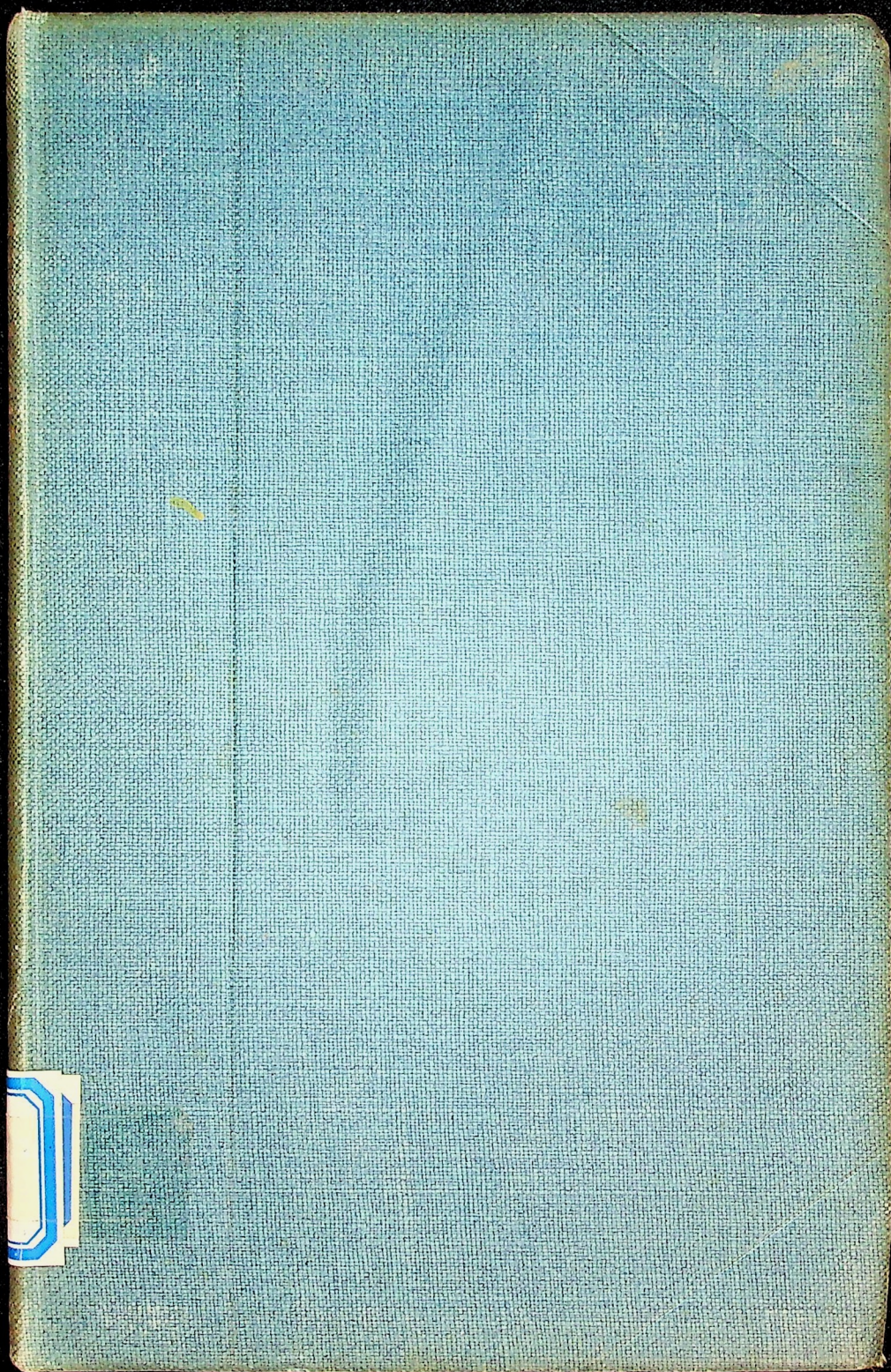




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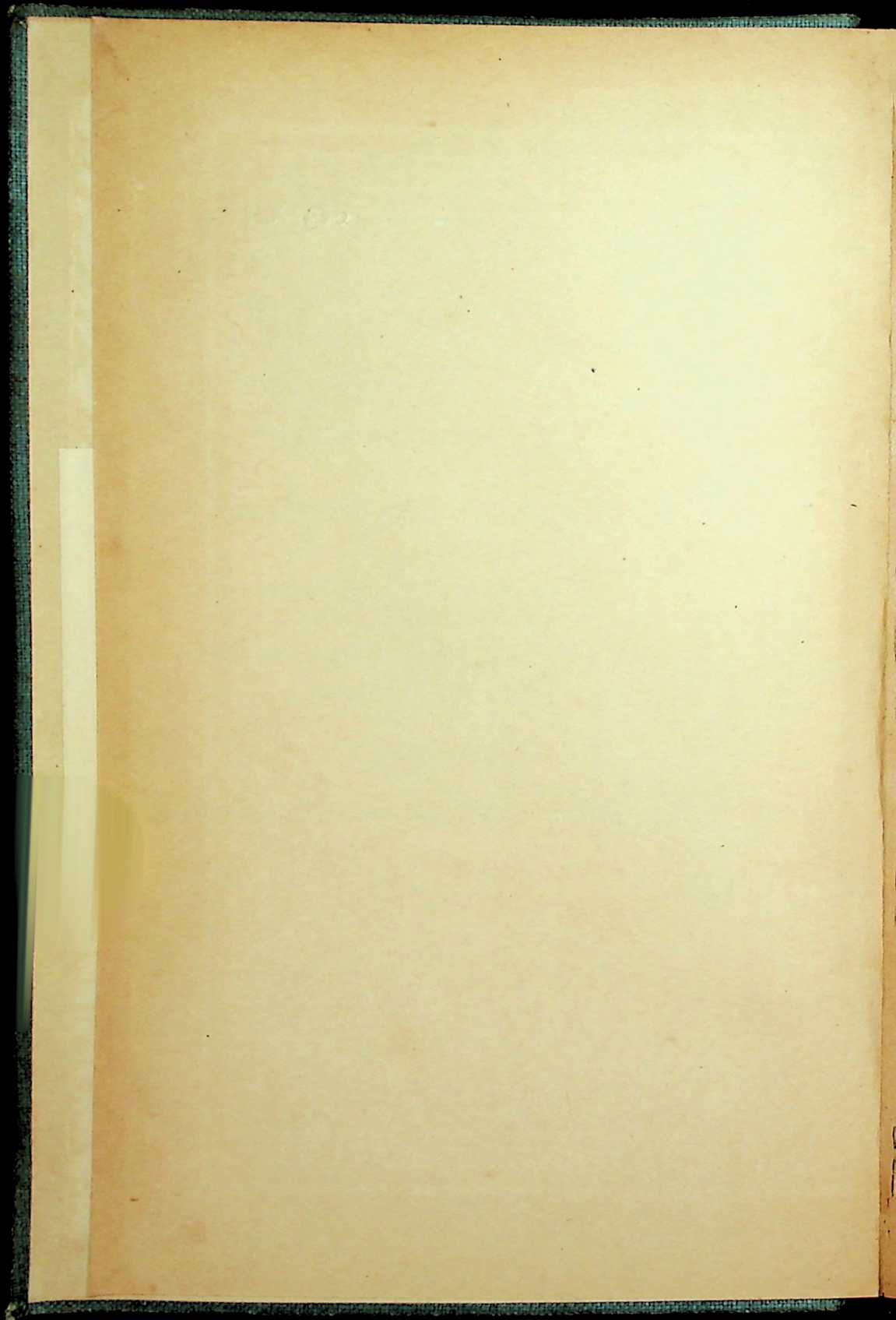
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THE CHINESE SOPHISTS.

By A. FORKE, Ph.D.

What can we expect from the study of Chinese philosophy? "In the philosophical systems of the Hindoos and the Chinese there are still hidden treasures, in which the anticipation of scientific discoveries, the results of thousands of years of occidental research, is most striking." Such are the words of Edward von Hartmann, the most famous living German philosopher.¹ Much labour has been spent in Europe on the Indian Vedanta philosophy, which had such a marked influence on Arthur Schopenhauer. "The *Upanishads*, says the author of the *Parerga and Paralipomena*, are the outcome of the highest human wisdom. . . . They afford the most remunerative and sublime reading possible in this world, which has been the consolation of my life, as it will be that of my death."² I do not see why the many germs scattered over the vast field of Chinese philosophy should not have a similar fertilizing influence on some philosophical European mind also. The deep impression caused by the *Tao-tê-king* will support my view. But much work remains to be done before Chinese philosophy will take its proper place in the history of philosophy. The burden of this task lies with us who are living in China and studying her language and literature, for, while great care is bestowed on all her sister

¹ *Philosophy of the Unconscious Mind*, Vol. I, p. 26.

² *Parerga and Paralipomena*, Vol. II, pp. 427 and 428.

languages in Europe and America, Chinese, the oldest of all, but the youngest in the curriculum of our high-schools, is treated as a step-child by public opinion. This paper is meant as a move in the direction just indicated.

In the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. we can distinguish five different schools of thought in China. Their founders are Confucius, the moralist and ritualist, Chuang Tse, the mystic and pantheist, Mò Ti, the philanthropist and optimist, Yang Chu, the Epicurean and pessimist, and the sophists Hui Shih and Kung Sun Lung.¹ The two latter schools must have had a very ephemeral existence. They left scarcely a trace behind them.² Of the three former that of the Mihists for a long time held its own against the orthodox school of Confucius which at last succeeded in supplanting it.

The technical Chinese term for Sophist is 辯士 *pien shih*, literally a disputant, a debater, a controversialist. The Greeks were wont to connect this same idea of controversy with that of Sophistic. Their sophists were past masters in the art of Eristic. They knew how to defeat their opponents by arguments. Protagoras averred that every proposition might be proved and refuted with equally good reasons, and later on the sophists used to teach their pupils the ordinary sophisms as a means to confound their antagonists. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle both opposed and despised the sophists, and their view has been adopted and for many centuries echoed by European scholars.

The Chinese regard their sophists in very much the same light. Chuang Tse³ says of them that by specious premises they impose on peoples' minds and drive them into false conclusions, but that though they win the battle in words,

¹ *Chuang Tse*, XXIV, 17.

² On Yang Chu [cfr. my paper in the *Transactions of the Peking Oriental Society*, Vol. III, No. 3].

³ *Chuang Tse*, XXXIII, 26.

they do not carry conviction into their adversaries' hearts. Of Hui Tse in particular it is stated that he made it his chief object to contradict others, wishing to gain fame by defeating everyone.¹ Yo Cheng Tse Yü,² a disciple of Mencius, utters similar diatribes against Kung Sun Lung.³

However, in spite of these withering judgments passed by their contemporaries of other schools, neither the Greek nor the Chinese sophists are mere impostors, as their antagonists would have us believe. They are true philosophers, and their standpoint is as good as that of many others. The Greek sophists were the first to philosophize on the subject, its perceptions, opinions and impulses. Most of them maintained the impossibility of a true objective knowledge. Protagoras held that man is the measure of all things [πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἀνθρώπου], of those things which exist that they exist, and of those things without existence that they do not exist. Therein is but a relative truth. Things are as they appear to the observer, and they are so only to him, not to everyone; because others are differently affected by the same things. Gorgias went a step further, and boldly asserted that there is nothing, and that, if there were anything, it could not be perceived.

