women and the natural order of things are neglected and destroyed. As a matter of fact, the purpose of these two [the controlling of women by men, and the serving of men by women] is the same.

Now examine the gentlemen of the present age. They only know that wives must be controlled, and that the husband's rules of conduct manifesting his authority must be established. They therefore teach their boys to read books and study histories. But they do not in the least understand that husbands and masters must also be served, and that the proper relationship and the rites should be maintained. Yet only to teach men and not to teach women – is that not ignoring the essential relation between them? According to the 'Rites', it is the rule to begin to teach children to read at the age of eight years, and by the age of 15 years they ought then to be ready for cultural training.

Respect and Caution

As y*in* and *yang* are not of the same nature, so man and woman have different characteristics. The distinctive quality of the *yang* is rigidity; the function of the y*in* is yielding. Man is honored for strength; a woman is beautiful on account of her gentleness. Hence there arose the common saying: 'A man though born like a wolf may, it is feared, become a weak monstrosity; a woman though born like a mouse may, it is feared, become a tiger.'

Now for self-culture nothing equals respect for others. To counteract firmness nothing equals compliance. Consequently, it can be said that the Way of respect

and acquiescence is woman's most important principle of conduct. So respect may be defined as nothing other than holding on to that which is permanent; and acquiescence nothing other than being liberal and generous. Those who are steadfast in devotion know that they should stay in their proper places; those who are liberal and generous esteem others, and honor and serve them.

If husband and wife have the habit of staying together, never leaving one another, and following each other around within the limited space of their own rooms, then they will lust after and take liberties with one another. From such action improper language will arise between the two. This kind of discussion may lead to licentiousness. But of licentiousness will be born a heart of disrespect to the husband. Such a result comes from not knowing that one should stay in one's proper place.

Furthermore, affairs may be either crooked or straight; words may be either right or wrong. Straightforwardness cannot but lead to quarreling; crookedness cannot but lead to accusation. If there are really accusations and quarrels, then undoubtedly there will be angry affairs. Such a result comes from not esteeming others, and not honoring and serving them.

If wives suppress not contempt for husbands, then it follows that such wives rebuke and scold their husbands. If husbands stop not short of anger, then they are certain to beat their wives. The correct relationship between husband and wife is based upon harmony and intimacy, and conjugal love is grounded in proper union. Should actual blows be dealt, how could a matrimonial relationship be preserved? Should sharp words be spoken, how could conjugal love exist? If love and proper relationship both be destroyed, then husband and wife are divided.

Womanly Qualifications

A woman ought to have four qualifications: (1) womanly virtue; (2) womanly words; (3) womanly bearing; and (4) womanly work. Now what is called womanly virtue need not be brilliant ability, exceptionally different from others. Womanly words need be neither clever in debate nor keen in conversation. Womanly appearance requires neither a pretty nor a perfect face and form. Womanly work need not be work done more skillfully than that of others.

To guard carefully her chastity; to control circumspectly her behavior; in every motion to exhibit modesty; and to model each act on the best usage, this is womanly virtue.

To choose her words with care; to avoid vulgar language; to speak at appropriate times; and not to weary others with much conversation, may be called the characteristics of womanly words.

To wash and scrub filth away; to keep clothes and ornaments fresh and clean; to wash the head and bathe the body regularly, and to keep the person free from disgraceful filth, may be called the characteristics of womanly bearing.

With whole-hearted devotion to sew and to weave; to love not gossip and silly laughter; in cleanliness and order to prepare the wine and food for serving guests, may be called the characteristics of womanly work.

These four qualifications characterize the greatest virtue of a woman. No woman can afford to be without them. In fact, they are very easy to possess if a woman only treasure them in her heart. The ancients had a saying: 'Is love afar off? If I desire love, then love is at hand!' So can it be said of these qualifications?

Implicit Obedience

Whenever the mother-in-law says, 'Do not do that', and if what she says is right, unquestionably the daughter-in-law obeys. Whenever the mother-in-law says, 'Do that', even if what she says is wrong, still the daughter-in-law submits unfailingly to the command. Let a woman not act contrary to the wishes and the opinions of her parents-in-law about right and wrong; let her not dispute with them over what is straight and what is crooked. Such docility may be called obedience which sacrifices personal opinion. Therefore, the ancient book, 'A Pattern for Women', says, 'If a daughter-in-law who follows the wishes of her parents-in-law is like an echo and shadow, how could she not be praised?' (taken from Robin Wang 2003: 179–87).

Chapter V
Blending Confucianism with Other Worldviews

Blending Confucianism with Daoism

From 202 BCE to about 9 CE, Confucian intellectuals were thoroughly engaged in exchange and synthesis of ideas with other worldviews, including Yellow Emperor–Laozi (*Huang-Lao*) Daoism. This lineage of Daoism developed during and after the heyday of the Jixia Academy, and was itself a blend of beliefs associated with the putative founder of Daoism (Laozi) and the legendary Yellow Emperor. According to tradition, the Yellow Emperor was the third of ancient China's mythological emperors. As the legend goes, he was born in 2704 BCE and became Emperor in 2697 BCE. Tradition holds that his reign saw the introduction of wooden houses, carts, boats, the bow and arrow, writing and governmental institutions. His wife was reputed to have taught women how to breed silkworms and weave silk. The earliest text that describes the characteristics of this important lineage in Daoist history is the *Zhuangzi* itself.[48] The work *Master of Huainan* (139 BCE) may represent a later statement of this Daoist ideology in a distinct form. Yellow Emperor–Laozi Daoism is associated with a number of texts:

- The now-lost *Yellow Emperor's Old Willow Divination by Dreams*.
- An attempt to synthesize medical techniques with the doctrine of the Five Phases, known as the *Yellow Emperor's Inner Classic*.
- The *Dietary Proscriptions of the Divine Agriculturist the Yellow Emperor*, concerned with identifying foods that are helpful or else must be eliminated from the diet of one who would seek longevity and immortality.
- The *Yellow Emperor's and Three Kings' Techniques for Nourishing Yang* was devoted to methods for controlling *qi* and harmonizing the balance of *yin* and *yang* through sexual methods.

- The *Wondrous Mushrooms of the Yellow Emperor and His Various Disciples,* which was a work on mountain herbs and other medicinal plants and their uses.
- The *Yellow Emperor's Classic of the Golden Bookcase and Jade Scales*, devoted to techniques for addressing numinal officials who rule over longevity and death, acquiring their help in gaining prosperity and auspicious benefits in life, and providing methods for expelling and identifying harmful spirits.

Confucian thinkers did not imbibe Yellow Emperor–Laozi Daoism as completely as did Daoist masters themselves. However, there were cosmological theories in this tradition that influenced Confucian intellectuals.

The cosmological theories of this belief system were widely used beginning in about 202 BCE to explain both natural and political occurrences, and even in the service of the construction of a theory of virtue and character ideals in a Confucian frame of reference (Berthrong 1998: 50). The essentials of this cosmology are as follows. The universe is energized by a single principle called *Dao*, or the Great Ultimate One (*Taiyi*, 太一). *Dao* is enlivened by the energy of existence, called *qi*, that is neither altogether immaterial nor completely material. *Qi* has internal dynamic correlational forces called *yin* and *yang* and these coalesce into phases. There are Five Phases (*wu-xing*). In their concrescence, these Five Phases of *qi* form all the things of which reality is composed, and each thing is constantly morphing into a new form, whether in our sensory range or not. All change in the universe can be explained by the workings of *yin* and *yang* and the transformations of the Five Phases, as they either produce one another or overcome one another. In the Han period, the Five Phase cosmology was a totalizing explanation used to explain the movements of the stars, the workings of the body, the nature of foods, the qualities of music, the ethical qualities of humans, the progress of time, the operations of government and even the nature and type of historical change. The systematization of the Five Phase cosmology is traditionally associated with Zou Yan (305–240 BCE), who is believed to have taught at the Jixia Academy and may have been there at the same time as Mencius. The reach of this cosmology came into the Han through master teachers scattered throughout the provinces and perhaps first brought together at the Huainan Academy in the 140s BCE.

The Veneration of Confucius

Figure 9: Veneration of Confucius in 2007 in Qufu

According to accounts of the worship and deification of Confucius, the ruler of Confucius's native state of Lu was profoundly distressed by the sage's death. He built a shrine to commemorate Confucius and venerate him with sacrifices offered at each of the four seasons. However, by the end of the Zhou dynasty, the worship of Confucius was discontinued and remained dormant throughout the Qin. The Han emperor Gaozu (r. 206–195 BCE) revived the veneration of Confucius by visiting his grave in Qufu, Shandong Province, and offering sacrifices there in 195 BCE.[49] Gradually, the people came to look upon Confucius as a numinal being (*shen*, 神), and women used to pray to him for children until the practice was stopped by an imperial edict in 472 CE. Nonetheless, in the year 555 CE temples were ordered to be placed in all prefect capital cities in China; and later on, in all the important cities and towns of the empire. In the second and eighth months of each year, before dawn, sacrifices to Confucius were celebrated with considerable solemnity and pomp, including music and dances by bands of either 36 or 64 performers. Such practices continued to the twentieth century. Extensive and high-quality work on Confucius as sage and god, and on sacrifices and veneration made to him, has been collected in the work *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, edited by Thomas A. Wilson.

By the first century BCE, it was clear that philosophical and religious reflection among Han Confucian intellectuals was highly syncretistic. The role assigned to Confucius and writings about his nature mentioned in the previous chapter make this clear. This was necessary to the survival of these intellectuals' influence. The Five Phase cosmology and its appropriation by Daoist masters, whether at a popular level or at court, were gaining great influence. Accordingly, Confucian writers of this period did not hesitate to make use of textual sources that were outside the Confucian tradition. This is one reason it was essential to establish a more orthodox set of texts that did not engage in what was considered by Confucian scholars as wild fantasy and superstition, and it may very well have been such views that Dong Zhongshu wanted set aside and not promoted.

Liu Xiang, Dong Zhongshu and other Confucian scholars waged philosophical and religious defenses that the received Confucian tradition was credible and rationally defensible in a time when there was a great deal of popular religious zeal and folk belief. Liu was well acquainted with this tension. He collected Daoist stories about how their perfected persons (*zhenren*) came to possess the powers of the immortals (*xian*) in his *Biographies of the Immortals* (c. 77 BCE). In addition to the Han views we have already noted with respect to Confucius, there was a belief that Confucius was destined to be a king because he was miraculously descended from the star-gods, and this reference to 'star-gods' is probably of Daoist influence. However, Confucius was born 'out of time'. So, Heaven (*tian*) gave a revelation to Confucius that decreed that he should instead write Six Classics (*Liujing*) (Michael Nylan 1993: 24).

Yang Xiong and *The Supreme Mystery*

Yang Xiong (53 BCE–18 CE) was a court scholar whose writings and tragic life give an example of someone who made bold use of non-Confucian texts to create a syncretic understanding of Confucian philosophical and spiritual tradition. Yang was born in Chengdu in the Province of Shu (current Sichuan), an area known for the presence of Daoist masters and influences. He came to the Han court in Chang'an (Xi'an) because of his renown as a poet. He composed many poems for official events and ceremonies, but his main interest was in the power of poetry to influence one to be morally virtuous.

His poems admonish, criticize and give advice to rulers, and all who hear them. Some of his sayings reveal that he had definite views on topics of debate in the Confucian tradition, such as that between Mencius and Xunzi over human nature. Yang asserted that our original nature is neither good (as argued by Mencius) nor evil (as argued by Xunzi), but rather comes into existence as a mixture of both. In taking this approach, we see his zeal for compromise and adaptation.

Yang Xiong's works are little known because some of them were only dictionaries collected to keep him busy at court. However, his most important texts are a work on divination employing the Five Phase cosmology and known as *The Supreme Mystery,* written in c. 2 BCE, and a collection of aphorisms and dialogs on a variety of historical and philosophical topics imitating the *Analects* and called simply *Model Sayings*, completed in c. 9 BCE.

The *Supreme Mystery* shows a knowledge of the Yellow Emperor–Laozi (*Huang-lao*) concern for cosmology and the way the Five Phases influence transformation of history and individuals.[50] It represents one example of the intellectual and spiritual syncretism between Confucianism and Daoism that emerged in the last years of the Han dynasty. The term 'mystery' (*xuan,* 玄) in the title *Supreme Mystery* is used in Chinese literature as a modifier to describe that which is dark, mysterious, profound, abstruse or hidden. Yang Xiong uses the term to refer to the mysterious processes of reality and transformation of persons and events as they unfold. His conception of *'mystery'* seems to be derived from the *Daodejing*, and yet the *Supreme Mystery is* modeled on the *Classic of Changes (Yijing)*. However, Yang Xiong's *Supreme Mystery* is not strictly speaking a commentary on the *Classic of Changes*. In fact, like the *Classic of Changes, the Supreme Mystery is* also a book of divination, but it is based on an evolving sequence of numbers, figures and symbols meant to provide understanding about the unfolding of life situations. Yang made his own model for divination. For example, instead of following the *Classic of Changes* 64 hexagrams, Yang identified 81 tetragrams. Additionally, his theory of the *yin* and *yang* lines that make up these figures is also different. Andrew Colvin provides a brief statement outlining just how complicated Yang's system is:

> The organization scheme is fivefold. The five numerical categories (three and eight, four and nine, two and seven, one and six, and five)

> correspond to the five directions (east, west, south, north, center), the five phases (wood, metal, fire, water, earth), the seasons (spring, autumn, summer, winter, four seasons), the five colors (green, white, red, black, yellow), the five trades (carpentry, metal smithing, working with fire, water works, earth works), and the like. (Colvin 2006)

Yang's *Model Sayings* is an imitation of the *Analects* and contains many references to Confucius. *Model Sayings*, more than *Supreme Mystery*, won for Yang Xiong the association with the Old Text School (*guwen jin*) of Confucianism. Scholars in this School claimed to have discovered versions of the Five Classics in archaic characters and supposedly produced before the Burning of the Books. They set themselves in contrast to what they called the New Text School (*jinwen jing*) represented by scholars who used the recreated Five Classics made during the Han and well after the Burning of the Books.

Although some think Yang is one of the most important writers of the last years of the Han period, he had little influence during his own time and was much criticized for his association with Wang Mang, a usurper of the Han throne who established the very brief Xin dynasty that interrupted the history of the Han, provoking the distinctions we now make between Eastern and Western Han. One theory is that the *Model Sayings* was written as a ruler's guide for Wang Mang. Consequently, Yang's works have largely been left out of the Confucian canon.

Wang Chong

Not all Confucian thinkers accepted the Five Phase cosmology or the belief systems to which it gave rise. Wang Chong (27–100 CE) was a critic of this cosmology in its broadest forms, and of the applications of it seen in popular culture, political theory, morality and the explanations of natural and physical phenomena. Wang studied at the imperial school in Luoyang, Henan Province. After his training, he returned to his home near modern Shangyu, Zhejiang Province, in the position of Officer of Merit. However, he soon found dealing with judicial cases quarrelsome, and stepped down. During the period after leaving his position, he wrote a number of tightly reasoned Confucian essays including 'On Common Morality', 'Censures' and 'On Government'. He worked from Old Text scripts, believing

that these were more authentically Confucian. Eighty of his essays on subjects ranging from morality, to government, to science and to technology were later compiled into the work *Critical Essays.*

Wang had no patience for what he considered to be the superstitions of his day, and he did not hesitate to criticize his predecessors, including those Confucian thinkers involved in trying to create a synthesis with the Five Phase cosmology and its related belief systems. He used argument and empirical evidence to criticize the worship of Confucius, to debunk belief in omens, to discount any evidential basis for *fengshui* and to ridicule belief in ghosts and spirits. Wang believed that Heaven or the natural process must be studied by use of rational means. He rejected the idea that Heaven has a purpose, either benevolent or judgmental, and instead spoke of its operations as 'spontaneous', by which he meant 'without intention or direction'.

One example of Wang's challenges to the current beliefs of his day was his argument that thunder must be caused by fire or heat, and was not a sign of the heavens being displeased. Wang understood 'Heaven' (*tian*) to mean something like 'the universe', and thought it to be a physical region that could be studied and understood by use of reason and experiment. He was extremely critical of the popular belief in ghosts, and he wondered why, if this belief was true, that there were not ghosts of creatures other than human (since all creatures have *qi*). He also surmised that if there were ghosts, then they should outnumber living persons, since there are many more people who have died than who are currently living. Wang insisted that a claim or belief must be supported by evidence.[51]

Wang Chong's *Critical Essays*

6. If Heaven had produced creatures on purpose, it ought to have taught them to love each other, and not to prey upon and destroy one another. One might object that such is the nature of the Five Phases, that when Heaven creates all things, they are imbued with the matter and energies of the Five Phases, and these fight together and destroy one another. But then Heaven ought to have filled creatures with the matter and energy of one element alone, and taught them mutual love, not permitting the forces of the Five Phases to resort to strife and mutual destruction.
11. People say that the dead become spirit beings (*shen*), or ghosts (*gui*), that they are conscious and can hurt men. Let us examine this by comparing men

with other beings. The dead do not become ghosts, have no consciousness and cannot injure others. How do we know this? We know it from other beings. Man is a being, and other creatures are likewise beings. When a creature dies, it does not become a ghost, for what reason then must man alone become a ghost when he expires? In this world you can separate man from other creatures, but not on the grounds that man becomes a ghost. The faculty to become a ghost cannot be a distinctive mark. If, on the other hand, there is no difference between man and other creatures, we have no reason either to suppose that man may become a ghost. Man lives by virtue of his vital force (*qi*). When he dies, this vital force is exhausted. It resides in the arteries. At death the pulse stops, and the vital force ceases to work; the body decays and turns into earth and clay. By what means then could it become a ghost? Without ears or eyes men have no perceptions. In this respect the deaf and the blind resemble plants and trees. But are men, whose vital force is gone, merely as if they had no eyes, or no ears? No, their decay means complete dissolution.

20. When the minister of Chu, Sun Shu Ao, was a boy, he saw a two-headed snake, which he killed and buried. He went home and cried before his mother. She asked him, 'What is the matter?' He replied, 'I have heard say that he who sees a two-headed snake must die. Now, when I went out, I saw a two-headed snake. I am afraid that I must leave you and die, hence my tears.' Upon his mother inquiring where the snake was now, he answered, 'For fear that others should see it later, I have killed it outright, and buried it.' The mother said, 'I have heard that Heaven will recompense hidden virtue. You are certainly not going to die, for Heaven must reward you.' And, in fact, Sun Shu Ao did not die, but went on to become Prime Minister of Zhou. For interring one snake he received two favors. Does this make it clear that Heaven rewards good actions? No, this is idle talk. That he who sees a two-headed snake must die is a common superstition; and that Heaven gives happiness as a reward for hidden virtue is also a common prejudice. Sun Shu Ao, convinced of the superstition, buried the snake, and his mother, addicted to the prejudice, firmly relied on the heavenly retaliation. This would amount to nothing else than that life and death do not depend on fate, but on the death of a snake.

25. The books of the literary intelligentsia relate that the Prince of Huainan, in studying Daoism, assembled all the Daoists of the empire and humbled the grandeur of a princedom before these expositors of Daoist lore. Consequently, Daoist scholars flocked to Huainan and vied with each other in exhibiting strange tricks and all kinds of magic. Then the prince attained to *Dao* and rose to Heaven with his whole household. His domestic animals also became immortals (*xian*, 仙). His dogs barked up in the sky, and the cocks crowed in the clouds. That means that there was such an abundance

of the drug of immortality, that even dogs and cocks could eat it and follow the prince to Heaven. All who have an interest in Daoism and want to learn the art of immortality believe in this story, but it is not true. Man is a creature. Though his rank may be high, even princely or royal, his nature cannot be different from that of other creatures. All creatures die. How could man become an immortal? Birds having feathers and plumes can fly, but they cannot rise to Heaven. How could man without feathers and plumes be able to fly and rise? Were he feathered and winged, he would only be equal to birds, but he is not; how then should he ascend to Heaven?

26. There is a belief that by the doctrine of Laozi one can transcend into another existence. Through quietism and absence of desire one nourishes the vital force, and cherishes the spirit. The length of life is based on the animal spirits of our bodies. As long as they are unimpaired, life goes on, and there is no death. Laozi acted upon the principle of quietude. Having done so for over a hundred years, he is said to have passed into another existence and to have become a true Daoist sage. Who can be more quiet and have less desires than birds and animals? But birds and animals likewise age and die. However, we will not speak of birds and animals, the passions of which are similar to the human. But what are the passions of plants and shrubs that cause them to die in the autumn after being born in spring? They are dispassionate, yet their lives do not extend further than one year. Men are full of passions and desires, yet they can become a hundred years old. Thus the dispassionate die prematurely, and the passionate live long. Hence Laozi's theory to prolong life and enter a new existence by means of quietism and absence of desires is wrong.
27. Dong Zhongshu explained the rain-sacrifice of the Spring and Autumn Period as setting up a clay dragon to attract rain, his idea being that clouds and dragons affect each other. The *Classic of Changes* says that the clouds follow the dragon, and wind, the tiger. With a view to this sympathetic action, he put up the clay dragon… (yet) the Duke of She in Chu was very partial to dragons. On his walls, panels, plates and dishes he had them painted. If these semblances must be looked upon like genuine ones, then there must have been a continual rainfall in the State of the Duke of She (Forke 1907).

Internal Strife among Confucian Thinkers

Clearly, attempts to create a synthesis between Confucianism and other worldviews during the Han provoked internal controversies among scholars. Confucian teachers were embroiled in debates that were basically attempts to arrive at proper interpretations of

Confucius and a canonical set of texts in order to establish a received and orthodox understanding of the tradition. An example of this internal strife within Confucianism is the *Conference in the White Tiger Hall* (*Baihu guan huiyi*). This conference was held in the imperial palace in Luoyang in 79–80 CE, and Emperor Zhang (r. 75–88 CE) presided over it. The conference was concerned with proper interpretations of Confucius and his teachings, as well as what should be regarded as accepted practices related to ritual, music, cosmology and to the Emperor's role as an agent in cosmic order. Emperor Zhang was very concerned about how to act as emperor according to the order of *yin* and *yang*, Five Phases and 'Heaven's reactions to human conduct' (*tian ren ganying*)'. 'Heaven's reactions to human conduct,' was a way of talking about the belief that human action affected lifespan, success and failure and nature, as well as the fact that what happened in nature affected humans. The theory is a comprehensive one that includes explanations about how the conduct of the people will influence occurrences in nature, and how moral behavior of the individual directly affects the health of the body. A summary record of the conference was made by Ban Gu (32–92 CE) under the title the *Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall*, although our present version of this work may have insertions of later arguments and positions in it.

The Fall of the Han and the Place of Confucianism

In the Five Phase system, yellow is the color of the Earth Agent that rises in the cosmic order of things after the red of the Fire Agent. In their application of this cosmology to political realities, Han rulers claimed the Fire Agent ruled their destiny (Robinet 1997: 54). They spoke of their dynasty as Red Governance, directed and empowered by Confucius, as we have already seen. Such a belief system formed the context for one of the major rebellions against the Han dynasty, known as the Yellow Turban (*Huangjin*) revolution. Zhang Jiao led this revolution. Employing the theory of how the Five Phases change and influence history as well as nature, he taught that the disappearance of the Red Agent (the Han) would be followed by an idyllic era of the reign of the Yellow Agent that would be characterized as a kingdom of Great Peace (*Taiping*). His followers wore yellow turbans as a way of identifying with the movement. The revolution

began in Shandong Province in 184 CE. In the fourteenth-century, quasi-historical novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, written by Luo Guanzhong, the author describes the events of these turbulent years from the end of the Han dynasty to the Three Kingdoms Period (220–280 CE). In the first chapter of the book, the novel says Zhang Jiao was wandering in the mountains gathering medicinal herbs when he came across an old man who had a strikingly youthful countenance. The man invited Zhang into his cave and presented him with a book that the man said had been written by celestial beings. The name of the book was *Great Peace Classic.* Following the promises of this book, Zhang built an army of over 150,000 followers who were devoted to him and the kingdom he pledged to establish. The Han dynasty survived the Yellow Turban Rebellion, but the cost was dear and it never recovered from this challenge.

Immediately after the fall of the Han, a period of disunity and warfare began with rulers of various fiefdoms struggling to gain mastery over greater territory. This period lasted until the rise of the great Tang dynasty (618–907 CE). There was contestation not only politically, but also for the philosophical and spiritual loyalties of the people. One of the major options presenting itself was the movement known as the Way of the Celestial Masters (*Tianshi Dao*). This was a Daoist movement founded by Zhang Ling (34–156 CE), most commonly known as Zhang Daoling, and based in the Province of Shu (current Sichuan) at roughly the same time as the Yellow Turbans. Like the Yellow Turbans, the Celestial Masters sought to create a utopian state of Great Peace that would replace the Chinese imperial institution that they believed would be swept away in a series of disasters and travails of apocalyptic proportions. However, unlike the Yellow Turbans, the Celestial Masters was not a revolutionary movement. They waited on the coming cosmic transformation of *Dao* by building communities of their own, while not coming into conflict with imperial power. Zhang Daoling gathered tens of thousands of households as his disciples and created a kind of Daoist theocracy during a period in which warlords rather than centralized authority was the rule for China. The administrative framework of the Celestial Masters consisted of 24 centers of organization called *zhi*. The Celestial Masters movement remained largely independent of imperial domination for over 25 years. Gradually, this situation began to disintegrate and in 215 CE General Cao Cao (155–220

CE) subdued the rule of Zhang Lu, Zhang Daoling's grandson. And yet, unlike the Yellow Turbans, who were treated harshly and virtually extinguished, Zhang Lu's family was very well connected to the regional governor. His mother had free access to the governor's home and family because of her knowledge of healing techniques and her abilities as an impersonator of the dead and spirit medium. Sources say she knew 'the ways of ghosts' (*guidao*) and how to bind them. So, Zhang Lu was treated well and his children even intermarried with the powerful Cao family, who would soon rule the kingdom of Wei during the Three Kingdoms Period (i.e., Wei, Shu and Wu, c. 220–280 CE). In fact, after Zhang Lu submitted to Cao Cao in 215 CE, he was granted a title and lands. Several of his sons and generals also received positions and land. Nevertheless, Celestial Master centers were broken up and families were dispersed northward. One wave of about 200–300,000 individuals was resettled from Hanzhong to Chang'an (Xi'an) and its surrounding areas. In the five-year period that followed (215–220 CE), another 80,000 Celestial Masters from the Hanzhong region moved of their own volition into the Luoyang and Ye areas.

One Confucian scholar of the Wei court in this period is especially noteworthy. Liu Shao (c. 240 CE) was an official under Cao Rui (205–239 CE). In such a great time of turmoil as the Three Kingdoms Period, when the selection of leadership was tremendously important, Liu Shao wrote a Confucian analysis of the contribution talent makes to human development in his *Study of Human Ability*.[52] Liu's work contains 12 sections, grouped together in the following manner:

- Part One: 1. Nine Characteristics; 2. Types of Personality; 3. Men Classified according to Occupation; 4. Principles of Talents.
- Part Two: 5. Capacities; 6. Advantages and defects; 7. How to know other men; 8. Heroes; 9. Eight Modes of Observation.
- Part Three: 10. Seven Errors of Judgment; 11. Difficulties in Assessing the Effectiveness of Men; and 12. The Elimination of Strife (Shryock 1937).

Liu Shao accepted the basic cosmology of the origin of man and the universe propounded by many of the thinkers of the Han dynasty in terms of the Five Phases and the principles of *yin* and *yang*. He

believed the Five Phases combined in a person in such a way that the qualities of character are related to these phases and show themselves in a person's physical features: 'Benevolence (i.e., *ren*, 仁), for example, is characterized by features which are gentle and soft (*yin*), whereas courage is expressed in proud and energetic features (*yang*)' (54). An implication of this position, also drawn from the Han synthesis, was that good moral character and physical health were mutually supportive. On this argument, it is perhaps not surprising that neither Confucius nor Mencius received mention in Liu Shao's list of exemplars (59).

The Way of Mysterious Learning (*Xuanxue*)

The influence of Daoism in the Three Kingdoms Period can hardly be exaggerated. With remnants of the Yellow Turban Movement in the northern part of China, and the dispersions of wholesale populations of the Celestial Masters from the south into central and northern China, Confucian classical learning and its influence in the general population and likewise at court diminished sharply. Members of the Cao ruling family married women from the Celestial Masters leadership. Although Confucian scholars were still needed by the rulers of post-Han states such as the Wei, because of their knowledge and experience in state rituals and administrative matters, Daoism was 'in the air' and exercising a powerful influence on the thinking of commoner and aristocrat alike.

As a result, Confucian scholars sought to annotate and reinterpret their own classical texts to move them toward greater compatibility with Daoism, and they even wrote commentaries on Daoist works. A new type of Confucianism – known simply as the Way of Mysterious Learning (*Xuanxue*) – emerged. The term *Xuanxue* was derived from a line in the first chapter of the *Daodejing*, according to which the *Dao* is said to be 'darker than dark' or 'more mysterious than mystery' (*xuan zhi you xuan*).

Mysterious Learning is an important stream in the development of Confucianism. It is represented by a set of scholars, including some of the most prominent thinkers of the period: Wang Bi (226–249 CE), He Yan (d. 249), Xiang Xiu (223–300), Guo Xiang (d. 312) and Pei Wei (267–300). In general, these scholars had in common an effort to reinterpret the social and moral understanding of Confucianism in

ways to make it more compatible with Daoist philosophy. In fact, for many interpreters, the extent to which Daoist influence is evident in the texts of these writers has led some scholars to call this movement 'Neo-Daoism'.[53] However, even though Mysterious Learning writers betrayed clear Daoist tendencies, the commentaries they wrote on such Confucian classics as the *Analects* and the *Classic of Changes* became standard resources for the study of Confucianism and classical thought as early as the Tang dynasty. As we shall see, the appropriation of Daoist thought into a Confucian frame of reference does not mean that these Confucian scholars diminished the importance of their tradition, its classics, or the great sage, Confucius, himself. These thinkers continued to believe that Confucius and the received tradition from him through Mencius represented the truth that humankind needs to know.

