

YIN YANG CONFUCIANISM: TUNG CHUNG-SHU

ON THE SURFACE, Tung Chung-shu (c.179-c.104 B.C.) seems to be of only minor philosophical interest, but historically he is of the utmost importance. He was chiefly instrumental in making Confucianism the state doctrine in 136 B. C. This supremacy excluded other scholl, and lasted until 1905. But a closer examination of his philosophy reveal some extremely significant developments. In the Yin Yang School, the universe is conceived of as a well-coordinated system in which every thing is related to everything else. In the *Book of Changes* this order is conceived of as a process of transformation. In Tung Chung-shu, however, both ideas took a step forward: the universe is treated as an organic whole. In his belief, not only are things related generally, but they are so in exact detail; and not only do things change, but they activate each other. The theory that things of the same kind energize one another presupposes an organic structure and a pre-established harmony. The correspondence of man and Nature is now reduced to numbers. Nature can always influence man through portents because the same material forces of yin and yang govern both of them. In fact, to Tung man is the universe in miniature: man is the microcosm, Nature the macrocosm.

Since things are always activating one another, the universe is not static but dynamic. This idea is underscored by the concept of the origin (*yüan*), a concept not much different from that of Change. But as the Great Ultimate in the system of Change is confined to the meta-physical realm, Tung's concept of the origin finds its richest meaning in history and human affairs. To him, origin means foundation, and nothing can be correct unless its foundation is correct. This is why, according to him, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* records events beginning with the first of the year. According to tradition, Confucius wrote the Classic to record the affairs of his native state of Lu from 722 to 481 B.C., which eventually came to be known as the Period of Spring and Autumn. Confucius did record the events in such a way as to suggest certain judgment upon them. But Tung regarded the book as laws for future dynasties. In his eyes, names used in the book are incidents of the rectification of names from which moral and political correctness can be discerned. Moreover, the book is the embodiment of the Natural Law. One suspects that the reason why Tung honored the *Spring and Autumn Annals* the most highly of all Confucian Classics stems at least partly from the fact that in this book human affairs are viewed in the perspec-

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tive of the origin and what follows from it—that is, in the perspective of time.

Likewise, the time element has an unusual bearing on his doctrine of history. He views history as going in a cycle of three periods, symbolized by black, white, and red. This in itself is not much different from Tsou Yen's (305-240 B.C.?) theory of the revolution of the Five Powers.¹ What is unique is that the correct period must begin at the right time.

In this scheme of things, the supreme position belongs to the king. When imperial power was fast growing in the Han (206 B.C.—A.D. 220), this is not surprising. People, born with greed as well as with humanity, are considered to be unenlightened by nature, and require a king to instruct them. Applied to human relations, this becomes Tung's Three Bonds according to which the ruler, the father, and the husband are to be the standards of the ruled, the son, and the wife. Some scholars have maintained that it was precisely because of this authoritarianism that the Han rulers welcomed Confucianism as the state ideology. Be that as it may, it must be pointed out that in Tung's system there are factors that would check the ruler. After all, he can rule only if he receives the mandate from Heaven, and the will of Heaven is to be discovered not by an astrologer to whom the king might dictate but through portents, which are expressions of the natural cosmic forces of yin and yang. In the final analysis it was Confucius, according to Tung, who understood the origin of things, of which portents as well as human and natural events are manifestations, and who taught humanity (*jen*) and righteousness rooted in Heaven. Thus the final power of interpreting what is correct or not rests with Confucian scholars. Hu Shih (1891-1962) has suggested that Tung was probably the first man to make an appeal to the Law of God in his attack on the nobles and officials of the empire.²

Tung was a professor of the national university, a very high honor, as well as twice a chief minister. He was the greatest Confucianist of his time, and for several hundred years afterward. Once he studied and taught so hard that for three years he did not see his garden.³ The follow-

¹ See above, ch. II, sec. I.

² "The Natural Law in the Chinese Tradition," in *Natural Law Institute Proceedings*, vol. 5, p. 148.