Hegel and, especially, the historian Grote were the first to do away with the old prejudice that the Greek sophists were mere quibblers and jugglers with words, showing that their teachings are not at all lacking in acumen or originality, and that their rhetorical extravagances are but one side of their philosophy. Their Chinese compeers stand perhaps still more in need of a champion, for their writings are so quaint and paradoxical that at first sight people will feel tempted to condemn them as sheer nonsense. So far as I know, there has been only one foreign scholar who concerned himself with

¹ *Chuang Tse*, *ibid.*

² 樂正子輿

³ *Lieh Tse*, IV, 10.

the Chinese sophists. Balfour devotes some pages to them in his *Scrapbook*, but treats only of Hui Tse, whom he knew from Chuang Tse. He fully endorses the latter's strictures on the "arch-Sophist" Hui Tse, which he calls dignified and to the point.

In the interesting catalogue of ancient works contained in the *Han-shu* [Cap. XXX] the sophists are very appropriately classed together with the Dialecticians 名家¹ of which altogether seven are enumerated: 鄧析 Têng Hsi, 尹文子 Yin Wên Tse, 公孫龍子 Kung Sun Lung Tse, 成公生 Chêng Kung Shêng, 惠子 Hui Tse, 黃公 Huang Kung, and 毛公 Mao Kung. The works of the three first-named are still extant, the others lost. Of these dialecticians Têng Hsi, Kung Sun Lung, Hui Tse, and perhaps Mao Kung, are looked upon as sophists. Mao Kung is said to have lived contemporaneously with Kung Sun Lung, of whom I am going to speak more in detail, and to have professed very similar views. Of Cheng Kung Shêng and Huang Kung we learn that they flourished about the time of 李斯 Li Sse, the famous minister of Chin Shih Huang Ti [C. B.C. 208]. Huang Kung was a great scholar in Ch'in 秦 and wrote poetry which was incorporated in the Collection of Poetry of the Ch'in dynasty published in the Han dynasty.

From Cap. I, divided into two sections, which under the name of *Yin Wen Tse* has come down to us from the Han period and seems to be a genuine production of the philosopher himself or of his disciples, we can form a pretty clear idea of what the so-called dialecticians were like. The term dialectician may appear a little too high-flown. I use it in default of a better one, since it characterizes at least the

¹ Mayers' rendering of 名家 [Manual, p. 343] as the school of writers on official station is not correct. The discussions of the dialecticians have a much wider scope than official station, which, it is true, is very frequently touched upon by them.

line of argument peculiar to this philosophical school. Their dialectic is of the most rudimentary kind. From their unsystematical reasoning to the subtle logic of an Aristotle there is still a long way, yet in both cases the principle is the same. The Chinese mind has never risen above these rudiments and developed a complete system of logic, perhaps because it is altogether too illogical in itself.

Yin Wên Tse lived in the reign of king 宣 Hsian of 齊 Chi [342-324 B.C.]¹ and Kung Sun Lung relates an interesting discussion which he had with this prince. His arguments mostly turn on the relation of words 名 to their [real] objects 實. There ought to be a perfect harmony between the two. Things must be given their right names: what is good should be called good, and what is bad be named bad.² According to this correct standard things are to be treated; only he who deserves honour is to be honoured, not the unworthy.³ Sovereign and subjects must keep within the spheres marked out by their names. That is what Yin Wên Tse understands by the expression 正名,⁴ the rectification of names. Truth is always truth and falsehood falsehood; but, alas, in this world a lie very often takes the place of truth. It is not objective truth which reigns supreme, but that which the general opinion, the *consensus omnium*, declares to be truth, although it be falsehood.⁵ And there is one more cause of error, *viz.* individual likes and dislikes, which vitiate our judgment. One man likes sweet things, another sour ones. What appears good to one person appears bad to another, πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος, as Protagoras says.⁶ So it happens that the same word conveys to different persons quite different ideas.

¹ He was not, however, a disciple of Kung Sun Lung [who lived two centuries later] as Dr. Faber states [*Doctrines of Confucius*, p. 19].

² Yin Wên, p. 1.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 7.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 5.

⁵ 犯衆者爲非 順衆者爲是 [p. 6].

⁶ P. 2.

Yin Wên Tse distinguished three categories of words, or, properly speaking, of attributes: (1) words describing things, such as square and round, white and black, (2) words approving or disapproving, *e.g.* good and bad, noble and mean, (3) comparative words, *e.g.* wise and stupid, to love and to hate.¹

There is not much in these distinctions, yet they are remarkable for their tendency. That Yin Wên Tse clearly discriminates between objects and their attributes or between subject and predicate is clear from the following passage:—"In the expression 'a good ox' good is a general designation of things, whereas ox denotes the shape of a thing. . . . If we say 'a good horse,' good is again combined with horse. Good therefore is a general term, and not limited to a certain place. If we say 'a good man,' good belongs to man. Hence good is not man, and man is not good. Therefore, the expressions good ox, good horse, good man, separate of themselves," *viz.* into object and attribute.²

We are so familiar now with these categories of subject and predicate that we can hardly realise that their first discovery and enunciation was really a great scientific triumph. In this respect does Yin Wên Tse again resemble the Greek sophists, who likewise made the first grammatical researches. Protagoras distinguished propositions according to their modes and found out the genera of nouns. Prodicus lectured on synonyms.

一曰命物之名方圓白黑是也二曰毀譽之名善惡貴賤是也三曰況謂之名賢愚愛憎是也 [p. 1].

好牛 . . . 好則物之通稱牛則物之定形 . . . 設復言好馬則復連於馬矣則好所通無方也設復言好人則彼屬於人也則好非人人非好也則好牛好馬好人之名自離矣 [p. 2].

A great part of Yin Wên Tse's book is taken up with the usual commonplace reflections on government, that inexhaustible source of the platitudes of the literati.

In order to get a clearer view of the Chinese sophists it would be well to draw a sharp distinction between sophisms and paradoxes. A sophism is a false argument, a faulty syllogism, comprising premises and conclusion. Such a sophism or fallacy is *e.g.* the following of the tectotaler:—"That which prompts man to rash and inconsiderate acts and ruins his nervous system is an evil. Wine does this. Therefore wine is an evil"; or that of the fatalist given by Cicero¹:—"If it is man's fate to recover from a certain sickness, whether he employ a physician or not, he recovers. If he is doomed not to recover, whether he employ a physician or not, he does not recover. In both cases there is fate. Therefore it is of no use calling a doctor." A paradox is a proposition contrary to received opinion, which, though absurd in terms or appearance may yet be true in fact.—[*Webster*]. It is but the result, the conclusion of an argument, the premises being left to the imagination of the hearer. An excellent illustration is the famous dictum of Proudhon, "Property is theft." The effect produced by a paradox on the mind of the hearer is very great. It puzzles him and compels him to think. He finds himself in the dilemma of either solving the problem or of admitting his own inability. Therefore many writers make use of paradoxes, some more, some less.

As regards the Chinese sophists, we find fully developed sophisms with major, minor and conclusion only in Kung

¹ Si fatum tibi est, ex hoc morbo convalescere, sive medicum adhibueris sive non,—convalesces; item: si fatum tibi est, ex hoc morbo non convalescere, sive tu medicum adhibueris sive non,—non convalesces. Et alterum utrum fatum est: medicum ergo adhibere nihil attinet. [*Cicero de fato*, 12].

Sun Lung. Of Têng Hsi and Hui Tse paradoxes alone have been preserved. These sophists were not the only inventors of paradoxes. The Taoist literature teems with them. Can there be anything more paradoxical than Lao Tse's saying that "perfect virtue is not virtue, therefore it is virtue. Common virtue never parts with virtue, therefore it is no virtue" [*Tao té ching*, Cap. 38] *¹, or the assertion that "not leaving one's house one knows the world, not looking through the window one sees the ways of Heaven. The farther one goes, the less one knows. Thus the Sage knows without going out, names without seeing, completes without doing anything" *² [*Tao té ching*, Cap. 47]. We cannot be surprised that the Taoist philosophers uttering such sentiments were also sometimes called sophists by their adversaries.

Besides the sophists already mentioned, viz. Têng Hsi, Hui Tse, Kung Sun Lung and Mao Kung, Chuang Tse [Cap. XXXIII, 26] introduces one more, 桓團 Huan Tuan, probably the same as 韓檀 Han Tan, mentioned by Lieh Tse [Cap. IV, 10], of whom nothing more than the name is known. We are no more fortunate in regard to another sophist, 田巴 Tien Pa, who must have lived in Ch'i about the 3rd century B.C. He found fault with the old emperors, and would dispute on the separation of hard and white and on the identity of like and unlike. Hundreds of people believed in him. Lu Chung Lien 魯仲連, the famous minister of Ch'i,

¹ 上德不德是以有德 下德不失德是以無德

* This is not quite fair to the compiler of the *Tao té ching*, who has enough sins to answer for. 德 and 得 in old Chinese when the work was presumably written were identical in form as in sound, *tak*, [see *China Review*, XXIV, 185]. I translate:—

The superior (man's) virtue effects nothing for the reason that it has acquired all.

The inferior (man's) virtue, not being free from (a bent towards) grasping, for that reason has not (the ability) to acquire.

² 不出戶知天下不窺牖見天道其出彌遠其知彌少是以聖人不行而知不見而名不爲而成

rebuked him, saying that he was like an owl, cursed by everybody. This remonstrance impressed the poor sophist so much that he never dared to talk any more,¹ which is of course nonsense.

It is not improbable, that Chinese Sophistic is a product of Mihism. After Mè-ti 墨翟 died, his school split into three branches, which recognised as their teachers 相里 Hsiang Li, 相夫 Hsiang Fu and 鄧陵 Têng Ling.² These schools, Chuang Tse informs us,³ regarded each other as schismatics, quarrelled over the "hard and white" the "like and unlike" and argued over questions of "odd and even." Chuang Tse mentions 相里勤 Hsiang Li Chin⁴ and Têng Ling Tse, but not Hsiang Fu, and instead of them two others, 苦獲 Ku Huo and 己齒 Chi Chih. Ku Huo is presumably only another way of writing 姑果 Ku Kuo. The *Lü-shih-chun-chiu*⁵ speaks of one 唐姑果 Tang Ku Kuo,⁶ a Mihist of the Ch'in state, living at the court of King Hui 惠王 [B.C. 337-311]. Another Mihist of the West, of the name of 謝子 Hsieh Tse, went to call upon King Hui. Tang Ku Kuo, afraid lest his colleague should gain more influence over his royal patron than he, warned the king against him as a sophist, a consummate debater and dangerous character. The king then declined to hear him.