Wang Bi

Wang Bi (226–249 CE) is regarded as one of the most important interpreters of the classical Chinese texts known as the *Daodejing*[54] and the *Classic of Changes.* He lived and worked during the period after the collapse of the Han dynasty in 220 CE, an era in which elite and popular interest alike began to shift away from Confucianism toward Daoism. As a self-identified Confucian, Wang Bi wanted to create an understanding of Daoism that was consistent with Confucianism, but also one which did not fall into what he considered to be the errors of then-popular Daoist sectarian groups such as the Celestial Masters.

Although Wang Bi died at the age of 24, his interpretations of Daoism became influential for several reasons. Two of these reasons are that the edition of the *Daodejing* he used in his commentary on that work became the basis for almost every translation into a Western language for nearly two centuries, and his interpretations of Daoist material did not undermine the central teachings of Confucianism, thereby making them palatable to later Confucian thinkers. While Wang Bi's best known commentaries are those on the *Daodejing* and *Classic of Changes,* what is often overlooked is that he also wrote a commentary on the Confucian *Analects,* some fragments of which still survive. His writings have been collected and annotated in two volumes by Lou Yulie, entitled *Critical Edition of Wang Bi's Collected Works*.

Wang Bi on Language

A substantial part of Wang's interpretive philosophy is rooted in his view of language taken largely from the *Daodejing* and the *Zhuangzi*. Both works teach that words are inadequate for the expression of truth and reality itself. As *Daodejing* 1 says, 'The Way that can be spoken of is not the constant Way. The name that can be named is not the true name.' For Wang, this meant that the *Dao*, as ultimate reality, lay beyond language. He went further, however, holding that words must be forgotten in order to penetrate into the world of meaning. He found support for this view in classical Daoist texts. Specifically, he made use of the *Zhuangzi*'s references to the 'wordless teaching' (see Watson 1963: 156–8). But Wang insisted that Confucius also transmitted wisdom without writing anything (*shu'er buzuo*, see *Analects* 7.1) and that he devoted his life to 'gaining knowledge silently' (*mo'er shizhi*, *Analects* 7.2), which may be compared to *Zhuangzi*, Chapter 21 (225–6).

Wang Bi on Nothingness/Emptiness

Wang's commentary on the *Daodejing* centers around his interpretation of the concept of 'nothingness' (*wu*) that is pointed to in the text by means of its fundamental analogies for *Dao*: valley, canyon, bowl, door, window, pitcher and hub of a wheel. There can be no doubt that Wang regarded *Dao* as empty, meaning that it cannot be described. It is a mystery deeper than mystery itself. When he explains the first sentence of *Daodejing* 6 ('The spirit of the valley never dies; it is called the obscure female'), he says, 'The spirit of the valley is the *wu* found in the center of a valley. *Wu* has neither form, nor shadow; it conforms completely to what surrounds it… Its form is invisible: it is the Supreme Being.'

Wang Bi made a very important move that brought Confucianism and Daoism closer in harmony than ever before. He mentioned the Confucian critique that the Daoist stress on 'acting naturally' (*wu-wei*) can lead to immorality or aimlessness in life without purpose or self-cultivation. In contrast, he took the view that Oneness with the *Dao* is empty with respect to *what* can be said (i.e., the unnamable and indescribable), but it gives the knowledge of *how* to live. Oneness with the *Dao* brings direct awareness of the way of Being (*you*). This enabled Wang to say that Confucius's moral instruction represents what he enacted naturally and spontaneously in *wu-wei*, and his

teaching is not human contrivance or meddling with the nature of the *Dao*. The distinctions of Confucius, such as humaneness (*ren*, 仁) and righteousness (*yi*), are actually expressions of Being (*you*). These moral concepts come from the natural, from 'nothingness', and are not human inventions. This creative appropriation of Daoism by Wang and other scholars associated with Mysterious Learning helps to overcome the most basic objection Confucians had to Daoism – that it was aimless or even immoral – and it makes use of Daoist texts to do it. The synthesis also provides a ground for these scholars to criticize any misuse of Confucian ethics by Confucians because it invests traditional Confucian values with the status of the way of the *Dao*. In Wang Bi, we find the fundamental spiritual tenet that the universe itself (the *Dao*) moves to instantiate values, and humans discover this reality – they do not invent morality as a veneer placed over a value neutral or evil nature.

Wang Bi on the One

In articulating his understanding of the *Dao*, Wang appealed directly to the *Daodejing's* comments on cosmogony, according to which the *Dao* gives birth to One, One gives birth to two, two to three and three to the 10,000 things. Yet, Wang did not believe that the One is a being. On the contrary, it is the mysterious center of things, like the hub of a wheel. Thus, *Dao* is not an agent having a will. To say that it lies at the 'beginning' is not to make a temporal statement, but a metaphysical one. On *Daodejing* 25, Wang wrote, 'It is spoken of as "Dao" insofar as there is thus something [for things] to come from'. Interpreting Chapter 55, he wrote, 'The Dao – this is where things come from'. Wang made his views clearer when he offered a commentary on the word 'One'. Some Daoist thinkers took the One to be a name that refers to an object, specifically the North Star. But Wang took a radically different approach. For him, the One was not used referentially in terms of some external object, it was that on which all things depend. The idea that the One underlies and unites all phenomena is also vigorously stressed in Wang's commentary on the *Classic of Changes*. In this work, Wang made it clear just how it was that *Dao* as nothingness (*wu*) was related to the world of Being. As we already know, the *Classic of Changes* consists of hexagrams made up of broken lines (representing the *yin* cosmic force) and unbroken lines (representing the *yang* cosmic force). Since ancient times, the

text had been used as a tool for divination. In Wang's day, the typical interpretation of a hexagram associated it with a specific external event, but Wang put forward the view that the hexagram's meaning lies in identifying the general principles behind events. These principles constitute the fiber of the One.

Wang Bi on Wu-Wei

Wang Bi's views on the sage reveal his understanding of the Daoist concept of *wu-wei*. In Daoism, *wu-wei* points to the way the Perfected Person (*zhenren*) can act always efficaciously without effort and spontaneously, and still be in complete accord with the *Dao.* Wang believed that the sage who follows the Confucian Way rises above all distinctions and contradictions. According to Wang, although the sage remains in the midst of human affairs, very much unlike the tradition of Daoist recluses who live in the mountains, the Confucian sage nevertheless accomplishes things by taking no unnatural action. Thus, the sage's conduct is an example of *wu-wei*. Wang was clear that this does not mean that the sage 'folds his arms and sits in silence in the midst of some mountain forest'. It means that the sage acts naturally. To such a sage, all transformations in life are the same and one must not impose value judgments on them. In making decisions, the sage should have 'no deliberate mind of his own' (*wuxin*), but instead should respond to life events spontaneously. In short, this means that the sage puts aside desires because they are corrupting and destructive, and such corruption was surely one of the most discouraging traits Wang observed in Confucian officials of his day. Strictly speaking, the sage's *wu-wei* is not a strategy to diminish desire; it is evidence of the absence of desire. In Wang's view, Confucius embodied *wu-wei* as a sage and was, thus, able to broaden the *Dao* (*Analects* 15.29). Other thinkers who may be grouped under the category of the Mysterious Learning reinterpretation of Confucianism shared points of emphasis with Wang Bi. For example, Guo Xiang compared Confucius to the Daoist Perfected Person (*zhenren*), who can continue to serve as an official or ruler but keep his heart–mind (*xin*) still, just as is the Daoist ideal. Indeed, Guo held that Confucius was able to bring his knowledge of the *Dao* back into the world in ways that Laozi and Zhuangzi did not, since neither of them were interested in government or the ways of politics (Wing-tsit Chan 1936a: 327, 333; Yao 2000: 92).

Wang Bi on Ziran

The Daoist concept of *ziran* was interpreted by Wang Bi to mean 'the natural, real'. In his commentary on the *Daodejing*, *de* (德) was not regarded as a reference to virtue (as it usually is understood), or even less to specific virtues, but to that power or force persons obtain from *Dao* (*Daodejing* 51). Wang thought that humans had created disorder by their own thoughts and actions. If they return to *Dao* in *wu-wei*, the *de* gained will be expressed in their actions. If the ruler becomes a sage and embraces *wu-wei,* he will transform the people and broaden the *Dao,* just as Confucius (not Laozi) did.[55] Wang gave some examples that revealed his loyalty to Confucius very clearly. In writing about Confucius's grief at the death of his disciples, Wang reminds us Confucius wept and expressed his emotions as a natural reaction, but he did not become bound by them. This interpretation of Confucius seems consistent with what Zhuangzi's disciples reported about Zhang Zhou's reactions to the death of his own wife. First, Zhuangzi said he wept and sobbed, but then he became at peace about her transformation and could sit and sing (Watson 1968: 191–2).

Mysterious Learning writers play a very significant role in the history of Confucianism. Their introduction of Daoist concepts into Confucian frames of reference sewed up old rifts between China's two great indigenous traditions, and did so at a time when Daoism was on the ascendancy and might otherwise have pushed Confucianism into the role of a mere historical artifact.

Four Arts of the Chinese Scholar (*Siyi* 四藝)

The four arts of the Chinese scholar represented forms of accomplishment by which Confucian self-cultivation could be shown, and they also served as methods for carving and cultivating the self. They are *qin* (musical instruments, specifically the *qin*), *qi* (strategic board games, specifically the *qi* game), *shu* (calligraphy, literary arts) and *hua* (painting). *Shu* was associated generally with study, literature and writing. To fully master *shu,* the scholar must always have nearby the 'four treasures': brush, ink, ink stone, paper.

Figure 10: Four Treasures of the Scholar

Painting too was a necessary skill. Gu Kaizhi (c. 344–406 CE) is among the best known figures in Confucian tradition for the greatness of his painting. He is often called 'the Founder of Traditional Chinese Painting', but he was a poet and calligrapher as well. He wrote several books on painting theory, including *On Painting*, *Introduction of Famous Paintings of Wei and Jin Dynasties*, and *Painting Yuntai Mountain*. The famous scroll painting, 'Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies', originally depicted nine story scenes of exemplary Confucian women and includes six groups of precepts teaching how women should behave. Gu painted scenes between passages of explanatory text. For a careful analysis of the scroll, see Shane McCausland (2003). This scroll survives only in a Song dynasty version, now in the British Museum (minus the first three of its nine scenes). Gu also painted the scroll *Wise and Benevolent Women*. Both of these scrolls demonstrate Gu's awareness of the Han texts *Biographies of Exemplary Women* and *Precepts for Women*.

Chapter VI
Confucianism and Challenges from a Foreign Land

Confucianism in the Tang Dynasty (618–907 CE)

The Tang dynasty rulers favored Daoism. One reason for its success was the prophecy that a ruler surnamed Li would arise and bring the Great Peace (*Taiping*) kingdom. When the founder of the Tang dynasty, Gaozu (r. 618–626, birth name Li Yuan), came to power, the Daoist Highest Clarity Patriarch Wang Yuanzhi (528–635) proclaimed that Gaozu was chosen to establish the Great Peace Kingdom (Kohn and Kirkland 2004: 341). Extending this connection, Daoist masters made an association of the surname Li with Laozi, relying on one of the traditions that Laozi had the name Li Er. This prophecy of a ruler from the family of Li was taken to mean that a descendant of Laozi would come to the throne and bring Great Peace. Regardless of whether the 'prophecy' was made before the ascendancy of the Li family or after it became obvious that they would rise to power, the fact is that a family with that surname did rise to create the Tang dynasty, and Daoist support for the ruling house created a special bond.

Nonetheless, Confucians continued to have a great deal of influence in the Tang dynasty, principally because of their place in the educational system and the role of officials educated in the Confucian classics in the administration of the Tang provinces. Many Confucian scholars received imperial commissions and funding to produce commentaries on the principal texts used in the examination system and to write historical works and compile archival records of China's past. The transition from rule by aristocratic families to governance by a trained bureaucracy, selected by merit partly through examinations, did make for a better government. The acquisition of an education in Confucian philosophy and the taking of an examination became a certification of social status. This change in view was one of the

driving forces behind the revision of the national genealogy in 659 in which promise of advancement and position in society came to depend entirely upon the official rank of the person listed, not his family origins or name.

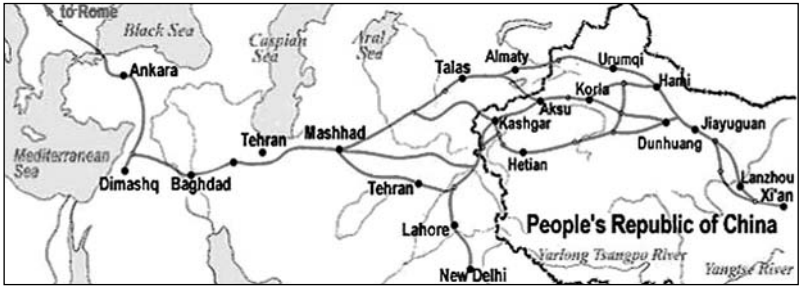

Figure 11: Buddhism Comes to China

The period of the Tang dynasty became one of intense spiritual activity and dialog. China's two historic spiritual traditions, Confucianism and Daoism, now faced a new challenge for the hearts and minds of the Chinese people, a new spiritual resource of vast reach and dramatic message.

While the challenges Confucianism faced in the Classical Period from Mohism and Legalism, and throughout the Han dynasty and up to the Tang dynasty from Daoism, were internal and indigenous ones, a new intellectual and spiritual worldview arrived from the foreign soil of India along the Silk Roads in the late Han dynasty. It was Buddhism. Buddhism spread rapidly in China from 220 to 589. Great works of art, statues and temples originate from this period. Buddhist monasteries dotted the Silk Roads and other trading routes. They served as hotels, havens of refuge and sources of charity. Buddhism was not only a challenge to Confucianism but to Daoism as well. Perhaps as early as the 300s, Daoist masters living in the Western areas of China, especially near Chang'an (Xi'an) in the religious center at Louguan Tai, were already debating Buddhist teachers. Given that there was an ancient tradition in Daoism that Laozi left China to go to the West, some Daoist masters taught that Buddhism was a form of Daoism because Laozi had gone to India, transformed into the Buddha, and then converted the Indians to Buddhism. Traditionally, this account of Laozi's work in India is attributed to Wang Fu (王浮), a Celestial Master Daoist, who is believed to have written *Laozi's Conversion of the Barbarians* in the 300s. The Daoist

master Li Zhongqing argued that Buddhism is inferior to Daoism by writing a tract to show Buddhism's principal faults. It is entitled *The Ten Differences and Nine Errors* (c. 626). In radical contrast to such an approach, the Daoist Numinous Treasure (*Lingbao*) lineage in the South imitated Buddhist rituals and copies their scriptures rather indiscriminately.

For Confucians, Buddhism was very much an alien tradition that ran counter to some of their most cherished values and teachings. It was subjected to an unrelenting stream of objections from Confucian-minded critics in ways such as the following:

1. Celibacy, for example, was already an established custom among Indian ascetics when the Buddha enjoined its practice on his monks and nuns. In China, however, not only did celibacy play no role in its indigenous religious practices, but also it transgresses the familialism at the heart of Confucian teachings. The continuation of the family line was a duty. The emphasis placed on producing progeny was clearly stated by Mencius: 'There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them.' A celibate son, renouncing his sacred duty to the family line for a life as a Buddhist monk, thus seemed to threaten the very cohesiveness of Chinese society, as it was being constructed through the Confucian texts we have already studied: the *Analects,* the *Classic of Filial Piety* and the *Zhongyong*.
2. The monastic institution itself became institutionalized in India, where it existed as an autonomous social body outside of secular authority. In India, far from being seen as an economic drain on society, nonproductive religious seekers of all denominations were revered by pious laymen as an all-important means for gaining religious merit, by providing a field in which they could sow the seeds of good karma and so improve their spiritual prospects in a life to come. However, the existence of a class of nonproductive monks offended the sensibilities of the Confucian work ethic. It was also decried on purely pragmatic grounds by generations of government officials, who saw in it a loss of vital sources of tax revenue and manpower.
3. Breaking attachments to persons and things, extinguishing desires so that one will find the serene peace of nirvana in

one's inner life, is a central teaching in Buddhism. Texts such as the *Dhammapada* make this clear: 8, 91, 92, 94, 134, 185–7, 200, 210–12, 221, 284–5, 335–59. In Buddhism there is a strong sense of self-denial and a feeling that having desires, possessions and position are morally debilitating; but such a view was alien to Confucianism.

4. In Buddhism, harmony comes through withdrawal and removing oneself from things to which one is attached, and which, in turn, can cause suffering and distress. The result is a kind of harmony or placidness that horizons as one has extinguished desire and attachment. If one is not attached to family, friends, career, nation and such, then one will not be affected by what happens to them. In contrast, the Confucian understanding of harmony was much different. For Confucians, harmony must play out in relationships, as one is immersed in the messiness of family and village life. Harmony is found in the Five Relationships. But in Buddhism, harmony comes in isolation and turning inward. This isolation may be physical, as in becoming a monk and moving to a monastery, or spiritual, as one remains in the world but not of it. Persons are encouraged to make themselves like an island in Buddhism. In Confucianism, harmony is a social achievement, requiring many persons to cooperate.
5. In Buddhism, there is an important stress on self-cultivation, as there is also this emphasis in Confucianism. But the manner of self-cultivation is very different. In Buddhism, cultivation is resistance to corruption and attachment, keeping oneself pure in mind and body. This wisdom comes through meditation, not study, art, music and intellectual conversation as in Confucianism. But more strikingly, in the end, of course, in Buddhism the result of self-cultivation is the awareness that there is no self to be enlightened or to escape suffering. Confucianism does not follow this path.
6. In contrast to the Confucian ideal of an exemplary person (*junzi*), the Buddhist holds up the ideal of the *Brahmana*. This is one who by restraint and contemplation frees himself from passions and blame. This person is nonviolent. He is in complete control of his body. He meditates alone and finds the path himself. He keeps aloof from others and does not

frequent houses of friends. All these characterizations of the spiritual ideal of Buddhism run in different directions from the exemplary person who is quite involved in family, state and interpersonal relations.[56]

Han Yu

During the Tang dynasty, many Confucians tried to adapt and defend the Confucian Way (*Dao*) as the philosophical and spiritual substance that could save the empire, and offer the way for the people to reach new vistas of the expression of their humanity. This advocacy for the Confucian Way (*Dao*) came at a time when the stable Tang society had been shaken by the rebellion of An Lushan, one of its most powerful generals in 775. In order to subdue the rebellion, the Tang ruling house made alliances with Tibetan and Turkish chieftains, and gave their own generals extraordinary concessions in land and power. The empire became decentralized, and the siphoning off of revenue into all these new power centers created a financial burden on the imperial government from which it never recovered. The decentralization created a greater need for educated bureaucrats and created the class of officials, ministers and advisors known as the literati (*shidafu*).

The Confucian scholar Han Yu (767–824) believed that the principal reason for the decline of the Tang's power and the destabilizing of society was disinterest in the Confucian Way (*Dao*) of self-cultivation, and the replacement of Confucian values by the decadent, spiritually bankrupt and socially destructive ideologies of Daoism and Buddhism that had been fostered by the government. Han Yu, born in Nanyang in Henan Province, taught himself to read and write. He passed the examinations for civil service and held posts in Luoyang and Chang'an (Xi'an). Han was iconoclastic in many ways and used his literary skills to challenge governmental abuses, superstitious beliefs and lack of cultured behavior. He was traditionally categorized in the *Classical Prose Movement* (*Guwen Yundong*) as one of the 'Eight Great Prose Masters of the Tang and Song'. Just as Shakespeare would later do for English, Han created a number of new words and idioms (neologisms) for Chinese. As a Confucian scholar, he was set against religious otherworldliness and popular forms of folk magic and belief, many of which found expression among both Daoists and Buddhists. He objected particularly to Buddhism because he felt it encouraged

self-centeredness and disregard for others, and he criticized Buddhist monks for not working and for teaching others not to work. The *Mengzi* was one of Han Yu's favorite sources, but he also made use of the *Great Learning* and *Zhongyong*, perhaps foreshadowing the eventual elevation of these latter two works into prominence in the Confucian canon of classics by the time of the Song dynasty (960–1279).

Han Yu wanted to embrace and even radicalize the Confucianism of the *Analects,* the *Mengzi*, the *Zhongyong* and *Great Learning*. His literary style, for which he was justifiably famous, was undertaken primarily to revive the classical ideals of the Confucian sages and not for the sake of writing or literature alone. In doing so, Han also began a redefinition of the Confucian canon, of the works that really matter. He did not write a defense of some works over others, but simply showed by the sources of his arguments which works he felt to be most valuable as the content of orthodox Confucianism. He quoted continuously from the four books mentioned above and which later became the Four Books (*Sijing*) of the great Song dynasty Confucian teacher, Zhu Xi (Hartman 1986: 150).

Han Yu's analysis of the crisis facing the Tang dynasty surely set the stage for the coming renaissance of Confucian influence in the movement known as Neo-Confucianism. In his view, Confucianism had been progressively marginalized in its influence over government, society and individual self-cultivation almost from the very beginning. He felt that, since the time of Mencius, the original Confucian Way had been eclipsed by people's delight in the strange and fantastic present – first in Daoism and later in Buddhism:

> When the Zhou dynasty's Way [*Dao*] declined and Confucius died, the books were burned in the Qin, Huang-Lao Daoism dominated the Han, and Buddhism the Jin, Wei, Liang and Sui dynasties. Those who spoke of the Way [*Dao*] and virtue [*de*], and humaneness and righteousness either accepted the teachings of Yang Zhu or Mozi, Laozi or Buddhism. Those who believe in one school, necessarily rejected the other. What they accepted, they glorified like a ruler. What they rejected, they treated like a slave. (Han 2005: 360)

Han Yu had little use for the Mysterious Learning tradition and its attempts to accommodate Confucianism to Daoism. His motivation to set this aright was behind his work *The Original Way*, as an important statement of the Confucian understanding of the cultivation of

spirituality.[57] As the title suggests, Han Yu saw this work as an effort to reach back to the original way of Confucianism, to that of Confucius and Mencius. Others also viewed the essay in the same manner. In fact, the later Neo-Confucian thinker Cheng Yi (1033–1107) wrote, 'Since Mencius there has been nothing of value except the single essay *The Original Way*' (quoted in Graham 1992: 162). In this work, he criticized Laozi, but he did so in a way designed to show that Laozi was simply misinformed, not that he was malevolent:

> Laozi belittled humaneness [*ren*] and rightness [*yi*]; he disparaged and spoke ill of them. Yet his view was limited. Just because one sits in a well and says the sky is small does not mean the sky is really small. For Laozi humaneness meant a small kindness and rightness meant a petty favor, so it was natural that he belittled them. Therefore, the moral way and the inner power that he spoke of and put into practice are not the same as what I mean by the Way and its Power.[58] Whenever I use these terms, they encompass both humaneness and rightness – which is the common interpretation of the whole world. Laozi's use divorces humaneness and rightness from the Way and from inner power (virtue); and this is the private interpretation of only one man. (Han 2005: 359)

Even though Han Yu objected to Daoist emphases and teachings, his more pressing concern was with the foreign religion of Buddhism. Han made a close identification between Confucianism and Chinese culture; so close, in fact, that Sor-Hoon Tan associates him with 'Chinese ethnocentrism' of the worst sort (Tan 2005). According to Tan, Han's view was that straying from the Confucian Way not only abandons Chinese culture, but also constitutes a failure to be human. It seems true that some measure of Han's concern over Buddhism was motivated by his view that Buddhists were simply 'different'. They did not speak Chinese, they dressed differently and their teachings had nothing to do with the received tradition of Confucian antiquity. However, even while holding such views, Han Yu held strongly to the belief that the demonstration of the superiority of Confucian values and teachings would be the most effective way to show Buddhists the errors of their ways.

Han Yu is known for his direct confrontations with Buddhism. The most famous of these, which also reveals his strong Confucian orthodoxy, is a work entitled 'Memorial on the Buddha's Finger'.[59] Some words of background about this extraordinary treatise will

make an understanding of its points clearer. About 10 km north of the county seat of Fufeng in Shanxi Province and 118 km west of present-day Xian (Chang'an in the Tang dynasty) is the Dharma Gate Buddhist monastery (Famen Si).

Figure 12: Famen Si today

On the grounds of the monastery at Famen Si was a pagoda, until its collapse in 1981.[60] It was called simply the Pagoda of the True Body (Zhenshen ta). The pagoda was built to house the relic of a knuckle bone of the Shakyamuni Buddha. Accordingly to beliefs widely held in the Tang dynasty, the relic brought miraculous effects. It protected the land and it could bring especially abundant harvests every 30 years wherever it was taken on circuit. In 819, the 30-year cycle year, the Xianzong emperor (778–820) ordered an officer named Du Yingqi to go to a place called Língao to meet the procession from the monastery and accompany the knuckle, with flowers and incense, to the capital city. It was to be carried through the Guangshun Gate (Guangshun men) leading into the interior of the palace, where it was to rest for three days, after which it would be toured through various other monasteries and places. Given the beliefs of the people of the Tang dynasty, this was to be a grand occasion full of hope and promise.

However, this was more than Han Yu could bear. He disapproved of the royal preparations to receive the Buddha's finger bone, calling it 'a filthy object' and appealing for its destruction. David Jordan provides an outline of the argument Han makes in 'Memorial on the Finger Bone of the Buddha'.

'Memorial on the Finger Bone of the Buddha

Buddhism does not lengthen life or bring prosperity

Only Wu of the Liang dynasty wielded the scepter for 48 years; he gave himself away to Buddha three times in succession; he used no cattle for the sacrifices in the temples of his ancestors [because Buddhism forbids killing living things]; he had only one meal a day of mere vegetables and fruit; and yet he was in the end condemned by Houjing, in the city of Tai, to die of starvation, and his dynasty perished soon after. From this we see that if one seeks happiness by serving Buddha, one obtains misfortune; it also shows that Buddha is not worth believing in.

The Emperor's ancestors wanted him to abolish Buddhism

When the High Ancestor of this dynasty had just received the throne from the house of Sui, he took into consideration the abolition of Buddhism… Crouching at Your Majesty's feet, he recollects how You, Imperial Lord, whose preternatural wisdom and brilliant military qualities have been unequalled for several thousands and hundreds of years, on Your accession immediately forbade the consecration of persons to be Buddhist monks or nuns and to be Daoist monks, as also forbade that any more monasteries should be built. Your servant at that time concluded from this that the will of Your High Ancestor was going to be executed at Your Majesty's hand; and to this moment I will admit immediately it has not yet been found possible to do so. But can it possibly be approved of, that, to this religion so much liberty is granted that the result is just the contrary; that is to say, that it is made to flourish and to prosper?

Honoring Buddhism misleads the masses

I hear that Your Majesty has ordered the clergy to fetch the bone of Buddha from Fengxiang; that You have resorted to a storeyed building to see the procession; that the bone has been carried into the interior of the palace, and that the convents have been commanded by You, in turn to receive it and present sacrifices to it. Now your servant is extremely ignorant; nevertheless, he knows for sure and certain that this religious worship to pray for felicity is not performed by Your Majesty because of your having been led astray by Buddhism, and that it is not for this reason that, for the sake of an abundant harvest, to promote the happiness of mankind, and to meet the wishes of the people, You have set going this strange spectacle, this merry-making, for the official world in the imperial capital; for You who possess so much wisdom and intelligence, would

You believe in such things? But the people are so ignorant, so easily misled, so difficult to enlighten. If therefore they see Your Majesty act thus, they will assert that You sincerely believe in Buddha, and they will say: If even the Son of Heaven, the Wise of the Wise, with his whole heart worships him, believes in him, it would ill suit us, people so insignificant and mean, to set any value on our bodies or our lives where the Buddha is concerned.

The Buddha was a crude barbarian unworthy of honor

Buddha was a western barbarian. He did not understand the language of our Central Empire, and wore clothes of different cut and make. His tongue therefore did not speak the doctrines of the ancient Sovereigns; his body was not decked with the clothes they prescribed. The duties of the minister towards his sovereign, the sentiments of the child towards its parents, all these things were unknown to him. Suppose he were still living, and came to the Metropolis as bearer of instructions from his royal house, to ask for an audience, and suppose it pleased Your Majesty to lodge and receive him, in that case Your Majesty would surely not grant him more than one interview in the hall where you issue Your measures of government; once only You would regale him in the hall where guests are ceremoniously received; only one suit of clothes You would give him.

Failing to keep spirits at a distance is unConfucian

Confucius taught that the spirits should be worshipped, and thus kept at a distance; and in olden times, when a feudal prince had to pay a visit of condolence within his dominions, he considered it a matter of importance to have first destroyed by an exorcist, with peach-wood and reeds, all evil influences; and not until this had been done he entered, to offer his condolences. But here, where no death has taken place, they bring a rotten, dirty thing, and Your Majesty deigns to go and see it in your own person, without being preceded by an exorcist, without the use of peach-wood and reeds, and none of the ministers tell Your Majesty how wrong it is to do so; no censor puts forward the evil of it. Truly, I am ashamed of this.

Destroying Buddhism will bring glory to your majesty

I humbly beseech Your Majesty to consign that bone to water and fire, in order that its influence may for ever be rooted out; in order that a stop may be put to the uncertainty in which the whole world feels itself; in order that the deception of posterity may be rendered impossible; let thus every one throughout the world become fully aware, that the measures of You, the Wise of the Wise, are a hundred million times above those of ordinary individuals. How glorious, how exhilarating this will be!

In his 'Memorial', Han Yu made it clear that he believed Buddhism was playing on the ignorance and superstition of the people and to be the principal cause of social disruption, not its solution. Accordingly, he called for the destruction of both Daoism and Buddhism as a necessary means to preserve the Confucian Way (*Dao*) and, with it, the moral and cultural values of Heaven and Earth:

> What Way is this? It is what I call the Way, not what the Daoists and Buddhists have called the Way. Yao passed it on to Shun, Shun to Yu, Yu to Tang, Tang to King Wen, King Wu, and the Duke of Zhou; then these passed it on to Confucius, who passed it on to Mencius. But after the death of Mencius it was not passed on… This being so, what can be done? Block them or nothing will flow; stop them or nothing will move. Make humans of these people, burn their books, make homes of their dwellings (i.e., monasteries), make clear the way of the former kings to guide them, and the 'widowers, the widows, the orphans, the childless and the diseased all shall have care'. This can be done. (Han 2005: 362)

But Han's views proved too strident for the climate of Tang China. The emperor's response was swift and decisive. Han Yu was banished to the farthest southern reaches of China, sent to Chaozhou in 819 as an exile.

