

# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. The Aim

Chinese society in the time before Confucius, when the documents of Shu Ching and the poems of Shih Ching were being collected and recorded, was non-philosophic. That is to say, up to that time no philosophers had appeared. No one in China had yet taken the first steps in moral philosophy. A great deal of moral thinking had been done however, as has been seen in part one of the present project. This had been especially connected with the term *Te*, virtue. In that society there was no one capable of distinguishing between moral philosophy and moral thinking or to inquire into the meanings of the words used as moral terms or to study the logical properties of the moral concepts; such as what, for example, is the opposite of *Te*, or what kind of characteristics are included in *Te*? Hare describes the hypothetical non-philosophic situation in the society as follows:

"Let us imagine a society that has as yet done no moral philosophy. It has done plenty of moral thinking, mostly intuitive, but sometimes critical - though inarticulately, so as never to distinguish clearly between the two. Further, it has not inquired into the meanings of its moral words or the nature or logical properties of its moral concepts. And then, let us suppose that someone does start such an inquiry. What type of theory is he probably to come up with? The facts about moral thinking which will most obviously confront him are facts about intuitive moral thinking. He will observe that people do react in consistent ways, in their verbal and other behaviour, to certain types of action in certain types of situation. For example, they react with admiration and approval to acts of courage in the face of danger, and with reprobation and indignation to acts of leaving other people in the lurch when one has promised not to, or to acts of gratuitous cruelty."<sup>1</sup>

Whether, and to what extent, Confucius can be regarded as the first moral philosopher in China, has been a matter of controversy or dispute. Confucius himself has said: "I have transmitted what was taught to me without making up anything of my own." 述而不作。<sup>2</sup>

Despite this clear statement of Confucius's own opinion, this view is not shared by many specialists. Needham says about Confucius transmitting and innovating: "For the world of his time, Confucius' ideas were revolutionary." However, Schwartz says: "In all of this, one can accept without reservation, Confucius' assertion that he is a 'transmitter' and not 'one who makes up anything on his own'. If the *tao* of the good order has been realized within the human experience of the past; if the powerholders in his own time are totally incapable of transmitting the essence of this *tao*, he - even as commoner - is prepared to assume the awesome responsibility of the *tao*. He does not transmit the ancient, however, simply because it is ancient. He transmits it because the ancient embodies the good and the memory of this good has been preserved in records that embody the saving truth. Although we shall indeed question his assertion that he is not some sense a

<sup>1</sup> HARE 1981, pp. 65,66.

<sup>2</sup> AN. 7:1, p. 123, LEGGE I 1969, p. 195. TU, Wei-ming 1989a, p. 30.

'creator' or 'maker', a good case can be made that the fundamentals of much of what he transmits can be discerned in the older texts.

Yet, even as a transmitter, he may be an innovator. He transmits his *tao* as a private teacher to an assortment of disciples who are also, for the large part, commoner (not in government). Unlike the Duke of Chou, he is not a minister admonishing his subordinates. Even in his capacity as transmitter, he manages to win the voluntary adherence of his disciples who are somehow attracted by the reflectivity and fresh insight that he brings to bear on that which is transmitted."

R.P.Kramers puts forward a view which could be a good starting point for the present inquiry:

"To be sure, the Confucian tradition has always contained an apologetic note, beginning with the Master's own efforts to fill the ancient royal Zhou tradition with new meaning in an era when this tradition was obviously disintegrating. For this is the concomitant of true apologetics that they aim at infusing a new meaning into old doctrinal patterns, and in the process enrich and even change the structures of meaning underlying them."

The aim of the present project is to discover to what extent Confucius is a transmitter of traditional thoughts, whether and to what extent he uses them to construct a new system of thought, and what its special characteristics are compared with the traditional thinking that existed before his time.

Since Confucius is generally regarded as the first Chinese philosopher, the aim of the project may also be restated as follows: 1) What was the difference between Confucian thought and the traditional thinking that preceded it? 2) How did Confucius's philosophy begin? 3) How is Confucius's philosophy to be defined?<sup>3</sup> The result of the study, the replies to these questions can be found in the last chapter.

In the first volume the traditional usage and meaning of the selected Confucian key terms in the most important pre-Confucian sources, Shu Ching and Shih Ching were examined.<sup>4</sup> The main aim of the present volume is firstly to analyze the selected Confucian key terms (T'ien 天, Heaven; Te 德, virtue; Tao 道, way; Li 禮, rites; Yi 義, righteousness and Jen 仁, goodness) in the Confucian Analects, which is the most reliable source of early Confucianism<sup>5</sup>, and secondly, to compare the usages of the terms in the Analects with that in Shu Ching and Shih Ching. In this comparison the results of volume one will be utilized. The usage of the terms will also be compared to Lao Tzu and Mo Tzu in order to understand more clearly the environment and the special characteristics of Confucian thinking.

<sup>3</sup> NIKKILÄ 1982, pp. 1,2. AN. 7:1, p. 123. See also FUNG Yu-lan 1962, p. 10. FUNG Yu-lan 1967, pp. 62-66. NEEDHAM 1956, p. 6. SCHWARTZ 1985, pp. 66,67. SHIGEZAWA 1961, P. 79. Teng says: "Classical Confucianism in general is an ethical system, but it provided no explicit philosophical foundation for its morals. As Tzu-kung (520-450 B.C.) said, 'We cannot hear our Master's views on human nature and the Way of heaven (T'ien-tao)' AN. 5:12, p. 110. TENG, Aimin 1986, p. 110.

Christian Wolff (1679-1754) did not regard Confucius as the first philosopher of China: "Confucius non est Autor philosophiae Sinicae." The first philosopher of China in Wolff's opinion are the legendary kings. WOLFF 1985, pp. 13,14. KRAMERS 1981, p. 177. Cua says: "One main difficulty in understanding Confucian ethics lies in the absence of systematic exposition of its basic ideas." CUA 1989, P. 209.