I find a further proof that the Mihists had sophistic tendencies in Chapters 40-46 in the work which goes by the name of *Mé Ti*. It was not written by Mè Ti himself any more than the works ascribed to Confucius, Chuang Tse or Lieh Tse were composed by those philosophers, but must have originated in the Mihist school or schools. It requires a

¹ 淵鑑類函 Cap. 298 辯.

² *Han Fei Tse*, I, 10.

³ *Chuang Tse*, XXXIII, 18.

⁴ Hsiang Li is the surname, Chin the 名. ⁵ *Lü-shih-chun-chiu*, XVI, 16.

⁶ Tang must be the surname.

thorough critical revision, for, as it now stands, it is a congeries of at least three masses of heterogeneous writings. The work gives Mê Ti's teachings under three different forms, each chapter or book being divided into three parts, all treating the same subject. Those three corresponding chapters may be compared to the three synoptic Gospels, which also seem to have been derived from some common source. Perhaps we have in these corresponding chapters records of Mê Ti's sayings handed down in the three Mihist schools referred to by Han Fei Tse. The final chapters [51-71, on warfare and tactics] have undoubtedly nothing to do with Mê Ti. Nobody could have denounced war in stronger terms than he has done, and it seems incredible that the same man should have taught the art of fighting and of attacking or defending cities. Neither can chapters 40-46 embody his views, for Mê Ti himself was no sophist at all, as we see from all the other chapters. Besides, he is never called a sophist by other writers, which would have been the case if he really had been one. Chapters 40-46 seem to contain aphorisms of the sophistic followers of Mê Ti. The text of these chapters is now so corrupt that it is almost unintelligible, and the few passages one can make out are absurd and childish. As the other philosophical chapters are perfectly consistent, we are perhaps justified in assuming that the pseudo-sophistical part of Mê Ti's work is a clumsy later forgery intended to supplement the original chapters which have been lost. I now propose to give a sketch of the three principal sophists and their doctrines, as far as they have come down to us.

I.—鄧析子 TÊNG HSI TSE.

Our oldest authority about Têng Hsi is Lieh Tse. He tells us that Têng Hsi lived in the 鄧 Chêng state contemporaneously with Tse Chan 子產, a celebrated Minister of State.

His sayings were very ambiguous, and it was very hard to grasp his meanings. He was a great jurist, and composed the so-called Bamboo Code, which was put into force in Chêng. To the administration of Tse Chan he gave so much trouble that the latter put him to death.¹ Although this fact is confirmed by Yin Wên Tse [p. 8] and 荀子 Hsün Tse, we had better follow the authority of the *Tso-chuan*, according to which Têng Hsi was not executed by order of Tse Chan but by one of his successors, 駟黻 Sse Chuan, in the 9th year of Duke 定 Ting of Lu, i.e. B.C. 501. Tse Chan had already died in B.C. 522, the 20th year of Duke 昭 Chao of Lu. From Book VII [4 seq.] of *Lieh Tse*, which in fact belongs to Yang Chu, it would appear that Tse Chan and Têng Hsi were, at one time at least, on good terms, since Tse Chan consulted Têng Hsi in his family affairs. That Têng Hsi should have had some friction with other politicians of his country is not to be wondered at, for as the author of a new penal code he must have held a prominent position. In one passage² *Lieh Tse* introduces our author in the midst of his disciples, taunting another philosopher and his followers on the score of the unproductiveness of their labour. They were, he says, unable to maintain themselves, and a burden to the state, which had to feed them. Dr. Faber seems to infer from this narrative that Têng Hsi held democratic views.³ I doubt whether this be correct, because in his writing Têng Hsi appears rather to be a votary of absolutism.

In the *Han-shu* [Cap. 30] Têng Hsi, as we have seen, ranks among the dialecticians. The *Chien-lung Catalogue*, however, and the *Collection of Hundred Scholars*⁴ consider him as a jurist, probably on account of the Bamboo Code.

¹ *Lieh Tse*, VI, 5.

² *Lieh Tse*, IV, 9.

³ Faber, *Licinus*, pp. xiv and 94.

⁴ 子書百家

The remains of Têng Hsi consist of two chapters,¹ which are already mentioned in the *Han-shu*. They contain a series of detached aphorisms on various subjects, which have perhaps been collected by his disciples. Chinese critics do not doubt their genuineness as a whole, and I think that we can safely accept their view. There are several curious parallelisms of the text with that of the philosopher 鬼谷子 Kwei Ku Tse and one such with *Chuang Tse* [Cap. X], but I have the impression that it is rather the philosopher of the Dragon Valley who culled from our author. The one parallel with Chuang Tse does not prove much. Besides, it must be remembered that the Chinese, even of our time, being fond of showing their erudition and vast learning, like to quote ancient authors without acknowledging the source. Provided that the work of Kwei Ku Tse is a genuine production, its author may have done so likewise and in good faith.

There is another difficulty, however, namely the inconsistency of some of the aphorisms, which are in some instances very conflicting, one of two controverting and excluding the other. The reason seems to be that some are the outcome of Têng Hsi's philosophical theory, others the expressions of his common-sense. That theory and practice in the same individual mutually clash is not infrequent, even with people other than philosophers. Perhaps these apparent divergencies admit of still another explanation, as will be seen further on.

Why was Têng Hsi then accounted a sophist? Let us hear some of his sayings:—"He who really hears," says he, "can hear where there is no sound; he who really sees, can see where there is no sight; he can lay his plans conformably to what is not yet manifest, and take the necessary precautions against what has not yet come to pass. *Not*

¹ Entitled 無厚篇, the chapter on "Unkindness" and 轉辭篇, on "the turning of names," the theme referring only to the subjects treated at the beginning of each chapter. Cfr. *Chuang Tse*.

hearing with the ear, he apprehends the inaudible, *not seeing with the eye*, he perceives the immaterial, *not scheming with the mind*, he grasps what is not evident, *not meditating with the intellect*, he conforms to what has not yet come into existence." [Appendix I, ¶ 3.]

"Looking at what is not there, one obtains that which one sees; listening to what has no sound, one obtains that which one hears. Hence the immaterial is the root of the material, the soundless is the mother of sound." [¶ 16.]

And "The doctrine *when* understood cannot be apprehended, cannot be practised. He *who* knows the great doctrine *does not know* it, and thus obtains it; does not practise it, and thus completes it. He has nothing, but nothing fails him. Holding the empty, he finds out the full truth." [¶ 10.]

That Têng Hsi's contemporaries were at a loss how to understand such words, and took them for mere sophistry without either rhyme or reason, intended only to dupe and mystify people, is quite natural. But what does Têng Hsi really mean? He tells us pretty clearly in the last paragraph.

"The eye is prized for vision, the ear for hearing, the heart for justice. If we see with the *world-eye*,¹ there is nothing which we do not see. If we hear with the *world-ear*,¹ there is nothing which we do not hear. If we think with the *world-intellect*,¹ there is nothing which we do not understand. Possessing these three faculties, one preserves them in inaction." [¶ 27.]

Têng Hsi discriminates between ordinary perceptions, ordinary knowledge and real perceptions or real knowledge.

¹天下之目 . . . 耳 . . . 智虛

Real knowledge is of a much higher order than what commonly goes by that name. It enables the knowing to perceive things before they have come into existence. They see the future as if it was present, hearing sounds which have not yet been produced and perceiving forms which are still latent. And whence do they derive these sensations? Not from their organs of sense—the eye, the ear, not even their mind or intellect:—they must see with the *world-eye*, hear with the *world-ear*, think with the *world-intellect*. These three expressions denote one and the same thing, that which by a curious coincidence Schopenhauer also calls “das ewige Weltauge” (the eternal world-eye). It is nothing else than the Brahman of the Hindoos, the Tao of the Chinese, the Mundane Soul or the Absolute of modern philosophers. In order to see with the world-eye or think with the world-intellect the individual mind must be completely absorbed by it. The soul must be merged in Tao or entirely identify itself with the Absolute. It is impossible to clearly describe this mystical process. Only Mystics know it or at least pretend to do so. Têng Hsi, therefore, may well say that he who knows this great doctrine does not know it, *i.e.* he feels it intuitively, but his mind has no part in it, and he can give no account of it.

We find this same mysticism under different forms all over the world. In *Sadānanda's Vedāntasāra*¹ [188 and 191] we read that after a student has become firmly convinced that he himself is the infinite, undivided Brahman,—by its nature eternal, pure, reasonable, redeemed, true and the highest bliss,—his individual intellect is *overpowered* by the self-shining, highest Brahman, which is identical with the inner soul, just as the light of a lamp is overpowered by the light of the sun.

The effusion of the Holy Ghost in the *Acts of the Apostles* is similarly described. The Spirit *sat upon* the

¹ In Bochtlingek *Sanscrit Chrestomathie* [p. 281].

Apostles and filled their minds. Their tongues became fiery and they began to preach in other languages, as the Spirit taught them.¹ Peter declared that it was but the fulfilment of a prophecy that God would pour out his Spirit, and that their sons and daughters should *prognosticate* and have *visions*, and their elders *dreams*.² In other passages it is said that the Spirit *fell down* upon the audience.³ The individual minds of the Apostles were overpowered, outshone, effaced by the brilliancy of the Spirit. They could not use their own intellect to speak languages which were absolutely unknown to them, but had recourse to the *world-intellect*, which spoke through them.

The Holy Ghost is the pivot of the speculations of the Mystics in the middle-ages. We have the following curious statement of Jacob Boehme:—"I say before God . . . that I myself do not know what happens to me. Without being pushed I do not know what to write. Whenever I write, the Spirit dictates to me and gives me grand and wonderful knowledge, so that I often *doubt whether I am in this world with my own mind*, and I am full of joy, because I receive true and certain knowledge; and the more I seek, the more I find." Bernard de Clairveaux and his school speak of *inward contemplation* as the source of a certain knowledge of the Unseen. This inward revelation is called the deeper mystical knowledge, the illumination of reason by the Spirit, a supernatural knowledge and an immediate perception, higher than all reason, therefore obtainable only by a few elect.⁴

The author of the *Philosophy of the Unconscious Mind*, von Hartmann, is the most modern representative of this kind of mysticism. The Unconscious Mind, the Absolute, is

¹ Acts, II, 3 and 4.

² Eod., 17.

³ Acts, X, 44, and XI, 15.

⁴ I quote from v. Hartmann, *Philosophy of the Unconscious Mind* [Vol. I, pp. 311, 312], who regards the Mystics as his predecessors.

especially at work in all animal and human instincts, in the inspirations of artists and men of genius, in dreams, somnambulism and visions, and besides leads and controls the Conscious Mind.