Strangely enough, the campaign of destruction against Buddhism that Han Yu so much wanted to see came only a few decades later in 845, launched by an emperor dedicated to Daoism. Emperor Wuzong (birth name Li Yan; c. 810–846) came to power in a time of severe economic crisis. Buddhism's monasteries enjoyed tax-exempt status and to improve the financial strength of his government, Wuzong confiscated their property, destroyed 4,600 Buddhist temples and 40,000 shrines, and removed 260,500 monks and nuns from the laity, sending them back to work. However, his reasons for undertaking such a vast persecution were not entirely economic. Wuzong was a Daoist and he intended to rid China of all foreign religions. In addition to Buddhism, he also persecuted Zoroastrianism and the version of Christianity that had settled near Chang'an (Xi'an) that we know as Nestorian. While undertaking these activities, Wuzong's Daoism became every day more zealous. He built the Temple for Viewing Immortals (Wangxian guan) for the purpose of refining elixirs ingested to help one become an immortal. Although we cannot be

certain, Wuzong may have succeeded in his program to completely extinguish Buddhism in China except that he died in 846, probably from taking Daoist elixirs. After his death, with the help of his uncle Emperor Xuanzong (birth name, Li Chen, 810–859), Buddhism was able to recover, but Christianity and Zoroastrianism never again played a significant role in Chinese religious life.

In a few short decades, the Tang dynasty crumbled into dust. The local governors and military generals who rose to power and wealth after the rebellion of An Lushan began to declare their own imperiums, and China entered the decades known as the Five Dynasties Period (907–960). In the 950s CE, Zhao Kuangyin (927–976), a young man who apprenticed under his father (who was a general under one of the last of the remnants of the Tang emperors), became a renowned military leader. As a result of his leadership in the Battle of Gaoping when he defeated an enemy alliance, his army declared that the Mandate of Heaven had been transferred to him, and he became Emperor Taizu and named his dynasty the Song (宋).

Continuing the Exam System

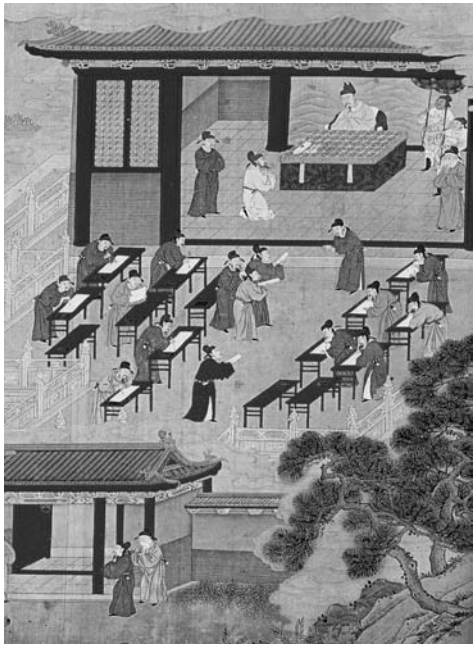

Figure 13: Eighteenth-Century Depiction of the Examination of County Magistrates

The Song emperors understood the importance of an educated elite of officials who had no personal military power base because they themselves had risen to rulership by force. Emperor Taizong, born Zhao Kuangyi (939–997 CE), was the second emperor of the Song dynasty, and he decided to expand the use of the examination system; following Han Yu's calls, the Confucian Way (*Dao*) was understood to be the ideal content for shaping literati for political service.

Social mobility is usually taken as the major impact of examinations from Song dynasty onwards. Even the most humble person could theoretically become a member of the ruling class by acquiring an education and passing the examinations. However, wealth and power still provided the resources for adequate linguistic and cultural training that would, in turn, be the key to success in the examination cycle.

The transition from rule by aristocratic families to the rule by a trained bureaucracy, selected by merit partly through examinations, did make for a better government. One's success in the examination system became a certification of social status. This change in view was such that everything now depended upon the official rank of the person listed, not his family origins or name.

Chapter VII
The Renaissance Period of Confucianism

Defining Neo-Confucianism

The period known as the Five Dynasties, between the fall of the Tang and the rise of the Song dynasties, was much shorter than that between the fall of the Han and the rise of the Tang dynasty. With the coming of the Song dynasty (960–1279), the renaissance period of Confucianism began. This period of creativity and dynamism in Confucianism was second in importance only to that of the Classical Period itself when the founders of the tradition lived and taught. The thinkers of the Confucian renaissance defended the wisdom of the classical Confucian sages just as Confucius and Mencius did for the sages of the Zhou dynasty; in the process, they created a thought world that has been variously called Neo-Confucianism, the Learning of *Li* (*Lixue*) or the Learning of the Way (*Daoxue*). Neo-Confucianism was a spiritual philosophy that took shape in the Northern areas of the Song dynasty in Henan Province, especially in and near Luoyang beginning in the eleventh century. We may say that, in its most general sense, it was a quest for understanding the order of the universe and humankind's place within it.

As a spiritual philosophy, Neo-Confucianism exerted a dramatic influence on Chinese culture, becoming the dominant worldview from the eleventh to the late seventeenth centuries. One indicator of the extent to which Neo-Confucianism was associated with the ideology of China's imperial glories and the cultural ethos that empowered the civilization is that it was one of the main targets of the May Fourth Movement in the early twentieth century. This movement was a precursor to the rise of the Chinese Communist Party and the New China established in 1949, and those involved in it characterized Neo-Confucian political and social views as the major intellectual currency behind what they considered to be a reactionary, hierarchical system that prevented the Chinese from entering the modern age. Lu Xun's 'Diary of a Madman' attacked the 'outdated'

Neo-Confucian values as a kind of cannibalism that was devouring the people of China (Foster 2008: 107).

The Neo-Confucian thinkers owe a great debt to the Tang scholar, Han Yu. As we have already noted, Cheng Yi wrote, 'Since Mencius there has been nothing of value except the single essay *Yuandao* [*Original Way* by Han Yu]' (quoted in Graham 1992: 162).

Neo-Confucianism in its early stages in the Northern Song dynasty is associated with thinkers like Shao Yong (1011–1077); Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073); Zhang Zai (1020–1077) and his two nephews Cheng Hao (1032–1085) and Cheng Yi (1033–1108). After the fall of the Song imperial capital in the North and the relocation of the imperial center to the south in Hangzhou, the Southern Song Neo-Confucians were led by the great philosopher Zhu Xi (1130–1200).[61] These philosophers constructed several forms of Neo-Confucianism and realigned the classical texts making up a canon of authoritative works. Generally speaking, we may say that Neo-Confucianism is a skillful weaving of China's Three Teachings: Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism.[62]

Shao Yong and Zhou Dunyi, along with Zhang Zai and the Cheng brothers (Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi), created a collaborative philosophical fellowship dedicated to the task of re-energizing Confucianism. They saw their work as a return to the true meanings of Confucius's teachings, regarding them as truths for the ages and for all people, but they did not slavishly or in any fundamentalist fashion elevate any previous historical iteration of Confucianism as its 'pure' and 'unadulterated' form. As their work extended and gained influence, innovations they constructed eventuated in governmental reforms of schools, new programmatic understandings for self-cultivation, a revival of literature and the arts, a modification of the Confucian canon of writings and refined commentaries on the Confucian classics. While Neo-Confucians valorized the Classical Period of Confucianism, we may feel that often they disregarded orthodoxy for innovation, and it is likely that Confucius and Mencius, among others, would perhaps not have recognized their thought as seen through a Neo-Confucian lens.

Table 5: Northern and Southern Song Dynasty Neo-Confucians

Northern Song	
Shao Yong (1011–77)	Construction of a well-developed theory that the cosmos and everything in it is structured by ordered patterns referred to as *li* (理), or principles that are embedded in the *Classic of Change*.
Zhou Dunyi (1017–73)	Under the influence of Daoist cosmology and Confucian ethics, Zhou developed an explanatory system for the concept of the 'Supreme Ultimate' (*Taiji*), its development and manifestations in the common objects of existence. In Zhou's system, the Confucian sage is a person who has ratcheted up his being to a new developmental level through creative (*cheng*) self-expression of the Confucian Way (*Dao*).
Zhang Zai (1020–77)	Developed a cosmology largely substituting the concept of *qi* ('vital energy') for the Five Phases (*wu-xing*) when explaining how things come into being. Zhang extended this theory to morality, using the notion of *qi* to provide an account for moral differences between persons and the importance of a Confucian moral education to the transformation of a person's *qi*. The goal of self-cultivation was to 'form one body with all things'.
Cheng Hao (1032–85)	Having studied with Shao Yong, Zhang Zai and his brother Cheng Yi, Cheng Hao extended the metaphysics of *li* (principle) by using the concept of 'Heaven's *Li* (*tianli*)' to talk about how each existing thing had its own *li*, and how it was that the *li* of the human being lay in the four seeds of human nature Mencius had long ago identified. *Li* was embedded in the Five Relationships (father–son, ruler– minister, husband–wife, elder–younger brother and friend–friend). He also used Zheng's notion of *qi* to develop a theory of 'host *qi*' and 'guest *qi*', in order to provide an account for why some people did not express or even exhibit awareness of the *li* of their inner nature.

Cheng Yi (1033–1107)	Used the metaphysics of *li* and *qi* as both a natural and moral cosmology. Proposed the 'investigation of things (*ge wu*, 格物)' as the way to identify the *li* in all things, with special emphasis on knowing the moral patterns of reality.
Southern Song	
Zhu Xi (1130–1200)	Synthesizer of Northern Song thought, primarily following Cheng Yi . Human nature (*xing*) = principle (*li*) = Supreme Polarity (*taiji*) *daoxin* (moral mind) / *renxin* (human mind) Later the Cheng/Zhu school became official orthodoxy and the basis of civil service examinations from 1313 to 1905.
Lu Jiuyuan or Lu Xiangshan (1139–93)	Intuitive knowledge (following Cheng Hao). Mind/heart (*xin*) = principle/order (*li*).

The Original Way of Confucius for a New Era

Shao Yong (1011–1077)

Neo-Confucian thinkers were greatly influenced by the philosopher Shao Yong and his important work on spiritual cosmology, entitled *Classic of the Supreme Principles of World Order*.[63] Shao's text is a long and complicated work that sets for itself the task of a complete account of the nature of the cosmos and the role of human persons in it. Shao considered the world to be in constant flux, but to operate according to a principle (*li*, 理) that gives it order. Principle (*li*) in Shao's sense may be taken as 'ordering patterns'; that is, the universe changes and moves meaningfully, not randomly, by chance or chaotically. Yet, the meaningful patterns of reality's movement are not the result of an intelligent designer or guide. Shao, like the other Neo-Confucians, offered a naturalistic cosmology, but he believed these patterns may be known by giving careful attention to the hexagrams of the *Classic of Change*. The material phenomena we observe in the everyday world are actually only relatively fixed states cohering together according to these infinite patterns (*li*). Human knowledge has primarily to do with these temporarily fixed objects and events that come and go, and secondarily with our own actions and moral conduct. Shao

believed that when someone speaks of 'knowing', this can be taken in one of three ways. It can mean knowledge of the factual world, contained in language and propositions. Or, one can mean that he has the knowledge of how to act, what is humane and righteous to do. Most importantly, though, there is also the deep knowledge given to one's consciousness (i.e., heart–mind, *xin*) by which one came to understand the meaning of things (*li*) (Birdwhistell 1989: 165). Revealing the Daoist influences on his thought, Shao said that understanding the principles (*li*) or meaning of the processes of reality is the highest possible insight one can have into the nature of things and events:

> It is not with the eyes that we observe things, nor even with the mind. We must observe them according to their *li*. All things in the world have *li*, nature and destiny, don't they? As to *li*, we know it after having examined it. We understand the nature of things when we penetrate them… Therefore, using the eyes of the universe as if they were one's own eyes, there is nothing which is not seen. Using the ears of the universe as if they were one's own ears, there is nothing which is not heard. Using the mouth of the universe as if it were one's own mouth, there is nothing which is not spoken. Using the mind of the universe as if it were one's own mind, there is nothing that is not contemplated. (Shao 1986: 26)[64]

In thus offering his formulation of the importance of the supreme principles of the world order, Shao set the stage for the ongoing development of Neo-Confucianism and the philosophers who would extend his efforts to explain the ordering patterns of reality.

Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073)

Zhou Dunyi's work *Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained*,[65] like that of Shao, is also deeply influenced by Daoism, specifically by the Daoist master Chen Tuan (870–989 CE) who was believed to have been born at the end of the Five Dynasties Period. Chen Tuan transmitted texts and teachings to a number of adepts, including Mu Xiu (979–1032), who, in turn, had a direct influence on Shao Yong and Zhou Dunyi through his students.

The 'Supreme Ultimate' image used most commonly from the Warring States Period to the Song dynasty (about 1,500 years), to express the basic correlative forces that move the process of reality

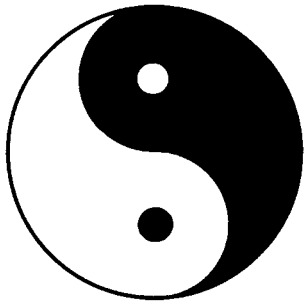

Figure 14: Taiji

named *yin* and *yang*, was the tiger (*hu*) and dragon (*long*). Lacquer objects buried in tombs, roof tiles, mirrors and sarcophagi panels from the Warring States Period through the Han dynasty use the tiger and dragon in this way (Little 2000: 128–32).

In the Song dynasty the *taiji* diagram (*Taiji tu*, shown in Figure 14) began to replace the tiger and dragon. *Taiji* means 'Supreme Ultimate' and the first appearance of the 'Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate' (*Taiji tu*) by a Daoist was with Chen Tuan. In that figure, the white is *yang* and the black is *yin*. Within the black side, some white erupts, as also in the white side some black is present. This is a way of showing that *yin* and *yang* are not contradictions. In correlational thinking, each contributes to the other and the Way (*Dao*) of the universe is found in the harmony and balance of both. Beginning in the last years of the Han dynasty, numinal charts and diagrams of the movements of the Supreme Ultimate become more frequently used. They are of three basic types: (a) plats of numinal places, such as the Five Sacred Mountains or the underworld of Fengdu; (b) patterns that reveal the functioning of the universe and its upcoming movements, such as those associated with the *Classic of Changes* or the Diagram of the Great Ultimate (*Taiji tu*); and (c) representations of the body, such as acupuncture charts or the Diagram of Interior Lights (*Neijing tu*), which shows the organs of the body and how they are affected by alchemical processes (Despeux 2004: 498–9).

The Supreme Ultimate Diagram, as described by Zhou Dunyi (Figure 15), altered the simplistic *taiji* in order to provide a progressive and evolutionary model of the universe in his *Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained*. This text is a short piece of about 250 Chinese characters. In it, Zhou says that the universe originated from a formless state (*wuji*) of primal energy (the top of the diagram

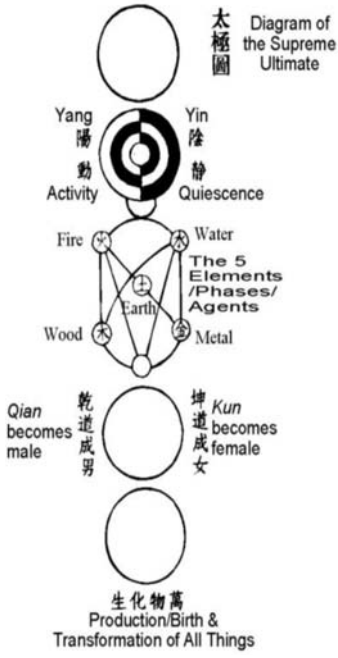

Figure 15: Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate

above right). Movement and rest, *yang* and *yin* came next. Then followed the Five Phases (*wu-xing*), that instantiate existing things in various forms including objects within the Earth (*kun*) and Heaven (*qian*). When Zhou writes of Earth and Heaven, he uses the Chinese characters *kun* for Earth and *qian* for Heaven, rather than the more common *di* for Earth and *tian* for Heaven, because he is following the *Classic of Changes* names for two of its most fundamental trigrams from which the hexagrams of the work are created. We can see how he works with this concept by noticing in Figure 15 that Earth (*kun*) and Heaven (*qian*) are at extremes, with all other things being made from their interaction.

In the course of the process of reality after Earth and Heaven come into being, the myriad things of existence, often called simply 'the ten thousand things' (*wanwu*), follow. These things combine and recombine to produce unending transformations. All things are interconnected and linked to the cosmic processes that give shape to everything in reality. All of the Five Phases (*wu-xing*) derive from the same substance (*qi*) that moves by *yin* and *yang*, and these come from the One – the Supreme Ultimate.

In Zhou's system, the Confucian sage represents the individual who transcends his previous state and reaches a new level of being where his character is 'identical with that of Heaven and Earth, his brilliancy is identical with that of the sun and moon; his order is identical with that of the four seasons; and his good and evil fortunes are identical with those of spiritual beings' (Wing-tsit Chan 1963a: 463–4). The sage follows the meaningful patterns (*li*, 理) of the universe, centering himself (*zhong*), comporting himself with humaneness (*ren*, 仁) and righteousness (*yi*) and expressing his self-identity in creativity (*cheng*).[66] For Zhou, Confucian moral activity was a fulfillment of the patterns of the universe and the creativity with which this is done by each individual manifests advance and transformation in the human being itself. Herein lies the tie he made between cosmology and ethics.[67]

In Zhou's other major work, *Penetrating the Classic of Change*,[68] he turned his attention to the implications of the ever-changing process of reality for the human individual and he did so in a highly novel way. Zhou used creativity (*cheng*), a central concept of the *Zhongyong*, to construct an understanding of self-realization and self-cultivation that later influences the great thinker Zhu Xi. In *Penetrating the Classic of Change*, the first three sections of the work are devoted to an explication of creativity as a form of self-cultivation. In taking this strategy, Zhou did not depart greatly from his work in *Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained*, as the opening sentence of that text says, '*Cheng* is the root of the sage'. The kind of creativity Zhou had in mind is that which leads to a new sort of being in which a person is recognized as a sage precisely because he engages in self-transforming action. Zhou says that creativity is the source of the five virtues and the 100 practices that characterize the sage (Adler 2009: 2b).

Tradition has it that Zhou Dunyi had many students and the most famous of these were his nephews Cheng Hao (1032–1085) and Cheng Yi (1033–1107). Actually, the Cheng brothers studied under Zhou Dunyi for only a short time when they were young, and they moved on to open their own school which exerted influence over Chinese philosophy and spirituality for over 700 years. Zhou Dunyi also was a major influence on Zhu Xi (1130–1200), who is considered one of the greatest Confucius thinkers since Confucius. Zhu Xi once observed that Zhou Dunyi was the first great sage of the Song dynasty, and Zhu wrote commentaries on both of Zhou's works we have mentioned above.

Zhang Zai (1020–1077)

Zhang Zai's role in the construction of Neo-Confucian thought is also worthy of note. Xinzhong Yao calls Zhang the founding father of Neo-Confucianism, even though Zhang's early study was more devoted to Daoism and Buddhism than Confucianism (2000: 101).[69] In time, Zhang reached the highest level of the Confucian exam system as a *jinshi* and he held several minor governmental posts before joining the central government of the Song Emperor. Probably because of conflicts with the Prime Minister, he left the capital and entered into an exile of semi-retirement, during which time he wrote his most important text entitled *Correcting Ignorance.*

Correcting Ignorance is divided into 17 chapters:

1 'The Great Harmony'
2 'The Triad and Dyad'
3 'The *Dao* of Heaven'
4 'The Divine Character'
5 'Animals'
6 'Truth and Enlightenment'
7 'Largeness of Mind'
8 '*Zhongyong* and the Right'
9 'The Highest Development'
10 'Originality'
11 'Thirty Years of Age'
12 'The Virtuous'
13 'Government'
14 '*The Classic of Change*'
15 'Music'
16 'The Sacrificial Ceremony to Heaven'
17 'The Principles of *Qian*'.

Two additional treatises were separated from the 17th chapter, and were titled 'The Western Inscription' and 'The Eastern Inscription'.

Drawing on the important cosmological notion of *qi* (氣), which we may translate here as 'vital energy', Zhang offered a comprehensive interpretation of our reality. Zhang turned away from reductionist cosmologies that sought to define reality in terms of matter alone. His theory had no room for the traditional ways in which Western philosophy tries to understand reality as wholly material (materialism),

entirely spiritual (idealism), or some dualism of matter and spirit/body and mind (dualism). *Qi*, in Zhang's view, is the fundamental uncreated vital energy of the universe, and it is the stuff that morphs into the Five Phases as it is moved by *yin* and *yang*. Zhang believed both Daoists and Buddhists understood reality to come from nothingness, and he considered this an error in misunderstanding, holding instead that *qi* is uncreated and its changes give rise to all things. Objects accessed by our five senses are *qi* at their most basic level, as are spirit beings (*guishen*) also. Objects called material in the West are considered 'condensed *qi*' for Zhang, and realities called spiritual in the West are 'rarefied *qi*' in Zhang's thought. We must read Zhang's theory here as a totalizing cosmology that looks upon reality as of one ultimate substance that takes on manifold expressions. He compared *qi* to water that remains the same substance, whether in liquid form or frozen into ice. Similarly, the more *qi* condenses, the more it moves toward pure *yin;* the more it disperses, the more it is *yang* force; but it is always still *qi*. In its wholly dispersed state, Zhang referred to *qi* as the Great Vacuity, a term he adopted from the Daoist text *Zhuangzi*. Although this form of *qi* is insubstantial to our senses, it still exists and, thus, is very different in Zhang's mind from the Buddhist concept of emptiness as nothingness. Zhang used this theory to explain the movements of reality. When *qi* condenses, it forms what we call matter. As *qi* begins to dissipate, the material things lose their cohesion, and eventually the *qi* returns to the Great Vacuity and begins the process again. So, reality is a process of the never-ending movements of *qi*. Zhang did not speculate on the causes of this process, but he did prepare the way for later philosophers, such as Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi, to develop a robust understanding of the patterns (*li*) that the movements of *qi* create.

The moral and humanistic implications of such a cosmology are not left unexplored by Zhang. In fact, his work *Western Inscription*, which was originally part of *Correcting Ignorance*, is one of the most important Neo-Confucian works on spiritual transformation. In *Western Inscription*, Zhang applied his understanding of *qi*, according to which all things are essentially unified, to his moral theory. Since all things are formed from the same *qi*, and ultimately, as human persons, we all share the same substance, we should put aside selfishness and live in harmony. This became Zhang's most famous ethical doctrine, the idea of 'forming one body with all things' (Elstein 2004). Everyone

has Heaven and Earth as their father and mother, and thus all persons are brothers and sisters. These ideas enabled Zhang to make a convenient connection to the long-standing emphasis in Confucianism on the family and filial piety. Since all persons are one, then caring for others is like caring for one's own family. Zhang wrote:

> Heaven is my father and Earth is my mother, and even such a small creature as I finds an intimate place in their midst. Therefore that which fills the universe I regard as my body and that which directs the universe I consider my nature. All people are my brothers and sisters, and all things are my companions. (Wing-tsit Chan 1963a: 497)

Although there were some precedents for this idea of universal 'familyhood' in earlier Confucianism, it seems to resemble more directly the great compassion of Buddhism or the Mohist idea of universal caring (*jian ai*). In fact, Zhang even used this Mohist term to explain what he meant by 'forming one body with all things'. He was later criticized for his apparent slide into Mohism, but he was defended by Cheng Yi on the grounds that Zhang's views could be understood as an extension of Mencius's idea of the goodness of human nature.

As we might expect from a Confucian, Zhang stressed the importance of a moral education to a person's transformation of one's *qi* into a new expression of Being. Indeed, he did not believe that knowledge was valuable for its own sake, but only for the ways in which it contributes to the development of moral character. While it is well known that he had interests in astronomy and natural science, Zhang's own writings were directed toward morality, ritual and the classical Confucian texts. David Elstein writes, 'Compared with his contemporaries, Zhang placed more importance on the study of ritual. He believed ritual derived from original nature, and following it helps one hold onto original nature and overcome the obstructions of physical nature.' Zhang's notion of 'original nature' was largely taken from his reading of Mencius, but it also has Daoist elements in it. Our original nature, being one with *qi*, knows how to act morally. Rituals are the transmitted patterns of these actions from generation to generation. When one's original nature is blocked by physical drives and pulls, the heart–mind (*xin*) of the original nature cannot function properly. Acting the rituals and reading the writings of the classics help remove such obstructions, and one can return to the heart–mind

of the original nature and move with *qi*. He spoke of this as 'expanding the heart' and 'making the heart vast'. Accordingly, the goal of moral self-cultivation for Zhang was fulfilling one's original nature. This is Zhang Zai's understanding of what it means to become a sage in Confucian terms or a Perfected Person in Daoist language.

Cheng Hao (1032–1085) and Cheng Yi (1033–1107)

The Cheng brothers were nephews of Zhang Zai. While living in Luoyang in Henan Province, they participated in a philosophical discussion group along with Zhang and their neighbor Shao Yong. Later, in 1168, Zhu Xi edited some of the sayings of the Chengs in *Chengs' Surviving Sayings* in 25 volumes, four of which are attributed to Cheng Hao and 11 to Cheng Yi, with the first ten volumes being composed of sayings by the two masters providing little indication of which saying belongs to which brother.[70]

In the collection *Chengs' Surviving Sayings,* Cheng Hao reflected the influence of Shao Yong on his thought when he claimed, 'What *tian* (i.e., Heaven, Ultimate Reality) embodies does not have sound or smell. In terms of its reality, it is change; in terms of principle (*li*), it is *Dao*; in terms of its function, it is god (*shen*); in terms of its ordering (*ming*) a human being, it is human nature' (1; 4); '*Tian* is expressed in principle (*li*). We call it god to emphasize the wonderful mystery of principle in ten thousand things, just as we call it lord (*di*) to characterize its rulership over events' (11; 132). Even though he drew on Shao's work on *li*, Cheng Hao extended the discussion in a unique way by combining the two separate terms of *tian* and *li* into the unified concept 'Heaven's li' (tianli), by which he meant to stress that pattern (li) itself is the ultimate order of the universe. Everything in the universe exists as it is because of li and the li has remained as it is since the very beginning, but it does not exist as something independent of the 'ten thousand things' of reality. It is embedded within all things, inseparable from them. Yong Huang writes, '*li* for Cheng Hao is not a reified entity as the common essence shared by all things or universal law governing these things or inherent principle followed by these things or patterns exhibited by these things. *Li* as used by Cheng is a verb referring to *activity*, not a noun referring to *thing.*' *Tianli* is the life-activity of change, but it does not possess a mind or direct things with an intentional purpose. It is as though we are listening to a jazz ensemble playing. There is an order to what we hear,

but no score and no composer. It is like this order, pattern, principle that exists in the activity of the playing and has no being outside of the music played (i.e., the process of reality) itself. For Cheng Hao, humaneness (*ren*) is integrally tied to the score we could write **after** the jazz performance and it represents part of which Mencius long ago identified as the four seeds of human nature.

In Cheng Hao's view, 'it is not complete to talk about human nature without talking about *qi*, while it is not illuminating to talk about *qi* without talking about human nature' (6; 81), and in taking this position Zhang Zai's influence is apparent in Cheng Hao's work. However, Cheng Hao took Zhang's ideas about *qi* in a direction much different than Zhang. Cheng Hao thought of *qi* as being of more than one type. For example, in humans, if one's *qi* is 'muddy' (2a; 33), evil will result. In his interesting discussion about the differences between animals and humans, Cheng Hao said that horses and cows also love their children because the four seeds that Mencius talks about are present in them as patterns (*li*) (2b; 54). Human beings, unlike these animals, may extend the natural love beyond kinship: 'Humans can extend the principle (*li*), while things cannot because their vital force (*qi*) is muddy' (2a; 33). The *qi* present in animals is like muddy water, not clear water. In contrast, 'the *qi* that human beings are endowed with is mostly clear, and therefore human beings can partner [with Heaven and Earth]' (2b; 54). Yong Huang points out that in addition to this distinction between clear and muddy *qi*, Cheng Hao also claimed that the *qi* in humans is balanced, while the *qi* that animals are endowed with is one-sided (*pian*). After reaffirming that human heart–mind is the same as the heart–mind of animals and plants in its pattern or *li*, he said that 'the difference between human beings and other beings is whether the *qi* they are respectively endowed with is balanced or one-sided [between *yin* and *yang*]. Neither *yin* alone nor *yang* alone can give birth to anything. When one-sided, *yin* and *yang* give birth to birds, beast, and barbarians; when balanced, *yin* and *yang* give birth to humans' (1; 4; see also 11; 122).

Cheng Hao carried over this distinction between animals and humans into his discussion of good people and evil people, and this involved him in a complicated problem. It seems that on these terms evil people would be indistinguishable from animals since they are both endowed with turbid, one-sided and mixed *qi*, and, in fact,

Cheng did often regard evil people as beasts. There is another problem as well. How is it that evil humans who are also endowed with such turbid, one-sided and mixed *qi* can ever be transformed into moral beings or sages? To deal with this difficulty, Cheng did what philosophers often do: he made a distinction. He said there is a difference between host *qi* (*zhu qi*) and guest *qi* (*ke qi*) that are in conflict within a human being. The 'host *qi*' is constitutive of the human being, but the 'guest *qi*' intrudes from the environment outside the person. The distinction between the exemplary person and the petty person is wholly determined by which of these forces is triumphant. Yong Huang noted that this distinction is equivalent to the one between internal *qi* (*nei qi*) and external vital *qi* force (*wai qi*) that Cheng Yi made. Yong states, 'If the external vital force *(qi)* is turbid and human beings living in it have not developed immunity to it, their internal vital force will be malnourished or even polluted and the original good human nature will be damaged, and people will be evil' (2009). Of course, this distinction ultimately puts the origin of evil down to external influence and this may be too thin an explanation. The internal sources of evil in the human being seem to be powerful and, accordingly, we may wonder whether Cheng Hao's theory is adequate.