<sup>4</sup> On the selection of the key terms, see NIKKILÄ 1983, p. 4. CH'EN Ta-ch'i 1967, p. 71. WALEY 1964, pp. 27-50, FUNG Yu-lan 1967, p. 71 and A Concordance to the Analects, pp. 70, 71, 84, 85, 133, 134, 150, 161, 183, 184.

<sup>5</sup> One important source of pre-Confucian thinking, the bronzes, have been excluded from this project, since to include them would have enlarged the scope of the study to unmanageable proportions. See JAO Tsung-yi 1975, pp. 145-154.

In addition, reference will be made to modern ethics to clarify the questions raised by Confucian philosophy and to evaluate, in the light of early Confucian thought, the problems which should be asked today. This has become especially important in the light the discussion which has been continuing since Professor Fingarette wrote his concise but influential work, *Confucius -the Secular as Sacred*, in 1972.

## 2. The Approach

A similar approach to that used in the first volume will also be used in this second volume. All the occurrences of the six Confucian key terms in the *Analects* will be noted.<sup>6</sup> The occurrences of the terms will be divided into main classes under sub-titles. The verbal description of the classes will be given in the text, often by using direct quotations from the source to illustrate and characterize the class. The results will be summarized to produce a synthesis of the contents of the terms. This synthesis will include a definition of the terms, an attempt to define the most essential aspects of the terms and the possible underlying characteristics of the terms. This is a systematic analysis, which first analyzes the different aspects of the terms separately and then gives a brief summary and basic definition of the terms.

After first comparing the term in *Shu Ching* and *Shih Ching*, the term will be then be compared in *Lao Tzu* and *Mo Tzu*. The main characteristics of these philosophies will be referred to, and such details as are important to form a critical standpoint towards the early Confucian philosophy will be elucidated.

Agreement has generally been reached regarding the meaning of most of the passages where the concepts appear. There are, however, ambiguous cases which have given rise to divergent views among the commentators. In these cases, several such views are discussed in the footnotes. The body of the text refers to the most probable interpretations. There are some cases where the most obvious sentential meaning of certain passage seems to be in conflict with the rest of Confucian thought. These difficulties are generally not explained away by the commentators simply by maintaining that the problematic passage is of doubtful origin. Even in the problematic cases, the interpretation must not distort the sentential or grammatical meaning of the text, since the text itself is the sole medium through which the thought is conveyed. It is soundest, methodologically, to explain the problematic passages by examining the meanings of its concepts or ideograms elsewhere in the *Analects*. However, a problematic case may reveal a new idea not encountered before.

Dawson links the method to the problem of authenticity of the source: "The sayings attributed to Confucius can be manipulated into some sort of coherent philosophy, but the best way to understand the importance of the Master is to ignore the inevitable inconsistencies in the statements attributed to him and to forget about problems of authenticity. Throughout Chinese history before the present century few have questioned the authenticity of even the most hagiographical references to him. The best way of

<sup>6</sup> This kind of quantification is used for example in CREEL 1970, on pages 150, 260, 396, 494, 500.

dealing with Confucius is therefore, to take some of the most famous and influential sayings, and to try to show both what they meant in the context of late Chou Dynasty China and how the ideas they contain became characteristic features of Chinese thought and culture."<sup>7</sup> This can be questioned on the following grounds: if we forget the authenticity, how can we know that any of the passages mean anything in the context of the late Chou Dynasty China? So we must have at least some confidence that the most reliable parts of the Analects represent the time of the late Chou dynasty.

In the following we discuss the authenticity and history of the sources.

### 3. The Primary Sources

#### a. The Confucian Analects.

The earliest, most important and most reliable source of early Confucianism is the Analects of Confucius (551-479 B.C.). Fung summarizes the biography of Confucius recorded in Shih Chi: "Confucius was poor in his youth, but entered the government of Lu and by the time he was fifty had reached high official rank. As a result of political intrigue, however, he was soon forced to resign his post and to go into exile. For the next thirteen years he traveled from one state to another, always hoping to find an opportunity to realize his ideal of political and social reform. Nowhere, however, did he succeed, and finally as an old man he returned to Lu, where he died three years later in 479 B.C."<sup>8</sup>

The name of the Analects, *Lun Yü*, 論語 was given to the work by the compilers and it means a collection of sayings or selected sayings.<sup>9</sup> The earliest quotation from *Lun Yü* is in *Li ki*, which was compiled in the first century B.C.. Thus we know that a work called *Lun Yü* existed before the Han-dynasty (206 B.C.- A.D. 220). D.C. Lau notes that the earliest source of information about the *Lun Yü* is the chapter on bibliography in the *Han Shu*, History of the Han Dynasty, by Pan Ku, finished toward the end of the first century A.D.<sup>10</sup>

Giles says about *Lun Yü* that it is "a work in twenty short chapters or books, retailing the views of Confucius on a variety of subjects, and expressed so far as possible in the very words of the Master. It tells us nearly all we really know about the Sage, and may possibly have been put together within a hundred years of his death."<sup>11</sup> It was compiled by Confucius's disciples and partly also by their students. The final compilation of the work was undertaken at the end of Ch'un Ch'iu or at the beginning

<sup>7</sup> DAWSON 1986, p. 103.

<sup>8</sup> Shih Chi or Historical Records was the first dynastic history of China, completed ca. 86 B.C. FUNG 1966, p. 38. SZUMA CHIEN 1975, pp. 1-27. CHAVANNES 1905, pp. 283-445. TANG I-chieh 1987, pp. 67-71. WU, Teh Yao 1989, pp. 1-6. See also NIKKILÄ 1982, pp. 73-75.

<sup>9</sup> YANG Pe-chün 1965, pp. 1, 2. WALEY 1964, p. 21.