But let us return to Têng Hsi. Another consequence of his mysticism is his view that everything positive evolves out of its negative, "Honesty is evolved out of what is not honest, justice is born from what is not just" [¶ 10]. "Anger originates from no anger, action from no action," [¶ 16]. I presume that in all these cases the negative is the mystical principle, which is devoid of any moral or other human quality, and yet the only source of everything positive. The true mystic does not pay attention to contraries, for in the Absolute there are no contraries, all seeming contrasts are blended into one. The same opinion is expressed by Chuang Tse.¹

The practical side of mysticism is inaction and quietism [¶ 10 and 19]. Contemplation is regarded as the highest virtue. The mystic does nothing by himself on purpose, but is pushed by the Spirit, as Jacob Boehme says. He follows his instincts and inspirations. Thus he is not absolutely passive, but only in so far as it is not he who really acts, but the Spirit who acts through him, using him as his tool. With these restrictions Têng Hsi might well set up rules for practical government and discourse on the duties of princes. It is always understood that they must not act of their own accord but be prompted by the Spirit.

The ideal man of Têng Hsi is not only inactive but also dispassionate and contented. He takes everything easy. Owing to his intimate connexion with the mystical principle, he possesses an extraordinary perspicacity, and all his devices are unfailing [¶ 20]. Accordingly Têng Hsi does not think

¹ *Chuang Tse*, II, 20.

much of such qualities as intelligence, strength, nobility and wealth, and refuses to bow to people endowed with these gifts which are so much coveted [¶ 23]. The Confucian Sages he heartily despises for being the associates of rascally princes, and holds them accountable for the existence of robbers, vice being in his belief the necessary correlate of worldly virtue [¶ 17].

On the moral state of the world Têng Hsi utters some bitter truths. "Those who steal property," he says, "are put to death, those who steal kingdoms become princes" [¶ 17]. And not mankind alone but even Heaven is impeached of injustice and unkindness. Offences are punished even if the culprits have been compelled to do evil by poverty and distress. Heaven has no sympathy with His creatures, for He does not prevent disastrous epidemics or other calamities by which people come to an untimely end, even those who for their virtue ought to have a long and happy life [¶ 1]. The critic of the *Chien Lung Catalogue* mildly rebukes Têng Hsi for this remark. The author of the second preface to Têng Hsi's work, who uses the pseudonym of 弇州山人 (Yen-chou hermit), feels so scandalized that he thinks that Têng Hsi fully deserved the capital punishment meted out to him at the hands of Sse Chuan.

By his dialectical studies Têng Hsi seems to have been induced to establish some distinctions between synonyms [¶ 16]. [That the Greek sophist Prodicus lectured on synonyms has already been mentioned.] These distinctions are, however, quite arbitrary and useless. For debates Têng Hsi gives some practical hints how to defeat the opponent, but repudiates all dialectical tricks [¶ 7]. An adversary of the sophists could not have more earnestly advocated fair play in all discussions.

Têng Hsi's theory of government is in some degree amalgamated with his dialectic. He enjoins upon the rulers

of states to ascertain the truth by verifying all that they hear. Great stress is laid on these inquiries, which Têng Hsi calls investigations of names [¶ 2]. Princes are not only cautioned against over-activity and too much interfering with their subjects [¶ 3], but inaction is held up to them as an ideal [¶ 14]. As we have already seen, this does not mean absolute quietism. The princes must not act of purpose, but spontaneously, following their nature and yielding to their inner voice.

Têng Hsi condemns all artificiality and speaks in high terms of the simplicity and honesty of olden days. Cruel punishments such as tattooing or cutting off the criminal's feet or nose seem to him unnatural and therefore useless, because people are not improved thereby but hardened and brutalised. He therefore pleads for mild penalties [¶ 19]. We are perhaps right in assuming that Têng Hsi's penal code introduced reforms in the criminal procedure, mitigating the severe punishments in vogue at that time. The result, however, seems not to have been very beneficial. When Tse Chan died he admonished his successor, Tse Tai Shu 子太叔, to use severity in governing the people. Tse Tai Shu did not do so, but tried to be mild. The consequence was that the Chêng state was infested with robbers which the Prime Minister then had to suppress by force¹. Perhaps, later on, Têng Hsi was personally held responsible for the failure of his system, and had to pay with his life.

Politically Têng Hsi is by no means democratic, but an absolutist [¶ 2]. In his state-car the sovereign is the charioteer, his officials are the horses, the people only the cart-wheels [¶ 3].

In conclusion, I may add that Têng Hsi has much in common with the Taoists. Much more paradoxical than Têng Hsi is.

¹ *Tso-chuan*, B, X, 20.

II.—惠施 HUI SHIH.¹

He was a contemporary of Chuang Tse, living at the court of King 惠 Hui of 梁 Liang, whose reign lasted from 370-335 B.C. Liang is another name for 魏 Wei, referring to the new capital of the Wei state 大梁 Ta Liang, the modern Kai-feng-fu in Honan. Owing to constant attacks from the rival kingdoms of Chi and Chao, King Hui removed his capital from 安邑 An-yi in Shansi to Ta-liang. Hui Tse survived his friend and patron king Hui²: his lifetime must, therefore, have fallen into the latter part of the 4th century B.C. According to the commentator of the *Lü-shih-chun-chiu*, 高誘 Kao-yu, of the later Han time, Hui Tse was a native of the 宋 Sung state.³

Hui Tse is generally believed to have held the position of a Minister of State in Liang,⁴ although the *Shi-chi*, in the chapter on the House of Wei,⁵ does not mention it. Hui Tse's influence over King Hui must have been very great. Not only did the latter confer upon him the honorary title of 仲父 Chung Fu, in remembrance of the famous statesman 管仲 Kuan Chung or 管夷吾 Kuan I-Wu⁶, but he is even reported to have tried hard to yield his kingdom to him, which Hui Tse, however, did not accept. The *Lü-shih-chun-chiu*, which is our authority for this story, says that it was sham on both sides, king and minister wishing to acquire fame by pretending to imitate Yao and Shun.⁶ Hui Tse seems to have had some influence with the son and successor of his royal master also. The latter was about to celebrate the funeral of his father, when there was a heavy snowfall. All the dissuasion

¹ Shih is the 名. The philosopher is generally called Hui Tse.

² *Lü-shih-chun-chiu*, XXI, 1.

³ Loc. cit., XVIII, 12.

⁴ *Chuang Tse*, XVII, 17.

⁵ *Shi-chi*, Cap. 44.

⁶ *Lü-shih-chun-chiu*, XVIII, 14.

of the other officials was in vain, and it was Hui Tse alone who prevailed upon the king to postpone the interment.¹ At all events Hui Tse was a great man in Liang. We learn that Chuang Tse saw him travelling with a hundred carriages.²

Hui Tse worked out new laws for the Liang state, which pleased the people as well as King Hui but were opposed by a certain 翟翦 Ti Chien,³ who must have had some standing with the king. The *Lü-shih-chun-chiu* says that the king saved his kingdom by listening to the advice of Ti Chien.⁴ During the whole reign of King Hui his state was distracted with war. Out of fifty battles he is said to have lost twenty.⁵ In the last year of his reign he invited scholars from all sides, told them how unfortunate in war he had been, and asked their advice. It was then that Mencius had those famous interviews with King Hui which open the first book of Mencius' work.⁶

Perhaps Hui Tse had his share of responsibility in the wars waged by King Hui. 匡章 Kuang Chang at least, another adversary of his, lays the blame on him in the *Lü-shih-chun-chiu*, where Hui Tse defends his aggressive policy.⁷

Hui Tse's greatest opponent was the Taoist philosopher Chuang Tse. However different their views, they respected one another. A more generous tribute could not have been paid to the memory of Hui Tse than that paid by Chuang Tse saying that since the death of Hui Tse he had lost his material and had no one left to talk to.⁸ On the other hand, it is too much to say that they were intimate friends, a belief which

¹ Eod., XXI, 1.

² *Huai-nan-tse*, XI, 17.

³ *Lü-shih-chun-chiu*, XVIII, 12 and *Huai-nan*, XII, 2.

⁴ *Lü-shih-chun-chiu*, XVIII, 14. ⁵ Eod., XVIII, 13.

⁶ *Shih-chi*, Cap. 44.

⁷ *Lü-shih*, XVIII, 13 and XXI, 8 seq.

⁸ *Chuang Tse*, XXIV, 18.

appears to have been common in the Han period to judge from the fact that in the *Hou Han-shu* Chuang Tse and Hui Tse were ranked as a couple of friends like Po Ya 伯牙 and Chung Tse Chi 鍾子期.¹ They disputed together and were on friendly terms, but nothing more. Chuang Tse went to visit Hui Tse in Liang. Hui Tse was at first afraid that Chuang Tse came with the intention of superseding him as minister.² When Chuang Tse's wife died, Hui Tse went to condole with him.³

The conversations between Chuang Tse and Hui Tse as related in *Chuang Tse* must be taken with great reserve. They were probably never held, but invented by Chuang Tse's pupils with a view to glorify their master. The philosophers of other schools, above all Confucius, seem to have been introduced only as foils for Chuang Tse to make the latter shine more brightly. They cut very poor figures; either they receive instructions from Chuang Tse or are taken to task by him, but they never say anything clever on their own account.

The violent attacks upon Hui Tse in the last chapter of *Chuang Tse*⁴ do certainly not represent the latter's views. But this chapter is evidently of much later origin than the others, and, as Giles points out, simply a summary by the first editors of *Chuang Tse*. Hui Tse is very hardly dealt with in the *Lü-shih-chun-chiu*.⁵ Hsün Tse criticises him and his paradoxes.⁶

Hui Tse must have been a very prolific writer. His works are said to have been so numerous that they would have filled five carts.⁷ It is to be regretted that not a single one has come down to us. They were already lost in the Han dynasty, for the Han Catalogue contains the significant entry:

¹ C. Pétillon, *Allusions littéraires*, p. 99. ² *Chuang Tse*, XVII, 17.

³ Eod., XVIII, 20.

⁴ Eod., XXXIII, 23 seq.

⁵ *Lü-shih-chun-chiu*, XVIII, 14.

⁶ *Hsün Tse*, XV, 4, XVI, 6, XVIII, 3.

⁷ *Chuang Tse*, XXXIII, 23.

"Hui Tse one chapter."¹ What we know of Hui Tse's doctrine are his paradoxes, of which the greater number have been recorded in *Chuang Tse* and some few in *Hsün Tse*.

These paradoxes have been a stumbling-block to the Chinese commentators and the European translators. Some native scholars opine that they are riddles defying any attempt at unravelling them. Legge concurs with this view. Balfour agrees with those who declare these aphorisms to be devoid of sense. Giles ventures to explain their meaning, but his explanations are most of them so forced and unnatural that they cannot be correct. Hui Tse asserts that "a fowl has three legs." According to Sse Ma Piao's 司馬彪 comment, adopted by Giles, the third leg would be volition. "Ying (the capital of Chu) is the world," because, says Giles, you cannot say it is not the world. "A horse lays eggs" would mean only that names are arbitrary. Hui Tse tells us that "a tortoise is longer than a snake." The Chinese commentators and Giles submit that longer means longer lived.