Cheng Hao appropriated Mencius's theory of bright and clear 'flood-like *qi'* (*haoran zhi qi*), to explain how some persons could become sages and transform themselves spiritually into new and higher forms of being. The cultivation of this 'flood-like *qi'* would prevent contamination by 'guest *qi*', and thus it is by means of a firm will that one's 'host *qi*' expresses itself and remains clear and pure. But Cheng Hao realized that the will is often weak, and he taught that its ability to be strong comes only from inner attentiveness (*jing*). Yong said he emphasized '**being** attentive (*jing*) so that the inner will be straightened' instead of 'using attentiveness to straighten the inner'; he emphasized '**being** morally right so that one's external action will be squared' instead of 'using rightness to square one's external action' (11; 120).

Cheng Hao was very interested in improving the Confucian examination system being used in his era during the Song dynasty. Following the classical views of Confucius and Mencius, he believed that good government depends on the moral merit of the ruling individuals. It cannot be achieved by law or policy alone. Like Han

Yu before him, Cheng Hao believed that the central problem of his age was that the Confucian Way (*Dao*) was on the verge of disappearing. He did not believe that the teachers in the examination system were of good moral character themselves and, thus, he doubted that they could impart what was correct and help in the development of moral leaders.[71] Cheng Hao wanted to reform the content of what was being taught, in order that potential rulers would engage in activities that would encourage the growth and maturity of the four seeds of human nature Mencius had long ago identified and also they would learn to master the Five Relationships (father–son, ruler–minister, husband–wife, elder–younger brother and friend–friend). Cheng Hao believed anyone can be a sage, provided they carve themselves like a fine piece of jade, beginning with the simplest of matters and refining oneself for expression in the most complex:

> …[T]heir education should proceed from the lesser learning of scattering water, sweeping, receiving, and responding, to fulfilling their filial piety, fraternity, loyalty, and honesty, being well-rounded in rites (*li*, 澧) and music; this is the Way by which they should be enticed, pulled in, gradually polished, and completed. All this has sequenced order. The main point is choosing good and improving the self, to arrive at transforming the whole world. This is the Way by which villagers can become sages. When their learning and conduct both [accord] perfectly with these their virtue may be considered complete. (Quoted in Foster 2008: 122–3)

For Cheng Hao, persons who cultivate themselves in this way can transform the world.

Cheng Yi[72] was the younger brother of Cheng Hao and he too studied with Zhou Dunyi and Zhang Zai. He also had a deep appreciation for the work of Han Yu done in the late Tang dynasty. He connected Zheng Zai's work and that of Han Yu, saying, 'As for the *Western Inscription,* it contains the whole doctrine on which *The Original Way* is based' (Graham 1992: 162). Zhou Dunyi located the place of human beings in the dynamic universe of the operations of the Supreme Ultimate (*taiji*). Zheng Zai showed the implications for moral life and transformation of the human being of the cosmic connection of humans with the patterns of the universe and Confucian ethical activity. And, toward his elder brother, Cheng Yi,

like a good Confucian, showed a deep respect and filiality. Of Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi wrote:

> After the death of the Duke of Zhou the way of the sages was not applied; after the death of Mencius the learning of the sages was not transmitted. Since the Way was not applied, for a hundred generations there was no good government; since the learning was not transmitted, for a thousand years there was no true Confucian… [Cheng Hao], born fourteen hundred years afterward, found the untransmitted learning in the remaining classics, and made it his object to use this Way to awaken this people. (Graham 1992: 158)

In this statement, we see the return of several of Han Yu's basic points. Cheng Yi, like Han Yu, was expressing an interpretive view of Chinese philosophical and spiritual history according to which he taught that the Confucian Way (*Dao*) had been eclipsed from the time of Mencius (300s BCE) until his generation. He attributed social and political instability to a loss of the Confucian Way (*Dao*). He boldly asserted that in his brother's thought (and his own, of course), there was a recovery of the learning of the sages that would hold the promise of individual self-cultivation and true government.

Cheng Yi wrote commentaries and annotations on the major Confucian classics, and many of his ideas are consistent with those of his elder brother. For example, he also made a distinction between *li* (理) and *qi*, just as Cheng Hao did. Indeed, we may say the Cheng brothers created a paradigm shift by using the concepts of *li* and *qi* to give an account of both natural and moral cosmology. For Cheng Yi, *li* is the patterned order of a thing; the determinative pattern making something what it is. The *li*, like striations in the jade of one's being, is independent of personal desire. In fact, the *li* imprints and imposes itself and, from it, a thing is what it is. In this sense, it appears as a thing's basic nature (*xing*).

Cheng Yi recognized, as did Cheng Hao, that persons do not always conform to their nature (*li*) and he likewise attributed the source of evil to *qi* and not *li*. For him, *qi* was the source of human feelings and desires that distort *li*. Cheng Yi stressed that only when desires are removed can *li* express itself as the inner guide for a person. When desires are mastered, the mind will transform from a human heart–mind (*ren xin*) to the heart–mind of *Dao* (*dao xin*). Since *li* is that which gives coherence and meaning to the cosmos

and everything in it, it is also something that can be understood by humans. Therefore, human beings should cultivate their heart–minds to recognize this knowledge and thereby result in the transformation of the human heart–mind to the heart–mind of *Dao.* This knowledge comes by learning and study. For this reason, Cheng Yi believed that the Daoist call to abandon the sages and forget learning was a formula for disaster (Graham 1992: 70–1). Cheng Yi believed that the *li* of a thing could be discovered by study, which he called 'investigating matters' (*ge wu*) that included examining sense phenomena, history, texts, etc., and by explaining the patterns found there. For example, Cheng Yi thought a study of history would reveal the pattern that a selfish and debased ruler would lose the Mandate of Heaven and his kingdom would fall or be overthrown. The patterns one would learn included the truths that a ruler must always be concerned for his people, that Heaven honors proper moral action and that virtuous subjects must take action when confronted with immoral rulers (Foster 2008: 133).

As we have already seen in our discussion of Cheng Hao, it is clear that even if humans have the *li* as their nature, including the four seeds Mencius noticed, they sometimes do not act according to their own inner *li*. Cheng Yi, like Cheng Hao, solved this problem by appealing to *qi*. But Cheng Yi emphasized what the self-cultivated individual would be like: 'when it comes to such an act as stepping in water or fire, everyone avoids it, for they really see why they should; one will stand out naturally from others only when one has a mind which sees evil as like dipping the hand in hot water' (81). Cheng Yi meant that when a person has carved and polished himself in the Confucian Way (*Dao*), he *will act morally with the same certainty as he does with which he avoids sticking his hand into boiling water.* Just as there is a physical *li* in our nature that recoils us from immersing our hands into hot water, likewise there is a spiritual or moral *li* that pulls us toward proper ethical action and away from evil. What is right and good is not a matter of culture, social contract, or rational duties. It is the *li* (理) of the universe.

Both of the Cheng brothers opposed Buddhism. Cheng Hao wrote to his students, 'Even when a friend sinks into this doctrine one cannot turn him back; now my only hope is in you. You must simply put it aside without discussing it; do not say, "We must see what it is like", for if you see what it is like you will yourselves be changed into

Buddhists. The essential thing is to reject its arts' (83). Cheng Hao was particularly critical of the Buddhist pattern of detaching oneself from relationships and moving into an isolated meditative quest. Cheng Yi recognized the Buddhist skills at inward reflection, but he criticized them for neglecting the messy, gritty details of common morality and relationships (69).

In the 1120s, the Song government in the North fell to the Jurchen tribes of northern Manchuria, who established the Jin dynasty. The capital of the Song dynasty in Bianjing (current Kaifeng) fell, and the imperial court was moved south to Lin'an (now Hangzhou). Confucian intellectuals such as these Neo-Confucians in the North saw these calamities as proof of their claim that turning from the Confucian Way would bring disaster. Scholars continued to look inward in order to find the reasons for the collapse of the Northern Song, and the leading figure in this reflective endeavor was Zhu Xi (1130–1200).

Chapter VIII

Conversations with Master Zhu

Master Zhu Xi

Without doubt, Zhu Xi (1130–1200) was one of the most influential intellectuals and spiritual philosophers of East Asia.[73] His systematization of the Confucian Way (*Dao*) into a coherent program of education became the foundation for educational systems in China, Korea and Japan for centuries. In terms of his impact on Confucian thought and upon Chinese intellectual history in general, Zhu Xi ranks along with Confucius and Mencius as the three pre-eminent thinkers of China.


朱熹

Figure 16: Zhu Xi

Zhu Xi was born in Youqi in Fujian Province, China, in 1130.[74] Showing himself to be an intellectual prodigy, Zhu passed the top-level *jinshi* exam at the young age of 19 in 1148. From 1151 to 1156, he held minor posts in the government. Zhu's early interests were in Daoism and Buddhism, but he became the student of the Neo-Confucian Master Li Tong (1093–1163) in 1160. Li Tong had studied with Cheng Yi and was a master in the tradition of the Cheng brothers. He convinced Zhu of the superiority of the Confucian Way and thereby greatly shaped Zhu's subsequent work. In 1175, together with Lu Zuqian (1137–1181), Zhu Xi compiled an anthology of the Northern Song Neo-Confucians known as *Reflections on Things at Hand* that became the primer for Neo-Confucianism for generations to come.

Master Zhu's teachings to students are preserved in *Conversations of Master Zhu, Arranged Topically.* Zhu became a productive scholar who made lasting contributions to Confucian classicism, historiography, literary criticism and philosophy. His acknowledged debt to the work

of the Cheng brothers explains why the dominant school of Confucian thought from the 1100s to the late 1800s is known simply as the Cheng-Zhu School (see Tillman 1992). While certainly generating original ideas of his own, Zhu's great gift was synthesis. He was able to integrate not merely the intellectual streams of Confucian thought, but also the disparate strands of cultural practice, social concern and political wisdom that marked the history of Chinese civilization.

In 1179, Zhu Xi was appointed prefect to Nankang Prefecture (the present-day Zingzu County, Jiangxi Province). He used this position to establish an 'Academy of Learning' (*Shuyuan*), where scholars could teach and study the classics, books could be collected and preserved, commentaries could be written and students could be trained. While during the period of the Northern Song the government had supported various academies and many others sprung up as private schools, this tradition declined dramatically in the south after the Jurchen invasions. Accordingly, Zhu's efforts in reviving the academy tradition were very important and he is especially associated with the White Deer Grotto Academy (*Bailudong Yuan*) (Figure 17).

Figure 17: White Deer Grotto Academy (Bailudong Yuan)

This school had been one of the leading institutions of learning during the period of the Northern Song, but it was abandoned during the years of Zhu Xi's youth. Shortly after arriving in Nankang, Zhu located the original site of the academy nestled in the Five

Elders Peaks on Mount Lushan, Jiangxi, and instituted a rebuilding program, designing the new academy on the model of the temple and family complex dedicated to Confucius in Qufu. As a kind of mission statement for the remodeled White Deer Grotto Academy, Zhu Xi wrote the Academy's 'Articles for Learning' (Wing-tsit Chan 1987: 174–5). These articles became extremely influential in organizing academies of learning throughout much of East Asia up to the twentieth century (Gardner 1990: 5).

Articles for Learning

White Deer Grotto Academy

Between father and son, there should be affection.
Between ruler and minister, there should be righteousness.
Between husband and wife, there should be attention to their separate functions.
Between young and old, there should be proper order.
And between friends, there should be faithfulness (*Mencius* 3A4).
The above are the items of the Five Teachings.

Study it extensively, inquire into it accurately, think it over carefully, sift it clearly, and practice it earnestly (*Zhongyong* 20).
This is the order of study.

Let one's words be sincere and truthful, and one's deeds be earnest and reverential (*Analects* 15.5).
Restrain one's wrath and repress one's desires. Move toward the good and correct one's mistakes (*Classic of Changes*, Hexagrams 41 and 42).
These are the essentials for self-cultivation.

Rectify moral principle and do not seek profit. Illuminate the Way and do not calculate based on results (Dong Zhongshu, 176–104 BCE, in the *History of the Han*).
These are essentials for handling affairs.

Do not do to others what you do not want them to do to you (*Analects* 15.23). If you do not succeed in your conduct, turn inward and seek for its cause there (*Mencius*, 4A4).
These are essentials for dealing with others.

During a 46-day stay at the imperial court, Zhu Xi lectured on *The Great Learning* and he repeatedly called upon the emperor to return to the Confucian Way (*Dao*), attacking some powerful officials for being corrupt. The result was the termination of his political

career in 1196. His political career behind him, Zhu became a prolific writer. He wrote, compiled, annotated and composed commentaries on over 100 books in the fields of philosophy, religion, literature, history and biography. During the last four years of his life, attacks by government officials on his thought became severe. One official, Yu Zhe, even petitioned the imperial court to have Zhu executed. In response, Zhu Xi requested to have his official title removed and became an ordinary citizen. When he died in 1200, a great number of people attended his funeral. Nine years later the political situation changed, and he was honored with the posthumous title of 'Cultural Treasure' (*wen*). In 1230 he was given the title 'State Duke of Hui', and in 1241 his memorial tablet was placed in the Confucian temple in the capital.

Zhu is noted for a long list of accomplishments including the following:[75]

1. He collected and synthesized the work of the Northern Neo-Confucians into a comprehensive theory of spiritual philosophy fusing the concepts of Shao Yong, Zhou Dunyi, Zhang Zai and the Cheng brothers into a rich, grand synthesis. He capitalized on the metaphysical scheme of these thinkers and wedded it to a philosophy of ethics and moral self-cultivation (Ivanhoe 2000: 55, f. 7).
2. He used his synthesis of the Confucian understanding of human relationships to create a revision of the guide to family rituals for Chinese persons in his *Master Zhu's Family Rituals*.
3. He maintained a deep commitment to his students, leading to the preservation of his oral teachings in *Conversations of Master Zhu, Arranged Topically.*
4. He redefined the Confucian canon itself, centering the transmission of Confucianism on what became known as the Four Books (*Sijing*): *Analects*, *Mencius, Great Learning, Zhongyong.* As a tribute to Zhu Xi's influence and the respect accorded to him, these texts became the core of the Confucian civil service examination by imperial decree in 1313 and remained so until the 1905 termination of this system, essentially replacing the Five Classics in this role. All answers to the imperial exam questions were taken exclusively from the Four Books and Zhu's extensive commentaries on them. Indeed, Zhu's commentaries

on the Four Books became so closely identified with them as to be almost inseparable from the texts themselves. The commentaries were gathered into a work known as the *Collected Annotations on the Four Books.*

5. He also published critical, annotated editions of specific Neo-Confucianism works, including those of Zhou Dunyi, Zhang Zai and the Cheng brothers.
6. His work *Reflections on Things at Hand* became the basic guide to moral philosophy and self-cultivation for young scholars in China and other cultures of East Asia (e.g., Korea and Japan) for generations after his death.
7. His arrangement of prior Confucian thinking into a chronological 'Transmission of the Way' (*daotong*) became the standard interpretation of Confucian intellectual history until the rise of critical scholarship in the late 1880s.
8. His influence spread to the cultures of Korea and Japan, which both adopted his readings of Confucianism expressed in the Cheng-Zhu school.

Master Zhu's Family Rituals[76]

Table 6: Chapters of *Master Zhu's Family Rituals*

1.通禮 *Tongli* General Principles of Ritual
2.冠禮 *Guanli* The Capping Ceremony
3.昏（＝婚）禮 *Hunli* Weddings
4.喪禮 *Sangli* Funerals
5.祭禮 *Jili* Sacrificial Rites

Our look at Zhu Xi's work begins with the text that is perhaps his most influential book if we consider only the impact it had on the general population of China and East Asia at large. It may be difficult to understand at first why Zhu Xi occupied himself with a work devoted to the rites (*li*, 澧) of family conduct. However, we must remember his historical context. Just three years before his birth (1127), the Jurchen nomadic peoples conquered the northern half of China, forcing the relocation of the capital and greatly weakening the confidence and strength of both the government and the common people. The Northern Neo-Confucians saw these catastrophes coming and predicted they would be a result of the failure to follow

the Confucian Way (*Dao*) and the disturbing influence of the 'foreign' religion of Buddhism on Chinese social relations. One of the most troubling emphases in Buddhism for the Chinese was its seeming depreciation of the importance of the family and the most intimate ties between persons that filiality represents by encouraging a monastic vocation. Buddhism was seen as a serious threat to the strength and cohesion of Chinese society because an argument can be made for Confucianism's believing that the family is the most important context for becoming human and extending one's self-cultivation. At least three of the Five Relationships in Confucianism have to do with the family. Even Chinese models for ruler–subject relations were built on the rites for family conduct.

Since the beginning of their civilization, the Chinese people cherished family and family descent, venerating their family ancestors. Whenever possible, a family would construct a lineage temple in which to worship and honor its ancestral forebears. Patricia Ebrey writes, 'The mutual dependence of the living and the dead, of ancestors and their descendants, had been a central feature of Chinese culture from ancient times,' and 'the links of the living and the dead needed to be renewed on a fixed schedule through offerings and sacrifices to ancestors' (1991: xv, xiv). This is why Ebrey calls Zhu's text on family rites the most influential Chinese ritual text in the last 800 years.

Zhu Xi's book on family rituals regulated domestic rites, such as weddings, births, funerals and memorial services.[77] Capping and pinning of young men and women were varieties of late puberty rituals, marking the passage into adulthood. Wedding rituals were rites of passage, but they also acknowledged the continuance of the family line. Funeral rites extended over a 25-month period and were designed not only to help assuage grief, but also to recognize the transition of the deceased into an ancestor. They included reporting to the deceased about important family events, providing offerings of food and wine, and just looking in on them and acknowledging them. The final funeral rites installed the deceased in the family shrine. The last chapter of the book gives instructions for ancestor veneration sacrifice and prayer. Such sacrifices to Confucian sages and notable worthies were also a part of Song dynasty life. Prominent sages include not only Confucius, but also Mencius, Zhou Dunyi and others.

The Twenty-Four Filial Exemplars

Figure 18: Matchbox Labels of the Twenty-Four Filial Exemplars

This work is a long-standing and popular collection of tales about filiality. It is not a part of the Confucian canon, but its stories were widely known by common Chinese people up to the twentieth century. The author/compiler of the text was Guo Jujing, a Yuan dynasty (1260–1368) man who lived north of Dehua, in Fújiàn Province, but these tales were known during Zhu Xi's lifetime.

Although the work did not reach a set form until several decades after Zhu Xi's death, nevertheless it represents an important popular culture testimony to the significance of family in Chinese culture. The stories are of men and women from many different historical periods, up to that of Guo Jujing. These are the 24 exemplars, with captions for their stories:

1 Shun (舜), The Feeling of Filial Piety Moved Heaven
2 Heng (恆), Her Son Tasted Soups and Medicine
3 Zeng Shen (曾参), She Bit Her Finger and Pained His Heart
4 Min Sun (闵损), He Obeyed His Mother in Simple Clothes
5 Zhong You (仲由), He Shouldered Rice to Nourish His Parents
6 Dong Yong (董永), He Sold Himself to Bury His Father
7 Master Tan (郯子), He Fed His Parents Deer's Milk
8 Jiang Ge (江革), He Hired Out to Support His Mother
9 Lu Ji (陆绩), He Concealed Oranges to Present to His Mother
10 Madame Tang (唐夫人), She Suckled Her Mother-In-Law
11 Wu Meng (吴猛), He Let Mosquitoes Consume His Blood
12 Wang Xiang (王祥), He Lay on Ice in Search of Carp
13 Guo Ju (郭巨), He Buried His Son Alive So His Mother Could Eat

14 Yang Xiang (杨香), He Strangled a Tiger to Save His Father
15 Zhu Shouchang (朱寿昌), He Abandoned his Office to Seek His Mother
16 Yu Qianlou (庾黔娄), He Tasted Dung to Determine His Father's Illness
17 Old Man Lai (老莱子), He Amused His Parents with Play and Glad Clothes
18 Cai Shun (蔡顺), He Picked Mulberries to Serve His Mother
19 Huang Xiang (黄香), He Fanned the Pillow and Warmed the Quilt
20 Jiang Shi (姜诗), The Fountain Bubbled and the Carps Leapt
21 Wang Pou (哀), He Heard Thunder and Wept at the Grave
22 Ding Lan (丁兰), He Carved Wood to Serve His Parents
23 Meng Zong (孟宗), He Wept Till the Bamboo Sprouted
24 Huang Tingjian (黄庭坚), He Washed His Mother's Bedpan.

Conversations of Master Zhu, Arranged Topically

Zhu Xi's oral teachings to students are preserved in *Conversations of Master Zhu, Arranged Topically.* The work was published in 1270, 70 years after Zhu's death. The editor drew on several previously gathered collections of Zhu's conversations with his students, focusing on the time period 1170–1200. The arrangement of Zhu's comments is by topic without regard for chronological order. This is perhaps one explanation for the fact that some statements appear to be contradictory to one another, and why it is best to read for a sense of the whole rather than to challenge each seeming contradiction.

Selections from *Conversations of Master Zhu, Arranged Topically*

(Page numbers are from Daniel Gardner 1990; I have made slight changes in Gardner's phrasing)

'Lesser learning is the direct understanding of a particular event or object. Greater learning is the investigation of the specific principle (*li*, 理) – the reason why an object or event is as it is' (90).

'Underlying the relationship between a sovereign and a minister is the principle (*li*) for the relationship between the sovereign and a minister; underlying the relationship between a father and a son is the principle for the relationship between a father and a son' (91).

'If we must trace their beginnings, we have to say that there first exists principle (*li*). Yet, principle is not a separate entity but exists in the midst of *qi*' (92).

'Someone asked how the Way (*Dao*) and principle (*li*) are to be distinguished. Zhu said, "The Way is the path. Principle is the pattern." "Like the grain in wood?" the questioner asked. "Yes," Zhu replied. "In that case, they seem to be alike," the questioner said. Zhu answered, "The word Way (*Dao*) is all-embracing. Principle (*li*) refers to the many veins within the Way"' (96).

'The teachings of the sages are generally concerned simply with everyday, routine behavior, such as filial piety, fraternal respect, loyalty and fidelity. If persons are able to practice such behavior, their "lost minds" will naturally be retrieved, and their beclouded natures will naturally become manifest' (97).

'*Tian* (Heaven, nature) is simply how we should be. It is simply principle (*li*); it is not that there exists some *thing* [that *tian* is additionally]. *Tian* (Heaven, nature) is concrete principle (*li*). Humaneness, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom are all contained therein'[78] (98).

'*Tian* (Heaven, nature) is similar to water. If it flows through a clear channel, it remains clear; if it flows through a filthy channel, it becomes turbid... *Qi* is both clear and turbid. Humans acquire the clear *qi*, beasts acquire the turbid. Humans, for the most part, are fundamentally clear and thus different from beasts. But there are also those who are turbid and so not very different from beasts' (98).

'The common person will prosper only when there's a King Wen. The outstanding person will prosper even when there's no King Wen. This person's *qi* is perfect. When the person is born, he understands principle (*li*), without expending any effort. People nowadays are mired in confusion; only when the sages have spoken to them repeatedly [through their texts] are they willing to take leave of it. But if they're already totally stupefied and don't even know to pursue principle (*li*), in the end they'll become mere beasts' (104).

'In learning, it's essential to hold on to the boat pole with all your strength. As you feel your effort beginning to flag, apply still more effort. Exert yourself fully, without any diminishing; only then will there be progress. Learning is just like punting a boat upstream' (108).

'Learning for students may be compared to preparing the elixir of life. It's necessary to smelt [the ingredients] for a short time over a fire built from more than a hundred pounds of charcoal, and then with a tiny flame slowly bring [the elixir] to completion. Nowadays people do not smelt [the ingredients] with the charcoal fire but want to bring [the elixir] to completion with a tiny flame. How are they ever able to succeed?'[79] (109).

'Now if you can't see principle (*li*) clearly, it isn't that you don't know what it is but rather that it is obstructed by things. Now the ordinary means [of dealing with this problem] is to rectify the many evil distractions in the mind. Only then can [principle be seen]… The big problem is that persons frequently are unwilling to give up their old understanding. If intelligent, they will see what isn't right and change it' (123).

'Book learning is of secondary importance. Moral principle (*li*) is originally complete in a person; the reason he must engage in book learning is that he hasn't experienced much. The sages experienced a great deal and wrote it down for others to read… Once we understand, we'll find that all of the principles (*li*) were complete in us from the very beginning, not added to us from the outside' (128).

'When one's original mind has been submerged for a long time, and the principle (*li*) in it hasn't been fully penetrated, it's best to read books and probe principle without any interruption; then the mind of human desire will naturally be incapable of winning out, and the moral principle in the original mind will naturally become safe and secure' (144).

'When the mind isn't settled, it doesn't understand principle (*li*). Presently, should you want to engage in book learning, you must first settle the mind so that it becomes like still water or a clear mirror. How can a cloudy mirror reflect anything? ... Simply scrub clean the mind, then read' (145, 146).

'Depend on the text to read the text, depend on the object to observe the object. Don't come to the text or the object with preconceived ideas' (148).

'Students can't simply hold on to what they previously believed. They must get rid of it, and only then will new ideas occur to them. It's like discarding dirty water; afterward clear water will appear' (151).

'Students must seek their lost heart–minds. Afterward they'll understand the goodness of their natures. A person's nature is in all instances good, it's simply because he has let go of his mind that he falls into evil' (165).

'What nowadays is referred to as "holding on to inner mental attentiveness" (*jing*) doesn't mean to make the words "inner mental attentiveness" into some great object you clutch to your bosom… "Practicing inner mental attentiveness" is to further it [the mind] and take firm hold of it so that it doesn't go awry' (172, 173).

'Someone asked. It doesn't matter whether you are engaged in quiet-sitting (*jing zuo*), or responding to affairs, you must concentrate your mind, right? Zhu replied: "In practicing quiet-sitting you mustn't sit in Chan-like (i.e., Buddhist) meditation, cutting off all thought.[80] Just gather in the mind, don't let it run wild with idle thought, and it will be at peace and of itself concentrated. Then, when affairs arise, it will respond to them as it should… Once the mind is bright… we'll know the proper direction in which to go, without any mistakes"' (175, 176).

'Generally speaking, if a person is capable of standing firmly on the threshold between heavenly principle (*tian li*) and human desire, he will make great progress' (182).

'Humaneness and righteousness are rooted in the original endowment of a human's mind. The mind of profit is engendered by the desire we have to keep up with each other' (183).

'Buddhist scripture says, "The Buddha appears in the world because of one great causal event". The sage likewise appears because of this one great event. Moral principle (*li*) is originally in all men, but only in the sage does it become as brilliantly manifest and grand as it does' (184).

Zhu Xi on Moral Self-Cultivation

Zhu's construction of Confucian spiritual philosophy used a vocabulary that had already been introduced in the work of the Northern Neo-Confucians. Scattered throughout a number of Zhu Xi's works is his theory of moral self-cultivation. The basic components of his theory of the moral transformation of being are familiar:

1. The human heart/mind (*xin*) is composed of rarefied *qi* that is given its structure and definition by principle (*li*), the same ultimate principle or pattern underlying the cosmos. In the human being, this principle defines what it is to be human. It is the human nature (*xing*, 性) and sets all humans in harmony with the cosmos as inherently good in the way Mencius described in his four sprouts. But principle (*li*) and the heart–mind (*xin*) are not identical. While Zhu Xi found his primary inspiration for this idea in Mencius, there is nevertheless a similarity to the form of Buddhism most prominent in China and known as Chan. The great text of that tradition, the *Platform Sutra*, composed by Dajian Huineng, taught that all persons had an inherent Buddha-nature that was perfect. In Zhu Xi's teaching, he meant something like this when speaking of the 'lost mind' that must be recovered. However, Zhu drew most of his source material for this idea from his reading of Mencius.
2. *Qi* may be clear or muddy. The sage is a person whose heart–mind is composed of perfectly clear *qi*; it is free of the obstruction or muddiness that arises from physicality and its attendant desires. The muddier the *qi*, the more nearly like an animal a person is.
3. The sage possesses complete knowledge of the moral pattern inherent in all things, including his own heart–mind. He, therefore, has perfect self-knowledge and fully manifests the goodness of human nature. By acting as an exemplar of human virtue the sage not only transforms himself, but also can exert a dramatic influence on society.

In Zhu Xi's thought, every person has the potential to become a sage. Each person knows *li* to some extent, and may know it more fully. The principal impediment both to knowledge of *li,* and acting upon it, is one's *qi*, which may be muddy and opaque.

How to Become a Sage According to Zhu Xi

Zhu Xi recommends a set of self-cultivation techniques to become a sage.

1. Exert oneself in learning. This is like punting a boat upstream or preparing the elixir of life. Such effort is required for most persons in order for principle (*li*) to emerge into their consciousness with the full effect on the goodness of human nature that it represents within. Zhu Xi calls this 'investigating things and extending knowledge' (*gewu zhizhi*).
2. Practice stillness and listen with one's heart–mind. In learning, one must become like still water or a clean mirror engaging in what Zhu Xi called 'quiet sitting' (*jing zuo*). In stillness, the heart–mind is cleared of distractions and preconceptions. Only then can inquirers find their 'lost heart–mind', which is the same as saying that they find the power of the principle (*li*) or four sprouts inscribed on their inner natures. Buddhists in Zhu Xi's era in China also spoke of clearing the mind, like 'cleaning the mirror', but unlike Buddhist meditation, in Zhu Xi, all thoughts are not banished. Instead, there is 'self-examination' (*xing cha*, 省察), preserving and nourishing thoughts to clear *qi* (*cun yang*), and conquering selfish desires and evil thoughts (*ke ji*).
3. Purify one's *qi*. Just as necessary to becoming a sage as quiet sitting is purifying one's *qi*. This spiritual experience consists in the transformation of one's physical and material substantiation and desire (*bianhua qizhi*), so that such factors are no longer obstructions to one's expression of the knowledge of *li* in action. For Zhu Xi, it is a matter of subduing oneself, although in the end there is some public good that is not the primary motivation of the sage.

Zhu Xi's Use of the Classic of Changes

While there is certainly evidence of Zhu Xi's formidable intellect and creative mind in his synthesis of Mencius, Chan Buddhism and Northern Neo-Confucianism, Joseph Adler identifies as the most original contribution made by Zhu Xi his theory that the *Classic of Changes* (*Yijing*) 'could be used as a powerful aid in the process of self-cultivation' (Adler 2008: 67). This may seem odd because the *Classic of Changes* is typically understood as a work of divination. Moreover, Zhu is known for having standardized the Confucian canon by substituting the Four Books – *Great Learning*, *Zhongyong*, *Analects* and *Mencius* – for the Five Classics of the older *Ru* system, coming out of the Han dynasty that included the *Classic of Changes*. However, Zhu Xi was influenced strongly by the Northern Neo-Confucians, and Shao Yong and Zhang Zai both paid a great deal of attention to the *Classic of Changes*.