³ According to the *Ch'ien-Han shu* (History of the Former Han Dynasty, 206 B.C.—A.D. 8), ch. 56, Tung devoted himself to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* in his youth. In 140, 136, or 134 B.C. he was the top scholar commanded to answer questions by Emperor Wu (r. 140-87 B.C.). It was largely through his influence that non-Confucian scholars were dismissed from the government and Confucianism was made state dogma by Emperor Wu. In 140 B.C. Tung was appointed chief minister to a prince. Because he applied his belief in portents to governmental measures, he was attacked and dismissed. Later he was chief minister to another prince. At old age he retired to write.

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ing are selections, including four full chapters, from his work the *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lit* (Luxuriant Gems of the "Spring and Autumn Annals")

LUXURIANT GEMS OF THE SPRING AND AUTUMN ANNALS⁴

A. *The Profound Examination of Names and Appellations* (ch. 35)

. . . . The present generation is ignorant about human nature. Speakers on the subject differ from each other. Why not try to go back to the term "nature" (*hsing*)? Does not the term "nature" mean what is inborn (*sheng*)?⁵ If it means what is inborn, then the basic substance naturally endowed is called man's nature. Nature is the basic substance. If we inquire into the basic substance of nature by applying the term "good," will that be correct? If not, why still say that the basic substance is good? The term "nature" cannot be separated from the basic substance. When it is separated from the basic substance, as in the case of hair, it will no longer be nature. This should be clearly understood. The *Spring and Autumn Annals* examines the principles of things and rectifies their names. It applies names to things as they really are, without making the slightest mistake. Therefore in mentioning [the strange event of] falling meteorites, it mentions the number five afterward [because the meteorites were seen first and their number discovered later], whereas in mentioning the [ominous event of] fishhawks flying backward, it mentions the number six first [because six birds were first seen flying away and upon a closer look it was then found that they were fishhawks].⁶ Such is the care of the Sage (Confucius, its author) to rectify names. [As he himself said], "With regard to his speech, the superior man does not take it lightly."⁷ His statements about the five meteorites and the six fishhawks are good illustrations of this.

⁴ The *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* (Luxuriant Gems of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*) consists of eighty-two short essays on philosophical and political subjects. For a French translation of chs. 44 and 74 see Bibliography. The word *lu* is often translated literally as "dew." According to one interpretation, *fan-lu* means luxuriant dew, that is, the richness of meaning in Confucius' *Spring and Autumn Annals*. But the more common interpretation is that of gems hanging down from a cap, symbolizing the connecting links between the use of terms in the Classic and the event it describes. For the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, see above, ch. 1, n.6.

⁵ The character of nature, *hsing*, contains as its chief component the character for "birth," *sheng*, to produce, to create. Furthermore, they sound very much alike. In the Chinese language two words pronounced the same or very much alike often connote each other. It is not to be dismissed simply as a pun.

⁶ According to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, five meteorites fell in the state of Sung and six fishhawks flew backward over its capital in the 16th year of Duke Hsi (642 B.C.). See Legge, trans., *Ch'un Ts'ew*, p. 170. The *Kung-yang Commentary* explains why the number is given first in the one case but last in the other.

⁷ *Analects*, 13:3.

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fication for authoritarianism. In this he goes even further than Hsün Tzu (fl. 298-238 B.C.).

B. The Meaning of the Five Agents (ch. 42)

Heaven has Five Agents (i.e. Elements): the first is Wood; the second, Fire; the third, Earth; the fourth, Metal; and the fifth, Water. Wood is the beginning of the cycle of the Five Agents, Water is its end, and Earth is its center. Such is their natural sequence. Wood produces Fire, Fire produces Earth, Earth produces Metal, Metal produces Water, and Water produces Wood. Such is their father-and-son relationship. Wood occupies the left, Metal occupies the right, Fire occupies the front, Water occupies the rear, and Earth occupies the center. Such is their order as that of father and son, and the way in which they receive from each other and spread out. Therefore Wood received from Water, Fire from Wood, Earth from Fire, Metal from Earth, and Water from Metal. Those that give are fathers and those that receive are sons. It is the Way of Heaven that the son always serves his father. Therefore when Wood is produced, Fire should nourish it, and after Metal perishes, Water should store it. Fire enjoys Wood and nourishes it with yang, but Water overcomes Metal and buries it with yin. Earth serves Heaven with the utmost loyalty. Therefore the Five Agents are the actions of filial sons and loyal ministers. The Five agents are so called because they are tantamount to five actions. That is how the term was derived. The sage knows this and therefore he shows much love and little sternness, and is generous in supporting the living and serious in burying the dead. This is to follow the system of Heaven. It is the function of the son to receive and to fulfill. For him to support is like Fire enjoying Wood, to bury one's father is like Water overcoming Metal, and serving the ruler is like Earth showing respect to Heaven. People like these may be said to be good in their actions.