<sup>10</sup> LAU 1979, p. 220, 1982, p. 130. WATSON 1966, p. 9. Using quotations from Mencius as evidence, Wong claims that the Confucian Analects were already in existence during the time of Mencius (371-288 B.C.). WANG T'ieh 1989, p. 60.

<sup>11</sup> GILES s.a. (1923), p. 32.

of the Warring States period.<sup>12</sup>

Schwartz says that the text of the Analects "remain the focus of fierce controversy. It is obviously a compilation put together in somewhat variant versions long after the Master's death. It contains not only the Master's sayings, but many of the utterances of disciples as well. Of the twenty 'books' now extant, linguistic analysis indicates that some may belong to a much later period. Waley and others find many passages which they call non-Confucian and even anti-Confucian. He thus finds that the professed concern with how language relates to reality must be a later addition, since the 'language crisis' in ancient China belongs, in his view, to a much later development of thought. Tsuda Sokichi, a radical and iconoclastic critic of the text, finds the work so shot through with contradictions and anachronisms that it is unusable as a source of the thought of Confucius." Schwartz does not accept the quoted views as fixed doctrines, however generally accepted. He criticizes it in the following way: "While textual criticism based in rigorous philological and historic analysis is crucial, and while the later sections do contain late materials [and, we might add, old materials], the type of textual criticism that is based in considerations of alleged logical inconsistencies and incompatibilities of thought must be viewed with great suspicion. The contradictions and inconsistencies of thought alleged by Tsuda, Waley, Creel, and others are often based on the unexamined intellectual assumptions of the translators and interpreters themselves. While none of us comes to such an enterprise without deep-laid assumptions about necessary logical relations and compatibilities, we should at least hold before ourselves the constant injunction to mistrust all our unexamined preconceptions on these matters when dealing with comparative thought. One of the liberating functions of comparative thought lies in its ability to challenge precisely such unexamined assumptions concerning logical consistency and doctrinal compatibility." Schwartz says that the text taken as a whole, does convey a coherent vision of reality despite the lack of surface organization in the text.<sup>13</sup>

Waley notes the existence of differing versions of Lun Yü: "During the period 100 B.C. to A.D. 100 two versions were currently used, the Lu version (upon which our modern version is chiefly based) and the Ch'i version, which had two extra chapters. Much later (second century A.D.) a third version came into general use. This was the Ku Wen (ancient script) text collated by Cheng Hsüan when he made his famous edition, of which fragments have been recovered from Tun-huang. We know some twenty-seven instances in which the Ku version differed from the Lu, and in all but two of these instances the version we use today follows Ku not Lu."<sup>14</sup>

Lau says:

"In the first part of the Western Han it was the practice for a scholar to specialize in only one of the

<sup>12</sup> YANG Pe-chün 1965, pp. 3, 4. Yang draws his conclusion concerning the date of compilation of the work or the basis of the terminology used in the Analects. The usage of the term as a second person pronoun in AN. 17:7 refers to the beginning of the Warring States period. LEGGE 1969, p. 321.

<sup>13</sup> SCHWARTZ 1985, pp. 61,62.

<sup>14</sup> WALEY 1964, p. 24. The Ch'i version is now lost, although some fragments are left. "The *Hsin-lun* of Huan T'an (c. A.D. 1) says that Ku had four hundred characters different from Lu." WALEY 1964, p. 24. Cheng Hsüan's version is lost. In Sinkiang in 1969 a partial copy of it was found which had been made by a twelve-year-old schoolboy in 710 A.D. LAU 1979, p. 221.

three versions of the *Lun yü*. It was not until Chang Yü that this was changed... He used his own discretion in the choice of what readings to follow. The result was an eclectic version which came to be known as the *Chang hou lun* (Marquis Chang's *Lun yü*). In the reign of Ch'u Yüan (48 B.C.-44 B.C.) Chang Yü, because of his expert knowledge of the *Lun yü* was appointed tutor to the heir apparent who in 32 B.C. became Emperor Ch'eng. As a result, Chang Yü became prime minister in 25 B.C. Because of the high Imperial esteem he enjoyed, marquis Chang's version in the *Lun Yü* became so popular that it eclipsed all other versions... The present version of the *Lun yü* that we have was edited by Ho Yen (190 A.D.-249 A.D.). This is based, in the main, on the versions of Chang Yü and Cheng Hsüan and is, therefore, eclectic."<sup>15</sup>

It has been suggested that books 16 to 20 are of later date than the rest of the work. These last five books have certain common characteristics which distinguish them from the rest of the work. Nevertheless, they still contain some of the genuine Confucian tradition of Confucius's disciples and of Confucius himself. But books 10 to 20 have been regarded as less genuine than books 1 to 9. In the present study books 10 to 20 have been regarded as a less reliable part of the *Analects* which includes a greater contribution from the disciples of Confucius than the first half of the *Analects*. Dawson says: "It looks as if Books 3-9 (out of a total of twenty books) may form the oldest stratum, but even they may contain later insertions; and although they have a clearer ring of authenticity, it is impossible to vouch for the genuineness of any of the sayings included in them." Schwartz deviates from the general belief about book ten, that it is probably less reliable than books 1 to 9. He says:

"Legge's observation that it hardly heightens our veneration for the sage is shared by many modern Chinese scholars, who would prefer its inauthenticity. The book, which provides us with a description of Confucius' ceremonial behavior, is in a particular style and is obviously based on the observations by others of his behavior. We can have no way of knowing when it became part of the whole compilation, I would nevertheless venture the view that there is nothing in the section which may not be perfectly consistent with the entire vision of the *Analects*."<sup>16</sup>

Lau finds some principle of organization in most of books 1-15: Books 1 and 2 are exceptions. Book 3 is completely devoted to music. Book 4 has several parts which deal with various topics. Book 5 is concerned with people. 6:1 to 6:21 deals with people, like book 5. The rest of book 6 is mixed. Book 7 is entirely about Confucius; either Confucius's sayings about himself or what other people had to say about him. Book 8 consists of several topics. Book 9:1-19 are about Confucius, the next three or four chapters are about Yen Yüan and the rest are mixed. Book 10 is about the daily life of Confucius. Book 11 is devoted to Confucius. 22 chapters out of 24 in book 12 are

<sup>15</sup> LAU 1979, p. 221.