Historically, up to Zhu Xi's time, the *Classic of Changes* was used primarily as a divination manual to foretell the future. But like Shao Yong and Zhang Zai, Zhu Xi understood the hexagrams of the *Classic of Changes* to be formal representations of the fundamental ordering patterns (*li*) of the movement of nature (*tian li*) and morality (*dao li*). Accordingly, he did not discount the function of the *Classic of Changes* as a divination manual. In fact, ever the teacher, he wrote a work entitled *An Introduction to the Study of the Yi*, to make the work more accessible and useful for this purpose. But Zhu Xi insisted that divination is only to be used when one cannot decide the correct moral course to follow by means of learning, well-established principle (*li*) revealed in history and a still heart–mind empowered by purified *qi*. For the sage, there is no need for divination. The sage is always able to respond appropriately and spontaneously to changes in the human and natural environment whatever they might be, simply because of his spiritual clarity (*ming*). In fact, the spiritual transformation occurs when the heart–mind (*xin*) of the sage becomes equivalent to the 'moral mind' of reality (*dao xin*). In this way, the sage resembles a divine being or spirit (*shen*) in responses and understanding. Herein lies what we may call 'Confucian transcendence' in Zhu Xi. However, the human being is transcended from within the human being itself. The transformation does not come from a supernatural reality or realm. Yet, the change produced is dramatic and, to the eye of the common observer, it represents theomorphizing of the human into a new sort of being. In this way, there is no mistaking the fact that Zhu Xi's understanding of self-cultivation is religious in nature, and designed to bring about spiritual transformation of the human being.[81] This road is open to anyone. So, for those who have not yet attained sagehood (*shengren*), the *Classic of Changes*

> …is only indirectly or secondarily concerned with fortune-telling. It is really more about apprehending the *present*, or the direction and character of the present flow of events, and choosing one's course of action to fit into and make use of the energy of that flow in the most appropriate (moral) manner. (Adler 2008: 71)

Tract of the Most Exalted on Action and Response

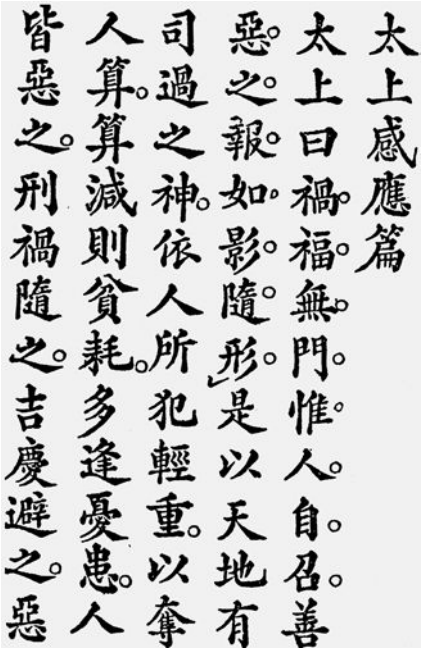

Figure 19: Title Page of Tract of the Most Exalted on Action and Response

Zhu Xi's work on *Collected Comments on Lesser Learning* was a widely used Confucian work in the twelfth century for instruction in morality. However, it is nowhere near as well known as another work: by far the most used book by common Chinese in the 1100s is *Tract of the Most Exalted on Action and Response*.

This work belongs to the tradition of morality books used in the village lecture system and designed to instruct the common people in piety and ethics. It represents an integration of Confucian, Buddhist and Daoist morality, or what is sometimes called the 'Three Teachings' (*sanjiao*). Stories appended to the work are often presented in dramatic performances on stage or with puppets designed to transmit their moral teachings (Brokaw 1991: 222–3). The work attributes its own authorship to Taishang, which means 'The Most High', by which is probably meant Laozi. In the introductory remark, Taishang says that moral transgressions reduce a person's lifespan, and poverty comes upon the immoral person; he meets with calamity and misery and all men hate him. Taishang tells of the numinal beings in the underworld of the dead who are record keepers in charge of recording good and evil deeds, and says that moral offences may cause

the loss of between 100 days and 12 years of life each. He says that those who wish to attain to celestial numinosity should perform 1,300 good deeds, and those who wish to attain an indefinite earthly life should perform 300.

The text next gives a description of the acts of the good person and the blessings that accompany them. In these precepts we can see a blend of the Three Teachings of Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism. The moral acts that are good include the following: loyalty; filiality; friendliness; self-correction; compassion for orphans and widows; respecting authority, the elderly and one's ancestors; not injuring any life; grieving at the misfortunes of one's neighbors and rejoicing at their good luck; not calling attention to the faults of others; humility; renouncing desires; bearing no grudges; and generosity.

A much longer section on the misdeeds of the evil man and the punishments that result follows. Some of the evil deeds noted are: being unfilial; treating one's ruler or parents with contempt; being disrespectful of one's elders and rebelling against those one should serve; being unkind and unfaithful to one's wife; lying; breaking promises; being cruel or inhumane; oppressing subordinates; bearing grudges and not forgiving; murdering; stealing; taking bribes and being unjust; not correcting mistakes; disrespect for the holy and the rituals; impropriety and disregard for the proper way to do things; not controlling desires; andnot being content with one's status in life. Some evils are self-reflexive and internal: refusing to correct one's errors, wishing others to incur loss, cherishing thoughts of seduction, harboring greed and covetousness (Carus and Suzuki 1973: 52–6).

Zhu Xi on Ghosts and Spirits

It is easy to get the idea from what has been said thus far that Zhu Xi was a person of great rational intellect and that his understandings of reality was uniformly humanistic. We may forget that he lived in the time of the Song dynasty and was saturated in the cultural context of that period. The people of the Song believed their world to be filled with ghosts, spirits and gods of all varieties. Temples and shrines to powerful deities and former worthy humans could be found even in the smallest villages. Intervention into daily life by these spirits was thought to be commonplace. Funerals almost always included the possession by the deceased person's spirit of one of the persons in attendance. Accounts of contact and interaction with numinal realities were not limited to any one social class.[82] We should not be surprised, then, that Zhu Xi had to explain to his students his understanding of spirit beings, setting the numinous in the context of his overall philosophical worldview.

Zhu Xi cautioned his students not to pay too much attention to ghosts (*guǐ*) and spirits (*shen*), quoting Confucius's comment in *Analects* 11.12 that if we do not know how to serve humans, how can we serve the spirits. But Zhu certainly did not question the reality of these numinal beings and their presence in just about every part of daily life:

> Rain and wind, dew and lightning, sun and moon, day and night, these are all traces of the contractive and expansive forces; these are the just and upright spirits (*guishen*) of broad daylight. As for the so-called 'howlers from the rafters and butters in the chest', these then are called the unjust and depraved spirits (*guishen*); sometimes they exist, sometimes they don't; sometimes they go, sometimes they come; sometimes they coalesce, sometimes they disperse. In addition, there's the saying, 'pray to them and they will respond, pray to them and they will grant fulfillment'; these too are what we call spirits (*guishen*). These are all of one and the same principle (*lǐ*). (Quoted in Gardner 1995: 598)

Zhu used his theory of principle (*lǐ*) to provide an explanation for these ghost spirits (*guishen*). Just as humans have a *li* suitable to them that is human nature, so these numinal beings have a *li*. However, they are not of a different substance than we are. They are not 'divine' or 'spiritual' in contrast to humans who are only 'material'. What allows them to vary in type is simply a matter of the current configuration of their *qi*.

The fact that he provided a philosophical account explaining the nature of numinal beings does not mean Zhu Xi accepted everything he heard about them or that his students reported to him: 'Someone asked, "What's your assessment of what common folk say about monsters and licentious spirits?" Zhu replied: "In general, eighty percent of what common folk say is absurd, but twenty percent is true"' (quoted in Gardner 1995: 601). People in the largest cities and the smallest villages in Song China told many ghost stories. Some of these had to do with malevolent spirits who were the victims of violence. Zhu Xi reported one case in Zhangzhou (in current Fujian Province near Xiamen) of a wife who, with the aid of her lover, killed her husband and secretly buried him; he thereupon became an evil spirit, haunting the entire region. Taking matters into their own hands, the people of the village petitioned the various officials, demanding the punishment of the wife and her lover. Only when the criminals were

brought to justice did the vengeful *qi* of the husband disperse and the haunting stop (602). There are also accounts of monster-like beings who roamed the mountains, forests and lakes of China.[83] Zhu Xi did not so much doubt their existence as explain them as results of particular *qi* configurations.

Zhu also accounted for the popular practices of divination and mediumship in his cosmology. Such phenomena are taken as at least theoretically plausible, representing extensions of *qi* in ways that make contact with the invisible and insubstantial world. Zhu believed that even prayer and group prayer may so concentrate *qi* that spirits will be communicated with and make efficacious reply. Ancestral sacrifice was common in the Song, and Zhu explained that such rites may be efficacious because the ancestor, as a spirit, has perception or consciousness, and responds when summoned by a legitimate descendant who thereby has the same *qi* as the ancestor (607).

Perhaps the most intriguing of Zhu Xi's practices related to his belief in spirit beings was his conviction that he stood in the lineage of the true transmission of Confucius's teachings, allowing him to make offerings and prayers to Confucius as an ancestor, even though they were not direct kin.[84] For an 1194 ceremony addressed to the spirits of Confucius and others, Zhu wrote, 'Presenting our offerings and praying respectfully, we trust that the spirits, descending to this place, will draw nigh [to us], communicate and bless [us] with illumination' (*guangming*) (Tillman 2004: 497). On one occasion, Zhu became so frustrated with his inability to control a student's behavior that he prayed specifically to Confucius's spirit, making a confession and asking for help:

> I, Xi, am unworthy. I have recently been recommended and appointed as an official in charge of this county, so I gained the responsibility to co-direct school affairs here. There is a certain student under my direction whose bad behavior has stained those in charge. I believe that since I have failed to carry out the *Dao* myself, I have been unable to lead and hone others and have allowed [matters] to come to this. Moreover, I was unable [to impose] proper penalties early on in order to punish and control him. As a result both virtue and rules were lax, and disobedient literati ultimately had no restrictions. Therefore, I am reporting to the Former Sage [Confucius] to request direction in rectifying school rules. (Quoted in Tillman 2004: 502)

Zhu Xi built temple shrines to Zhou Dunyi, Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi, at which he could offer prayers and seek communion with their spirits. At the completion of his pilgrimage to the rebuilt study of Zhou Dunyi on Mount Lu in 1181, Zhu wrote a psalm that ended with these lines addressing Zhou:

> The master is silent, wordless
> My tears pour down.
> If the spirit is listening and does not reject me,
> I believe the benefit will be immeasurable.
> (Quoted in Tillman 2004: 494)

Zhu Xi's practice of prayer to spirits and his conversations about spirit beings rested ultimately on his conviction that an explanation that is fundamentally intelligible within his metaphysical system can be offered for such beliefs. He constructed this worldview so that even the presence of numinal beings fitted coherently. They too are bound by the basic operations of principle (*li*) and *qi*. If they exist, and it hardly seems that Zhu doubted that some do, they have a rightful and legitimate place in the universe and only seem strange and unusual because they are unfamiliar *li* and *qi* forms.

Wang Shouren (1472–1529) (a.k.a. Wang Yangming)

From the end of the Song dynasty until the coming of Wang Shouren, better known as Wang Yangming, the influence of Zhu Xi was dominant and the transmission of Zhu's teachings became known as the Cheng-Zhu School because of his close association in thought with the Cheng brothers, especially Cheng Yi. The majority of Confucian Scholars in the Yuan dynasty were educated in this tradition and taught its version of Confucianism as orthodoxy.

However, in the Ming dynasty, Wang Yangming became the most deliberative of Zhu Xi's critics.[85] He constructed an understanding of human transcendence that rested on the power and potency of spiritual intuition to know truth and goodness, following the influence of Lu Jiuyuan. In fact, his own lineage of Confucianism was called the Lu-Wang School or the 'Learning of the Heart–Mind (*Xinxue*) School', whereas the Cheng-Zhu tradition was called 'The Learning of the Principle (*Lixue*) School'.

Wang admitted that as a young student he tried to follow Zhu Xi's method of self-cultivation and learning. He passed the civil

The Debate at Goose Lake

Lu Jiuyuan (1139–92) (a.k.a. Lu Xiangshan)

Not every Confucian scholar agreed with Zhu Xi on his metaphysics or moral theory of self-cultivation and human spiritual transformation. Lu Jiuyuan was Zhu's chief rival, and his views were to be known as the 'Learning of the Heart–Mind School (*Xinxue*)'. The differences between Lu and Zhu Xi became so pronounced as to trouble their mutual friend Lu Zuqian (1137–81). Lu Zuqian arranged for them to visit the Goose Lake Temple (Ehu Shuyuan) in Jiangxi Province in 1175. However, this meeting did not moderate the differences between these two scholars; it only served to reveal the gaps between their basic understandings and concepts.[86] Two of the principal issues of disagreement between these two great thinkers are presented here.

The first principal issue relates to *li* and *xin*. Zhu Xi followed Northern Neo-Confucian scholars in thinking that principle (*li*) is the Supreme Ultimate and that it is not the same thing as the human heart–mind, which is made of *qi*. In the human being, principle (*li*) is human nature, the pattern that makes humans what they are. Lu Jiuyuan differed sharply with this view, holding instead that the human heart–mind (*xin*) is the principle (*li*), that there is no principle outside the human heart–mind. So the human heart–mind is within itself complete, whole and morally perfect. The human heart–mind contains the inherent ability to know what is good and what is to be done in any situation. Once this knowledge is brought into consciousness, action results spontaneously, without intention or reflection. There is a unity between knowledge and action; no act of will or deliberation is required.

The second principle issue Zhu and Lu differed on is the need for rigorous learning in the investigation of things and study of classical texts as a path to self-cultivation. Zhu Xi insisted that these activities were absolutely essential in order to clear one's *qi* and horizon the knowledge of principle (*li*). Lu Jiuyuan, probably under the influence of Daoism, thought such efforts were not needed, insisting instead on direct enlightenment of the heart–mind (*ming xin*) (Wing-tsit Chan 1963a: 580).

service examinations and reached a high political office. He tried to call the political authorities to account and was arrested and beaten in a public display of punishment. He was sent into exile in the southern area of Guizhou. While there, he taught, wrote and later returned to political service for the Ming court and even became governor of Jiangxi Province. Tradition has it that during his exile in Guizhou, Wang made a stone coffin for himself and sat in front of it in 'quiet-sitting' to find enlightenment.[87]

Like Zhu Xi, Wang saw himself as the defender and champion of the true lineage of Confucianism coming through Confucius to Mencius. However, Wang did not employ the same agricultural metaphors as Mencius. For Mencius, all humans were born with four innate sprouts. With proper cultivation, these seeds will grow a person into a healthy and morally upright human. In contrast, Wang 'spoke of the moral mind as like the sun shining behind clouds and as a clear, bright mirror hidden beneath dust' (Ivanhoe 2000: 60).[88]

This shift in metaphor amounts to a very different kind of approach to self-cultivation. Instead of thinking primarily of development, as the agricultural metaphors of Mencius and even the rigorous learning process of Zhu Xi suggest, Wang brought forward a 'discovery' model of moral self-awareness. Wang Yangming did not hesitate to talk about sudden and complete moral enlightenment (*wu*), as though the clouds of desire and confusion blow away and the sun suddenly comes bursting through. For Wang, the experience of moral enlightenment brings not only new knowledge about what is right and good, but it also transforms our desire and affections so we freely act in a moral way. This is a crucial point. Wang was not saying we have only a cognitive gain in moral knowledge and then we must use our will to redirect our desires and passions to act upon the knowledge. He was saying that the knowledge we gain is will-transforming. P.J. Ivanhoe calls our attention to the distinction in Chinese between 'real knowledge' (*zhenzhi*) and 'ordinary knowledge' (*changzhi*) (Ivanhoe 2000: 62). 'Ordinary knowledge' is just that. It is the sort of commonplace knowing that everyone has. 'Real knowledge' is what Wang pointed to. It is knowledge that brings together the cognitive and affective dimensions of our experience. In the sense of morality, possessing 'real knowledge' is knowing what one should do and at the same time being motivated to do it. It is self-activating knowledge. In *Instructions for Practical Living*, Wang made it clear that possessing the state of mind he called complete moral enlightenment was an experience in which knowledge and action are not separated (Wing-tsit Chan 1963b: Section 5). He relied on a point made in *The Great Learning*, according to which 'real knowledge' forms a bond between knowledge and action similar to loving a beautiful color or hating a bad odor.

In Wang we can see a true religious faith in the power of the inner heart–mind, by which we can realize what is right in each situation

and simultaneously be irresistibly pulled to enact it. Wang referred to this as an innate moral faculty called 'pure knowing' (*liangzhi*), and he wrote, 'The thousand sages are all passing shadows; *liangzhi* alone is my teacher' (quoted in Ivanhoe 2000: 68). In Section 173 of *Instructions for Practical Living*, Wang observed:

> In learning, the important thing is to get it with the mind. Even words from the mouth of Confucius, if one seeks in one's mind and finds them to be wrong, dare not be accepted as true… Even words from the mouth of an ordinary person, if one seeks in one's mind and finds them to be correct, are not to be regarded as false. (Wing-tsit Chan 1963b)

Chapter IX
Confucianism in New Homes and New Hearts

Confucianism in New Homes

Korea	Japan
Confucianism entered Korea in the late Han, with the first Confucian National Academy established in 372 CE and the creation of a Confucian civil service exam system in Korea during the Koryo dynasty (918–1392).	A gift of the *Analects* was made to Japanese rulers about 405 and Confucianism's influence on the Tokugawa's government system and even the Bushido Codes of the 1600–1700s was dramatic.

Confucianism in Korea

Korea has often been called 'the second home for Confucianism'.[89] The influence of Confucianism in Korea is still felt today. Sa-soon Yun says Confucianism provided the Korean people with a universal cultural consciousness, giving rise to a value system that has led to the prosperity and humanity of the Korean people (1996: 113). According to the Korean work *Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samkuk Saki*), a National Academy was established for the sons of nobility in 372 with the Confucian classics as the principal textbooks. In 648, Taejong Muyeol (602–661) went to Chang'an (Xi'an) to inspect the Tang imperial university before returning to Korea to become the 29th monarch of the kingdom of Silla. Rulers of the Koryo dynasty (918–1392) established the *Kwako* civil service exam system and the *Kukjakam* (National University). Emperor Munjong (1019–1083) fostered a system of private Confucian schools, the principal master of which was Choi Chung (984–1068), who was known as 'The Confucius of the East' for having organized these model academies. Nonetheless, Buddhism dominated the intellectual and spiritual life of Korea until the 1200s.

The defeat of Korea at the hands of the Mongols in 1267 prompted Korean rulers to visit China and led to the introduction

of Neo-Confucianism of the Cheng-Zhu School into Korea. An Hyang (1243–1306) became the principal master and is known as the 'Father of Korean Neo-Confucianism'. Under his influence, Korean Confucian scholars focused on the study of human nature (*songnihak*) and Learning of the Way (*tohak;* what the Chinese call *daoli*).

When the Joseon dynasty was founded, Korean Confucians turned their attention to the criticism of Buddhism. Jeong Do-jeon (1342–1398), who was a close advisor to Taejo (1335–1408); the founder of the dynasty, took a very critical stand against Buddhist doctrine. Jeong attacked Buddhism in a number of treatises, accusing Buddhist monks and abbots in Korea of corruption and disregard for the people of Korea. The most famous of his works is known by the polite English title *Array of Critiques Against Buddhism*, or more literally *Buddhist Nonsense* (*Bulssi japbyeon*). The work is arranged in 19 sections, each one devoted to a Buddhist doctrine or practice.[90]

Confucianism transformed Korean society. The Koreans made deliberate and widespread use of Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals.* These practices flowed through the veins of Korean society and reached into even the smallest villages. The influence on patterns of Korean daily life was dramatic. At the same time, though, Korean Confucian intellectuals engaged in the exploration of deep-seated issues in Zhu Xi's understanding of self-cultivation and his Confucian spirituality.

The two most prominent and skilled Confucians of the Joseon dynasty are Yi Hwang (1501–1570, a.k.a. T'oegye) and his younger contemporary Yi I (1536–1584, a.k.a. Yulgok). Instead of merely appropriating Zhu Xi's (Cheng-Zhu) thought, these scholars critically examined it. The principal question that occupied these two thinkers and their students was the relationship between the four sprouts of innate moral sensibility taught in the *Mengzi* (2A6) and the Seven Emotions (joy, anger, grief, fear, love, hate and desire) that are stirred by our contact with the world according to the *Zhongyong*. The controversy that ensued over these issues became known as the 'Four-Seven Debate', and it extended in one form or another for over 200 years in Korea. In brief, the main lines drawn in the beginning of the debate were as follows.[91]

T'oegye held that the Heaven-given side of human nature manifests in the four sprouts; humans are, thus, originally good by nature. However, the Earth gives humans the Seven Emotions through physical being; this nature is indeterminate. It can be good or evil. T'oegye's

Table 7: ***Array of Critiques Against Buddhism*** **(a.k.a.** ***Buddhist Nonsense*****)**

- Critique of the Buddhist Doctrine of Transmigration
- Critique of the Buddhist Notion of Karma
- Critique of the Buddhist Theory of Mind and Nature
- Critique of the Buddhist Conflation of Function and Nature
- Critique of the Buddhist Notion of the Mind and Its Functions
- Critique of the Buddhist Obscuration of [Transcendent] Principles and Concrete Entities
- Critique of the Buddhist Abandonment of the Five Basic Human Relationships
- Critique of the Buddhist Notion of Compassion
- Critique of the Buddhist Notion of Real and Expedient
- Critique of the Buddhist Notion of Hells
- Criticism of the Buddhist Notion of Calamity and Fortune
- Critique of Buddhist Begging for Food
- Critique of the Buddhist Seon Teachings
- Critique of the Similarities and Differences of Confucianism and Buddhism
- On the Entry of the Buddha Dharma into China
- Serve the Buddha and Reap Misfortune
- Abandoning the Heavenly Way and Chatting about Buddhahood
- Serving the Buddha Assiduously, the Length of Reign Considerably Shortens
- Critique to Expose Heterodox Teachings.

student Ki Taesung (1552–1572, a.k.a. Kobong) criticized his master's position, holding that the dualism between the Four Sprouts and the Seven Emotions is untenable because the Four Sprouts are only the beginnings of the Seven Emotions. Michael Kalton says this debate between teacher and pupil ended amicably with the agreement that cultivation of both the Four Sprouts and the Seven Emotions is needed for spiritual fulfillment (1994: 107–8).

The debate flared again between Yulgok (1536–1584, a.k.a. Yulgok) and his friend Song Hon (1535–1598, a.k.a. Ugye). Yulgok was uncomfortable with T'oegye's dualism and took the position that

the Four Sprouts do not include any of the Seven Emotions, but the Seven Emotions do include the Four Sprouts. He wanted to avoid dualism, but not collapse the conception of the processes of human nature into a monism (Ro 1989: xiii). He wrote a work entitled *Manuals for School* (*Kakkyo Mobum*), in which he laid out a program for becoming a sage, including disciplining one's body by righteousness, reading and reflecting on the classics, and quiet sitting to purify one's heart–mind. With this move, Zhu Xi's thought flowered in Korea.

Perhaps as a result of the abstract debates of the Four-Seven controversy, Korean Confucians never accepted the ideas of Wang Yangming, even though they were introduced into the culture. Confucians in Korea moved toward a hyper-orthodoxy in the Cheng-Zhu tradition, and this became so removed from life that a corrective movement called 'Practical Learning' (*Silhak*) arose in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The point of this movement was social action, and its students turned to reform and public welfare.

Before the 'Practical Learning' movement could gain much traction, however, the focus of Korean Confucianism shifted dramatically to do battle with a foreign spirituality. Western influences began to stream into the culture, especially Christianity. The Jesuits brought Christianity to Korea in the 1590s, but it grew very slowly. Koreans were still being executed for the practice of Christianity as a foreign religion until the second-half of the 1800s. Protestantism did not enter Korea until the 1880s. The intellectual and spiritual resistance to Christianity was partially owing to the Confucian trend known as 'Eastern Learning' (*Tonghak*), developed in the early 1800s by Choi Je-wu's (1824–1864) work *Comprehensive Book of Eastern Learning* (*Tongkyong Daejon*). 'Eastern Learning' was a sustained Confucian critique of the Christian idea of original sin, salvation through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and the Christian notion of a transcendent God. Thinkers in this movement insisted that the Way of Heaven is for everyone to cultivate themselves and develop their own inner natures, rather than seeking salvation from the work of another. Likewise, the Way of Heaven is revealed internally in the heart–mind of those who are cultivating themselves; it is not outside in a scripture or ecclesiastical source. For these Confucian thinkers, the matter was simple. To treat others properly is to serve Heaven and to mistreat them is to harm Heaven. Everyone is in Heaven, and Heaven is inside of every person. By the time of the third leader

of the 'Eastern Learning' movement, Sohn Byong-hi (1861–1919), the movement had become a religion in its own right, known as The Religion of Heaven's Way (*Chondo-kyo*). Xinzhong Yao says, 'Chondo-kyo rejects salvation and eternal life after death, while aiming to realize a paradise on earth by way of peace, moral virtue and propriety' (2202: 124).

In the contemporary era, Confucianism's challenge in Korea was principally its identification with social conservatism, and the opportunity facing it was one of hopeful expectation to see how Confucius was remade in the land of the Koreans.

Confucianism in Japan

Both of the legendary historical chronicles of Japan, the *Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon Shoki*) and the *Records of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki*), report that a copy of the *Analects* and the *Book of Ten Thousand Characters* were brought to Japan by a Korean named Wang In in the year 285 CE. Critical scholarship now dates this occurrence to 405, but the prevailing theory of Confucianism's introduction to Japan is that it occurred through Japanese envoys to the courts of the Later Han and afterward, through Chinese immigrants moving to Japan. Korean scholars who had been trained in Confucian texts were received at the Japanese court in the beginning of the 500s. Accordingly, instead of a single event introducing Confucianism to Japan, we should think of a gradual process of transmission.

The Constitution of Seventeen Articles (*Junano Kenpo*) was the first constitution for Japan and it was decreed by Prince Shotoku (573–621). This document has clear evidence of Confucian influence.[92] Emperor Tenji (626–672) established a system of local academies as well as national and provincial universities that used the Confucian classical texts. However, unlike Korea, the influence of Confucianism in the Japanese educational system began to fade after the 700s as the Japanese writing system began to replace Chinese characters. Buddhism became the spiritual and intellectual currency, funding the worldview of the Japanese people.

Strangely enough, it was a Zen Buddhist monk, Keian Genju (1427–1508), who journeyed to the Ming Court in China in 1466 and translated Zhu Xi's *Collected Commentaries on the Great Learning* into Japanese. The result was that Neo-Confucianism was understood as a sect of Buddhism by many in Japan. Accordingly, the imperial

offices supported its teaching. Scholars were invited to lecture on Neo-Confucianism and Zen monks at the Ashikaga Academy studied a Neo-Confucian curriculum (Nosco 1984: 7).

By the end of the Ashikaga Shogunate and the rise of the Tokugawa, Cheng-Zhu Neo-Confucianism was funding the underlying foundation of Japanese politics and a great deal of social and intellectual life. Fujiwara Seika (1561–1619) was an important figure in this transition, embodying in his own career the shift toward Confucianism. Having been a Zen Buddhist, he left that spiritual tradition and turned to Confucianism. He annotated the Four Books and the Five Classics, relying heavily on Cheng-Zhu Confucian language and concepts. Many Neo-Confucian teachings, including the emphasis on 'quiet sitting', cohered well with his Buddhist training. He admired Wang Yangming's theory of pure knowing (*liangzhi*). Seika was the teacher of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), who was the first Tokugawa Shogun and the founder of the *bakufu* social system. Tokugawa Ieyasu became a patron of Confucian learning. The stage was set, then, for Hayashi Razan (1583–1657), through whose work and influence Neo-Confucianism became the official philosophy and code of the Shogunate (Tsunoda, de Bary and Keene 1958: 347). Shortly afterward, Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682) wrote to combine the Confucian worldview and Japan's indigenous Shinto spirituality.

Ansai began his career as a Buddhist monk, but turned toward Neo-Confucianism in his studies. The tradition of Ansai's disciples became known collectively as the Kimon School. This school of thought was built around a new canon of authoritative writings Ansai developed. It consists mostly of writings that Zhu Xi emphasized, including: *Reflections on Things at Hand*; the *Four Books*; and Cheng Yi's Commentary on the *Classic of Changes*. While making an intense synthesis between Confucianism and Shinto, Ansai also strongly criticized Buddhism during the Tokugawa period in his work *Heresies Refuted*.[93] Ansai resisted Buddhism on several grounds. Some of these were ethical and social. He objected to Buddhism's monasticism and the way he believed its most fundamental teachings about nonattachment undermined the family and loyalty to the state and the people. But he also thought Buddhist doctrines are deeply problematic. Although Ansai's strategy of doctrinal argument was often a misconstrual of Buddhism, he won many followers. For example, he criticized the Buddhist teaching that reality is in its most

fundamental sense 'emptiness' or 'nothingness', and advocated instead the Neo-Confucian emphasis on the heart–mind and its embodiment of principle (*li*), including the Four Sprouts and the Five Relationships. None of these Confucian ideas are found in the Buddhist teaching of emptiness, according to Ansai. Arguably, the Buddhist doctrine of emptiness may be thought of as a normative ideal rather than an ontological or metaphysical point, but Ansai did not take up this clarification of Buddhism.

Ansai's *Japanese Elementary Learning* (*Yamato shōgaku*), published in 1658, combines Neo-Confucian morality with the religious elements of Shinto. He maintained that Shinto rituals and beliefs contained the principles (*li*) of the *Dao* expressed in the Japanese world. Ansai's Confucian interpretation of Shinto came to be known as *Suika Shinto*. *Suika* means the act of praying to call the gods down, to receive this-worldly benefits. The *Record of the Fuji no mori Shrine* (*Fuji no mori yuzuemandokoro no ki*) is one of the most complete essays expressing Ansai's way of bringing these two traditions together (Ooms 1985: 228).