Comment. Unlike the Yin Yang School which puts the Five Agents on the same level or in a cycle, Tung arranges them lineally. He did so partly because of his strong emphasis on the idea of the origin which means that things proceed in time on a straight-line sequence, and partly because of his strong feeling for hierarchy. It is no wonder that loyalty and filial piety are on the forefront, for that is where the ruler and the father are to be found.

Each of the Five Agents succeeds the others according to its order. Each of them performs its official function by fulfilling its capacity. Thus Wood occupies the eastern quarter and controls the forces (*ch'i*) of spring, Fire occupies the southern quarter and controls the forces of

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summer, Metal occupies the western quarter and controls the forces of autumn, and Water occupies the northern quarter and controls the forces of winter. For this reason Wood controls production, Metal controls destruction, Fire controls heat, and Water controls cold. It is the course of Nature that people must be employed according to their order and officials appointed according to their capacity. Earth occupies the center and is the natural benefactor. It is the helper of Heaven. Its character is abundant and beautiful and cannot be identified with the affairs of any single season. Therefore among the Five Agents and the four seasons, Earth includes them all. Although Metal, Wood, Water, and Fire each have their own functions, their positions would not be established were it not for Earth, just as sourness, saltiness, acridness, and bitterness would not become tastes were it not for savoriness. Savoriness is the basis of the five tastes, and Earth is the controlling factor of the Five Agents. The controlling factor of the Five Agents is the material force of Earth. It is like the fact that with savoriness the five tastes cannot help being tastes. Therefore among the actions of the sage, nothing is more valuable than loyalty, for it is the character of Earth. The great office of men, the function of which need not be mentioned, is that which they receive from each other. The great office of Heaven, the origin of which need not be mentioned, is Earth. (SPTK, 11:2b-3b)

C. The Correspondence of Man and the Numerical Categories of Heaven (ch. 56)

Heaven is characterized by the power to create and spread things, Earth is characterized by its power to transform, and man is characterized by moral principles. The material force of Heaven is above, that of Earth below, and that of man in between. Spring produces and summer grows, and all things flourish. Autumn destroys and winter stores, and all things are preserved. Therefore there is nothing more refined than material force, richer than Earth, or more spiritual than Heaven. Of the creatures born from the refined essence of Heaven and Earth, none is more noble than man. Man receives the mandate from Heaven and is therefore superior to other creatures.²¹ Other creatures suffer troubles and defects and cannot practice humanity and righteousness; man alone can practice them. Other creatures suffer troubles and defects and cannot match Heaven and Earth; man alone can match them. Man has 360 joints, which match the number of Heaven (the round number of days in a year). His body with its bones and flesh matches the thickness of Earth. He has ears and eyes above, with their keen sense of hearing and seeing, which resemble the sun and moon. His body has its orifices and

²¹ This reading follows the commentary by Lu Wen-ch'ao (1717-1795).

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veins, which resemble rivers and valleys. His heart has feelings of sorrow, joy, pleasure, and anger, which are analogous to the spiritual feelings (of Heaven). As we look at man's body, how much superior it is to that of other creatures and how similar to Heaven! Other creatures derive their life from the yin and yang of Heaven in a non-erect way, but man brilliantly shows his patterns and order. Therefore with respect to the physical form of other creatures, they all move about in a non-erect and incumbent position. Man alone stands erect, looks straight forward, and assumes a correct posture. Thus those who receive little from Heaven and Earth take the non-erect posture, while those receiving much from them take the correct posture. From this we can see that man is distinct from other creatures and forms a trinity with Heaven and Earth.