<sup>16</sup> The usage of the name K'ung Tzu is not uniform within books 16 to 20. In other books Confucius has been referred to as Tzu 子 and if he is speaking with a high official he is referred to as K'ung Tzu 孔子. During the Warring States period Fu tzu 夫子 was used when addressing a person spoken to. This has been used in AN 17:3, 17:7, 19:17. The last five books in addition have numbered sets and apocryphal stories and references to historical personages. Lau suggests that this concern with historical personages, often without relevance to Confucius, shows that some historical texts similar to the *Book of History* must have been used as a textbook by some of Confucius's disciples, if not by Confucius himself. Lau concludes that these features link parts of the last five books to one another and show that they probably shared a common origin and that some of these features signify a late date. LAU 1979, pp. 222-227. It is noteworthy that in Lau's work he does not deny the tradition of referring to the historical personages as being a genuine Confucian tradition of Confucius's disciples or even Confucius himself recorded in this earlier part of the *Analects*.

See also CH'EN Mu 1978, pp. 12, 13. WALEY 1964, pp. 11, 21. LEGGE I 1969, p. 16. DAWSON 1986, p. 101.

questions put to Confucius. Book 13:1 - 17 concerns government. Chapters 18 - 28 "deal with how one should conduct oneself and with the gentleman" chün tzu 君子 but 13:20 and 28 deal with the Gentlemen, shih 士. Book 14 has a central theme: how to be a man. Book 15 has the same theme, except in the first five and last five chapters. Lau discusses the saying of the disciples and concludes:

"We can roughly divide the *Lun yü* into three strata. The first stratum consists of the books well ordered and in which no sayings of disciples are included. The next consists of Book I (and possibly Book II) and Book VII. Although these books show a lack of internal organization of the chapters and contain sayings of disciples, they, yet, do not use 'K'ung Tzu' for Confucius. Lastly, there is the stratum consisting of Book X and the last five chapters. These are all interlinked through several features and are likely to be much later in date than the bulk of the work."<sup>17</sup>

The following main features supplementing Lau's findings can be seen: The chapters of book 1 have two characteristics in common: All chapters, except 4 and 10, state ethical principles on a general level. The second characteristic is that all chapters, except 2, 9, 12, 15 and 16, list two or more mainly ethical characteristics.

Book 2 includes the moral rules, ethical laws and principles which are to be used in governing on a general level. In this respect the book continues the theme of general rules started in book one. This book differs from all other books in a special manner: it falls into groups of four chapters each. In each group of four chapters or sayings these sayings relate to each other in a special way too. The groups do not share a common topic, except for one group from chapter 5 to 8, but they form pairs of chapters. Each pair of chapters or sayings has some common catchword, idea or topic. In the groups of four, the chapters 1 and 2; 3 and 4, and also 1 and 3, and 2 and 4 of each group form the pairs in question. The group consisting of chapters 17 to 20 does not seem to have any topical similarity between pairs 1 and 3, 2 and 4. This book looks as if it had been written on a set of bamboo strips, which you can arrange in the right order only if you know the rules of how to do it.

Book 3 consistently handles rites, music, archery, dance, temple, and sacrifice. Chapters 5, 14, and 20 are exceptions to these themes. The second speciality of this book is that all the chapters except 14, 18, 19, and 20 contain a treatment of something negative.

Book 4 treats general ethical principles, laws and definitions except chapters 6, 14 and 15. Secondly, some type of dual pattern appears in almost all chapters. These dual patterns consist for example of two opposite ethical or other characteristics such as wealth - poverty, goodness - wickedness, or two subjects, like gentleman - commoners, father - mother. Simultaneously the chapters of this book mention some type of defect. The defects are continued in book 5, but the dual patterns are not.

The pattern of organization from book 4 to 5 moves from general rules to special cases. Book 5 does not discuss general ethical principles or rules but the chapters are related to named persons, except in the two last chapters. The theme of this book is Confucius's appraisals of other persons. Chapters 12 and 13 are exceptions to this theme; the two last chapters do not mention a person by name.

<sup>17</sup> LAU 1979, pp. 227-233. Waley suggests: "I should hazard the guess that Books III-IX represent the oldest stratum. Books X and XX (first part) certainly have no intrinsic connection with the rest." WALEY 1964, p. 21. See also HAMBURGER 1956, p. 338.

In book 6 chapters 1 - 14 and 26 concern named persons, the other chapters do not. The book continues the theme of the previous book but deviates from this theme towards the end. In books 5 and 6, the specific characteristic appears because certain persons were mentioned by name.

In book 7 the specific characteristic is brought to a summit: to Confucius himself. Confucius is described in this book by himself or by other persons, except in chapters 6, 35, 36.

Book 8, chapters 3 to 7 are part of the Tseng-tradition. The remaining chapters are discussions of statements by Confucius. Confucius appears as a distant teacher of ideals. As an opposite, Tseng appears to be closer. The statements about him are more personal, longer, and more familiar.

The essential patterns of book 9 are the systematic description of Confucius in chapters 1 to 20, the more general principles discussed at the end of the book, and the theme of continuity or stability from chapter 16 to chapter 28.