Ansai believed that the Confucian notion of reverence (*kei,* Chinese *jing*) is the same as the Shinto idea of prayer (*kitō*). Righteousness (*yi*) is equivalent to the Shinto idea of honesty or forthrightness (*massugu* or *shojiki*). The tales in the opening of the *Nihongi Shoki* tell that the things of reality were created by five generations of earthly gods (*kami*; Chinese *shen*) and he associated these with the Five Phases (*wu-xing*). Pulling in the teachings about the inborn nature from Zhu Xi, Ansai taught that every person's body is a shrine with spiritual seeds within and that everyone's heart contained a living god (*kami, shen*). Cultivating the self means allowing one's divine spirit to control the body (231–2). Although a Confucian thinker, Ansai was not afraid to side with Shinto rather than Confucianism. He thought the Tokugawa Bakufu ruled as an expression of Heaven, but he rejected the Confucian notion of the Mandate of Heaven (*tianming*), according to which a ruler who does not care for the people as a father cares for his children can be overthrown. Ansai emphasized the Japanese notion of harmony (*wa,* Chinese *he*) instead, claiming that rebellion and even merely challenging the ruler was a disruption of harmony by showing disloyalty.

In the eighteenth century, the leaders of the popular educational movement Sekimon Shingaku, founded by Ishia Biagan (1685–

Bushido for the Novice

Bushido Shoshinshu, Author: *Taira Shigesuke* (Date: c. 1660)

Arguably the most important handbook composed to provide practical and moral instruction for the Code of the Samurai was written when Ansai was constructing his understanding of Confucianism and Shinto. Its basic teachings are:

1. The universal sensibility of a samurai is called 'keeping death before you'. In this way, the transience of all life, the fact that one might perish at any moment, fills life with value. Each present moment has more value when one is not counting on the future. The most important act a *bushi* (warrior) will ever perform is death. How he behaves at death will either give his whole life meaning or disgrace him. This is mostly a Buddhist notion.
2. Filiality is the universal duty of *bushido* (way of the warrior). This is mostly a Confucian notion. Our parents are our root, and our own bodies are their branch. Our masters are those on whom we can depend, and when called upon, we must render our service to them. Respect is the 'DNA' of filiality and losing face or being disrespected requires specific actions in order to restore harmony. For example, the reason the *bushi* is moral is because it would be shameful not to be. The reason he is brave is because people will laugh at the spineless one.
3. The Principles of Warriors are divided into two categories:
   - Ordinary principles governing daily life, requirements to read and write, be clean, courteous, care for one's weapons and daily practice. Warriors choose their friends carefully, 'only when they see into each other's heart'. One's sense of duty must always take precedence over inclination or feeling. To do one's duty is what is required. Once a *bushi* accepts a request or enters into a relationship that requires that he perform certain duties, he has no choice but to do them. If he does not want to accept the duties, he must never agree to the relationship.
   - Combat principles, strategies for combat. The *bushi* never abuses someone who cannot fight back, does not show violence to the weak.

Bushido is influenced by Buddhism, Shinto and Confucianism. From Buddhism: The samurai do not fear death because they believe as popular Buddhism teaches that, after death, one will be reincarnated and may live another life here on Earth. The influences of Zen meditation teach *bushido* to focus and reach a level of detachment that words cannot describe. This 'detachment' in an idealist application makes the *bushido* loyal, incorruptible, fearless. From Shinto: The *bushido* draw loyalty and patriotism. Samurai assign to the emperor a god-like reverence. He is the embodiment of Heaven on Earth. Such loyalty transfers to their *daimyo* (feudal landlords) and higher ranking samurai as

well. From Confucianism: The *bushido* gather their beliefs in relationships with the human world, their environment and family. Confucianism's stress on the Five Relationships are followed by the samurai. However, the samurai disagree strongly with many of the writings of Confucius. They think Confucianism teaches that man should sit and read books all day or write poems all day, and so they stress that a scholar is only a partial man, even if many samurai were also 'scholars of a sort'.

The Confucian Background of the Bushido *Value System*

- Rectitude (義, *gi*). This is the same character as the Chinese *yi*, meaning 'moral righteousness/uprightness, beyond reproach'.
- Courage (勇, *yuu*). This is the Chinese character *yong*, meaning 'brave'.
- Humaneness (仁, *jin*). This is the Chinese character *ren*, meaning 'humaneness'.
- Respect (礼, *rei*). This is the Chinese character *li*, meaning 'rites of propriety, acting according to the rites and rituals of relationships'.
- Honesty (信, *shin*). This is the Chinese character *xin*, meaning 'truthful, always believable'.
- Honor (誉, *yo*). This is the Chinese character *y*u, meaning 'of good reputation'.
- Loyalty (忠, *chuu*). This is the Chinese character *zhong*, meaning 'loyal, dependable, one that can be counted on'.
- Filial piety (孝, *ko*). This is the Chinese character *xiao*, meaning 'filial, respectful'.
- Wisdom (智, *chi*). This is the Chinese character *zhi*, meaning 'knowledge, wisdom'.
- Care for the aged (悌, *tei*). This is the Chinese character *ti*, meaning 'to do one's duty as a child, sibling'.

1744), sought to bring Confucian thought into the education of the common people through large public lectures. This movement occurred in a period of Japanese history during the Tokugawa, when the country was closed to all but the most minimal contacts with the outside world. Shingaku ('heart learning') integrated teachings from Zen Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism into an educational system. The spread of the Sekimon Shingaku movement occured simultaneously with the formation of the merchant house as a bursiness. The most prominent of these developed moral codes for their operation; workers and families embodied Confucian moral values directly

traceable to Neo-Confucian beliefs and teachings. Biagan's student, Teshima Toan (1718–1786), made Shingaku a mass movement that included meeting-houses and ad hoc classes in even small towns, extending to the townspeople (*chonin*) and farming (*nomin*) classes. He developed the first full-blown curriculum of Confucianism for children, and he wrote a work in six-character verse called *Teaching of Words of Truth* especially for children. Toan's practices were continued by the most famous representative of the movement, Nakazawa Dōni (1725–1803) (Sawada 1999: 53–4).

Perhaps it was a good thing that Japanese moral culture was made firm in the late 1700s and early 1800s because, in July 1854, Commodore Matthew C. Perry refused the order of the Tokugawa rulers to leave the port and landed at Kurihama (in modern-day Yokosuka) after the demonstration of his naval guns to city onlookers. Only a few short years later, in 1868, the Japanese returned to rule by the emperor who began the period of 'enlightened rule' (i.e., Meiji) with the intention of expelling the foreigners. However, quickly they realized that this could not be done, and a program for accepting Western influence, technology and intellectual traditions began.

Confucianism in the Practice of Japanese Business

Confucian values shaped Japanese business practice in the twentieth century, especially in the corporate world. These values derived much more from the way in which Confucianism soaked into Japanese culture than any transplanted business model from Asia or the West. In the years of the greatest success of Japanese business in the latter part of the twentieth century, when large corporations and salarymen dominated the landscape, many of the values and practices of the business culture had strong connections to Confucianism.

Japanese corporations operated on a kind of collective convention of 'familyism' that bound the employer and employee together. In fact, they were typically referred to as *ie,* a term that is also used for 'clan'. In general, the employee had lifetime employment, a generous retirement, medical insurance, housing, and fringe benefits, such as recreational teams and educational facilities, were identified with the company.

The *oyabun-kobun* relationship was borrowed from the family and used to apply to superior–inferior or senior–junior in business. It was derived from the Five Relationships of Confucianism, and some observers felt that one of the keys to the success of Japanese business in recent years was the fact that the

superior or department head did not have to fear that an assistant might supplant him, so he developed the junior worker more easily. Loyalty to company and respect for superiors was deeply embedded in the corporate mentality of the Japanese. When an employee joined the company, it was untypical to provide an employment contract that detailed rights, duties and procedures for grievance or termination. The thought was that the employee could depend on the 'familyism' of the company, on trust, commitment and loyalty, and not on legal documents. Reward by seniority (the *nenko* system) was an extension of 'familyism'.

Arguably, the highest moral value in Japanese business is *ningen kankei*, human relationships), which involves closeness and socializing, whether in bars after work or on the golf course during the weekend. Loyalty to a company and to supervisors resembles loyalty to family. Not only have Japanese business executives committed suicide to avoid testifying about company problems or because they have failed their company in some way, but also staff members do so to avoid being called to testify against their boss. Trade secrets are protected not by force of law, but by moral allegiance to the value of loyalty to the company.

The famous *nemawashi* (根回し) practice of consensus decision-making is related to the Confucian value of harmony (*he* in Chinese, *wa* in Japanese (和)). A supervisor in Japan listens to subordinates' complaints and suggestions and leads to consensus through the *ringisho* process. Likewise, the laudable formalism and value of appearance and neatness in Japanese business is derived from the Confucian valorization of the rites (*li*, 禮). A company is judged in part on the appearance of its representatives. Employees are disturbed if the appearance of their superiors is inappropriate: casual clothes are considered inappropriate in an office, and the business card exchange (*meishi*) remains a living rite of great importance.

Confucianism in New Hearts

New Hearts of Female Interpreters of Confucianism in China

There are many ways to demonstrate the shifting place of Confucianism among women in Ming and Qing China. One way is to take note of the literature from these periods. *The Peony Pavilion*, also translated as *The Return of the Soul,* was written in 1598 by the famous Chinese dramatist Tang Xianzu of the Ming dynasty. It was Tang Xianzu's third play. *The Handan Tale* and the *Tale of the Southern*

Figure 20: Du Liniang and Liu Mengmei

Bough, his first two plays, were both based on old Daoist stories. Each represented his desire to reconcile the claims of Confucian ideals, human feelings and emotions, and the values of Daoism and Buddhism. Written in a beautifully poetic style, the drama revolves around the love story of Liu Mengmei (Willow Dreaming Plum), a young scholar, and Du Liniang, the daughter of a high official in southern China. Liniang is the only daughter of a wealthy official and in Confucian culture she should marry only whomever her parents choose. However, when she falls in love with a man unknown to her parents, her love for him contradicts Confucian filiality. Liniang pines away and dies of lovesickness; we feel some despair and hopelessness, believing her desire to have Mengmei is defeated. But just as the story seems to end tragically, Tang shifts the scene to her destiny in the ghost world, where we find she died prematurely and, by means of a Heavenly Marriage Affinity (*yin yuan*), she should have been married to Liu Mengmei. Three years after her death, Liniang comes back to life. She secretly marries the man for whom she has

been pining. Finally, the couple catches up to Liniang's father in order to validate their marriage and unite the family.

In her study of this work, Li Qingjun (2005) has shown that Tang Xianzu wanted to be sure that his audience understood the sincerity of Liniang's Confucian filiality. Indeed, after her reunion with her love and her own revival from the dead, Liniang tells Mengmei what is the acceptable way they should follow to be married: 'Sir, I must remind you of the worlds of Mencius, that a young couple must await the orders of the parent and the arrangements of the go-betweens… A ghost may be deluded by passion; a woman must pay full attention to the rites' (Tang 2002: 207).

According to Tina Lu, *The Peony Pavilion* develops a female protagonist in such a manner as to promote an appreciation for her sentiment, passion and love (*qing*) in the male–female relationship. Her conduct is not previously regarded as appropriate behavior for a Chinese woman during this period, but Tang's writing turns Liniang into an exemplary figure who symbolizes for most subsequent writers in the late Ming and early Qing periods the legitimacy of a woman's unswerving pursuit of love and passion, even in the face of Confucian rites of filiality (2001: 43).

Aside from literature, Confucianism among women may be seen in other ways as well. During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), reflection and commentary on Confucian ideas and texts began to erupt from the hearts of female teachers during the period of Chinese enlightenment.[94] The pre-eminent examples of these teachers are those Dorothy Ko (1994) calls 'the teachers of the inner chambers'. While there were always educated women in China, it is only in the late Ming dynasty that they actually stepped forward to teach and write from their own understanding of Confucianism.

The approach women took to interpreting Confucianism was not to engage the work of Zhu Xi or enter the debates of the philosophers. They first wrote poetry and short prose. Then, they turned their attention to commentaries on works that were not considered appropriate for a man to discuss. Ko looks at the lives and literary work of a number of Ming and early Qing dynasty (1644–1912) talented women. These include Gu Ruopu (1592–c. 1681), who founded the Banana Garden Club in Hangzhou; one of the

Table 8: Chronology of the Elevation of Confucius and Worthy Confucians

169/170 CE	Beginning of regular spring and autumn sacrifices to Confucius in Qufu.
271	Jin dynasty Emperor Wu Di, a.k.a. Taishi, offers sacrifices to Confucius in the National University.
445	Liu-Song dynasty: Emperor Wen during the Yuanjia administration altered the number dancers, hanging instruments (such as those shown in Figure 21), and the offerings and vessels used in sacrifices to Confucius indicating his elevation to an upper lord.
454	First temple built outside of Lu, four years after the loss of Lu to Northern Wei.
630	Temples began to be established in prefectural and county state schools of the Tang dynasty. Confucius received the main offerings as sage in the temple of the Tang era and Yan Hui received offerings as correlate. Ten of Confucius's disciples were enshrined on the basis of their surpassing virtue in conduct, speech, governance, culture and learning (see *Analects* 11.3).
720	Seventy of Confucius's disciples formally enshrined.
739	Confucius was elevated to Exalted King of Culture.
1084	Mencius enshrined as a correlate with Yan Hui; Xunzi, Yang Xiong and Han Yu enshrined as scholars.
1241	Five masters (Zhou Dunyi, Zhang Zai, the Cheng brothers, Zhu Xi) enshrined.
1382	Resumption of sacrifices to Confucius in the Imperial University.
1477	The rites for Confucius were altered so that the number of sacrificial vessels increased from ten to 12 and rows of dancers from six to eight, effectively promoting him to status of emperor.
1496	Further ritual alterations consistent with making Confucius the Son of Heaven.
1712	Zhu Xi elevated to a correlate with Yan Hui and Mencius.

Figure 21: Hanging Musical Instruments

first formal, public literary societies founded by a woman and for women. Gu was known for her devotion to Confucian learning.

New Hearts Turned Toward Early Western Influences on Confucian Thought in China

Figure 22: Dai Zhen

Dai Zhen (1724–1777, a.k.a. Dai Dongyuan) was from Anhui Province and arguably we may consider him the most notable Confucian thinker in the Qing dynasty. His major work was *An Evidential Study of the Meaning and Terms of the Mencius*.[95] This work is an intensive philological and philosophical study of the meaning of terms in Mencius and became one of the principal works of the Evidential Learning (*kaozheng xue*) tradition in the Qing. Dai thought the misreading of Mencius created misunderstandings about the orthodox line of Confucian transmission. By this claim he meant specifically that Zhu Xi and the other Neo-Confucians contaminated the Confucius–Mencius lineage transmission of teachings by the introduction of Daoist and Buddhist ideas (Tiwald 2009). Dai wrote:

> Mengzi disputed [the doctrines of] Yang and Mo. [But] later people are accustomed to hearing the doctrines of Yang, Mo, Laozi,

> Zhuangzi, and the Buddha. Moreover, they have used these doctrines to disrupt and confuse the doctrines of Mengzi... Apprehensive about this, I composed *An Evidential Study of the Meaning and Terms of the Mencius*. Han Yu said, 'To follow the teachings of Yang and Mo, Lao, Zhuang, and the Buddha with the hope of reaching the Way of the sage, is like navigating a closed off harbor or cut off lake with the hope of reaching the sea. And so, those who seek to gaze upon the Way of the sage must begin with Mengzi'. (Quoted in Ivanhoe 2000: 91)

Dai was greatly influenced by the growing appreciation in China for the use of critical reason, partially derived from the West. He thought that moral and spiritual truths could be obtained by the use of reason, and that the truths of Confucianism could be shown superior to the claims of Daoism and Buddhism. He did not favor Zhu Xi's deeply speculative philosophy and he criticized Wang Yangming's subjectivism (Richey 2008: 13). Dai believed that, by getting clear the facts of a situation, one would know what the moral thing to do was. He did not trust the kind of moral intuition we find in Wang Yangming, but relied on examining the texts of the classics.

Dai's critical sensibilities were clear in his caution that we not take our moral opinions (*yijian*) as the truth. We must reason our way to unchanging standards (*buyi zhi ze*), derived from the rule that what one does not want done to oneself one must not do to others (*shu*, 恕). Imaging ourselves in another person's place and measuring the treatment of others by how we want to be treated will provoke the deliberation about acts and also desires and emotions, which will lead to moral understanding. Dai believed moral desires are different from our natural desires. In fact, self-cultivation consists of passing natural desires over into moral desires by filtering out the thoughts and inclinations that pull us away from reciprocity toward others. This is not done by meditation or 'quiet sitting', but by study of the classical texts. What we find in the texts transforms our understanding so that the clarity of reciprocity comes into view. Just as the nourishment of food and water becomes part of our bodies, likewise the content of the text becomes a part of our rationality and understanding. For Dai, we do not know intuitively or naturally what to do: the test of reciprocity must be applied first, relying on reason present in the texts.

New Hearts and Radical Challenges to Confucianism

God's Chinese Son (Hong Xiuquan) and the Criticism of Confucianism

Hong Xiuquan (Figure 23) (1812–1864) was a Hakka Chinese Christian who led the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864) and established the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace (Taiping) in Nanjing.[96] The Taiping Rebellion during the Qing dynasty was one of the bloodiest conflicts in history. At least 20 million Chinese perished as a result of it. One of the principal goals of the Taiping Rebellion was the destruction of 'superstitious beliefs', such as Daoism and Buddhism. The leader of this movement, Hong Xiuquan, likewise targeted Confucianism and its value system.

Figure 23: Hong Xiuquan

In 1837, Hong failed the provincial level civil service exam for the third time and fell into a deep depression. During his illness, he had a dream of remembrance in which it was revealed to him that he was the younger brother of Jesus Christ and heir to the commission to establish God's kingdom of Heavenly Peace on Earth. He felt a calling to oust the foreign devils of the British from China and to overthrow the corrupt Qing dynasty. But many of Hong's actions were considered sacrilegious. In fact, in 1844, he lost his job as tutor after he destroyed the tablets dedicated to Confucius at the school where he was teaching.

As a symbolic gesture of his calling to purge China of the evils of Buddhism and Daoism, Hong asked his smiths to forge two giant three-*chi* long and nine-*jin* heavy swords, called the 'Swords that Execute the Vicious' (*zhan yao jian*) (Spence 1996: 67). While it was obvious to Hong that Daoism and Buddhism were to be destroyed, he seemed more ambivalent toward Confucius. In one Taiping text, Hong sought instruction from Jesus (called Heavenly Elder Brother) about Confucius:

> Confucius, seeing that everyone in the high heaven pronounced him guilty, secretly fled down from heaven, hoping to join up with the leader of the demon devils. The Heavenly Father, . . . thereupon dispatched Hong Xiuquan and a host of angels to pursue Confucius and to bring him, bound and tied, before the Heavenly Father. The Heavenly Father, in great anger, ordered the angels to flog him. Confucius knelt before the Heavenly Elder Brother, Christ, and repeatedly begged to be spared. Confucius was given many lashes, and his pitiful pleases were unceasing. Then the Heavenly Father, . . . considering that the meritorious achievements of Confucius compensated for his deficiencies, granted that he be permitted to partake of the good fortune of heaven, but that he never again be permitted to go down to the world. (Quoted in Spence 1996: 98)

By 1845, Hong was writing his own tracts to lay out moral commandments for the heavenly kingdom he felt called to usher in. His moral code was simple: never to lust, always to obey parents, never to kill people, not to steal, to stay away from witchcraft and magic, and not to gamble. Hong amassed such a large and formidable army that the Qing dynasty forces could not control southern China. As persons began to join him, they were forced by Confucian officials and literati to resign their positions, thereby losing their livelihoods. On 19 March 1853, the Taiping army breached the walls of Nanjing, and on 29 March 1853, Hong was named ruler of the Kingdom of Great Peace. The subject of study for the Taiping civil service examinations was changed from the Confucian classics to the Christian Bible, and women were admitted to the examinations. On 26 January 1862, the Taiping launched an ill-fated winter attack on Shanghai, after asking foreigners to withdraw. The snow began to fall and the resistance was heavy. The Qing forces were well prepared but, more than that, the military commanders defending the city were taking orders

from Charles Gordon of the British Royal Engineers. The entire area from Nanjing to Shanghai was in desolation and refugees were everywhere, seeking shelter wherever they could find it. The Taiping were defeated. By 1863, Qing forces were finally able to mount a siege of Nanjing. By the spring of 1864, starvation was rampant in Nanjing. And then, on 1 June 1864, Hong died of an unknown cause. Although his son took over the leadership, the Qing seized the city on 19 July 1864, and ended the Taiping rule. This experience with Christianity, albeit an unorthodox version of that belief system, nevertheless gave the Chinese pause to question just how Western influences could disrupt their society and undercut its most cherished values and teachers.

Kang Youwei and the Call of Constitutional Monarchy

Kang Youwei (1858–1927) was a committed Chinese nationalist whose reformist ideas were despised by Empress Dowager Cixi (1835–1908) (*Cixi taihou*) in the last years of the Qing dynasty. Kang wanted to reform the Chinese government and establish a constitutional monarchy modeled after that of Meiji Japan. He called for an entirely new social order in China during the period when the Qing dynasty was withering away and revolution was in the wind. In Kang's utopian state the government would establish socialist institutions to provide for the needs of the people. He thought of capitalism as a system that

Figure 24: Kang Youwei

feeds on the greed and selfishness of persons and leads only to evil and injustice. Kang projected a Confucian utopian world free of political boundaries in his work *Book of Great Unity,* which was not published in its entirety until 1935, eight years after his death.[97]

Kang wanted to radically alter the traditional Chinese family structure, and he was known early on as an advocate of women's independence in China. Replacing the family would be state-run institutions, such as womb-teaching institutions, nurseries and schools, and retirement homes for the elderly. Marriage would be replaced by one-year contracts between a woman and a man. Kang considered the contemporary form of marriage, in which a woman was trapped for a lifetime, to be oppressive. He believed in equality between men and women, and believed there should be no social barrier barring women from employment, career advancement and leadership. In this, of course, Kang offered a view of family and women that was a revisionist and new view of Confucianism, not the kind of thing Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals* would have condoned.

Chapter X
The Contemporary Period

In the contemporary period (1912–present), Confucianism has negotiated the impact of Western traditions, overcome well-organized efforts to exterminate it, and grown into a new and vibrant form known as New Confucianism.

'The Last Confucian': Liang Shuming

Liang Shuming's (1893–1988, born as Liang Huanding) major influence on Confucianism was not felt until after World War I, when he defended the value of Confucianism as a corrective to the emphasis on science and critical reason in the West, turning instead to intuition as an alternative epistemology (Berthrong 1998: 184). Guy Alitto's famous study of his work calls him 'the last Confucian' because Liang sought to reform China's institutions by revising and recreating Confucian values and programs of the past. He set forward the strengths of Chinese culture against what he considered to be the excesses and failures of the West. He drew on the *Classic of Changes* and his own social action in rural China to forge new models of village and town life that were swept away in the anti-Japanese war (World War II).

Liang's concerns about the corrosives of empiricism and critical reason coming into China in the years after World War I were serious ones. By that time, a large number of Chinese were studying in North America, the UK and in Europe. They returned home with new ideas and methods of scholarship at the precise moment when China was founding some of its most prestigious universities, including Peking University in 1898 (i.e., Beijing University, *Beijing Daxue*, 北京大学). Even so, there was a great deal of disappointment in China over the policies of the peace treaties that ended World War I that were skewed to favor the West and perpetuate the weakness of China. The nationalist reforms born during this period eventually

brought down the Qing dynasty and led to the establishment of the new Chinese republic.

In his *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies* (1922), a work created from his lectures in the Philosophy Department of Beijing University, Liang took the position that there have been only three major cultural paths for human beings since the emergence of complex civilizations: the Western, Chinese and Indian. His position, then, was 'First, reject the Indian attitude without any reservation. Second, accept entirely the Western culture but modify its foundation; that is, change its attitude. Third, critically salvage the original Chinese attitude' (Liang 1922: 202). He was one of the principal targets of Chen Duxiu, the leader of the New Culture Movement that was built upon strong criticisms of the Confucian ethical code and sought to introduce science and democracy from the West. From Chen's point of view, Liang represented the drive to save traditional culture, especially Confucianism, and thereby keep China chained to its past. For his part, Liang felt that the New Culture Movement exhibited the same life attitude that lay behind the greed and corruption apparent in Western society and its individualism and materialism.

Liang constructed a two-fold model of the human psyche, based on his readings of Mencius and the work of the Russian zoologist, Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921). He used Kropotkin's empirical work with primates and their social relations and his revised Confucianism to critique the Western political philosophy of a 'social contract' between autonomous individuals, rejecting it as a fiction. He opted instead for Kropotkin's 'social instinct' and regarded it anthropologically defensible. He connected Kropotkin's idea to earlier Confucian thought, especially that of Mencius. He looked to the instinctual intuitive forces in the heart–mind derived from evolution, rather than rational agreement, as the grounds on which to build community.

From 1925 to early 1927, Liang stayed apart from Beijing University and worked on his new theories of Confucianism and psychology. This research culminated in the book *Mind, Heart and Life*. Liang moved away from his position that China would have to go through a stage of Western democracy before it could return to its vibrancy and bring forth its unique contribution to human spirituality and political life. However, his rejection of the Western political system also led him to set aside the emerging Communist

one. He considered both models to be 'tricks' of the West and neither to have the power equal to what could be obtained by a revised and modernized Confucianism. Having rejected traditional society with its oppression and injustice, and having found Western models to be bankrupt, Liang had to look somewhere for what China's future could be and what could bring new vitality to the nation. He turned to the villages, and although he did not mean the same thing as did the communists when they espoused 'learning from the peasants', nevertheless he embraced the saying, 'founding the nation in the villages' (*nongcun liguo*). In 1953, Mao Zedong launched an extremely critical attack on Liang's views and especially on Liang's challenges to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). He objected to a number of points, but one of them was to Liang's claim to be the representative of the villagers to the party and his demands that the party take greater care of them.

The Revival of Confucianism

The revival and popularization of Confucius and Confucianism in contemporary China has too many sources for us to trace them all. New Confucian scholar and imminent translator of Chinese texts, Henry Rosemont, Jr. identifies a few of them and characterizes them as follows (Rosemont 2010):

Yu Dan Kang Xiaoguang	Confucianism as "a" or "the" state religion of China
Zhang Xianglong	Study of Confucianism as a type of country-cultural learning (*guoxue* 国学) and its practice as a 'reservation zone' for the revival of family and morality, somewhat like Amish communities in the U.S.
Chen Ming Li Zehou	The practical institutionalization of Confucianism as a kind of civil religion in China
Peng Fei	Revival of Confucian academies with curricula focused on self-cultivation (e.g., Yidan Xuetang)

In 2006, Yu Dan (b. 1965), who is an Associate Professor at China's Beijing Normal University, gave a series of lectures entitled 'Yu Dan's Insights into the *Analects*' which was broadcast for seven days on

China Central Television (CCTV) as part of its *Lecture Room* (*baijia zhangtan*) program. Her messages were overwhelmingly popular and the transcripts of the talks were published as *Yu Dan's Notes on the Analects.* Called the 'hottest book' of 2007, the volume sold 10,000 copies on its first day of release and over 1.5 million in the first 40 days. By September 2007, the book sold 4.2 million legal copies and an estimated 6 million pirated ones. Yu is now a household name in China because of her popularization of Confucius's teachings.

Chinese Central Television contributed further to the awareness of Confucianism, and to the government's official sponsorship of the veneration of Confucius on his birthday, by broadcasting the events celebrating it nationwide in 2007. Since 2004, the Office of Chinese Language Council International (*Guojia hanban*) has established 316 Confucius Institutes and 337 Confucius Classrooms in 94 countries and regions as of July 2010. The goal is to spread Confucius's teachings, knowledge of Chinese culture, and Chinese language. In addition, public schools in China have started to develop a new syllabus that includes Confucian texts such as the *Analects* (Lam 2008). All these recent actions are what Yang Fenggang calls 'the signifiers of the new Confucianism movement' (Yang 2007).

Daniel Bell argues that the government of China is using Confucianism to fill in the 'ideology vacuum' of the country since Marxism has radically diminished in significance and religious sects and extreme nationalism are too radical for the Beijing government. Promoting Confucianism is being seen as a way to protect 'social stability' and create 'a harmonious society' (Bell 2006).

Kang Xiaoguang (b. 1963), a Professor in the Graduate School of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and at the School of Public Administration, Qinghua University. He focuses generally on the area of the relationship between state politics and popular society and specifically on the transformation of social structure and Confucianism's contribution to such change in the future. In his 2006 essay entitled 'Confucianization: a Future in the Tradition' Kang explains why he believes China should be 'Confucianized' rather than Westernized. He argues that China's current governmental and social environment cannot continue for long because it is characterized by a 'gangster mentality' and that the second option of liberal democracy with its further Westernization is also undesirable. This is why he turns to Confucianism as the most viable third option

(Kang 2006: 7). He rejects liberal democracy as a viable alternative for three reasons.

1) He believes some of the values that liberal democracy advocates are morally undesirable, specifically its individualism and its emphasis on freedom at the cost of moral stability in a society. Kang observes,

> liberal democracy holds that morals are a private matter, belonging to the category of privacy, so that no person or organization, including the government, has the right to declare that one moral is higher than the others. It alleges that the society and government should remain neutral in the judgement of values, which I am against. I believe that a stable and effective society has to have a set of mainstream values, and that society has the responsibility to propagate these values and let them take root deep in the hearts of the people through enlightenment and socialization.' (7)

We need not wonder at all about Kang's concerns over Western liberal democracy as an alternative for China's emerging political reality. He makes his views very clear.

