

A SOURCE BOOK IN
CHINESE
PHILOSOPHY

TRANSLATED AND COMPILED BY
WING-TSIT CHAN

陳榮捷



PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

1963

Copyright © 1963 by Princeton University Press
London: Oxford University Press
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED
L.C. Card: 62-7398

Chapter 7, "The Natural Way of Lao Tzu," with additional notes and comments, has been published as *The Way of Lao Tzu*, copyright © 1963, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Publication of this book has been aided by the Ford Foundation program to support publication, through university presses, of works in the humanities and social sciences, as well as by grants from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the Edward W. Hazen Foundation, and the McInerny Foundation.

Wing-tsit Chan is a Professor of Chinese Culture and Philosophy at Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. He did his undergraduate work at Lingnan University in Canton, China, and received his Ph.D. from Harvard University. He has taught both in China and in this country since 1929, and is the author of many distinguished publications in the field of Chinese philosophy.

Printed in the United States of America
by Princeton University Press

CONTENTS

Foreword	vii
Preface	ix
Acknowledgments	xiii
Chronology of Dynasties	xv
Chronology of Philosophers	xvi
Abbreviations and Abridgments	2
1. The Growth of Humanism	3
Introduction, 3; 1. Ancestors and the Lord on High, 5;	
2. The Mandate of Heaven, Ancestors, and Virtue, 6;	
3. The "Great Norm," 8; 4. Spirits, the Soul, and Im-	
mortality, 11	
2. The Humanism of Confucius*	14
Introduction, 14; Selections from the <i>Analects</i> , 18	
3. Idealistic Confucianism: Mencius*	49
Introduction, 49; The <i>Book of Mencius</i> : Book 6, Part	
1, 51; Additional Selections, 60	
4. Moral and Social Programs: The <i>Great Learning</i>	84
Introduction, 84; The <i>Great Learning</i> , 85	
5. Spiritual Dimensions: The <i>Doctrine of the Mean</i> *	95
Introduction, 95; The <i>Doctrine of the Mean</i> , 97	
6. Naturalistic Confucianism: Hsün Tzu	115
Introduction, 115; 1. "On Nature," 116; 2. "On the	
Rectification of Names," 124; 3. "The Nature of Man	
is Evil," 128	
7. The Natural Way of Lao Tzu*	136
Introduction, 136; The <i>Lao Tzu (Tao-te ching)</i> , 139	
8. The Mystical Way of Chuang Tzu	177
Introduction, 177; A. "The Equality of Things," 179;	
B. "The Great Teacher," 191; C. Additional Selections:	

* An analytical content is found at the end of the Introduction to the chapter.

THE GROWTH OF HUMANISM

IF ONE WORD could characterize the entire history of Chinese philosophy, that word would be humanism—not the humanism that denies or slights a Supreme Power, but one that professes the unity of man and Heaven. In this sense, humanism has dominated Chinese thought from the dawn of its history.

Humanism was an outgrowth, not of speculation, but of historical and social change. The conquest of the Shang (1751–1112 B.C.) by the Chou in 1111 B.C. inaugurated a transition from tribal society to feudal. To consolidate the empire, the Chou challenged human ingenuity and ability, cultivated new trades and talents, and encouraged the development of experts from all levels of society. Prayers for rain were gradually replaced by irrigation. *Ti*, formerly the tribal Lord, became the God for all. Man and his activities were given greater importance. The time finally arrived when a slave became a prime minister. Humanism, in gradual ascendance, reached its climax in Confucius.

Having overthrown the Shang, founders of the Chou had to justify their right to rule. Consequently, they developed the doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven, a self-existent moral law whose constant, reliable factor was virtue. According to this doctrine, man's destiny—both mortal and immortal—depended, not upon the existence of a soul before birth or after death nor upon the whim of a spiritual force, but upon his own good words and good deeds. The Chou asserted, therefore, that the Shang, though they had received the mandate to rule, had forfeited it because they failed in their duties. The mandate then passed on to the founders of Chou, who deserved it because of their virtue. Obviously, the future of the house of Chou depended upon whether future rulers were virtuous.