Book 10 is concerned with the behavior of a Gentleman in different practical situations. The theme of Book 11 is Confucius's appraisals of different people or groups of people, except for chapter 2B. The theme of book 12 is questions put to Confucius, except in chapters 4, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16 and 24. Book 13 includes in most of its chapters a pattern of duality and defect. The theme of negative expressions is continued in Book 14, but not the dual pattern, which is continued in Book 15, which also includes negative expressions in most of the chapters. Book 16 has numbered categories, except in chapters 1 and 11 to 13. Book 17 has some listings and a dual characteristic which is less clear from chapter 21 onwards.

Book 18 has a new distinctive mark: its sayings mention going away, rejecting or vanishing or passing by. All chapters except the first one include one or more ideas expressing movement from somewhere. Book 19 stands in juxtaposition with book 18 and has the principle of joining, being together, arriving or other resembling notions, except in chapters 23 to 25. The theme is weak also in chapters 14, 15 and 17. Book 20 continues the same theme, except in chapter 3.

It seems first that the Confucian Analects has at least some underlying organization, possibly recognized by some of the compilers. Some of them may have sandwiched sayings in between and in this way made the organization more unclear. Secondly, it is apparent that the text has a comparatively reliable part which represents genuine early Confucian tradition. Although even this part may include some later additions, the analysis of the terms will be sufficiently valid if it is based on a wide range of occurrences and not just one single sentence which may happen to be of later origin. The internal organization of the text, which is quite clear in some parts of the Analects, helps one to look critically at some passages which clearly deviate from their contextual environment. However, even these cases, although more doubtful as possible later additions, could be as genuine as the rest of the text, since a later addition of an old passage does not make the passage new, only the act of addition is of later date. In all, the Confucian Analects is a remarkably reliable literary source of early Confucianism and early human thought in general.



## b. Lao Tzu

Traditionally Lao Tzu has been regarded as being contemporary of Confucius. This traditional view is based on a supposed meeting between Confucius and Lao Tzu. Shih Chi, Historical Memoirs, is the earliest historical work that contains an account of such a meeting. Yü suggests that a similar meeting happened twice. However, it has also been suggested that Lao Tzu was not a historical figure at all.<sup>18</sup> D.C. Lau sums up his discussion about whether Lao Tzu was a historical figure who lived in the sixth century B.C. as follows: "Not only did Mencius show no signs of awareness of Lao Tzu and his school, Chuang Tzu who lived probably well on into the third century B.C. showed no knowledge of Lao Tzu either. This is surprising in the case of Mencius for he was such a staunch supporter of the Confucian philosophy and was tireless in his attacks on heterodox views, and it is equally surprising in the case of Chuang Tzu for, according to the traditionalist account, he was the successor to Lao Tzu in the Taoist school of thought. We have seen that it was not until the second half of the third century B.C. that the story of an encounter between Lao Tzu and Confucius became widely known. And it is solely on this story that the traditionalists' case for Lao Tzu being an older contemporary of Confucius is founded." Lau finally concludes: "There is no certain evidence that he was a historical figure."<sup>19</sup>

According to tradition Lao Tzu wrote the Tao Te Ching 道德經 or "The Book of Five Thousand Characters" during the time of Confucius. Many scholars think that it was written much later, perhaps not long before 300 B.C. Kaltenmark says that we do not know when, where and by whom the work as it came to us, was compiled.<sup>20</sup>

D.C. Lau says about the work:

"In the latter part of the Warring States period philosophical works no longer consisted of recorded sayings explicitly attributed to a particular thinker. The *Lao Tzu* is no exception. Neither Lao Tzu nor the name of any other person appears in the work. That it is attributed to Lao Tzu is purely a matter of tradition.

Another feature of the works of this period is the increasing use of rhyming passages. In the case of the *Lao Tzu* these amount to considerably more than half of the whole work. Such passages must have been meant to be learned by rote with the meaning explained at length in an oral commentary. Hence the cryptic nature of most of the sayings. As these rhyming passages were handed on orally, there probably was no one authoritative form nor one unique interpretation for them. They were common property to followers of various schools sharing a common tendency in thought.

There was, presumably, no one standard collection of such sayings either."

<sup>18</sup> NEEDHAM 1954, p. 35. LAU 1974, p. 11. YÜ Pei-lin 1973, pp. 2,3. TANG Lan 1938, p. 603. According to another view, Lao Tzu lived about one hundred years after Confucius. LO Ken-tse, Ku Shih Pien VI, pp. 644, 684. Needham refers to Dubs, who has tentatively identified the son of Lao Tzu as a certain general Tuan Kan Tsung 段干宗 whose floruit was 273 B.C. "Lao Tzu would thus have been of a noble Honan family, the hereditary position of which he refused to accept." NEEDHAM 1954, p. 35. See also YÜ Pei-lin 1975, p. 6. DORÉ 1981, pp. 14-61. YEN Ling-fen 1965, p. 1. NIKKILÄ 1982, p. 76.

LAU 1974, pp. 147, 162. See also KALTENMARK 1975, p.

<sup>19</sup> LAU, D.C. 1982, pp. 129,131.

<sup>20</sup> CREEL 1970, p. 5. WALEY 1958, p. 127. NEEDHAM 1956, p. 36. KALTENMARK 1975, p. 15. Giles says: "That there was such a philosopher as Lao Tzu who lived about the time indicated, and whose sayings have come down to us first by tradition and later by written and printed record, cannot possibly be doubted." GILES 1923, p. 59.