To the paradox "A white dog is black" Sse Ma Piao and Giles add the ridiculous comment that a white dog is black, if his eyes are black, part standing for the whole. Another commentator says that if a dog is not black but white, its whiteness may be regarded as its blackness!

None of these scholars has found the clue to Hui Tse's queer sayings. Although Chuang Tse impresses upon us that Hui Tse's own son searched his works for some clue in vain, and that it is impossible to derive from them a general principle,² I presume that I have discovered it. To my mind Hui Tse denies the existence of space and time, in short of the reality of the world; and his paradoxes serve only to

¹ 惠子一篇

² *Chuang Tse*, II, 19.

illustrate this idea. My reasons are the following. The paradoxes enumerated in *Chuang Tse* are headed by the fundamental axiom "The infinitely great, beyond which there is nothing, I call the great Unit. The infinitely small, within which there is nothing, I call the small Unit." Thus Hui Tse recognises two opposite poles—the unlimited Infinite, beyond which there is nothing, and the Atom, which has no dimensions and within which there is nothing. The conception of the Atom without dimensions as the smallest unit of Substance leads Hui Tse into a dilemma or an antinomy, which in his paradoxical style he formulates thus: "That which has no dimensions cannot be heaped up, and yet it spans a thousand Li." It means that there is space, there are distances of a thousand Li. The matter filling up these thousand Li is composed of Atoms, but these unsubstantial Atoms heaped up or put together will never measure a thousand Li. One may combine ever so many millions of mathematical points, they never give more than one mathematical point.¹ Out of the multiplication of non-dimensions there can never result a dimension. In this way Hui Tse perceived space practically, but could not construct or conceive it theoretically. Consequently he assumed it to be unreal, a mere illusion of our senses. From his maxim: "One must love all beings equally, for heaven and earth are one and the same," it would appear that he believed in some uniform entity. Time being so closely connected with space, *i.e.* with the movement of bodies, Hui Tse while denying the existence of space could not well uphold that of time, and along with space he had to give up things and their attributes or qualities.

That Hui Tse really held these views I infer moreover from the striking resemblance his paradoxes bear to those of

¹ Giles does not seem to have grasped this simple truth, for in his note to the above paradox he states that mathematical points collectively fill up space.

the Greek Eleatic philosophers Parmenides and especially Zeno, who by their arguments attempted to prove that the assumption of a multitude of things, of movement and of time, is erroneous. Zeno¹ argues that if there were a multitude of things, they must be at the same time infinitely small, their constituent particles being without dimensions, and infinitely great owing to their unlimited multitude. Hui Tse's first axiom contains the same idea.

To show the impossibility of movement Zeno reasons as follows: A body moving in a certain direction will never reach a certain goal. In order to finish a certain distance, it must first have finished half of it, and, before this half is finished, half of this half, and so on *ad infinitum*. The given distance can be divided into an infinite number of smallest distances, to pass through all of which would take an infinite time, which amounts to saying that the moving body could never reach its goal². The same ratiocination is at the bottom of Zeno's famous sophism on "Achilles and the Tortoise." Achilles running after a tortoise cannot overtake it, because the moment he reaches the place where the tortoise was, it has already left it again. The two paradoxes of Hui Tse: "Cart-wheels do not triturate the ground" and "The finger does not touch, the touching never comes to an end" must be understood in the same sense. The wheel does not touch the ground nor the finger an object by reason of the infinite divisibility of space, an infinite number of atoms still lying between things apparently in touch. Hui Tse's last paradox is very much akin to "Achilles and the Tortoise": "If every day you chop off half of a stick one foot long, you will not have finished with it after ten thousand generations," *i.e.* never, you can go on dividing and dividing for ever.

¹ In Simplicius ad Aristotle *Phys.*, fol. 30.

² Aristotle *Phys.*, VI, 9.

Zeno asserts that a flying arrow is at rest.¹ Hui Tse shows that the idea of movement is self-contradictory by saying that "There is a time when a swiftly flying arrow is neither moving nor at rest." It cannot be at rest, for we see it moving; and it cannot move, because we do not understand how a movement through a space composed of an infinite number of atoms is possible within a limited time.

Parmenides denies the reality of time. Real entity, as he conceives it, is uncreated, indestructible, a whole, single, unmoveable and eternal, *it has not been and it will not be, but it is now*, a continuous *One*.² I may be allowed to quote a modern poet³ who more paradoxically describes real existence as past and present at the same time:—

Ich bin schon lange begraben,
Ich weiss, dass ich einst war.
Ich koste des Lebens Gaben
Und athme immerdar.

Ich gankle, ein lüsterner Falter,
Unsterblich im flüchtigen Schein.
Ich kenne nicht Jugend, nicht Alter,
Ich bin das ewige Sein.⁴

Hui Tse does not mean anything else when he says "The sun sets when it is in the zenith. Creatures die when they are born." "Going to Yüeh to-day, one arrives there yesterday."

Someone might object that I credit Hui Tse with ideas which may be Greek or modern but are alien to the Chinese

¹ Heinze-Ueberweg, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, Vol. I, p. 78.

² ἀγένητον ἐὼν καὶ ἀνώλεθρόν ἔστιν, οὐλον, μονογενές τε καὶ ἀτρέμης ἥδ' ἀτέλειστον, Οὐδέ ποτ' ἦν οὐδ' ἔσται, ἐπεὶ νῦν ἔστιν ὁμοῦ πάν, Ἐν ξυνεχές.

³ Karl Bleibtren.

⁴ I have been buried long ago. I know that I was once. I enjoy the pleasures of life, and breath evermore.

I flutter, a wanton butterfly, immortal in transient light. I know not youth, nor age, I am Eternal Existence.

mind. To those who think thus I would recommend the study of Chuang Tse, where amongst others they will find the following passage:—

“There is nothing under the canopy of heaven greater than the tip of an autumn spikelet. A vast mountain is a small thing. Neither is there any age greater than that of a child cut off in infancy. P’êng Tsu (the Chinese Methusaleh) himself died young. The universe and I came into being together; and I, and everything therein, are *One*.”¹

Here Chuang Tse denies the reality of space and time quite evidently, and his paradoxes are very much like those of Hui Tse. He starts, however, from another basis, *viz.* the relativity of all our notions, such as great and small, old and young, good and bad, which induces him to identify and thus dissolve all contraries. Chuang Tse dissents from Hui Tse’s atomistic views, maintaining that the Atom as well as the Universe must possess form and therefore dimensions.²

To sum up, I believe that the paradoxes of Hui Tse are intended to illustrate the unreality of space and time and their attributes. A hypothesis is considered a good one if it establishes a general principle which explains things in an easy, natural way. I trust that mine does. It is based upon and evolved out of Hui Tse’s own sayings. It shows that the Eleatics, Parmenides and Zeno, as well as Chuang Tse, use the same or very similar arguments to prove that our visible world is sham and illusion.

Against *space* the following paradoxes are directed:—

II.—“That which has no dimensions cannot be heaped up, but it spans a thousand Li,” which has already been mentioned.

III.—“Heaven is as low as earth. A mountain is on a level with a lake,” which Hsün Tse gives in the following

¹ *Chuang Tse*, II, 20.

² *Eod.*, XVII, 10.

form :—I. "Mountains and pools are equally high, heaven and earth are level." This means to imply that height and depth are imaginary, that their contrast is not real.

IX.—"I know that the centre of the world lies north of Yen (the modern Chili) and south of Yüeh (Fukien)." If such be the case, the distance between these two states cannot exist, which involves the existence of space in general.

X.—"One must love all beings equally, for heaven and earth are one and the same," has been noticed.

XIII.—"Ying (the capital of the kingdom of Chu) is the world," then the world cannot have the extension which we see.

XXII.—"A tortoise is longer than a snake." This must not be taken literally. Hui Tse wants to show that the difference in length between the two creatures is only a seeming one. In fact there exists neither length nor shortness.

II.—Chi (a state in Shantung) and Chin (in the province of Shensi) are conterminous. This is a counterpart to No. IX.

That space is divisible *ad infinitum* is brought home to us in the aphorisms :—

XIX.—"Cart-wheels do not triturate the ground."

XXI.—"The finger does not touch, the touching never comes to an end," already mentioned.

XXIV.—"A handle does not fit in a chisel," there being still innumerable atoms between the chisel and its handle.

XXXI.—"If every day you chop off half of a stick one foot long, you will not have finished with it after ten thousand generations," also referred to.

The reality of *time* is negated in the following paradoxes :—

IV.—"The sun sets when it is in the zenith."

VII.—"Going to Yüeh to-day one arrives there yesterday."

XI.—“There are feathers in an egg,” *i.e.* the feathers of the young bird which exists already although it has not yet been born. Future and present are the same.”

XXVI.—“There is a time when a swiftly flying arrow is neither moving nor at rest,” mentioned before.

XXX.—“An orphan colt has not had a mother.” Past and present being the same, the colt was already an orphan when it had its mother.

All things are conditioned by space. Without space things cannot be as they appear to us. They cannot have those qualities which we see in them. This is implied by the following propositions:—

VIII.—“Linked rings can be separated,” *i.e.* without breaking them. Connexion and separation have no reality.

XII.—“A fowl has three legs.” Hui Tse does not mean that a fowl really has three legs, but only wants to refute the illusion that it has two. Being without dimensions it has neither body nor legs.

XXIII.—“A square is not square, and a circle cannot be considered as round.”

XXIX.—“A white dog is black.”

Geometrical forms and colours have no real existence.

That the nature of things is quite different from what we fancy, Hui Tse tries to make clear by the following paradoxes. It must always be borne in mind that they are not to be taken *au pied de la lettre* but *cum grano salis*. They are only negative. The positive and categorical form is nothing but a dialectical *façon de parler*:

XIV.—“A dog can be regarded as a sheep.”

XV.—“A horse lays eggs,” *i.e.* is a bird.

XVI.—“A nail has a tail.” IV. “A hook has a barb.” Then both would be animate beings.

XVIII.—“Mountains speak.”

XXVII.—“A dog is no hound,” because the categories and species which we use for the classification of things do not exist.

Some few paradoxes—XVII, XX, XXV and XXVIII—do not fall under the above scheme. On XVII “Fire is not hot” and XX “The eye does not see,” I am going to discourse more fully while speaking of the third sophist.

III.—公孫龍 KUNG SUN LUNG.