The idea that the destiny of man or the future of a dynasty depended upon virtue rather than upon the pleasure of some mysterious, spiritual power marked a radical development from the Shang to the Chou. (Significantly, the term *te* [virtue] is not found in the oracle bones on which Shang ideas and events are recorded, but it is a key word in early Chou documents.) During the Shang, the influence of spiritual beings on man had been almost total, for no important thing could be done without first seeking their approval, but in the Chou (1111–249 B.C.) their dwelling places were regulated by the rulers. As the *Book of Rites* says, "The people of Yin (Shang) honor spiritual beings, serve them, and put them ahead of ceremonies. . . . The people of Chou honor ceremonies and

highly value the conferring of favors. They serve the spiritual beings and respect them, but keep them at a distance. They remain near to man and loyal to him."¹

Similarly, belief in the Lord underwent a radical transformation. In the Shang, he was the supreme anthropomorphic deity who sent blessings or calamities, gave protection in battles, sanctioned undertakings, and passed on the appointment or dismissal of officials. Such belief continued in the early Chou, but was gradually replaced by the concept of Heaven (*T'ien*) as the supreme spiritual reality.² This does not mean that either Heaven or spiritual beings did not continue to be highly honored and greatly respected. But their personal power was supplanted by human virtue and human effort, and man, through his moral deeds, could now control his own destiny.

It was in this light that ancestors were regarded in Chou times. During the Shang, great ancestors were either identified with the Lord,³ or considered as mediators through whom requests were made to the Lord. In the Chou, they were still influential but, as in the case of Heaven, their influence was exerted not through their power but through their moral example and inspiration. They were to be respected but to be kept from interfering with human activities. Individual and social categories were to be stated in moral terms according to a "Great Norm."

The above beliefs are illustrated in the following selections. They are taken from the *Book of History*,⁴ the *Book of Odes*,⁵ the *Tso chuan* (Tso's Commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*),⁶ and the *Kuo-*

¹ *Book of Rites*, "Record of Example," pt. 2. See Legge, trans., *Li Ki*, vol. 1, p. 342.

² On this question, see Dubs, "The Archaic Royal Jou (Chou) Religion," *T'oung Pao*, 46 (1959), 218-259.

³ According to Kuo Mo-jo, *Ch'ing-t'ung shih-tai* (The Bronze Age), 1946, pp. 9-12, and Fu Ssu-nien, *Hsing-ming ku-hsün pien-cheng* (Critical Studies of the Classical Interpretations of the Nature and Destiny), 1940, 2:3a.

⁴ The *Book of History*, a basic Confucian Classic, is a collection of documents from the time of legendary Emperor Yao (3rd millennium B.C.) to the early Chou. Twenty-five of the fifty-eight chapters are believed to be forgeries by Wang Su (195-256), Huang-fu Mi (215-282), or Mei Tse (of the Eastern Chin period, 317-420). Of the rest, modern scholars accept only the Chou documents as authentic. The selections presented here are from this group. For English translation, see Legge, trans., *Shoo King*.

⁵ The *Book of Odes*, also a basic Confucian Classic, is a collection of 305 poems, including songs sung in religious and early official functions and popular songs from the various states of early Chou times. Five are supposed to have come from the Shang dynasty. Tradition holds that Confucius selected these from three thousand prevailing songs, a belief rejected by modern scholars. It is agreed, however, that many of the songs had been popular and that Confucius knew them. For English translations, see Karlgren, trans., *The Book of Odes*, and Waley, trans., *The Book of Songs*.

⁶ This has been traditionally attributed to Tso Ch'iu-ming, a contemporary of

THE GROWTH OF HUMANISM

yü (Conversations of the States).⁷ The former two contain the oldest material of Chinese literature. Although the latter two are much later works, they record events of pre-Confucian times.

1. ANCESTORS AND THE LORD ON HIGH

Abundant is the year, with much millet and much rice,
And we have tall granaries,
With hundreds of thousands and millions of units.
We make wine and sweet spirits
And offer them to our ancestors, male and female,
Thus to fulfill all the rites,
And bring down blessings to all.