Therefore in the body of man, his head rises up and is round and resembles the shape of heaven.²² His hair resembles the stars and constellations. His ears and eyes, quick in their senses, resemble the sun and the moon. The breathing of his nostrils and mouth resembles the wind. The penetrating knowledge of his mind resembles the spiritual intelligence [of Heaven]. His abdomen and womb, now full and now empty, resemble the myriad things. The myriad things are nearest to the earth. Therefore the portion of the body below the waist corresponds to earth. As the body resembles heaven and earth, the waist serves as a sash. What is above the neck is noble and majestic in spirit, which is to manifest the feature of heaven and its kind. What is below the neck is full and humble, comparable to the soil. The feet are spread out and square, resembling the shape of the earth. Therefore in wearing ceremonial sash and girdle, the neck must be straight to distinguish it from the heart. What is above the sash (the waist) is all yang and what is below the sash is all yin, each with its own function. The yang is the material force of heaven, and the yin is the material force of the earth. Therefore when yin and yang become operative and cause man to have ailment in the foot or numbness in the throat [for example], the material force of the earth rises to become clouds and rain. Thus there is resemblance in the correspondence. The agreement of heaven and earth and the correspondence between yin and yang are ever found complete in the human body. The body is like heaven. Its numerical categories and those of heaven are mutually interwoven, and therefore their lives are interlocked. Heaven completes the human body with the number of days

²² The Chinese believe heaven to be round and the earth to be square. Many of the comparisons between the human body and heavenly bodies are found in the *Huai-nan Tzu* (late 2nd cent. B.C.), ch. 7. SPPY, 7:2a-b. See Morgan, trans., *Tao, The Great Luminant*, pp. 59-60. They are also found in the apocryphal literature of Tung Chung-shu's time or shortly afterward. Evidently they were commonly held at the time.

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in a full year. Consequently the body's 366 lesser joints correspond to the number of days in a year, and the twelve larger joints correspond to the number of months. Internally the body has the five viscera,²³ which correspond to the number of the Five Agents. Externally there are the four limbs, which correspond to the four seasons. The alternating of opening and closing of the eyes corresponds to day and night. The alternating of strength and weakness corresponds to winter and summer. And the alternating of sorrow and joy corresponds to yin and yang. The mind has calculations and deliberations, which fact corresponds to that of periods of time and number of degrees of distance. Man's conduct follows the principles of human relations, which fact corresponds to the relationship of heaven and earth. All this, whether obscure or obvious in the body, is born with man. When it is matched with heaven and earth and compared, it is found to be fitting. In what may be numbered, there is correspondence in number. In what may not be numbered, there is correspondence in kind. They are all identical and correspond to Heaven. Thus [Heaven and man] are one. Therefore present the formed so as to make manifest the formless and get hold of what may be numbered to [make manifest what may not be numbered]. Spoken of in this way, it is quite proper for things to correspond to each other in kind. It is like the form [of the body]. Its [correspondence to heaven] is correct by virtue of its numerical categories. (SPTK, 13:1b-3b)

Comment. To match the number of bones in the human body with the number of days in the year sounds ridiculous and suggests that it is no more than a leftover of primitive divination. What is not so ridiculous, however, is the possibility of knowledge of the formless from the formed and through numbers. This involves the belief that all things of the same kind are reducible to the same pattern and the same numerical category. Behind all this is the idea of uniformity of nature and knowledge by inference, quite aside from the mere doctrine of correspondence of man and Nature or their unity.

D. Things of the Same Kind Activate Each Other (ch. 57)

If now water be poured on level ground, it will avoid the dry area and run to the wet area, whereas if two identical pieces of firewood are exposed to fire, the fire will avoid the wet piece and go to the dry one.²⁴ All things avoid what is different from them and follow what is similar to them. Therefore similar forces come together and matching tones

²³ Heart, liver, stomach, lungs, and kidneys.

²⁴ As Hsün Tzu has said. See *Hsün Tzu*, ch. 27, SPTK, 19:23a.