There are two philosophers of this name who are frequently confounded. One is Kung Sun Lung, styled 子石 Tse Shih, a native of 衛 Wei, or, as others say, of 楚 Chu. He was a disciple of Confucius and 53 years younger than his master, and must therefore have been born in 498 B.C.¹ The sophist Kung Sun Lung hailed from the 趙 Chao state. His honorary title was 子秉 Tse Ping.² We learn from the *Shi-chi* that Kung Sun Lung lived in the Chao state and argued on hardness and whiteness, like and unlike [Cap. 74 荀卿], and that the Prince of P'ing-yuan treated him with great consideration until 鄒衍 Tsou Yen made his appearance, who discredited him so much with the Prince that he was dismissed [Cap. 76 平原君].³ The Prince of P'ing-yuan played an important part in the struggles which preceded the downfall of the Chou and the establishment of the Ch'in dynasty. His personal name was 勝 Shêng. He was a younger brother of King 惠文 Hui Wen of Chao [B.C. 298-266] and acted as Prime Minister under King Hui Wên and his successor 孝成 King Hsiao Chêng. P'ing-yuan Chün died in B.C. 250.⁴ When in the year 256 Han-tan, the

¹ Cfr. the great Cyclopedia of Surnames 歷代名賢列女姓氏譜 and the 尚友錄.

² Kung Sun is the surname.

³ I wonder on what authority Giles [*Biographical Dictionary*, No. 1031] states that Kung Sun Lung was said by Tsou Yen to be the wisest man in the state of Chao.

⁴ Vide Giles, *loc. cit.*, No. 1652.

capital of Chao, was saved from Ch'in, whose troops had invested it, P'ing-yuan Chün was going to donate Prince 信陵 Hsin-ling of Wei with some territory of Chao in recognition of services rendered during the siege of Han-tan. It is on record that Kung Sun Lung saw his patron on this occasion, and by his remonstrances induced him to give up this scheme.¹ We learn from this that Kung Sun Lung was alive about the middle of the 3rd century B.C. It appears that King Hui of Chao also was disposed to take Kung Sun Lung into his counsels, for we find him at court talking to the king on disarmament and universal love 兼愛, the ideal of Mê Ti.² Hui Tse, as we have seen, was in favour of war. Kung Sun Lung discussed this same subject with King 昭 Chao of 燕 Yen³ [311-279 B.C.], to whom he paid a visit.⁴

At P'ing-yuan Chün's residence Kung Sun Lung gave a proof of his dialectical skill. The states of Ch'in 秦 and Chao 趙 had made a covenant to the effect that Chao should help Ch'in to carry out its designs, and that Ch'in would do the same for Chao. Shortly afterwards Ch'in attacked Wei, and Chao wished to come to Wei's assistance. The King of Ch'in sent an envoy to complain of the violation of the treaty, according to which Chao had to co-operate with Ch'in, not to oppose it. At the instigation of Kung Sun Lung, Chao retorted by saying that Ch'in had to help Chao to carry out its designs, that now it wished to aid Wei, and that in not helping Chao in this Ch'in was breaking the agreement.⁵

It was at the court of P'ing-yuan Chün also that Kung Sun Lung met with his chief opponent 孔穿 K'ung Chuan, a descendant of Confucius in the sixth degree and grandfather of K'ung Fu 孔鮒, the alleged author of the apocryphal

¹ *Shi-chi*, Cap. 76. ² *Lü-shih-chun-chiu*, XVIII, 2. ³ *Loc. cit.*, XVIII, 15.

⁴ *Huai Nan Tse*, XII, 12.

⁵ *Lü-shih-chun-chiu*, XVIII, 10.

work of 孔叢子 K'ung Tsung Tse. The debates of Kung Sun Lung and K'ung Chuan are found in various forms and in various authors.¹

Kung Sun Lung was the head of a school and had disciples in Chao.² One of them, 蔡母子 Chi Mu Tse, is mentioned in 劉向 Liu Hsiang's 別錄 *Pieh-lu*, quoted in the commentary 集解 to the *Shih-chi* [Cap. 76].

The two passages referring to Kung Sun Lung in *Lieh Tse* [IV, 11] and *Chuang Tse* [XVII, 15] are both spurious. In both of them Kung Sun Lung is brought into contact with 公子牟, Prince Mou of Wei, a son of the Marquis Wên of Wei 魏 [425-387 B.C.] This prince lived about a hundred years anterior to Kung Sun Lung. There is besides internal evidence to show, as Faber and Giles have done,³ that these two references to Kung Sun Lung are later additions to the works of Lieh Tse and Chuang Tse.⁴

The Han Catalogue mentions a work of Kung Sun Lung in 14 chapters. Of these eight were already lost before the Sung dynasty,⁵ so that now only six chapters remain. They are so peculiar, so entirely different from other productions, and to a great part so cleverly written that we have no reason to call their authenticity as a whole in question. Cap. I contains one lengthy repetition which ought to be omitted. The greater part of Cap. IV is, I believe, spurious. The reasoning is so puerile and out of keeping with the other chapters that it bears quite the features of a clumsy forgery.

¹ In *Kung Sun Lung*, [Appendix III, Ch. 1], in Kung Tsung Tse's chapter on Kung Sun Lung, *Lü-shih-chun-chin*, XVIII, 11 and *Lieh Tse*, IV, 11.

² *Huai Nan*, XII, 12.

³ Faber, *Livius*, p. 96 and Giles, *Chuang Tse*, p. 217.

⁴ In addition to those passages already given, Kung Sun Lung is mentioned in *Huai Nan* [XI, 14], where his principal tenets are alluded to, and in Yang Tse's *Ta-yen* 楊子法言 [II, 4], where it is said that he put forward many thousands of strange propositions.

⁵ Chien Lung's Catalogue, Cap. 117.

The work is now generally published together with the commentary of 謝希深 Hsieh Hsi Shên of the Sung dynasty, which is not worth much and no great help to the understanding of the very difficult text, because it interprets every clause, though purely logical, in a phantastic moral sense. It is a pity, therefore, that two other commentaries of 陳嗣古 Chên Sse Ku and 賈士隱 Chia Shih I are lost.

According to ancient authors, Kung Sun Lung's discussions chiefly turned on three subjects—the white horse¹, hardness and whiteness² or the third in abeyance,³ and like and unlike.⁴ The first two subjects are treated in Kung Sun Lung's work but not the last. The last eight chapters were probably partly devoted to it. It is doubtful therefore what Kung Sun Lung's views in regard to like and unlike have been. *Huai Nan Tse* [loc. cit.] says that Kung Sun Lung discriminated between like and unlike, and separated hardness and whiteness.⁴ Chuang Tse makes Kung Sun Lung say that he knew all about "the identification of like and unlike, the making the not-so so, and the impossible possible."⁵ Since tradition ascribes to Kung Sun Lung paradoxes very similar to those of Hui Tse [some are quite the same],⁶ it is very likely that Kung Sun Lung also denied the reality of like and unlike or of contraries, and held that space and time, within which these contraries confront us, are illusive.

Whereas the remaining paradoxes of Hui Tse are only detached fragments from his works, unsubstantiated and unproved, the sophisms propounded in *Kung Sun Lung* are fully developed and abundantly supported by arguments. We

¹ *Kung Tsung Tse* [chapter on Kung Sun Lung].

² *Chuang Tse*, XVII, 15; *Huai Nan*, XI, 14; *Shi-chi*. Cap. 74.

³ *Kung Tsung Tse*, loc. cit., *Lü-shih-chün-chü*, XVIII, 11.

⁴ 別同異離堅白

⁵ 合同異 . . . 然不然不可不. Although this passage is an interpolation, it has nevertheless some value as an old record, probably anterior to the Han period.

⁶ *Lieh Tse*, IV, 11.

may assume that Hui Tse's works were similarly arranged. The six chapters, except I and VI, are written under the form of a dialogue, Kung Sun Lung defending his views against the attacks of an opponent. Cap. I relates the debate of our philosopher with Kung Chuan, whom he tries to convince of the truth of his thesis that a white horse is no horse, citing Confucius and Yin Wen Tse as his authorities. The same theme is thoroughly discussed in Cap. II, where reasons pro and con are given. From Cap. III we are to learn that all our definitions are wrong. What we see are only phenomena, not real entities. The chapter is highly sophistical, the word definition being used in two different senses, which causes great confusion. One feels quite giddy, when reading it, and it requires much mental concentration to catch the meaning. I will read the beginning of the chapter, which is a good specimen of Kung Sun Lung's way of reasoning.

"*Thesis*.—There are no things which are not *defined*, but those definitions are no definitions.

"*Antithesis*.—So far as there are no definitions on earth, things cannot be called things. If what is on earth is *not* defined, can things be said to *be* defined?

"*Thesis*.—Definitions there are none on earth, things there are on earth. It is impossible to maintain that what exists on earth is the same as what does not exist.

"*Antithesis*.—If there are no definitions on earth, things cannot be said to be *defined*. If they cannot be said to be defined, they are *not* defined.

"*Thesis*.—Things though not defined are nevertheless *not undefined*. There are no definitions on earth, and things cannot be said to be defined, but that does not mean that they are not *defined*. It does not mean that they are not defined, for there are none but

defined things. There being none but defined things, definitions are not *definitions*."

Cap. IV opens with the sophism that two does not contain one, nor right nor left. The rest of the chapter is spurious. Its sophisms are too absurd to be taken *au sérieux*. Cap. V treats of the hard and white, and Cap. VI of words and their objects. It reminds us of the dialectician Yin Wen Tse.

Cap. II on the white horse and Cap. V on the hard and white are by far the most interesting and deserve to be gone into a little more fully.

What Kung Sun Lung means by saying that a white horse is no horse we learn best from himself. Cap. II begins as follows :—

"*Question*.—Is it possible that a white horse is no horse?

"*Answer*.—Yes.

"*Question*.—How?

"*Answer*.—A horse denotes a shape, white a colour. Describing a colour one does not describe a shape, therefore I say that a white horse is no horse.

"*Question*.—There being a white horse, one cannot say that there is no horse. If one cannot say that there is no horse, can the existence of the horse be denied? There being a white horse, one must admit that there is a horse; how can whiteness bring about the non-existence of a horse?

"*Answer*.—When a horse is required, yellow and black ones can all be brought, but when a white horse is wanted, there is no room for yellow and black ones. Now let a white horse be a horse! It is but one kind of those required. Then, one of those required, a white horse would not be different from a horse. Those

required do not differ. Would then yellow and black ones meet the requirement or not? In so far as they would meet the requirement or not, they would evidently exclude each other. Yellow as well as black horses are each one kind; they correspond to a call for a horse, but not to a call for a white horse. Hence it results that a white horse cannot be a horse.

“*Question.*—A horse having colour is considered no horse. But there are no colourless horses on earth! Are there, therefore, no horses on earth?

“*Answer.*—Horses of course have colour, therefore there are white horses. If horses had no colour there would be merely horses. But how can we single out white horses, for whiteness is no horse?

“A white horse is a horse and whiteness. Such being the case, I hold that a white horse is no *horse*.”
Etc. etc.

Now what is our opinion? To whom do we award the palm, to Kung Sun Lung's opponent, who very ably advocates the common-sense view that a white horse is a horse, or to Kung Sun Lung contending that a white horse is no horse? I think that both are right. A white horse is a horse and also no horse. The ambiguity arises from the word horse. Kung Sun Lung takes it in the sense of a horse in general, in the abstract; his antagonist understands by it a horse in particular. A white horse is a horse in particular, a species of the genus horse, but it is not a horse in general. The idea of a horse includes colour, but not a specific colour like whiteness.