Lao Tzu literally means 'old man,' and Lau points out that this kind of title for a work is not unprecedented in this period. He notes that the bibliographical chapter of Han Shu mentions two titles of works which refer literally to old age. He concludes that "in that period there were a number of works which were Taoist in content, appearing under various titles of all of which meant 'old man' or 'elder', and the important point for us is that the *Lao Tzu* was only one of these works."<sup>21</sup>

Tao Te Ching is an anthology of Taoist writings and sayings, made by different persons in different times rather than a single work of any person. Kaltenmark says about Tao Te Ching:

"Its ideas are carefully worked out and form a coherent whole. We must, then, posit the existence of a philosopher who, if he did not write the book himself, was the master under whose influence it took shape. There is no reason why we should not go on calling this philosopher Lao Tan or Lao Tzu, and that is what we shall do, if only for the sake of convenience, in our discussion of the Tao Te Ching. We should bear in mind, however, that Lao Tzu may in fact be several thinkers, and that the personality of the last man to have had a hand in the text, probably in the first half of the third century B.C., may have played a central role in determining the version that has come down to us."

Tao Te Ching gives the impression that it is a collection of passages with only a common tendency in thought. Wagner refers to Wang Pi and says that Tao Te Ching is nothing but a series of pointers grouped around the "dark" center. Only by looking not at the pointers, but rather to the direction in which they point does one grasp the *Lao Tzu's* purport. However, Schwartz quite correctly states that "I am inclined to remark that, however disparate the sources of the text, whoever finally molded it into one composition did succeed in projecting a remarkably unified poetic vision of the world. The recent discovery of what may be the oldest extant versions of the text - the Ma Wang-tui silk scrolls - on the whole affirm this view."<sup>22</sup>

In this type of work there are always many repetitions and many contradictions in the text. The sayings are terse and cryptic in nature and have been interpreted in various, even opposing ways. Lin says:

"Lao Tzu wrote in a cryptic manner, hinting at his meaning without ever revealing it fully. He emphasized one element to show the importance of the opposite; thus he said in Chapter 78, line 13, 'True words seem paradoxical.' His statements, each stressing one aspect of life while ignoring the others, often seem disconnected. An expression may deny what other expressions affirm while affirming what other expressions deny. Meaning seems to lurk beneath the surface of his impressions and the terse paradoxical language allows many interpretations for a single word."<sup>23</sup>

Lao Tzu's text according to Lau seems to have been "still in a fluid state in the second half of the third century B.C. or even later, but by the middle of the second century B.C., at latest, the text already assumed a form very much like the present one. It is possible that this happened in the early years of the Western Han Dynasty." Lau continues: "Taking all factors into account, I am inclined to the hypothesis that some form of the *Lao Tzu* existed by the beginning of the third century B.C. at the latest."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> LAU D.C., 1982, pp.133,134.

<sup>22</sup> KALTENMARK 1975, pp. 14,15, CREEL 1970, pp. 2,5, WALEY 1958, p. 127. NEEDHAM 1956, p. 36, KU Hsieh-kang 1938, pp. 516,518. LAU 1974, p. 165. WAGNER 1986, p. 101. SCHWARTZ 1985, p. 187.

<sup>23</sup> CREEL 1970, pp. 2,6. THIEL 1971, pp. 32,33. LIN, Paul J. 1977, p. xii. Wagner challenges this general conception of contradictions in the text, trying to find some coherence, see WAGNER 1980, pp. 18-58.

<sup>24</sup> LAU D.C. 1982, pp. 134, 140.

The present study uses mainly D.C. Lau's translation of Tao Te Ching which is based on the text of Wang Pi, the earliest known commentator of Lao Tzu, who lived A.D. 226-249. Wang Pi appended a text of Lao Tzu to his commentary and this version has become known as the Wang Pi version. Wang Pi implicitly quotes Lao Tzu, but often with some difference in the readings compared with the version he appended to his commentary. Thus it seems that Wang Pi used a version slightly different from the present text which bears his name.<sup>25</sup>

In certain passages the two Ma-wang-tui silk texts, found in 1973 in Han tomb No. 3 at Ma-wang-tui in Changsha, Hunan, which are the earliest known manuscripts of Lao Tzu, differ from the Wang Pi text. These two silk texts date from around the beginning of the second century B.C. These are the oldest extant manuscripts which we know to be free from later errors or other changes. At that time a number of versions belonging to different textual traditions were probably in existence. Because of this, the two early Han manuscripts cannot be said to be closer to the original, if we can talk about an original.<sup>26</sup> In cases where important differences between the texts occur, this has been noted. From a methodological point of view it is important to be attentive to what Henricks says about the texts:

"Since the silk texts are the oldest actual manuscripts of the Lao tzu that we have, we have a natural tendency to see their readings as more authentic, even though they could be in error in places. However, it seems conceivable that contemporaneous with the silk texts there could have also existed a version of the text more like the Wang pi. That is to say, that the silk texts and the Wang pi text simply reflect different lines of text transmission, in which case we still do not know which is to be taken as authoritative... There is nothing in the Wang pi text to prevent its being understood as a text derived from the silk text version... The Fu I text, in fact, which at some points agrees with the silk texts and at other points with the Wang pi, could represent a point of transition between the two."<sup>27</sup>

Although the text of Lao Tzu is of a late date, it still reflects a Taoist tradition of earlier time, from the time of Confucius. Thus it provides a point with which it is possible to compare early Confucianism.

Hsu characterizes Taoism generally as follows: "The sceptical philosophers, usually called the Taoists, denounced both the established moral concepts and the worldly vanity of seeking high position, since they thought inner tranquillity was the only worthwhile goal."<sup>28</sup>

### c. Mo Tzu

Mo Tzu lived sometime between the years 496 and 381 B.C., or, according to the calculations of Ch'ien Mu, around 480-390 B.C. He died at the age of 91 at least and 93 at the most. Apparently he was a native of the state of Lu. Later he became an official in Sung. He identifies himself with the shih class. Graham says about his social status:

"Most early Chinese thinkers seem as far as we can tell to stand rather high up in the social hierarchy;

<sup>25</sup> LAU D.C. 1982, p. 155. WAGNER 1989, pp. 27-54.

<sup>26</sup> LAU D.C. 1982, p. 184.