(*Book of Odes*, ode no. 279, "Abundant is the Year")

Heaven produces the teeming multitude;
As there are things, there are their specific principles (*tse*).
When the people keep to their normal nature,
They will love excellent virtue.
Heaven, looking down upon the House of Chou
Sees that its light reaches the people below,⁸
And to protect the Son of Heaven,
Gave birth to Chung Shan-fu [to help him].⁹
(*ibid.*, ode no. 260, "The Teeming Multitude")

Comment. Neo-Confucianists, injecting a more metaphysical sense into the second line of this ode, made it mean that inherent in every single thing there are specific principles about its being. There

Confucius, and is regarded as a commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Ch'un-ch'iu*) which records the events of the state of Lu during the Spring and Autumn period (722-481 B.C.). The authorship of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* has been ascribed to Confucius, who was a native of Lu. Its records are so brief and often so obscure that commentaries were necessary to supply the background and context and to make the meanings clear. Of three commentaries, the *Tso chuan* is the standard. For English translation, see Legge, trans., *The Ch'un T'sew, with The Tso Tsuen*. Modern scholarship, however, holds that the *Tso chuan* is probably an independent work and was not written until the 4th century B.C.

⁷ Also attributed to Tso Ch'iu-ming, though not by modern scholars, who believe that the work was probably edited by Liu Hsin (c. 46 B.C.-A.D. 23). However, they accept it as an authentic record of conversations in various states during the Spring and Autumn period. For French translation, see de Harlez, trans., "Koue-Yü," 1st pt., *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1893), 373-419, no. 2 (1894), 5-91; 2nd pt., *Discours des Royaumes*, 1895, pp. 1-268.

⁸ The interpretation of this line varies. That of the *Mao-shih cheng-i* (Correct Meanings of the *Book of Odes* Transmitted by Mao) by K'ung Ying-ta (574-648) is followed here.

⁹ Chung Shan-fu was Marquis of Fan, according to the *Mao-shih cheng-i*, a very virtuous man, whom Heaven sent out to help King Hsüan (r. 827-782 B.C.).

A GLOSSARY OF CHINESE CHARACTERS

The names and titles of the same man are given in the same entry. Well-known place names and names of dynasties are omitted.

愛	ai: love;	長安	Ch'ang-an
哀	sorrow	長沮	Ch'ang-chü
艾思奇	Ai Ssu-ch'i	長沙	Ch'ang-sha
安世高	An Shih-kao	長裕子	Ch'ang-wu Tzu
詭	ch'a: to boast;	昭	Chao
察	to examine	昭	chao: light;
宅	chai	著	to attach
翟楚	Chai Ch'u	趙岐	Chao Ch'i
展禽	Chan-ch'in	著境	chao-ching
陳榮捷	Chan Wing-tsit	趙景子	Chao Ching Tzu
憚	Ch'an	肇論	Chao lun
憚源諸詮	Ch'an-yüan chü-ch'üan	肇論註	Chao lun chu
集都序	chi tu-hsü	肇論中夾	Chao lun Chung-wu
張君勳	Chang, Carsun	集解	chi-chieh
張灏	Chang Chan	昭文	Chao Wen
張澄基	Chang, Chen-chi	趙元任	Chao, Yuen Ren
張中元	Chang Chung-yüan	詔州	Ch'ao-chou
張橫渠集	Chang Heng-ch'ü chi	趙日明	Ch'ao-jih-ming
張行成	Chang Hsing-ch'eng	三昧經	san-mei ching
張儀	Chang I	者	che
張炳麟	Chang Ping-lin,	哲學研究	Che-hsüeh yen-chiu
大炎	T'ai-yen	哲宗	Che-tsung
張伯行	Chang Po-hsing	真	chen
張栻	Chang Shih,	真覺	Chen-chiao
南軒	Nan-hsien,	真如	chen-ju
敬夫欽夫	Ching-fu, Ch'ien-fu	真元	chen-yüan
張守節	Chang Shou-chieh	陳	Ch'en
張岱年	Chang Tai-nien	陳枏	Ch'en Chi
張載	Chang Tsai,	陳敏天	Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien
橫渠子厚	Heng-ch'ü, Tzu-hou	陳竒猷	Ch'en Ch'i-yu
張東蓀	Chang Tung-sun	陳建	Ch'en Chien,
張子正蒙	Chang Tzu Cheng-meng	清瀾	Ch'ing-lan
註	chu	陳景元	Ch'en Ching-yüan
張子全書	Chang Tzu ch'üan-shu	陳淳北溪	Ch'en Ch'un, Pei-hsi
常	ch'ang: always;	陳思成	Ch'en En-cheng
嘗	has been	陳傅良	Ch'en Fu-liang