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respond to each other.²⁵ This is clear from evidence. Suppose the seven-stringed and the twenty-five stringed lutes are tuned and played. When the note F in the one is struck, the note F on the other will respond to it, and when the note G in the one is struck, the note G in the other will respond to it. Among the five notes each one that matches will sound of itself. There is nothing supernatural in this. It is their natural course that they do so. A beautiful thing calls forth things that are beautiful in kind and an ugly thing calls forth things that are ugly in kind, for things of the same kind arise in response to each other. For example, when a horse neighs, it is horses that will respond, [and when an ox lows, it is oxen that will respond]. Similarly, when an emperor or a king is about to rise, auspicious omens will first appear, and when he is about to perish, unlucky omens will first appear.²⁶ Therefore things of the same kind call forth each other. Because of the dragon, rain is produced, and by the use of the fan, the heat is chased away. Wherever armies are stationed, briars and thorns grow.²⁷ All beautiful and ugly things have their origins and have their lives accordingly. But none knows where these origins are.

Comment. The belief in portents is as old as Chinese thought. What is new in Tung Chung-shu is that he explains it in terms of natural law. Instead of expressions of the pleasure or displeasure of spiritual beings, portents are results of the cosmic material forces of yin and yang.

When the sky is dark and it is about to rain, a person's sickness affects him first, because the force of yin rises in response. When the sky is dark and it is about to rain, people want to sleep, because the material force of yin is at work. People who are sad want to lie down, because the yin of sadness and lying down seek each other. And people who are happy do not want to lie down because the yang of happiness and staying up require each other. Because of the night, the water level rises in some degree. Because of the east wind, the wine becomes further fermented.²⁸ When the night comes, the sick person's sickness becomes worse. When the day is about to dawn, cocks all crow and press on each other, their force becoming more and more refined. Therefore the yang reinforces the yang and the yin reinforces the yin, for the forces of yin and yang can naturally augment or diminish things because of their similarity in kind.

Heaven possesses yin and yang and man also possesses yin and yang.

²⁵ Paraphrasing *Lü-shih ch'un-chiu* (Mr. Lü's *Spring and Autumn Annals*), ch. 20, sec. 4, SPPY, 20:7b.

²⁶ The doctrine is taught in *The Mean*, ch. 24.

²⁷ Paraphrasing *Lao Tzu*, ch. 30.

²⁸ Paraphrasing *Huai-nan Tzu*, ch. 6, SPPY, 6:2b.

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When the universe's material force of yin arises, man's material force of yin arises in response. Conversely, when man's material force of yin arises, that of the universe should also arise in response. The principle is the same. He who understands this, when he wishes to bring forth rain, will activate the yin in man in order to arouse the yin of the universe. When he wishes to stop rain, he will activate the yang in man in order to arouse the yang of the universe. Therefore the bringing forth of rain is nothing supernatural. People suspect that it is supernatural because its principle is subtle and wonderful. It is not only the material forces of yin and yang that can advance or withdraw according to their kind. Even the way misfortunes, calamities, and blessings are produced follows the same principle. In all cases one starts something himself and other things become active in response according to their kind. Therefore men of intelligence, sageliness, and spirit introspect and listen to themselves, and their words become intelligent and sagely. The reason why introspection and listening to oneself alone can lead to intelligence and sageliness is because one knows that his original mind lies there. Therefore when the note of F is struck in the seven-stringed or twenty-one stringed lute, the F note in other lutes sound of themselves in response. This is a case of things being activated because they are similar in kind. Their activity takes place in sound and is invisible. Not seeing the form of their activity, people say that they sound of themselves. Furthermore, since they activate each other invisibly, it is thought that they do so themselves. In reality, it is not that they do so themselves, but that there is something that causes them. In reality things are caused, but the cause is invisible. According to the tradition mentioned in the commentary of the *Book of History*, when the House of Chou was about to arise, some big red crows holding some seeds of grain in their bills gathered on the roof of the king's house. King Wu (r. 1121-1116 B.C.?) was happy and all great officials were glad. The Duke of Chou (d. 1094 B.C.) said, "Make greater effort. Make greater effort. Heaven shows this in order to exhort us."²⁹ The duke was afraid that people depended on [Heaven]. (SPTK. 13:3b-5a)

E. Additional Selections

1. The Origin (Yüan)

Why does the *Spring and Autumn Annals* value the origin highly and talk about it?³⁰ The origin means the beginning. It means that the foun-

²⁹ *Shang-shu ta-chuan* (Great Commentary on the *Book of History*), attributed to Fu Sheng (fl. 220 B.C.), 2:1b.