<sup>27</sup> HENRICKS 1979, pp. 166,194.

<sup>28</sup> HSU 1965, p. 140.

but there is strong evidence that the Mohist movement was rooted in the trades and crafts of the towns among people otherwise inarticulate in ancient China. ...it would seem that 'the Mo Ti' was a man of the lower orders known only by his personal name."

Schwartz says: "But the ponderous and clumsy style of his book does suggest the 'solemn self-educated man,' to identify him as a member of the shih class." In Lu he was influenced by Confucian thinking and in Sung he adopted the ideals of universal love and anti-militarism, or pacifism. Probably like Confucius, he established a school where he educated those who wished to become officials for the feudal lords. In the works of Mo Tzu there is only one story about Mo Tzu. According to this he saved the state of Sung by using his skill as a military engineer.<sup>29</sup>

Graham says about the works of Mo Tzu: "We have however the book *Mo-tzu* 墨子, the core of which expounds the 10 doctrines, each in three versions which are presumably the records of a common oral tradition preserved by the three sects." Each triad of the chapters is distinguished by shang, 上 chung 中 and hsia 下 after the shared title. Graham claims that of the total of thirty chapters seven are lost. He says: "The chapters of a triad are separate expositions of its doctrine, sometimes sharing little but the theme, sometimes running parallel almost sentence by sentence, but never with the identity of wording of many parallel passages in other pre-Han texts. It seems that we have three written versions of a common oral teaching, very probably, as Yü Yüeh was the first to suggest, those of the three sects into which the Mohist school is said in *Han Fei tzu* to have divided. In more than one case a chapter parallels the whole of another chapter but then continues with entirely new material introduced by a new 'Mo-tzu said' suggesting that the oral tradition expanded and diverged within the Mohist sects."<sup>30</sup>

Mei quotes Han Fei Tzu: "Upon the death of Mo Tzu, Moism split into three branches; there was the Moist school of Hsiang Li, there was the Moist school of Hsiang Fu, and there was the Moist school of Ten Ling." According to Mei we have no evidence that the three versions of each discussion are respectively from the hands of these three men, yet the existence of the three sets of the synoptic books and the three Mohist schools would be too happy to be a mere coincidence. It seems reasonable that each of the three schools furnished itself with its own text, each with some individual latitude and its own slant on the teachings of the common master. When the different texts were compiled, what we now have as the synoptic gospels of Mohism was become the natural result. Even to this section many alterations and additions have been made during the centuries, but at least the general ideas are reliable, with the exception of those in chapter 39, "Anti-Confucianism", and chapter 32, "Condemnation of Music".

Mei says that while the Spring and Autumn of Confucius was lavishly furnished with three standard commentaries almost within a century of his death, all of which have come down to us in their complete form, the first extant commentary on a part of

<sup>29</sup> NEEDHAM 1956, p. 165. LIN Chün-che 1976, pp. 373, 378-380. FUNG, Yu-lan 1967, pp. 77-80. WILHELM 1929, pp. 33,34. SCHWARTZ 1985, pp. 136,137. MOTZU pp. 257-259. GRAHAM 1978, pp. 3,6,7. SJÖHOLM 1982, p. 54. NIKKILÄ 1982, p. 77.

Graham lists several theories concerning the name Mo. Traditionally this has been regarded as a surname. Chiang 江 has taken "mo 墨" in the sense of 'dark', as referring to the sun-blackened faces of the work-hardened Mohists. "Since mo 'branding' is the lightest of the Five Punishments, Ch'ien Mu suggests that it distinguished the Mohists as men who worked like convicts." "Watanabe (1967) takes mo in its ordinary sense of 'ink', referring to the inked cord of the carpenter." GRAHAM 1978, p. 6. See also SJÖHOLM 1982, pp. 53-55. CHOU Ch'ang-yao 1977, p. 216.

<sup>30</sup> GRAHAM 1978, p. 3. GRAHAM 1985, p. 1.

The Works of Mo Tzu - that dealing with logic - was not attempted until about the fourth century A.D. by Lu Sheng Chiu. And of this, only the preface has come down to our day. It is no exaggeration to say that the neglect of Mo Tzu the man, his system, and his works since the beginning of the Christian era had been all but universal until the middle of the eighteenth century A.D.. Han Yü, the prince of the Literary Style of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. was perhaps the only literatus who made more than a passing and slighting remark about Mo Tzu.

According to Mei, The Works of Mo Tzu originally consisted of fifteen books, with the sixteenth forming the table of contents. The works were divided into 71 chapters. Before the end of the twelfth century A.D. ten of these chapters had been lost. Later eight more chapters were lost. The present text is grouped into fifteen books and has 53 chapters.

According to Mei the first seven chapters in book one are utterly spurious. Their style is different from the main body of the text and they often refer to historical events which happened long after Mo Tzu's time. The following 25 chapters, from chapter eight to chapter 39 with eight chapters missing, distributed in books from two to nine may be called the synoptic books of Mohism. These books are the essential materials for a study of Mohism, although not written by Mo Tzu himself.

The six chapters from 40 to 45 in books 10 and 11 compose the works on logic of Mohism, also known as the Canons of Mohism. Mei says that these make the hardest reading in the whole body of Chinese literature, and critics are completely divided regarding their authorship. Mei summarizes them and says that in all likelihood the basic elements of the scheme originated with Mo Tzu, while his logical disciples and the Neo-Mohists elaborated and extended them. Despite this, we have the same right to call it the Mohist Logic as to speak about Pythagorean mathematics.

The five chapters from 46 to 50 in books 11 to 13 may be called the Motian Analects. These chapters are mainly authentic and reliable, probably records made by Mo Tzu's immediate disciples.