Kung Sun Lung holds that a thing does not remain the same as soon as any of its qualities is insisted upon. The same idea was enunciated in Greece by the Cynic Antisthenes, a disciple of the sophist Gorgias and of Socrates. He maintained that only identical or analytical judgments such as

"A man is a man" or "Good is good" are possible, but that one cannot say that a man is good, no subject admitting of any other predicate than itself.¹ Aristotle himself, who made the refutation of fallacies his special study, is very much puzzled by a sophism corresponding exactly to that of our sophist that a white horse is no horse. There was a musician Koriskus. Now Aristotle asks: Is the musician Koriskus the same as Koriskus? According to Grote², Aristotle holds that, because the musician Koriskus includes two Categories (Substance and Quality), he cannot be properly compared with Koriskus simply, which is the Category of Substance only. We have seen that Kung Sun Lung had the same doubts about shape (Category of Substance) and colour (Category of Quality) in regard to the white horse. The very simple solution of the sophism, which we have given, escaped both philosophers.

What Kung Sun Lung says on the white horse is ingenious, but not of great philosophical value. His treatise on the hard and white, however, deserves our highest praise unreservedly. Though sophistical in form, its contents are highly philosophical. The qualities of things, such as hardness or whiteness, are, in the belief of Kung Sun Lung, unknown to us. The names we give them do not describe what they really are. They are something indefinable, and cannot therefore be inherent in their objects. If they really were part of their objects, they ought to be always there, which they are not. Consequently they must have separate existences. These existences have the peculiarity that they are intermittent, they vanish when not perceived by us. Whiteness exists only as long as we see it, hardness as long as we touch it. These qualities cease to exist together with our sensations of their existence. Kung Sun Lung says that

¹ Plato, *Sophist*, 251b, Aristotle, *Metaph.*, V, 29. ² Grote, *Aristotle*, p. 410.

when not perceived they *separate* or hide. This is the meaning of the paradox that a stone, hard and white, are together two things. At a given moment the mind can be conscious only of the existence of the stone and its hardness, when it has recourse to touch, or of the stone and its whiteness, when it sees it. So it is only aware of two things, not of three. The third is in abeyance, it exists only virtually, but comes into being again when focussed by its proper organ of sense. To bring about the sensation of whiteness there must be light, an eye, a mind, and the colour. If we can rely on Chuang Tse's testimony that Hui Tse already pondered over the hard and white, we must understand his paradoxes that the eye does not see, and that fire is not hot, as meaning that light and warmth are in reality not such as they appear to us. Kung Sun Lung's wonderful critique of our perceptive faculties recalls to us the modern Idealists Kant, Fichte and Schopenhauer, who, more radical than Kung Sun Lung, assert that things and their attributes are nothing but creations of our mind, which have subjective but not objective existence, thus evaporating the whole visible world into nothing.

(Appendix I.)

TENG HSI TSE.

CAP. I.

Unkindness.

- (1) Heaven is not kind to man, the ruler is not kind to his people, the father to his son, the elder to the younger brother. Why do I say so? Because Heaven cannot remove disastrous epidemics, nor keep those alive who are cut off in their prime, nor always grant a long life to good people. That is unkindness to the people. Whenever people break holes through walls, and rob or deceive others, and lead them astray, want is at the root of all these offences, and poverty their main spring. Albeit; yet the ruler takes the law, and punishes the culprits. That is unkindness to the people. Yao and Shun swayed the Empire, whereas Tan Chu and Shang Chün¹ continued simple citizens. That is unkindness to sons. The duke of Chou put Kuan and Tsai² to death, that is unkindness to younger brothers. From these examples, which may be multiplied, we see that there is no such thing as kindness.
- (2) The duty of the ruler consists in critically examining the names of things and investigating the truth. His officials are expected to receive the law from him and promulgate his commands. The inferiors must not take the law into their own hands. As long as the sovereign wields his power,

¹The sons of Yao and Shun said to have been unworthy of the Empire.

²These two brothers of the duke rebelled against their imperial master Chêng Wang, their nephew, and were overpowered by the duke.

everything is well governed³. A prince is confronted with three difficulties; an official may become guilty of four faults. Which are the three difficulties? To rely only on one's *entourage* is the first⁴. To elect scholars for official posts according to their names⁵ is the second. To keep up old friendships and take an interest in persons that do not come near one is the third. And which are the four faults? The first is to be the recipient of extraordinary favours without accomplishing anything extraordinary. The second is to be in a high position, and do nothing in the government. The third is to be unjust in one's official dealings. The fourth is to lead an army into battle, and take to one's heels. If a prince is free from these three difficulties and his officials from the four faults, they will secure tranquillity to their country.

- (3) A prince's power is like his carriage, his authority like his whip, the officials are his horses, the people his cart-wheels. If his power is strong, the carriage is safe. If his authority is recognised, the whip hits well. Obedient officials make good horses, and, if the people are peaceful, the wheels turn quickly. Should in a country there be anything amiss in this respect, there will be a disaster. The state-car is upset, the horses bolt, the wheels break, and everything inside the carriage is smashed. A great danger indeed!

For⁶ a long time past like and unlike could not be separated, right and wrong not be determined, white and

³ Têng Tse advocates a pure despotism.

⁴ A prince seldom learns the truth, hearing only so much as his counsellors think fit.

⁵ The name *viz.* the character of officials does not always correspond to their real worth.

⁶ This paragraph has no connexion whatever with the preceding with which it is connected in the text. I therefore have separated it in the translation.

black not be divided, pure and unpure not be regulated⁷. He who really hears, can hear where there is no sound, he who really sees, can see where there is no sight. He can lay his plans, conformably to what is not yet manifest, and take the necessary precautions against what has not yet come to pass. That is the only method. Not hearing with the ear he apprehends the soundless, not seeing with the eye he perceives the immaterial, not scheming with the mind he grasps what is not yet manifest, not meditating with the intellect he conforms to what has not yet come into existence.

If⁸ a prince conceals his person and hides himself, the lower classes are all unselfish. If he closes his eyes and shuts his ears, the whole people are in awe of him⁹.

- (4) A wise ruler ascertains the truth by a critical examen of names, and establishes his power by finding and fixing the law, and establishing his authority. Well versed in outward forms, he does not wait to derive his distinctions from events, and when having tested the doings of others, he employs them, he does not lose thereby, but does so to advantage¹⁰. When a wise prince has made one investigation¹¹, all things take there fixed place. For names outward things are of no use¹². Knowledge cannot be merely based on that of others *i.e.* one must search for it in one's own self¹³.

⁷ How this knowledge is to be obtained, we hear in the sequence.

⁸ The text again connects the two paragraphs.

⁹ The wonderful effect of inaction.

¹⁰ The meaning of this paragraph is very obscure and mere guesswork.

¹¹ Concerning the ultimate cause of everything. When he has attained to that knowledge, everything becomes clear and settled to him.

¹² It is essential to have one general principle, from which all relations expressed by words can be deduced. Outward things alone, as we perceive them, do not teach us what they really are, and how therefore they must be called.

¹³ Knowledge comes from within, not from without, is subjective, not objective.

- (5) In governing the ruler must not exceed his power, and the officials not get into confusion. All the state-functionaries have their special departments and exercise their judicial rights. The sovereign studies names to find out the truth, whereas his inferiors receive his instructions, and do not disobey. What is good, he tries to increase, what is bad, to remove. He does not reward, because he is pleased, or punish, because he is angry. That may be called a government.
- (6) A person carrying a heavy load on his shoulders feels oppressed by the length of the road. He whose aim is glory, is distressed, if deserted by the people. The one carrying a heavy load is worn out by the length of the road, and does not attain his purpose. The exalted one, if deserted by the people, may exert himself ever so much, he cannot govern. Therefore, the wise man estimates the length of the road, before he takes up the load, and an intelligent ruler tests the people, before he sets about governing. One does not hunt bears or tigers in kennels or harpoon whales in fresh-water ponds. Why? Because bears and tigers have not their dens in kennels, and ponds are not the waters where whales live; just as the people of Chu did not sail against the current, or that of Chên fold up their flags, or as Chang Lu did not become an official and Lü Tse covered his face for shame¹⁴.
- (7) If anybody is not treated with consideration abroad, it is because he is not polite. If anybody is not beloved

¹⁴I have only been able to trace one of these four allusions. In *Mé-ti*, Chapter 49, towards the end, we learn that the people of Chu when fighting that of Yüeh on the Yangtse would always attack with the current. These allusions are evidently meant to show that what is not appropriate must not be done. Chang Lu and Lü Tse are proper names, but nothing is known about them. Probably we must insert 不, "not" before 蒙恥 "did not cover his face for shame," because all the preceding clauses are in the negative. Why Chang Lu and Lü Tse behaved, as they did, we do not know.

where he lives, he does not show himself kind. He who does not find employment despite all his talk, is not trustworthy. He who seeks without finding, has not made a good beginning to start from. He who plans without the approval of others, has no principles, who finds no adherents in his projects has lost the true path¹⁵.

Since praise is bestowed according to circumstances, the deeds may be the same, but they are called by different names¹⁶. If of two persons who are alike one uses his opportunity, the energy exerted by him is only equal to that of the other, but his glory is double. The reason is that he relies upon influence beyond himself.

Disputations are not listened to¹⁷. Empty words did not yet find an echo. Actions which do not improve an unsatisfactory state of things are not belauded. Hence in discussions one merely discriminates various categories, lest they injure one another. One arranges how different classes have to follow each other, so that they are not mixed up. One elucidates purposes and explains meanings, but does not aim at contradictions. To adorn one's speech with a view to create confusion or to use ambiguous words in order to shift the ground of the discussion is not the ancient method of dialectic¹⁸.

Without forethought one is unable to cope with sudden emergencies, just as soldiers, who have not drilled when at leisure, are unfit to oppose the enemy. If in the palace

¹⁵ People are to a great extent themselves responsible for their misfortunes or the failure of their projects, something being wrong with them.

¹⁶ This paragraph must be separated from the preceding, which is not done in the Chinese text.

¹⁷ A new clause again.

¹⁸ Teng Tse here distinctly repudiates those dialectical tricks with which he himself is charged as a sophist, and states in plain words the aim and method of a true logic.

schemes are prepared for an area of a thousand li, and admirable plans made in the commander's tent, then a hundred battles give a hundred victories, and we have an army like that of Huang Ti.

- (8) Life and death depend on fate, wealth and poverty on time. He who sorrows over an untimely death, does not understand fate, and he who frets over poverty and misery, does not understand time. If a man feels no fear in danger, he knows Heaven's fate, if he is not oppressed by poverty and want, he is aware of the regular change of time.

If in a year of famine the father dies in the house, and the son expires near the door, they do not complain, because they do not see each other. If people go to sea in the same boat, and have a storm on their way, their chances to be rescued and their dangers are about equal, and their sorrows the same. Persons spreading the nets and hunting together cry out and regularly answer the calls, and their booty will be nearly equal. Feeling bodily pain one cannot but cry out, and, if a man is full of joy, his face will laugh¹⁹.