³⁰ Confucius, in writing the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, began with the first year (yüan, first) of each ruler.

dation must be correct. It expresses the kingly way. The king is the beginning of man. If the king is correct, then the original material force will be harmonious, wind and rain will be timely, lucky stars will appear, and the yellow dragon will descend. If the king is not correct, then strange transformations will take place in heaven above and bandits will appear. . . . (ch. 6, SPTK, 4:1a)

It is only the Sage who can relate the myriad things to the One and tie it to the origin. If the source is not traced and the development from it followed, nothing can be accomplished. Therefore in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* the first year is changed to be called the year of *yuan* (origin). The origin is the same as source (*yüan*).³¹ It means that it accompanies the beginning and end of Heaven and Earth. Therefore if man in his life has a beginning and end like this, he does not have to respond to the changes of the four seasons. Therefore the origin is the source of all things, and the origin of man is found in it. How does it exist? It exists before Heaven and Earth. Although man is born of the force of Heaven and receives the force of Heaven, he may not partake the origin of Heaven, or rely on its order and violate what it does. Therefore the first month of spring is a continuation of the activities of Heaven and Earth, continuing the activities of Heaven and completing it. The principle is that [Heaven and man] accomplish together and maintain the undertaking. How can it be said to be merely the origin of Heaven and Earth? What does the origin do? How does it apply to man? If we take the connections seriously, we shall understand the order of things. The Sage did not want to talk about [the behavior] of animals and such. What he wanted to talk about was humanity and righteousness so as to put things in order. . . . (ch. 13, SPTK.5:8a-b)

Comment. What Jesus did for the West—i.e., form a bridge between God and man— would have Confucius do—i.e., form a bridge between the myriad things and the One or the origin. Actually in the Western Han there was an effort to deify him, but it was short-lived. What prevented Confucius' permanent deification was his primary concern with a perfect moral life, that of humanity and righteousness.

2. Humanity and Righteousness

What the *Spring and Autumn Annals* regulates are others and the self. The principles with which to regulate others and the self are humanity and righteousness. Humanity is to give others peace and security and righteousness is to rectify the self. Therefore the word "humanity" (*jen*)

³¹The two different Chinese characters are pronounced the same and have similar meanings.

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means others (people, *jen*)³² and the word "righteousness" means the self.³³ The distinction is made in the terms themselves. . . . The principle of humanity consists in loving people and not in loving oneself, and the principle of righteousness consists in rectifying oneself and not in rectifying others. If one is not rectified himself, he cannot be considered righteous even if he can rectify others, and if one loves himself very much but does not apply his love to others, he cannot be considered humane. . . . (ch. 29, SPTK, 8:8b-9a)

Comment. This understanding of humanity (*jen*) as love is found in ancient philosophers, notably in Mo Tzu (fl. 479-438 B.C.),³⁴ Chuang Tzu,³⁵ Hsin Tzu³⁶ and Han Fei Tzu (d. 233 B.C.).³⁷ But for them it was one of several possible meanings, but in Tung Chung-shu it is *the* meaning. This interpretation is characteristic of practically all Han Confucianists, and Tung was the first.

3. Humanity and Wisdom

Love without wisdom means love without discrimination. Wisdom without humanity means knowledge not translated into action. Therefore humanity is to love mankind and wisdom is to remove its evil.

What is meant by humanity? The man of humanity loves people with a sense of commiseration. He is careful and agreeable and does not quarrel. His likes and dislikes are harmonized with human relations. He does not harbor the feeling of hate or a desire to hurt. He has no intention to conceal or to evade. He has no disposition of jealousy. He has no desires that lead to sadness or worry. He does not do anything treacherous or cunning. And he does not do anything depraved. Therefore his heart is at ease, his will is peaceful, his vital force is harmonious, his desires are regulated, his actions are easy, and his conduct is in accord with the moral law. It is for this reason that he puts things in order peacefully and easily without any quarrel. This is what is meant by humanity.