The last group of eleven chapters, distributed in books 14 and 15, deal with the arts of fortification and defence. Mei says that few have considered this part important enough to be worth going to the trouble of a thorough study. Prof. Forke's translation of the works of Mo Tzu includes these chapters as well, but these chapters are irrelevant for our purpose.

Mei describes the style of the works as tedious with frequent repetitions, to say the least.

The essential part for a study of the ethical and political teachings of Mo Tzu are the synoptical books, 2-9. Mo Tzu himself describes the function of these teachings:

"Upon entering a country one should locate the need and work on that. If the country is upset in confusion teach them with the Exaltation of the Virtuous and Identification with the Superior. If the country is in poverty, teach them with Economy of Expenditures and Simplicity in Funeral. If the country is indulging in music and wine, teach them with Condemnation of Music and Anti-fatalism. If the country is insolent and without propriety, teach them to reverence Heaven and worship the spirits, If the country is engaged in conquest and oppression, teach them with Universal Love and Condemnation of Offensive War. Hence, we say one should locate the need and work on that."<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> MEI 1973, pp. 49-57. SCHWARTZ 1985, pp. 137,138.

Graham makes the point that:

"The Mohists, who puzzle us by being at once the most religious and the most logical of the ancient thinkers, also contrive to be both the most pacifistic and the most martial. One of their 10 doctrines was the condemnation of all military aggression, a corollary of their principle of universal love. But they did not merely allow defensive war, they specialized in it; they were a military as much as a religious and philosophical community"<sup>32</sup>

#### 4. The Literature Used

Some works regarded as important in the first volume are also used in this second volume.<sup>33</sup> In addition, the following works are important in the present volume: Herbert Fingarette, *Confucius - the Secular as Sacred*, New York 1972. This work, although quite concise, has caused much discussion amongst scholars especially his views of the Confucian Li. Roberts, Moss Pensak, *The Metaphysical Context of the Analects and the Metaphysical Theme in Late Chou Confucianism*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1966. Diss. Robert P. Kramers, *Konfuzius Chinas entthronter Heiliger?* Bern 1979. This work deals with the life of Confucius and his doctrines, discussing several Confucian concepts. Some articles by Antonio S. Cua in *Philosophy East and West*. Dawson, Raymond, *Confucius*, Reading 1981. Creel H.G. *Confucius the Man and the Myth*, London 1951. Schwartz, Benjamin, *The World of Thought in Ancient China*, Cambridge and London 1985.

Besides these, some contemporary works on western philosophy and especially value theory have been used. These works have helped to clarify certain questions and answers in connection with Confucian value theory. (Conversely, the Confucian value theory has helped, in the light of these modern works, to evaluate the problems that should be solved to day.)

The most often used commentaries are the following: Ch'eng Shu-te, *Lun Yü Chi Chih*, Peking 1943, repr. Taipei 1974. This is a compilation of several commentaries and includes the whole Chi Chia and the Chi Chu and other early commentaries, and much of the commentaries of Liu Pao-nan P'an Wei-ch'eng, Huang Shih-san, Mao Ch'i-ling etc. The commentary of Liu Pao-nan, *Liu Kung-mien, Lun-yü Cheng I*, Taipei 1973, and *Chu Hsi, Szu Shu Chi Chu*, Taipei 1952, are used separately from the mentioned compilation. These old commentaries form a bridge of interpretation from the old times to the present day. This is important especially in some of the difficult passages of the *Analects*.<sup>34</sup> The following commentaries are also used: Hsieh Ping-ying and others, *Hsin I Szu Shu Tu Pen*, Taipei 1976, Yang Pe-chün *Lun Yu I Chu*, Shanghai 1965, Some other works in Chinese: Ch'en Ta-chi, *K'ung Tzu Hsüeh*

<sup>32</sup> GRAHAM 1978, p. 4. See also HANSEN 1983, pp. 100,101.

<sup>33</sup> Thaddeus John Gurdak, *Tradition and Holiness in the Analects of Confucius*, University of Wisconsin-Madison, diss. 1976. Hsü Fu-kuan, *The History of the Chinese Philosophy of Human Nature, The pre-ch'in period (Chung kuo Jen Hsing Lun Shih)*, Taipei 1975. Tang Chün-i, *The T'ien Ming (Heavenly Ordinance) in pre-Ch'in China*, PEW vol. 11, 1962 and part two PEW vol. 12, 1962. Takeuchi, Teruo, *A Study of the Meaning of Jen Advocated by Confucius*, *Acta Asiatica*, vol. 9, 1965. Wing-tsit Chan, *The Evolution of the Confucian Concept Jen*, PEW, vol. 4, 1955.

<sup>34</sup> This kind of bridge was suggested to the author by professor Jao Tsung-i, Hong Kong.

Shuo Lun Chi, Taipei 1967, Yang Hui-chieh, Jen Ti Han I Yü Jen Ti Che Hsüeh, Taipei 1975, Ch'ien Mu, K'ung Tzu Yü Lun Yü, Hong Kong 1975, Hsü Fu-kuan, Chung Kuo Jen Hsing Lun Shih, Taipei 1975.

When quoting the Analects, the favored translation is Arthur Waley, *The Analects of Confucius*, Northampton 1964. However, the translations by D.C. Lau and Legge are also sometimes used. Although Legge's translation is old, it is sometimes the one which most clearly reveals the original literal meaning of the text. Legge is useful because he often follows the interpretation of Chu Hsi.

The bibliography mentions only those works which have been directly referred to. There are some indirect references mentioned in the footnotes, which do not appear in the bibliography.

The romanization of the pronunciation of Chinese characters follows the Wade-Giles system according to the Mathew's Chinese English dictionary. In cases where the dictionary provides an alternative form of romanization, the first alternative is chosen. The diacritical marks are omitted, except for the umlaut u as ü. Any romanization occurring in the quotes or in a name of a work has not been changed into the Wade-Giles system.