INDEX

A

- Abhidharma School, 364*n*
 accidents and necessity, 302-3
 activation, 11
 activity and tranquillity: in Yin Yang School, 248; in Buddhism, 344, 419; in Neo-Confucianism, 462, 567, 607-8, 630; *see also* tranquillity
 actuality, 712, 755-57, 760
 Ai, Duke, 104, 258
 Ai Ssu-ch'i, 781
 Ajivikas, 379
 ālaya (storehouse consciousness), *see* storehouse consciousness
 An Shih-kao, 425
Analects: emphasis on, ix; discussed, 14-18; described, 18*n*; selections from, 18-48, difficult passage in, 34
 ancestors: in ancient times, 5-8; Confucius on, *see* p. 18; *see also* spiritual beings
 Ancient Script School, 314, 723
 argumentation, 186, 189
 arhat, 380, 383
 Aristotle, 115, 365, 640-44, 757
 art, 210; *see also* p. 18
 Āryadeva, 357
 Asaṅga, 370, 518
 atom, 233, 375-76
Avatamsaka sūtra, 406
avidyā, 740
Awakening of Faith, 400

B

- bamboo, investigation of, 689
 Bamboo Grove, 315
 barbarians, 36, 41, 101, 430-31, 727
 being and non-being: in Neo-Confucianism, 14, 578, 646-48, 697, *see also* p. 496 and non-being; in Taoism, 86, 202, 306, *see also* p. 138; in Neo-Taoism, 336-37; in Buddhism, 350-57, 360, 393-95
 benefit, *see* utilitarianism
 benevolence (*jen*), *see* humanity
 Bergson, 743-44, 764
 Bhagavat, 389
 Bodde, 34, 786, 789
 Bodhidharma, 425-26
 Boodberg, 786, 790-91

- Bruce, 786
 Buddha-mind, 427-28
 Buddha-nature, 402, 427
 Buddhas-for-themselves, 347
 Buddhism: and the *Mean*, 95; and Neo-Confucianism, 403-4, 406, 662, 677, *see also* p. 522; criticized by Confucianists, 453-56, 695, 700, 714-15, *see also* pp. 496, 547, 574, 593; in contemporary Chinese philosophy, 725, 738; and Taoism, *see* Taoism
 Buddhist schools, seven early, 336-43

C

- calmness: in Taoism, 207-8; in Buddhism, 428, 431-33, 435-36; in Neo-Confucianism, 525-27
 capacity, 574, 705, 719
 Carnap, 743
 causal union, 342
 causation, 414, 420
 cause and effect, 350, 354-55, 361-64, 372
 ceremonies and music: Confucius on, 18; Hsün Tzu on, 128-34; Chou Tun-i on, 466, 469, 473
 Chai Ch'u, 785
 Chan-ch'in, 313
 Ch'an, *see* Zen
 Chang, Carsun, 784-85
 Chang Ch'ien-fu, *see* Chang Shih
 Chang Ching-fu, *see* Chang Shih
 Chang Heng-ch'ü, *see* Chang Tsai
 Chang I, 71-72
 Chang Nan-hsien, *see* Chang Shih
 Chang Ping-lin, 234, 373
 Chang Po-hsing, 501
 Chang Shih, 26, 600*n*
 Chang Tai-nien, 777
 Chang T'ai-yen, *see* Chang Ping-lin
 Chang Tsai: discussed, 495-96; life of, 496*n*; doctrines of, *see* topical index on p. 496
 on vacuity and Lao Tzu, 142; on evil, 467; on humanity, 498, 596; on vacuity, 501-4; on principle, 504, 508-14, 517; on investigation of principle, 504, 508, 515; on spiritual forces, 505, 514, 790; on sincerity, 507-8, 513; on Principle of Nature and human desires, 509; on innate knowledge, 509;