What is meant by wisdom? It is to speak first and then act accordingly. It is to weigh with one's wisdom whether to act or not and then pro-

³² As *The Mean*, ch. 20, says, "Humanity is the distinguishing characteristic of man."

³³ The word "righteousness" (*i*) contains the component *wo*, which means the self.

³⁴ *Mo Tzu*, chs. 40 and 42, SPTK, 10:1a, 6b.

³⁵ *Chuang Tzu*, ch. 12, НСС, 5:2b. See Giles, trans., *Chuang Tzu*, 1961 ed., p. 118.

³⁶ *Hsin Tzu*, ch. 27, SPTK, 19:5a.

³⁷ *Han Fei Tzu*, ch. 20, SPTK, 6:1a. See Liao, trans., *Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu*, vol. 1, p. 171.

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ceed accordingly. When one's weighing is correct, what he does will be proper, what he handles will be appropriate, his action will bring result, his fame will become glorious, benefits will gather around him with no trouble, blessings will reach his offspring, and benefits will be bestowed on all his people. Such were the cases of wise kings T'ang and Wu.³⁸ When one's weighing is wrong, what he does will be improper, what he handles will be inappropriate, his action will bring no result, his name will become a shame, injuries will gather around him, his posterity will be cut off, and his state will be ruined. Such were the cases of [wicked kings Chieh and Chou].³⁹ . . . (ch. 30, SPTK. 8:12b-13a)

Comment. The equal emphasis on humanity and wisdom exercised a tremendous influence on K'ang Yu-wei (1858-1927).⁴⁰

4. Historical Cycles

One becomes a king only after he has received the Mandate of Heaven. As the king, he will determine which day is to be the first day of the year for his dynasty, change the color of clothes worn at court, institute systems of ceremonies and music, and unify the whole empire. All this is to show that the dynasty has changed and that he is not succeeding any human being, and to make it very clear that he has received the mandate from Heaven. . . . Therefore T'ang received the mandate and became king. In response to Heaven he abolished the Hsia dynasty [whose system was symbolized by red]. He called his dynasty Yin (Shang). The system was corrected to be that symbolized by white. . . . King Wu received the mandate. . . . Therefore [in the beginning of] the Ch'un-ch'iu period [of the Chou dynasty], in response to Heaven, he undertook the business of a new king. The system was corrected to be that symbolized by black. . . . The Three Correct Systems⁴¹ began with the system symbolized by black. . . . The material force (*ch'i*), integrated by Heaven, begins to penetrate and transform things. It is evident that buds beginning to appear in plants are black (or dark, still closed). Therefore the color of clothes worn at court is black. . . . In the system symbolized by white. . . . the material force integrated by Heaven begins to form things. They begin to sprout. The color is white. Therefore the color of clothes worn at court is white. . . . In the system symbolized by red. . . .

³⁸ T'ang (r. 1751-1739 B.C.) was the founder of the Shang (1751-1112 B.C.) and Wu was the founder of the Chou (1111-249 B.C.).

³⁹ They were responsible for the fall of the Hsia (2183-1752 B.C.?) and Shang dynasties, respectively.

⁴⁰ See below, ch. 39, sec. 3.

⁴¹ *San-cheng* in Chinese. It is also called *san-t'ung*, Three Systems, *t'ung* meaning a system which is based on a certain correct principle that integrates and directs all things within it. For this doctrine in K'ang Yu-wei, see below, ch. 39, sec. 1.

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[the material force integrated by Heaven extends to all things and things begin their activity. The color is red].⁴² . . . The reason why the Three Systems are called the Three Correct Systems is because they make things operate. When the integration is extended to cover the material force of all things, their will all will respond [to Heaven]. As the correct system is rectified, everything else will be rectified. . . . (ch. 23, SPTK. 7:3b-6a)

⁴² According to Lu Wen-ch'ao, these words are missing from the text.