> For China, Western democracy is useless as a tool, and is not helpful as a value. It is useless because it will not necessarily resolve the problem of political corruption, nor break the collusion between the officials and private businessmen, nor protect the interests of the masses, nor prevent the elite from plundering. On the contrary, it is likely to bring economic recession, political instability, and division of the country. That it is helpless does not mean that the legitimacy theory of liberal democracy cannot justify itself, but that it cannot by any means make good its promises, and in the end it turns out to be a set of lies. So China should reject it. At least, China should not accept it without question (Kang 2006: 9)

2) Kang holds that the principal beliefs on which liberal democracy relies do not have any factual foundation. For example, the ideology on which Western democracy rests presupposes that the human individual is a self-sufficient entity; when, in fact, the human being is a social animal that will not survive away from the group or society. Further, he accuses liberal democracy of believing in original sin, when, in fact, he claims, good and evil coexist in human nature.

3) Kang writes that even if the values that liberal democracy advocates are worthwhile, as a political system, it has proved to be a set of lies in practice; it has never made good on its promises (8).

> There is a better substitute plan, and that is 'benevolent (*ren* 仁) government.' So it is in this sense that I particularly stress the need to reject the gangster society and usher in a humane society. It is on the basis of these considerations that I have put forward the idea of 'benevolent government.' What is 'benevolence'? Confucius says, 'Benevolence is to love all people.' 'Benevolence' means a loving heart. What is "benevolent government"? In plain language, it is to let the benevolent govern. Mencius puts it in a most simple and most penetrating way: 'Practice commiserating government with a commiserating mind.' The government or those who practice government should have a feeling of commiseration. (9-10)

Kang's argument is that benevolent government can only be achieved if a community of Confucian scholars rules. 'It is a Confucian precept that the virtuous rule the state' (10). If we inquire of Kang who the virtuous are, he states directly that they are those who embrace and practice Confucianism. Accordingly, benevolent government is the best politics and Confucian scholars are those who are able to practice benevolent government. In Kang's words, benevolent government is 'a dictatorship by the community of Confucian scholars.' But it is different from ordinary authoritarianism. The difference lies in the fact that it is 'benevolent authoritarianism' (11).

The details of Kang's plan for training a new generation of Confucian statespersons in China and for redirecting the culture at large toward Confucian values are most clearly set forward in his 2005 work, *Benevolent Government (Ren Zheng 仁政): The Third Path of China's Political Development*. In short, his program is twofold. First, the Chinese Community Party must be Confucianized; Marxism is to be replaced with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. While the educational system will keep the party schools, their syllabi should be changed, listing the Four Books and Five Classics as required courses. There should be a return to the examination system for all promotions and Confucianism should be added to each examination (Kang 2006: 22). Second, the society must be Confucianized. Here the key is to introduce Confucianism into the national education system, adding courses in Chinese culture that impart a value

system, a faith and soul for the culture. In the long term, this can be achieved only if Confucianism becomes the state's civil religion. Kang observes, 'Talking of state religion, some will ask: Will Confucianism be forced upon everybody? No. The establishment of a state religion is not in conflict with the freedom of belief. And Kang Youwei had already made this point very clear long ago. The state will persist in the policy of freedom of religious belief but offer some favor to Confucianism. Only when Confucianism has revived, can we say that the Confucianization of the society is successful' (22).

The New Confucians and the Re-enchanting of Confucianism

New Confucian thinkers and activists have proven themselves to be a major movement having great influence, not just in contemporary China, but also in East Asia more generally. As we have seen, there is no essence of Confucianism. Instead, it may be conceived of using the analogy of a rope. Numerous intellectual strings, all claiming to be Confucian, overlap and intertwine to produce what we call Confucianism, but if we pull these strings apart, there is no essence of the Confucian rope left behind.

Recently, what is itself a braided string of thought, generated by scholars from mainland China to the USA, has come to be known simply as New Confucianism (*xin rujia*). According to John Makeham, the first generation of New Confucians included scholars all based in mainland China after the May Fourth Movement (c. 1915–21) student group that protested the Chinese government's acceptance of the treaties that ended World War I.[98] The second generation includes Confucian scholars in either Hong Kong or Taiwan. The third includes thinkers who principally addressed their work to the West.

While New Confucianism lacks the structure of an actual movement and the figures usually associated with it have profound differences philosophically, nonetheless, one thing they do have in common is a belief that Confucianism is a living intellectual tradition that continues to have viability in the present pluralistic political environment. This is in no place more evident than in Mou Zongsan's (1909–1995) singularly important essay entitled 'Manifesto for a Reappraisal of Sinology and the Reconstruction of Chinese Culture'.

Mou Zongsan is distinguished among New Confucians, and Confucians in general, for having given his primary attention to questions of epistemology rather than to morality or self-cultivation. However, he understood this project to be essential to Confucianism's revitalization as a viable spiritual option for humans around the globe. Mou was well educated in Western philosophy and his works are peppered with quotes from both Chinese and Western thinkers. He is most noted for his attacks on Zhu Xi and his turn toward the Cheng brothers. What he valued in the thought of the Chengs is their emphasis on the gain in knowledge about reality, and how to live, derived from spiritual contact with *qi* that is not 'muddy' or clouded by material desires or selfish interests. Mou held that the Chengs thus made a contribution to epistemology unlike any other Chinese philosopher or Western thinker. They constructed a spiritual philosophy that shows the way a cultivated heart can intuit reality and act on it in a process of ceaseless creativity, which includes both moral truth and metaphysical truth at the same time. Reaching back into Chinese history, Mou said that the sage-kings displayed a consciousness of concern that was not only free of moral uncertainty, but also drove them to learn about the world around them and invent new extensions of knowledge and technique.

One thinker contributing to the New Confucianism is Tu Weiming (1940–).[99] In his *Reinventing Confucianism: the New Confucian Movement*, Umberto Bresciani names Tu as the leader of the 'third generation' of New Confucians (2001: 29). In his *Reischauer Lectures*, Tu says politics is the 'rectification' of social order undertaken to make possible the self-cultivation of the citizens. In taking this position, Tu is pulling braids from Confucius. Asked about the work of politics (*zheng*), Confucius said, '*zheng zhe, zheng ye* ("politics means rectifying")' (*Analects* 12.17).[100] Tu takes this to mean political work extends beyond making laws and maintaining security. For Tu, while the body politic may assume the form of family, clan, school, village, local government or central bureaucracy, if it fails to put into place and monitor the processes and structures required for the self-cultivation and humanization of its members, it is no longer practicing rectification in an authentic Confucian sense.

We might confuse Confucian rectification of political policies with the balance of powers internal to political operation, such as in the American system. However, according to Tu, the simple

checking of a power center does not ensure the rectification of conditions necessary for a community of trust to exist. 'Balance of power' is a procedural concept. Rectification is a value-laden concept. It means correction: whereas balance of power need not imply that a policy or practice is righted, the work of political rectification monitors and constantly adjusts social processes of communal life in order to bring about what Tu calls a 'fiduciary community'.[101]

Tu first introduces the idea of a fiduciary community in his writings from the late 1970s, but it is perhaps most clearly described in his recent work, *Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness.* In this book, Tu uses the English term 'fiduciary', associated with a trustee in financial and legal interchanges, to render the Chinese concept *xinlai* (trust, trustworthiness), which, as Roger Ames and David Hall remind us, is a 'major concept for Confucius' (2001: 60). Tu considers the principal task of politics to be the rectification of the conditions that make possible the self-cultivation of the human being in an environment of a community of trust (*xinlai*) (1988: 36–7). He braids Confucius's own words into his political theory. In the *Analects,* Confucius said, 'when there is no trust [between the people and the government], the people cannot stand (*min wu xin bu li*)' (*Analects* 12.7). In Tu's New Confucianism, the fiduciary framework of trust in which persons can practice and realize their own self-cultivation is a place 'where organismic connections unite all modalities of being into a common bond' (Tu 1984: 83; 1985: 100).

While this new interpretation of Confucian politics does not rest on the idea of a community as an aggregate of autonomous individuals, neither does it deny individuality. In fact, the fiduciary community's guiding purpose is the self-cultivation of individuals, not the homogenization of selves and loss of identity in the group (Tu 1989b: 56). In the Confucian community Tu advocates, divergent interests and plural desires are dealt with differently than in social contract and civil libertarian adversarial systems, where the tyranny of the majority may be expressed in the ballot. In the fiduciary community, no decision can be made by the ruling authority if it destroys the ethos of trustworthiness among the people or between the people and the government. Such a delimitation of power creates in the community what Tu calls a 'convergence of orientations' (Tu 1984: 10).[102]

Drawing on Confucius's own words, Tu insists that the concept of a self-rectifying government always begins with the expectation that the leaders must cultivate their own personal lives (*xiu shen yang xing*) before they can lead a community of trust. The requirement for leader self-cultivation is expressed in the classical Confucian ideal 'internally a sage, externally a leader' (*nei sheng wai wang*) (Tu 1989a: 19). Leaders in Confucius's model are intellectuals possessed of remarkable powers of judgment born of their own self-cultivation and displayed through an engaged concern for the people. For Tu, this meritocratic ideal of ruler competency is the context for the teaching that the leader 'treats the people as [his] own children (*zi shu min*)'. Engaged concern for the people, born of the ruler's personal self-cultivation, makes a leader into the sort of politically relevant person who is able to create and sustain the community of trust. In the ideal Confucian community, leaders cultivate themselves to the point that their self-consciousness is able to represent the great interests (*da li*) of the entire community and their hearts are in tune with the hearts of the people (*min xin*). The resulting benefit is a fiduciary community of trust in which the citizens 'exhort one another to do good (*bai xing quan*)'.

Tu says that well-cultivated leaders demonstrate their knowledge by never relying exclusively on themselves, but always on the institutionalized authority of an interlocking system of other self-cultivating officials. Bureaucracy is not a bad thing in Tu's version of New Confucian political theory. Only bureaucrats who do not pay attention to their own rectification, and who fail to create and correct the patterns in the community that provide the ethos for the citizens' self-cultivation, are undesirable. As for the qualifications of the ministers who make up this bureaucracy, Tu sums up his views on rulers by quoting Confucius, who says simply that they should be 'virtuous (good) and competent (*xian neng*)'.

In Tu's New Confucian political theory, rectification is not merely the responsibility of the governmental leaders: it is expressed in the animated life of the fiduciary community itself as well. For Tu, no participant in the community is exempt from either the self-cultivation or the rectification process. Speaking of the people's role in the rectification process, Tu says they should engage in a sort of 'communal critical self-consciousness' (*qunji de pipan de ziwo yishi*). Communal critical self-consciousness goes beyond the 'personal individual' and yet the individual is not absorbed into an amorphous

'collective interest'. This is why Tu speaks of a fiduciary community as a 'learning culture' (Tu 2002: 129). The learning represented by the activity of communal critical self-consciousness is not reduced to winning an argument or succeeding in implementing a policy over the conscientious objections of others. Its result is not the victory of an individual or a party, but the emergence of policies that both enhance the ongoing self-cultivation of each individual and reinforce trust among all.

Tu distinguishes his notion of a learning culture from what he calls 'politicized Confucianism' (*zhengzhihua de ruxue*). Politicized Confucianism is the lineage of rule and politics often displayed in Chinese history and associated with authoritarianism and repression, closely related to what the mid-twentieth-century Chinese Communist Party called 'Confucian Feudalism'. Tu recognizes politicized Confucianism is an undeniable part of the historic tradition, but he considers it a perversion (Tu 1984: 105). He is particularly critical of the use of coerced and superimposed values and practices, said to be Confucian, in order to create uniformity and inhibit the cultivation and development of individual persons (105, 106). For Tu, wherever forced conformity occurs, it is evidence of the sort of politicized Confucianism that many times destroys the trust that is the life blood of the fiduciary ethos in China's past.

A difficult task for Tu is to explain how communal critical self-consciousness can achieve trust and preserve individual self-cultivation apart from imposed prescriptions and laws. To account for how this occurs, He turns to the classical Chinese notion of *li* (禮). He radicalizes this idea by claiming that *li* consists of nothing more or less than learning how to become human alongside other humans (Tu 1979: 28). For Tu, it is not the moral rules or laws of a community that create trust, but *the process* of creating and recreating patterns of humanization (*li*) that does so.

Tu believes the Confucian concept of *li* can represent an alternative to the Western social contractual understanding of the function of law. *Li* is not imposed on a community, but neither is it merely a calculus of agreed upon rules designed to prevent one person from harming another. *Li* bubbles up from the dynamism of a people committed to their own humanization. Tu believes that coercion through law, as by a government on its people, runs the danger of becoming an overzealous attempt to force conformity and destroys both the envi-

ronment of trustworthiness and the people's drive for self-cultivation. On the other hand, Tu follows Confucius in believing that when *li* arises from the engaged processes of self-transcending humanization, imposition and coercion become unnecessary.

Of course, this does not mean Tu is in favor of doing away with all laws; however, he holds that trust and a self-ordering community is not created by laws, as social contractualists invariably believe.[103] Tu is drawing on this passage:

> The Master said, 'If the people are led by laws, and uniformity sought by punishments, they will try to avoid punishment, but have no sense of shame. If they be led by virtue, and uniformity given them by *li*, they will have a sense of shame, and moreover will themselves become good'. (*Analects* 2.3)

Since the goal of politics is the rectification of all the processes that advance humanization and self-cultivation, Tu thinks the government's reach must extend to care for the economic and material life of its people. At this point, he braids the teachings of Mencius into his New Confucianism. He renders Mencius's use of *jian ai* as 'graded love' (Mencius 1B5). Tu considers 'graded love' to be the basic justice principle of a fiduciary community, and this differs starkly, of course, from the overriding Western justice values of impartiality and equality. While we may think primarily of justice as fairness in a Western political system, Tu argues that the Confucian model for social justice is not marked by impartiality, but by grading or ranking the distribution of social goods in such as way as to reinforce the ethos of trustworthiness among the people and between the government and the people.

With the advent of New Confucianism and its thinkers spread throughout the global community, the Confucian Way has become an international movement. Yet, Confucianism is in radical transformation even as it rises again in a revisionist form, both in its homeland in China and in its reach internationally. We will see if its reconstruction of classical teachings will provide new models for politics as the next steps in the Confucian Way.

New Confucian Understandings of Political Ideals and Structure

1 In Confucianism, what is the nature of politics (i.e., its basic activity and purpose)?
   - Politics is the rectification of social order undertaken to make possible the self-cultivation of the citizens.
   - Confucius said, 'politics means rectifying' (*Analects* 12.17).
   - Political work extends beyond making laws and maintaining security.

2 How may we contrast the fundamental purpose of politics in New Confucianism with the prevailing Western theory of politics since the eighteenth century?
   - The purpose of politics in the West is preventing harm, while creating the greatest space for liberty of expression, and freedom of lifestyle choice, generally in the pursuit of happiness as an end.
   - The purpose in Confucianism is creating trust in community so that self-cultivation can take place. Political rectification monitors and constantly adjusts social processes of communal life in order to bring about an environment in which people are able to be better and humanize themselves.

3 How does the ultimate objective of political activity in New Confucianism make room for individual expression?
   - Self-cultivation and humanization are built on no monolithic conception of the good or the human.
   - Self-cultivation of individuals is the goal, not the homogenization of selves or loss of identity in the group.

4 How may we compare and contrast the relationship between rulers and the people in New Confucianism with the Western Anglo–European–American tradition?
   - In New Confucianism, government rests on *xinlai* (trust, trustworthiness) between government and the people.
   - In the *Analects,* Confucius says, 'when there is no trust [between the people and the government], the people cannot stand' (*Analects* 12.7).
   - Politics as rectification must occur in a community of trust, but the community of trust emerges only as people are confident their government is adjusting and monitoring processes to enable their betterment.
   - In the West, social contract government is not built on trust, but on a calculus of weighing interests and trade-offs of benefits.

5 How are the root values in New Confucianism ranked differently than those in Western civil libertarianism?

- Confucian root values are humanization, harmony, self-betterment. These require liberty and freedom of expression, but liberty and freedom of expression are not prioritized above them.

6 What is the New Confucian model for ascent to rule and the responsibility of rulers?

- A self-rectifying government always begins with the expectation that the leaders must cultivate their own personal lives before they can lead a community of trust.
- The requirement for leader self-cultivation is expressed in the classical Confucian ideal 'internally a sage, externally a leader'.
- This meritocratic ideal of ruler competency is the context for the teaching that the leader 'treats the people as [his] own children'.
- In the ideal Confucian community, leaders cultivate themselves to the point that their self-consciousness is able to represent the great interests of the entire community and their hearts are in tune with the hearts of the people.

7 From where are the patterns of self-cultivation and humanization taken, according to New Confucian thinkers?

- The Master said, 'If the people are led by laws, and uniformity sought by punishments, they will try to avoid punishment, but have no sense of shame. If they be led by virtue, and uniformity given them by the rites, they will have a sense of shame, and moreover will themselves become good' (*Analects* 2.3).
- The rites (li, 禮) consist of nothing more or less than learning how to become human in relationship to other humans.

8 What is the source of the extension of political activity into the economic and material life of the people (i.e., the distribution of social goods)? What normative principle guides this activity and how is this understanding of distributive justice to be compared with models found in Western theories?

- Since the goal of politics is the rectification of all the processes that advance humanization and self-cultivation, the government's reach must extend to care for the economic and material life of its people; otherwise, trust cannot occur.
- The Confucian principle of distributive justice is 'graded love' (Mencius 1B:5) that requires consideration of need rather than abstract equality. There is a grading or ranking of the distribution of social goods in a way that reinforces the ethos of trustworthiness.

A Quick Guide to Pronunciation

Adapted from Terry Kleeman and Tracy Barrett (2005: 171)

ai	the y in fry	hai	is pronounced hi
an	the on in on	fan	is pronounced fahn
ang	the ong in gong	fang	is pronounced fahng
ao	the ow in cow	gao	is pronounced gaow
c	the ts in fits	cao	is pronounced tsaow
e	the oo in foot	se	is pronounced suh
ei	the ay in bay	fei	is pronounced fay
en	the un in fun	men	is pronounced muhn
eng	the ung in fungus	meng	is pronounced muhng
er	the are in are	mu'er	is pronounced moo-er
g	the g in girl	gao	is pronounced gaow
i	the ee in glee	qi	is pronounced chee
ia	ee, plus ah	xia	is pronounced sheeah
iang	ee, plus the yang in yang	chiang	is pronounced cheeahng
ie	ee, plus the yeah in yeah	qie	is pronounced cheeyeh
in	the ee in been	xin	is pronounced sheen
iu	ee, plus oh	jiu	is pronounced jeeoh
ou	oh	mou	is pronounced mwho
q	the ch in child	qin	is pronounced cheen
u	the ew in few	yu	is pronounced yew
u	the oo in boo	gu	is pronounced goo
ua	the wa in water	hua	is pronounced hwah
uan	the wan in wander	huan	is pronounced hwahn
uang	the wan in wander plus ng	huang	is pronounced hwahng
ue	oo, plus the e in went	que	is pronounced chooeh
un	the won in won	sun	is pronounced swun
uo	the awe in awful	guo	is pronounced gwoh
x	the sh in should	xing	is pronounced shing
yuan	oo, plus the en in went	yuan	is pronounced yuwen
z	the ds in yards	zeng	is pronounced dzeng
zh	the j in juice	zhou	is pronounced jo

Illustrations, Map and Picture Credits

All URLs were correct at the time of writing

Glossary of Titles

Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies (*Nushi zhentu*, 女史箴圖)
An Evidential Study of the Meaning and Terms of the Mencius (*Mengzi ziyi shuzheng*, 孟子字義疏證)
An Introduction to the Study of the Yi (*Yixue qimeng*, 易學啟蒙)
Analects (*Lunyu*, 論語)
Biographies of Exemplary Women (*Lienu zhuan*, 列女傳)
Biographies of the Immortals (*Liexian zhuan*, 列仙傳)
Black Robes (*Ziyi*, 緇衣)
Book of Great Unity (*Da Tongshu*, 大同書)
Book of Ten Thousand Characters (*Qianzi Wen*, 千字文)
Charts and Models of Confucius and His Disciples (*Kongzi turren tufa*, 孔子徒人圖法)
Chengs' Surviving Sayings (*Yishu*, 遺書)
Chronicles of the Zuo (*Zuo zhuan*, 左傳)
Classic of Changes (*Yijing*, 易 經)
Classic of Filial Piety (*Xiaojing*, 孝經)
Classic of History (*Shujing*, 書 經)
Classic of Music (*Yueji*, 樂 記)
Classic of Poetry (*Shijing*, 詩 經)
Classic of Rites (*Liji*, 禮記)
Classic of the Mountains and the Seas (*Shanhai jing*, 山海經)
Classic of the Supreme Principles of World Order (*Huangji Jingshi*, 皇極經世)
Collected Annotations on the Four Books (*Sishu Jizhu*, 四书集注)
Collected Comments on Lesser Learning (*Xiaoxue jizhu*, 小學集註)
Commentary of Gongyang (*Gongyang zhuan*, 公羊传)
Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall (*Baihu tong*, 白虎通)
Conversations of Master Zhu, Arranged Topically (*Zhuzi yulei*, 朱子語類)
Correcting Ignorance (*Zheng Meng*, 正蒙)

Critical Essays (*Lunheng*, 論衡)
Daodejing (道德經)
Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained (*Taiji tushuo*, 太極圖說)
Diary of a Madman (*Kuangren riji*, 狂人日记)
Dietary Proscriptions of the Divine Agriculturist the Yellow Emperor (*Shennong huangdi shijin*, 神農黃帝食禁)
Discourse on Salt and Iron (*Yantielun*, 盐铁轮)
Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Respective Philosophies (*Dongxi wenhua jiqi zhexue*, 东西文化及其哲學)
Elder Dai's Record of Ritual (*Da Dai Liji*, 大戴禮記)
Garden of Sayings (*Shuoyuan*, 說苑)
Great Learning (*Daxue*, 大學)
Great Peace Classic (*Taipingjing*, 太平經)
Guoyu (國語)
Handan Tale (*Handanji*, 邯鄲記)
History of the Former Han (*Han shu*, 漢書)
Hanfeizi (韩非子)
Instructions for Practical Living (*Chuanxi lu*, 傳習錄)
Introduction of Famous Paintings of Wei and Jin Dynasties (*Wei Jin shengliu hua zan*, 魏晉勝流畫贊)
Laozi's Conversion of the Barbarians (*Laozi huahu jing*, 老子花胡經)
Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals (*Chunqiu fanlou*, 春秋繁露)
Manifesto for a Reappraisal of Sinology and the Reconstruction of Chinese Culture (*Zhongguo wenhua yu shijie*, 中国文化与世界, lit., *Chinese Culture and the World)*
Master Lu's Spring and Autumn Annals (*Lüshi Chunqiu*, 呂氏春秋)
Master of Huainan (*Huainanzi*, 淮南子)
Master Zhu's Family Rituals (*Zhuzi jiali*, 朱子家澧)
Memorial on the Buddha's Finger (*Lun fogu biao*, 論佛骨表)
Memorial Requesting the Renovation of Schools, the Veneration of Confucian Teachers and the Selection of Literati (*Qingxiu xuexiao zunshi ru qushi zi*, 清修學校尊師儒取士劄子)
Mengzi (孟子)
Mind, Heart and Life (*Renxin yuren*, 人心與人)
Model Sayings (*Fayan*, 法言)
New Preface (*Xinxu*, 新序)
On Painting (*Hualun*, 畫論)
Original Way (*Yuandao*, 原道)

Painting Yuntai Mountain (*Hua Yuntai shan ji*, 畫雲台山記)
Penetrating the Classic of Change (*Tongshu*, 通書)
Peony Pavilion (*Mudan Ting*, 牡丹亭)
Platform Sutra ('Sixth Patriarch's Altar Classic', *liuzu tanjing*, 六祖壇經)
Precepts for Women (*Nujie*, 女誡)
A Record of the Dike (Fangji, 坊记*)*
A Record of the Example (Biaoji, 表記*)*
Records of Confucius in the Three Courts (*Kongzi sanchao ji*, 孔子三朝記)
Records of the Historian (*Shi ji*, 史记)
Reflections on Things at Hand (*Jinsi lu*, 近思錄)
Romance of the Three Kingdoms (*Sanguo zhi*, 三國誌)
School Sayings of Confucius (*Kongzi jiayu*, 孔子家語)
Spring and Autumn Annals (*Chunqiu*, 春秋)
Study of Human Ability (*Ren wu* zhi, 人物志)
Supreme Mystery (*Tai Xuan*, 太玄)
Tale of the Southern Bough (*Nankeji*, 南柯记)
Tract of the Most Exalted on Action and Response (*Taishang ganying pian*, 太上感應篇)
Twenty-four Filial Exemplars (*Ershisi xiao*, 二十四孝)
Western Inscription (*Xi Ming*, 西銘)
Wise and Benevolent Women (*Lienu ren zhi tu*, 列女仁智圖)
Wondrous Mushrooms of the Yellow Emperor and His Various Disciples (*Huangdi zazi zhijun*, 黃帝雜子芝菌)
Yellow Emperor's and Three Kings' Techniques for Nourishing Yang (*Huangdi sanwang yangyang fang*, 黃帝三王養陽方)
Yellow Emperor's Classic of the Golden Bookcase and Jade Scales (*Huangdi jinkui yuheng jing*, 黃帝金匱玉衡經)
Yellow Emperor's Inner Classic (*Huangdi neijing*, 黃帝內經)
Yellow Emperor's Old Willow Divination by Dreams (*Huangdi changliu zhanmeng*, 黃帝長柳占夢)
Yu Dan's Notes on the Analects (Yu Dan Lunyu xinde 于丹论语心得)
Zhongyong **(**中庸)
Zhuangzi (庄子)

Glossary of Names and Terms

Ai Gong (Lu Aigong 魯哀公, a.k.a., Ji Jiang 姬蔣)
An Lushan
ba (霸), lords, hegemon
Bagua (八卦)
bai jia (百家)
baijia zhangtan (百家讲坛)
bai xing quan (百姓劝)
Baihu guan huiyi (白虎觀會議)
Bailudong Yuan (白鹿洞書院)
Ban Gu (班固)
Ban Zhao (班昭)
bianhua qizhi (变化氣質)
Bo Yi (伯夷)
Boyu (伯魚)
buyi zhi ze (不易之則)
Cao Cao (曹操)
Cao Rui (曹叡)
Chang'an (長安), Xi'an (西安)
changzhi (常知)
Chen Duxiu (陈独秀)
Chen Tuan (陳摶)
cheng (誠)
Cheng Hao (程顥)
Cheng Yi (程頤)
Cheng-Zhu (程朱)
chi (尺)
Chisongzi (赤松子)
chizhi (赤制)
Chu (楚), state
Chunqiu Shidai (春秋时代)
Chunqiu (春秋)
Cixi taihou (慈禧太后)
Cui Shu (崔述)
cun yang (存養)
da li (大利)
Dai Zhen (戴震)
Dajian Huineng (大鑒惠能)
dao (道)
dao xin (道心)
Daojia (道家)
Daojiao (道教)
daotong (道通)
Daoxue (道学)
Datian Xian (大田县)
daya (大雅)
de (德), excellence, virtuous power
Dehua (德化)
di (帝), lord, emperor
di (地), earth
didi (弟弟)
Dingzhou (定州)
Dong Zhongshu (董仲舒)
Du Liniang (杜麗娘)
Du Yingqi (杜英奇)
duan (端)
Duanmu Ci (端木賜)
Duke Mu of Qin (秦穆公)
dunjia (遁甲)
Ehu Shuyuan (鹅湖书院)
fa (法)
fajia (法家)
Famen si (法门寺)
Fan Chi (樊遲)
Fan Zhongyan (范仲淹)
Fengshu Kengru (焚書坑儒)

fengshui (風水)
Fengxiang (凤翔)
Fojiao (佛教)
Fu Xi (伏羲)
Fujian (福建)
Gaixia (垓下)
Gao Yao (皋陶)
Gaozu (高祖)
gege (哥哥)
ge wu (格物)
gewu zhizhi (格物致知)
Gongshan Furao (公山弗擾)
Gongxi Chi (公西赤)
Gongyang (公羊)
Gu Kaizhi (顧愷之)
Gu lun (古論)
Gu Ruopu (顧若璞)
Guanzhong (管仲)
guangming (光明)
Guangshun men (光顺门)
gui (鬼)
guidao (鬼道)
gui shen (鬼神)
guo feng (國風)
Guo Jujing (郭居敬)
Guo Xiang (郭象)
Guodian (郭店)
Guojia hanban (国家汉办)
guwen (古文)
guwen jing (古文經)
Guwen Yundong (古文運動)
Han (漢), Han dynasty
Han Fei (韩非)
Han Hedi (漢和帝)
Han Yu (韓愈)
Hanfeizi (韩非子)
Hangzhou (杭州)
Hanlin yuan (翰林院)
Haojing (镐京)
haoran zhi qi (浩然之氣)
haoxue (好學)
he (和)
He Yan (何晏)
Henan (河南)
Hong Xiuquan (洪秀全)
Houjing (侯景)
hu (虎)
hua (畫), painting
Huainan yuan (淮南院), academy
Huan Tui (桓魋)
Huangdi (皇帝), emperor
Huangdi (黃帝), the Yellow Emperor
Huangjin (黃巾)
Huang-Lao Dao (黃老道)
Huang-lao (黃老)
Ji (姬)
Ji (季)
Ji Chang (姬昌)
Ji Dan (姬旦)
Ji Fa (姬發)
Ji Kangzi (季康子)
Ji Song (姬誦)
jia gu (甲骨)
jian ai (兼爱)
jiao (教)
jiejie (姐姐)
Jihuanzi (季桓子)
Jikangzi (季康子)
jin (斤)
Jin (金), Jin dynasty
jinshi ke (進士科)
jinshi (進士)
Jian of Qi (Qi Jian Gong, 齊簡公), Duke
jing (經), classic
jing (敬), reverence, inner attentiveness
Jing Gong (景公), Duke Jing
jing zuo (靜坐)
jinwen jing (今文經)
Jishi zai (季氏宰)

Jixia xuegong (稷下學宮), academy
junzi (君子)
junzi ru (君子儒)
Kaifeng (開封)
Kang Xiaoguang (康晓光)
Kang Youwei (康有為)
kanyu jia (堪與家)
kaozheng xue (考證學)
ke ji (克己), conquer evil thoughts
ke qi (客 氣)
keju (科举)
Kong Anguo (孔安國)
Kong Ji (孔伋)
Kong jiao (孔教)
Kong Qiu (孔丘)
Kong Zhongni (孔仲尼)
Kongfuzi (孔夫子)
Kongzi (孔子)
kun (坤)
Laozi (老子)
Li (李)
li (澧), rites, rituals
li (理), principle(s)
Li Chen (李忱)
Li Er (李耳)
Li Qingjun (李庆军)
Li Si (李斯)
Li Yan (李炎), emperor Wuzong
Li Yuan (李淵), Gaozu
Li Zhongqing (李仲卿)
Liang (梁), Liang dynasty
Liang Huanding (梁焕鼎)
Liang Shuming (梁漱溟)
liangzhi (良知)
Lin'an (臨安), Hangzhou
Língao (临皋)
Lingbao (靈寶)
Linzi (臨淄)
Liu Bang (劉邦)
Liu Haichan (劉海禪)
Liu Xin (劉歆)
Liu Xiu (劉秀)
Liu Mengmei (柳瞢梅)
Liu Shao (劉劭)
Liu Xiang (劉向)
liu xue (六學)
liu yi (六藝)
Liujing (六經)
liushisi gua (六十四卦)
Lixue (理学)
long (龍)
Louguan Tai (樓觀台)
Lu (魯), state
Lu Dongbin (呂洞賓)
Lu Jiuyuan (陸九淵)
Lu Xiangshan (陆象山), a.ka. Lu Jiuyuan
Lu Xun (鲁迅)
Lu Zuqian (吕祖謙)
Luo Guanzhong (羅貫中)
Luoyang (洛陽)
Mawangdui (馬王堆)
meimei (妹妹)
Mencius (Mengzi, 孟子)
Meng Ke (孟軻)
Meng Mu (孟母)
Meng Wubo (孟武伯)
Mengmu duan ji (孟母斷機)
Mengmu san qian (孟母三遷)
Mengzi (孟子)
min wu xin bu li (民无信不立)
min xin (民心)
Min Ziqian (閔子騫)
ming (命), order, fate
ming (明), spiritual clarity
Ming (明), Ming dynasty
ming xin (明心)
mo'er shizhi (默而識之)
Mohism (墨家)
Mojia (墨家)

Mou Zongsan (牟宗三)
Mozi (墨子), a.ka. Mo Di (墨翟)
Mu Xiu (穆修)
Nanjing (南京)
Nanzi (南资)
nei qi (内氣)
nei sheng (内聖)
nei sheng wai wang (内聖外王)
neidan (内丹)
Neijing tu (内經圖)
nongcun liguo (農 村 立 國)
nuo (儺)
Ouyang (Xiu 歐陽修)
Pei Wei (裴頠)
pian (篇), chapter
pian (片), one-sided
qi (氣)
Qi (齊), NE Lu
Qi (齊), state
qi (棋), board game of strategy
Qi Weiwang (齊威王), Tian Yinqi (田因齊)
qian (乾)
Qin (秦), dynasty
qin (琴), music instrument
qing (情)
Qing (清朝), dynasty
Qin Shihuangdi (秦始皇帝)
qizheng (七政)
Qu Boyu (蘧伯玉)
Quanzhen (全真)
Qufu (曲阜)
qunji de pipan de ziwo yishi (群集的批判的自我意识)
Ran Qiu (冉求)
Ran Yong (冉雍)
Ranqiu (冉求) a.k.a. Ziyou (子有)
ren (人) , person
ren (仁) , humaneness
ren xin (人心)
Ru (儒)
rujia bapai (儒家八派)
Rujiao (儒教)
san dai (三代)
sanjiao (三教)
Shandong (山東)
Shang (商), dynasty
Shao Yong (邵雍)
shen (神)
shengren (聖人)
shi (勢), power
shi (士), apprentice
Shi Yi (十翼)
shidafu (士大夫)
Shiyu (史魚)
shizhan (筮占)
Shu (蜀), kingdom
shu (術), political strategy
shu (書), calligraphy, literary arts
shu (恕), reciprocity
Shu Qi (叔齊)
shu'er buzuo (述而不作)
Shun (舜)
Shuyuan (書院)
Sijing (四書)
Sima Guang (司馬光)
Sima Niu (司馬牛)
Sima Qian (司馬遷)
Si-Meng lineage (pai) (思孟派)
Sishu (四書)
Siyi (四藝)
song (頌)
Song (宋朝), dynasty
Su Shi (蘇軾)
Sui (隋), ruling house
Suiyangdi (隋煬帝)
suwang (素王), uncrowned king
Tai (台), city
Taiji (太极)

taiji tu (太極圖)
Taiping (太平)
Taixue (太學)
Taizong (太宗)
Taizu (太祖)
Tang (唐朝), dynasty
Tang Xianzu (湯顯祖)
tian (天)
tian ren ganying (天人感应)
Tian Yinqi (田因齊)
tianli (天理)
tianming (天命)
Tianshi Dao (天師道)
wai qi (外氣)
Wang Anshi (王安石)
Wang Bi (王弼)
Wang Chong (王充)
Wang Chongyang (王重陽)
Wang Fu (王浮)
Wang Mang (王莽)
Wang Shouren (王守仁), Wang Yangming (王陽明)
Wang Su (王肅)
Wang Yuanzhi (王遠知)
Wangxian guan (望仙觀)
wanwu (萬物)
wei (為), act
Wei (衛)
Wei (魏), kingdom
wen (文), culture, learning
wo shi yige rujiao tu (我是一个儒教徒)
Wu (武), of Liang dynasty
Wu (吳), kingdom
wu (無), nothingness
wu (悟), enlightenment
wuji (無極)
Wujing (五經)
wu-wei (無爲)
wuxin (無 心)
wu-xing (五行)
Wuzong (武宗)
Xia Shang Zhou Duandai Gongcheng (夏商周断代工程)
Xia (夏), dynasty
Xi'an (西安)
xian (仙), immortal
xian neng (贤能)
Xiang Xiu (向秀)
Xiang Yu (項羽)
Xianyang (咸陽)
Xianzong (宪宗)
xiao (孝)
xiaoren ru (小人儒)
xiaoya (小雅)
xin (信), trustworthiness
xin (心), heart–mind
xin rujia (新儒家)
Xinxue (心學)
xing (性), nature
xing cha (省察)
xinlai (信赖)
xiu shen yang xing (修身养性)
xuan (玄), mystery
xuan zhi you xuan (玄之又玄)
Xuanxue (玄學)
Xuanzong (宣宗), Tang Emperor, 846–859
Xuanzong (玄宗), Tang emperor, 712–756
Xun Kuang (荀況), a.k.a. Xunzi
Xun Qing (荀卿)
Xunzi (荀子)
Yan Hui (顏回)
Yan Lingfeng (嚴靈峰)
Yan Yuan (顏淵), a.k.a. Yan Hui
Yang Xiong (揚雄)
Yang Zhu (楊朱), a.k.a. Yangzi
yang (陽)

Yangzi (楊子), a.k.a. Yang Zhu (楊朱)
Yao (堯)
Yasheng Mengzi (亚盛孟子)
yi (廙), extraordinary
yi (義), righteousness
yijian (意见)
yin (陰)
yin yuan (姻緣)
Ying Renhao (嬴任好)
Ying Zheng (嬴政)
Yongle (永樂), emperor title
you (有), being
You (有), Master
You Ruo (有弱), Master You
Yu (禹)
Yu Dan 于丹
yuan (遠), distance
Yuan (元), dynasty
Zai Wo (宰予)
Zengzi (曾子), Master
zhan yao jian (斬妖劍)
Zhang (章), emperor
Zhang Daoling (張道陵)
Zhang Jiao (張角)
Zhang Ling (張陵)
Zhang Zai (張載)
Zhanguo shidai (戰國時代)
Zhao Kuangyi (趙匡義), emperor Taizong
Zhao Kuangyin (趙匡胤)
Zhao Qi (趙岐)
Zheng Xuan (鄭玄)
zheng (政), politics
zheng zhe, zheng ye (政者正也)
zheng zheng ye (政正也)
zhengzhihua de ruxue (政治化的儒学)
zhenren (真人)
Zhenshen ta (真身塔)
zhenzhi (真知)
zhi (智)
zhi (治), ruling center
zhong (中), centering
zhong (忠), utmost
Zhong Ni (仲尼)
Zhonggong (种弓), a.k.a. Ran Yong (冉雍)
Zhongli Quan (鐘離權)
Zhou (周), dynasty
Zhou Gong (周公), Duke of Zhou
Zhou Chengwang (周成王)
Zhou Dunyi (周敦頤)
Zhou Wenwang (周文王), King Wen
Zhou Wuwang (周武王), King Wu
Zhu Di (朱棣), Yongle emperor
zhu qi (主氣)
Zhu Xi (朱熹)
Zhuang Zhou (庄周)
Zhuangzi (庄子)
zi shu min (子熟民)
Zichan (子產)
Zigong (子貢), a.k.a. Duanmu Ci (端木賜)
Zihua (子華), a.k.a. Gongxi Chi (公西赤)
Zilu (子路), a.k.a. Zhong You (仲由)
ziran (自然)
Zisizi (子思子), Master Zisi
Ziwen (子文)
Zixia (子夏)
Ziyou (子游)
Zizhang (子張)
Zou Yan (鄒衍)
Zouyi (陬邑)
Zuo Qiuming (左丘明)

Notes

Preliminary considerations and conventions

1 I am indebted to Jeffrey Richey and John Berthrong for making this point in their 'Introduction' to *Teaching Confucianism* (Richey 2008: 17).

Chapter I

2 See also David Keightley (1978) *Sources of Shang History* and K.C. Chang (1983) *Art, Myth and Ritual.*

3 See Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy (1999) *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BCE.* This work contains an excellent set of essays exploring early Chinese history.

4 Bryan Van Norden reminds us that the present day word for 'revolution' in Chinese is *geming* (革命), which means 'change the mandate' (2002a: 5). In this way, the idea of the Mandate of Heaven has been linked in the minds of the Chinese to the dynastic cycles of their history.

5 In the West, one of the major projects related to a reconstruction of the Warring States Period is the Warring States Project based at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. (http://www.umass.edu/wsp/project/history.html).

6 See Robert Eno (2004).

7 Not everyone agrees with this. There are two basic camps. One says the Ru existed before Confucius, perhaps as far back as the Shang dynasty (1600–1045 BCE?), and he is within their tradition. This is the view I take in this book. The other view is that although scholar–teacher–ritual specialists existed before Confucius, the term *Ru* was not used until after Confucius and was invented as a name for Confucius's followers. See Xinzhong Yao's discussion of these divergent views (2000: 16–20).

8 See Burton Watson (1968: 165–6) and Ronnie Littlejohn (2009: 35–7 and 2006).

9 A most helpful analysis of early Chinese texts, their dates and textual criticism, can be found in Michael Loewe (1994) *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide.*

10 Xinzhong Yao offers us an enlightening distinction between 'the Classics', for which the Chinese character is *jing* (經), and 'book', for which the character is *shu* (書). *Jing* originally meant the warp of cloth, its binding structure. In this way Chinese works with the appellation of

jing are regarded as equivalent to 'scriptures', which contain the constant principles that guide life. *Shu* is a character made from two components, the one meaning 'writing brush' and the other meaning 'mouth'. So, books are records of sayings, or the writing down of stories and what has been oral (2000: 56).

11 Translations of the *Classic of Poetry* include Bernhard Karlgren (1950b); James Legge (1871, 1991); and Arthur Waley (1961).

12 The *Classic of History* may be found in English translations by Bernhard Karlgren (1950a) and James Legge (1865, 1991).

13 A translation of the *Classic of Rites* in its entirety has been done by James Legge (1885, 1967). This translation, as well as Legge's *The Chinese Classics*, is now available online at http://sacred-texts.com/cfu/index.htm#fivecla.

14 Edward Shaughnessy (1996) has done a translation of the version of the *Classic of Changes* text that was discovered by archaeologists in 1973. The standard translation based on the received text is still that made by Richard Wilhelm and Cary Baynes (1950).

15 Some significant recent works on the *Classic of Changes* are Edward Shaughnessy (1993) and Richard Smith (2008).

16 James Legge has done a full translation of this work as *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tao Chuen* (*The Chinese Classics,* Vol. V) (1872, 1991).

17 The ready-at-hand English translation of Sima Qian's biography may be found in Hsien-Yi Yang and Gladys Yang (1974), pp. 1–27.

18 It is still the case that Herlee Creel's work remains a reliable starting point for a study of the life of Confucius. First published as *Confucius: The Man and the Myth* (1949), it is now available as *Confucius and the Chinese Way.* Other biographical studies of Confucius include 'Appendix Four' of E. Bruce Brooks and A. Taeko Brooks (1998), and D.C. Lau's (1979) first appendix to *Confucius: The Analects*. Michael Nylan and Thomas Wilson have done an outstanding study of the traditions about Confucius through the ages (2010).

19 For Zilu, see *Chronicles of Zuo*, Duke Ding, Year 12; Ran Yong, *Analects* 13.2.

20 Lionel Jensen (1993) helps us understand the various constructions of Confucius in his 'The Invention of Confucius and His Chinese Other *Kongzi*'.

21 Arguably, it may be said that the great Islamic tradition of the doctrine of *isnad* was an attempt to increase the reliability and accuracy of accounts of the Prophet's teachings and actions.

22 Good sources for this period and its ongoing controversies are A.C. Graham (1989) *Disputers of the Tao*, and Benjamin Schwartz (1985) *The World of Thought in Ancient China.*

Chapter II

23 There are so many translations of the *Analects* now that it does not make much sense to say which one is 'best'. Several translations have strengths and many of them are perfectly reasonable renderings of the text. Actually, the translation by James Legge, although quite old, is still very usable and it contains a wide range of interpretive notes which many readers will find of value. Other translations are those by Edward Slingerland, D.C. Lau, Arthur Waley, and even some acceptable online versions.

24 The book and analect numbers I use refer to the translation by Roger Ames and Henry Rosement Jr (1998), although I do not always follow their translation.

25 Consider that Yan Lingfeng edited hundreds of volumes of commentaries on the *Analects* that filled a 408-volume edition.

26 Analect 2.21 has Confucius quote the *Classic of History* to this effect.

27 See Ronnie Littlejohn, 'Kongzi on Religious Experience', and 'Did Kongzi Teach Us How to Become Gods?'

28 This reading is consistent with Kongzi's view that there is always a morally appropriate ritual (*li*) for our behavior toward those of greater authority (e.g., the ruler or even one's father). Indeed, some help in interpreting what Kongzi means in 6.22 comes from 16.13, in which the same character for 'distance' (*yuan*) is used for how a son should not be overly familiar with his father or approach him without proper deference.

29 Mencius reports that, while holding office in Lu, Confucius led a sacrifice but was not given a share of the meat of the sacrificial animal. The result was that he left the state without so much as removing his ritual garments (6B6). This omission was both a formal insult offered to him in the host's not providing the meal and it was an affront precisely because Confucius believed the meat was imbued with spiritual power as a result of his ritual action.

30 Confucius's Han dynasty descendant, Kong Anguo (174–156 BCE), commenting on this analect, wrote that the Master stood on the steps of his ancestral temple (rather than his home) in order to comfort his own ancestral spirits during the exorcism and keep them from fleeing along with the hungry ghosts and evil spirits (Slingerland 2003: 105). If we follow Kong Anguo's interpretation, we get some insight into the inner experiences of Confucius.

Chapter III

31 Other texts associated with Zisi are in the *Classic of Rites* under the Chapters 'A Record of the Example', 'The Black Robes' and 'A Record of the Dike'.

32 Two studies of the textual composition of the *Zhongyong* are by Tu Weiming (1989a) and Takeuchi Yoshio (1979).
33 There is a recent translation of *The Classic of Filial Piety* by Henry Rosemont, Jr. and Roger Ames, two of the Western world's most qualified scholars in classical Chinese philosophy and language (2009).
34 Yang Zhu's writings do not survive. Kwong-loi Shun has summarized the recent efforts to reconstruct Yang's teachings (1997: 35–47).
35 For a discussion of the criticisms of Confucian ideas and of Confucius in both the *Daodejing* and *Zhuangzi*, see Ronnie Littlejohn (2009: 9, 35–6, 42, 50, 59–60, 71, 136 and 148).
36 Fixing the date for the beginning of the Jixia Academy depends on what counts as a 'beginning'. If the tradition is correct and King Wei of Qi issued a call for scholars in the 18th year of his reign, this would be about 340 BCE (we are also not certain about the beginning of King Wei's reign). It seems that the great Confucian teacher Xunzi was the 'leading and most eminent scholar' until 265 BCE, but we have no reason to believe that the academy ceased upon Xunzi's exit (Knoblock 1988: 1, 3–35). It is reasonable to believe that the Jixia Academy continued until the Qi was brought under the rule of Qin (秦), under the conquest led by Qin Shihuang. Geoffrey Lloyd and Nathan Sivin (2002) hold that there was no Jixia academy, if by that we mean a formal institution or organization or think-tank (30). They argue that the kings of Qi did assemble a number of scholars, but they had individual residences and did not create anything like a university or think-tank.
37 There are several fine English versions of the *Mengzi*, including those by James Legge (reprint, 1990), D.C. Lau (1970) and Bryan Van Norden (2008), which includes a running commentary by Zhu Xi and others. David Nivision (1996) provides a survey and evaluation of various translations, including those of Legge and Lau. Helpful interpretations of Mencius's teachings include Alan Chan (2002) and Shun (1997).
38 See *Biographies of Exemplary Women*.
39 A full text of the *Mozi* in Chinese and with an English translation is at 'The Chinese Text Project', http://chinese.dsturgeon.net/text.pl?node=101&if=en. Burton Watson's (1963) translation for Columbia Press is regarded as accurate and highly readable.
40 A good bit of what I say here and in what follows draws its inspiration from the really fine analysis of Mencius on self-cultivation in Philip J. Ivanhoe (2000).
41 The *Xunzi* was not a part of any of the later lists of Confucian classics in the canon, very much unlike the *Mengzi* that became part of the Four Books and occupied a central place in Confucian learning. However,

some of the *Xunzi* is repeated in the *Classic of Rites*. The standard English translation of *Xunzi* is John Knoblock (1988–94), and he has also offered a history of the text, chapter by chapter.

Chapter IV

42 Like the *Mozi*, Burton Watson has also translated the *Hanfeizi*. Han Fei was also dramatically influenced by a kind of Daoism that was quite popular after the period of the Jixia Academy, known as Yellow Emperor–Laozi Daoism (*Huang-Lao Dao*). He even wrote a commentary on the great Daoist text the *Daodejing*. There is also a complete electronic text of the Chinese version of *Hanfeizi* with an English translation and commentary at http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/saxon/servlet/SaxonServlet?source=xwomen/texts/hanfei.xml&style=xwomen/xsl/dynaxml.xsl&chunk.id=tpage&doc.view=tocc&doc.lang=bilingual.

43 This same pattern may be found in the elevation of Laozi to the status of a divinity, tying him to the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi) of the misty past.

44 The discovery of a library of bamboo strip bundled books in a tomb at Guodian in 1996 revealed works that could be dated to around 300 BCE. One of these contains two quotations also included in our *Analects*, and it is simply labeled 'Miscellaneous quotations'. The two quotations resemble *Analects* 7.6 and 9.4, but they are not direct quotes and are not identified on the strips as having come from any work such as the *Analects*.

45 This table is from Ronnie Littlejohn (2009: 36).

46 The name Chang'an can mean 'Eternal Peace'.

47 Anne Kinney has done some of the best recent work on the *Biographies of Exemplary Women* in English, and the Chinese text with illustrations can be seen at the Chinese Text Initiative maintained by the University of Virginia, http://etext.virginia.edu/chinese/lienu/browse/Lienu.html. A fine collection on the images of women in Chinese thought and culture is in Robin Wang (2003).

Chapter V

48 See Littlejohn (2009: 33–37).

49 We have known with certainty since the period of the assault on Confucius's tomb in Qufu on 26 November, 1966 during the Cultural Revolution, that there is no body under Confucius's burial mound at the site of commemoration. On that day, Red Guards burned the statue of Confucius, pulled down the memorial tablet and smashed it and dug up the grave mound, but they found only an empty tomb. As far as I know, we do not have any record of the whereabouts of Confucius's

body or when it might have been moved or disposed of. See Wang Liang (2003).

50 Michael Nylan has published a translation and commentary of the *Supreme Mystery*. For a brief, but highly informative, article on Yang Xiong, consult the essay written by Andrew Colvin for the *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. (http://www.iep.utm.edu/yangxion/#SH2b).

51 A sample of Wang Chong's *Critical Essays*, translated by Alfred Forke (1907), may be found at Rex Pay's site 'Humanistic Texts'.

52 A standard version of this work is *The Study of Human Abilities*, by J.J. Shryock (1937).

53 Among writers introducing Chinese philosophy to the English-speaking world in the 1950s and 1960s, for example, Fung Yu-lan (1952, 1953) and Wing-tsit Chan (1963a) stand out; both of these scholars treat the Mysterious Learning thinkers as Neo-Daoists.

54 In his *A Chinese Reading of the Daodejing: Wang Bi's Commentary on the Laozi with Critical Text and Translation*, the best-known Western scholar of Wang Bi, Rudolf Wagner, provides a careful study of Wang's work on the text.

55 An important study comparing Wang Bi's commentary on the *Daodejing* with that of a Daoist philosopher is Alan Chan's *Two Visions of the Way: A Study of the Wang Pi and Ho-shang Kung Commentaries on the Lao-tzu*.

Chapter VI

56 I wish to acknowledge the work of Peter Gregory that has influenced my assessment of these comparisons between Confucianism and Buddhism.

57 *Essentials of the Moral Way* is the name of this work in the translation by William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom (1999b), Vol. 1. For an overview of Han Yu's life and work, see Victor Manley (1988).

58 Of course, 'the Way and its Power' to which Han Yu is referring is the title of the most fundamental of all Daoist texts, the *Daodejing* (*Classic of the Way* (*Dao* 道) *and Its Power (De* 德)). Han Yu's attack seems to be directed against *Daodejing* 18, but he may also have had in mind passages from the *Zhuangzi* in which Laozi specifically criticized Confucius for trying to spread the call to humaneness and righteousness (Watson 1968: 149–50; 161–3).

59 David K. Jordan has a complete translation of 'Memorial on the Buddha's Finger', complete with the Chinese text, at http://weber.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan/chin/faanfor/HarnYuhMemorial.html.

60 The Famen si was in poor repair throughout the 1920s–50s, and suffered damage in the Great Cultural Revolution and finally collapsed in 1981. In 1987, a vault under the pagoda was opened, revealing a number of

relics, including a finger bone. The bone was housed in Taiwan until 2004, then in Hong Kong, and has now been returned.

Chapter VII

61 A recent work of interest on these philosophers is Yong Huang (1999). He characterizes each thinker's position and compares them as well.

62 There were forerunners to these Neo-Confucians. John Berthrong (1998: 89–97) takes note of several, including Fan Zhongyan (989–1052), Ouyang Xiu (1007–72), Wang Anshi (1021–86), Sima Guang (1019–86) and Su Shi (1037–1101).

63 For an overview of the influence of Shao Yong on the development of Neo-Confucianism, see Anne Birdwhistell (1989).

64 When comparing these sentiments to ideas found in Daoism, we can think of the exchange between Yan Hui and Confucius created in the *Zhuangzi* (Watson 1968: 57–8).

65 Joseph Adler's complete translation of *Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained* may be accessed at the following URL: http://www2kenyon.edu/Depts/Religion/Fac/Adler/Writings/Chou.htm.

66 As in our discussion of the *Zhongyong*, I am following Hall and Ames (2001: 30–5), as well as Tu Weiming (1989: 81–2), in translating *cheng* as creativity, especially as it is used in doing the work of a cosmological concept.

67 For a fuller discussion of this wedding between worldview and morality, see Adler (1999).

68 Joseph Adler's full 'draft' translation of *Penetrating the Classic of Change* is located at http://www2.kenyon.edu/Depts/Religion/Fac/Adler/Writings/Tongshu.htm.

69 Ira Kasoff's *The Thought of Chang Tsai* is the only English-language monograph on Zhang's philosophy, but there is a fine introductory essay on Zhang Zai, written by David Elstein for The *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, and Huang Siu-Chi wrote a monograph on Zhang Zai in Chinese (1987) and two extended essays in *Philosophy East and West* (1968, 1971).

70 The only full-length book study on the Cheng brothers in English thus far is that done by A.C. Graham (1992).

71 Robert W. Foster (2008: 122, 148) reminds us that one of Cheng Hao's influential treatises was entitled, 'Memorial Requesting the Renovation of Schools, the Veneration of Confucian Teachers and the Selection of Literati'.

72 An excellent overview of Cheng Yi's thought is in Sui-chi Huang's *Essentials of Neo-Confucianism: Eight Major Philosophers of the Song and Ming Periods*.

Chapter VIII

73 The *Zhu Xi Xing Chuang* is the primary source of information on the life of Zhu Xi. It was written by his pupil and son-in-law, Huang Kan (1152–1221).

74 A general study that sets Zhu Xi in his intellectual context is Tillman (1992). Works devoted to Zhu's philosophy specifically include Daniel Gardner (1990) and Wing-tsit Chan (1987).

75 Wing-tsit Chan (1987: 103–38) provides a fine overview of Zhu Xi's accomplishments.

76 An online version of the text is available in English and Chinese, posted by David Jordan at http://weber.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan/scriptorium/shiaw/xiaocontents.html. Keith Knapp (2008 and 2005) provides studies of this work and the importance of filial children to social order in China.

77 Patricia Ebrey (1991) has done an excellent English translation and study of Zhu's Xi's work on *Family Rituals.*

78 These are the ways in which Zhu Xi expresses the four sprouts that Mencius associates with the inborn tendencies of human nature.

79 Zhu Xi reveals his understanding of Daoist practices of making the elixir of immortality and turns it to a Confucian end.

80 Chan Buddhism, a school in the Mahayana tradition, was the most popular form of Buddhism in China during Zhu Xi's lifetime. Its masters are credited with having founded the Shaolin monastery in Henan Province, and it traces its lineage to its founder Bodhidharma (early fifth century) (a.k.a. Panyatara, Prajnatara or Prajñādhara). It is the type of Buddhism that Zhu Xi studied in his youth and is associated principally with the text known as the *Platform Sutra* ('Sixth Patriarch's Altar Classic'), composed in China by Dajian Huineng (638–713 CE), the Sixth Patriarch of Chan Buddhism. This form of Buddhism is known as Zen in Japan. It was also very influential on the great Daoist thinker Wang Chongyang (1113–1170), who was a contemporary of Zhu Xi's and also the founder of the Complete Perfection (*Quanzhen*) lineage of Daoism.

81 For a similar argument, see Rodney Taylor's (1978) interpretation of the Neo-Confucian master Kao Pan-Lung and Taylor's own construction of the religious character of Confucianism (1998).

82 Several fine works concentrate on these issues in Song culture. See Daniel Gardner (1995) and Edward Davis (2001).

83 See the *Classic of the Mountains and the Seas* for the names, descriptions and activities of such numinal beings in Chinese folk belief.

84 For a clear and thoughtful discussion of Zhu Xi's private religious actions related to Confucius and other figures, see Hoyt Cleveland Tillman (2004).

85 *Tu Weiming* (1976) is a spiritual biography of Wang Yangming's early life.
86 For an interesting overview of the 'debate', see Julia Ching (1974).
87 Another Wang engaged in a similar activity several centuries before and became leader of a prominent Daoist lineage. Wang Chongyang (1113–1170), a former military officer, left a marginal political career behind and devoted himself to the practice of what Daoists call inner alchemy (*neidan*). Wang was the son of a wealthy family in Xianyang, Shaanxi Province. He was the founder of the lineage transmitting the techniques called Complete Perfection (Quanzhen). He was educated in the Confucian classics, as well as Buddhist and Daoist texts. He lived on Zhongnan Mountain in Shaanxi Province, where he made a dugout for himself for three years and spent four more years in a mountain hut. One day, when he was 48 years old, he entered into an altered state of awareness. The immortals (*xian*, 仙) Zhongli Quan, Lu Dongbin and Liu Haichan appeared to him and gave him a set of secret rituals and instructions. After this, Wang considered that he had passed back and forth through the transformation called death and returned to the living form that most people knew. To show he was a new person as a result of this encounter, he followed the Daoist custom of adopting a new name. He referred to his dugout as a grave and called it 'the Abode of the Living Dead'.
88 Philip J. Ivanhoe's work (1990), comparing Wang Yangming and Mencius, is an important analysis that should not be neglected in any study of these two thinkers.

Chapter IX

89 A good overview of Confucianism in Korea is Jong-hong Bak (1980).
90 Charles Muller (2003) provides a summary of the arguments of the *Bulssi japbyeon*. A full English translation of the work is at http://www.acmuller.net/jeong-gihwa/bulssijapbyeon.html.
91 For a critical analysis of the Four-Seven Debate, one may consult Michael Kalton (1994) and Yao Xinzhong (2000: 118–25).
92 A full English text of this Constitution is at http://www.sarudama.com/japanese_history/jushichijokenpo.shtml.
93 See Masao Maruyama (1974) for a discussion of Ansai's works against Buddhism.
94 'The Ming Qing Women's Writings' digital project is an exciting endeavor for those who can approach the Chinese texts. See http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/mingqing/english/.
95 The most widely recommended translation of this work is John W. Ewell (1990).

96 The most helpful study of the Taping Rebellion and of Hong Xiuquan is Jonathan Spence (1996).
97 Laurence Thompson (1958) offers a study of Kang Youwei.

Chapter X

98 For example, the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 transferred the German's concessions in Shandong Province to the Japanese rather than back to China! The May Fourth protests set fire to a mass Chinese nationalism.
99 Eske Mollgaard (2007) explores the argument surrounding whether Tu may be considered a Confucian.
100 The *Shuowen* lexicon defines politics by saying '*zheng zheng ye*' ('politics means rectifying').
101 John Berthrong interprets Tu's fiduciary community with the analogy of the Christian concept of 'the beloved community', and compares it to the model of Alfred North Whitehead's 'vision of a civilized society' (1994: 104, 130).
102 Tu thinks he is being consistent with the Han Confucian scholars who argue in the *Discourse on Salt and Iron* for a *xinlai* community, based on mutual respect, pluralism, division of labor and peaceful coexistence (Tu 1989a: 28).
103 In a social contract political system, laws may lessen fear of harm and even create a sense of security. However, such results are much different than the New Confucians like Tu Weiming imagine: the creation of trust among the citizens.

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