To give a weak person a thousand stone to carry, to direct a lame one to catch a running horse, to chase a swift-footed animal in a parlour, or to wish a monkey to show its quickness in a cage, all this is against reason. He who acts in such a way nevertheless, is like a man who puts his clothes on upside down, and then cannot find the collar.

To treat as intimate friends those whom their deeds place at a great distance from us, but as strangers those who are near us; not to employ people, when they are there, but to

¹⁹ Huang Ti is credited with having organised wild beasts into an army by which he routed his opponent Yen Ti (*Wang Chang*, Book II, Chapter 4).

²⁰ People suffering (as in the case of the common sea-voyage) or enjoying themselves together (as when hunting) will give vent to the common feeling.

run after them, when they are away²¹; these four follies²² are a source of much pain to a wise sovereign.

- (9) In muddy water there are no fish swimming about, moving their tails, under an oppressive government there are no gay and jolly scholars. The commands being too numerous, the people have recourse to deceit, the administration interfering too much, the people begin to be unsettled. To have only the end in view, and not care for the root is like helping a man about to be drowned by throwing stones upon him, or like putting out fire by throwing in fire-wood.
- (10) The doctrine when understood²³ cannot be apprehended²⁴, cannot be practised. He who knows the great doctrine²⁵, does not know it²⁶, and thus obtains it; does not practise it, and thus completes it²⁷. He has nothing, but nothing fails him; holding the empty²⁸, he finds out the full truth. Thus all things are done. Honesty is evolved²⁹ out of what is not honest, justice is born from what is not just³⁰.

Talking without restraint is called recklessness, and speaking without controlling one's words ignorance. From looking at their shapes, one learns to know bodies. Following

²¹ This passage occurs in *Kuei Ku Tse*, III, 3, but the subsequent argumentation is quite different.

²² They are as devoid of sense as the instances given in the first part of this paragraph.

²³ Mystically understood.

²⁴ By the intellect.

²⁵ By intuition.

²⁶ In the ordinary sense of the word.

²⁷ Inaction and quietism are practical mysticism.

²⁸ The terms: "nothing" and "empty" describe the nature of the mystical principle.

²⁹ The text has 忠言, evidently a misprint for 忠由 or 忠生, as shown by the corresponding clause.

³⁰ The mystical principle is the source of all virtues, though itself devoid of any moral quality, therefore neither honest nor just.

up their principles, one gives things their correct names. Finding out their reasons, one understands the feelings of others. Is there anything that could not be accomplished or, if spoiled, be made good again in this way?

That which has objects, is purpose, that which has no externals, is virtue. What requires others, is action, what requires nobody, is the right way. Thus virtue is not active³¹. Stopping in a place, where one must not stop, one is lost. Taking for the right way, what is not the right way, one is not on the right way, and falls into traps.³² Though one's purposes be not good, one's aspirations not honest, one's deeds not correct³³, one's words empty, yet one can do everything, provided one gets hold of the truth.

- (11) To say that honour is not like disgrace is no correct statement, and to pretend that obtaining is not like losing no true saying. Not advancing one goes back; not enjoying one's self, one is sad; not being present, one is absent. This is what common people always think. The true sage changes³⁴ all these ten predicates into one³⁵.

The great dialecticians distinguish between actions in general, and embrace all the things of the world. They choose

³¹ The virtue of the mystic is purely contemplative and emotional, not the ordinary practical virtue which requires objects to work upon.

³² I read 陷 instead of 語 which is out of place here.

³³ Not good, not honest is not equivalent to bad or dishonest. A mystic has no purposes, no aspirations like ordinary people. The statement that his purposes are not good is a *pars pro toto*, his purposes are neither good nor bad, for he has none. His sole aim is to get hold of what he believes to be the truth. Having obtained that, he is perfect, and can do everything without the slightest effort, spontaneously.

³⁴ I take 危 to be an abbreviation for 恠 "to alter."

³⁵ The true sage does not care the least for honour and disgrace, obtaining or losing and all these contraries, which play such an important rôle in this world. To him they are all one and the same.

- what is good, and reject what is bad. They do what must be done in the right moment, and thus become successful and virtuous. The small dialecticians are otherwise. They distinguish between words and establish heterogeneous principles. With their words they hit each other, and crush one another by their actions. They do not let people know what is of importance. There is no other reason for this than their own shallow knowledge. The ideal man³⁶, on the other hand, takes all the things together and joins them, combines all the different ways and uses them. The five flavours, he discerns in his mouth, before he has tasted them. The five virtues, though residing in his body, are nevertheless extended to others. There is no certain direction which he follows. He rejects justice before the eyes. Measures to suppress disorder, he does not take. He is contented, having no desires; serene, for he takes everything easy. His devices are unfailing, his perspicacity enters into the smallest minutiae.
- (12) A ship floats on the water, a cart rolls on the earth. That is their natural movement. Those who do not govern know that they need not prepare for the future³⁷.
- (13) When a stone breaks the axle-top or the waves shatter a ship, one is not angry with the stones or the waves, but one blames the workman for his lack of skill³⁸, and does not use

³⁶ The bad dialecticians and controversialists multiply distinctions and differences, which exist but in their imagination, the great dialecticians distinguish only between some few general principles. The ideal man, *i.e.*, the mystic does not make any distinctions at all. He has no fixed purpose, but instinctively always hits the right and knows things, which others do not understand after long study.

³⁷ They follow the natural course of things, by which everything is settled of itself without the interference of any government or administration.

³⁸ The text: 木斲折 轄水 戾破舟不怨木石而罪巧拙 must be corrupt giving no reasonable sense, I would read: 石 斲折轄水 戾破舟不怨石水, etc.

his vehicle any more. Thus the knowing fall into errors, the prudent skirt danger, and those who have eyes are dazed. Therefore there is only one rule which does not change. Not relaxing in one's principles for *Chin's* or *Chu's* sake, not altering one's appearance for Hu or Yueh³⁹; bent on one aim, unwavering⁴⁰, walking straight on, never at random: if one practises that one day, the whole world will follow suit, and there will be the doing of the non-doing.

- (14) Seeing with one's own eyes, one sees, borrowing other people's, one is blind. Hearing with one's own ears, one hears, borrowing other people's one is deaf. A wise ruler knows that, and accordingly clearly distinguishes between what he has to do and what he has to avoid.

A prince must be like the sunshine on a winter-day, or the shade in summer⁴¹. Then all creatures will obey him unforced⁴². While he quietly lies down, his deeds are done of themselves, and while he amuses himself walking about, his government works spontaneously. The rolling of eyes, grasping of hands, and flourishing of whips and sticks are not its necessary premises⁴³.

- (15) If persons around a prince do not stand by him, the reason is his knowing and not knowing. Those who though connected with are not addicted to him, are to all outward

³⁹ Old Chinese states not quite as civilised as the others. The Hu (Mongols) and the Yüeh in Chekiang did not dress like the Chinese proper.

⁴⁰ The identification of the individual with the mystical Unknown by meditation.

⁴¹ The sun gives its warmth spontaneously, not on purpose, and so does the shade its freshness.

⁴² Feeling his benign influence.

⁴³ There is not absolute inaction, but the ruler does not bustle about. He does not scheme or use artificial means, his only guide being the inspiration of the mystical principle.

appearance his intimate friends, but inwardly they are strangers to him. His real friends, if far away, forget to respond to his call, and strangers, who are near him, forget that nothing connects them with him.

If people while near do not find employment, their plans are frustrated⁴⁴. If they are wanted after they have gone, they do not forget that they have gone⁴⁵. In case a prince does not condescend to those near, their hearts become estranged from him, and if he thinks of them when far away, he furthers their aims⁴⁶. Therefore does an intelligent ruler take great care in choosing his men, and the scholar likewise in offering his services.

CAP. II.

The turning of words.

- (16) For a long time the world has been led astray by the words grief and despair, pleasure and joy, anger and wrath, sadness and melancholy. Now I propose to restrict despair, joy, anger and melancholy to self, and grief, pleasure, wrath and sadness to others⁴⁷. Between supporting and leading,

⁴⁴ *Kuci Ku Tse*, III, 3 has the same passage, but in a different context.

⁴⁵ The latter half of this clause *Kuci Ku Tse* loc. cit. reads as :
事中來世 instead of 無違行也.

⁴⁶ Not forgetting the slight they have received first, they take their revenge when the prince is in need of them.

⁴⁷ I fail to see how people can be led astray by these synonyms, and how the arbitrary limitations proposed by Têng Tse could be of any use.

declining and blaming, reason and right, agreeing and self there is the greatest difference⁴⁸.

The art of speech consists in the following: With the intelligent speech must be based on vast learning, with the learned on dialectic, with dialecticians on equanimity⁴⁹, with the noble on power, with the wealthy on influence, with the poor on profit, with the brave on boldness, with the stupid on demonstration. That is the art of speech⁵⁰. One does not succeed, if one starts before having thought the matter over; one reaps very little, if one begins the harvest too soon.

One must not say what is not proper, nor do what is not correct to avoid danger. Nor must one take away anything, if not allowed to do so for fear of punishment, nor dispute on things which are not debatable, lest the word escape. The swiftest horse does not bring back a wrong utterance nor overtake a rash word. Therefore he is called an ideal man who never utters bad words nor listens to wicked talk.

When officials are appointed, the unintelligent are unable to fill a post, the clever are not compliant, the benevolent not attached to one person, the bold do not make advances, those who trust others cannot be trusted. Not to be guided by men's human qualities when employing them is what I call divine⁵¹.

⁴⁸ The entire passage seems to be corrupt and devoid of sense.

⁴⁹ With an able adversary one must never lose one's temper, always keeping clear-headed.

⁵⁰ For a parallel cfr. *Kuei Ku Tse* IX, 8. He writes 與拙言言依於辯 "with the *stupid* on dialectic" 拙 for Tseng Tse's 博, a bad reading, for with stupid people one needs no dialectic, but demonstration as Têng Tse says. For 安 "equanimity" Kuei Ku Tse has 要. The last sentence he has changed into: 與過言言依於銳 "with the guilty one must speak on energy."

⁵¹ Choosing the right man instinctively is the proper thing.

Anger originates from no anger, action from no action. Looking at what is not there, one obtains that which one sees, listening to what has no sound, one obtains that which one hears. Hence the immaterial is the root of the material, the soundless is the mother of sound.

The truth discovered through researches into names is the highest truth, and names given in accordance with truth are perfect names. By combining these two methods to an equal degree so that they complete one another one finds objects and their names.

- (17) When the rivers are dried up, the valleys become empty, when the hills fall down, the streams are blocked with the *débris*. The sages being dead, the big robbers do not come to the front, and the land enjoys peace. If the sages do not die, the big robbers do not stop⁵². How do we know that it is so? If one measures something with pecks and bushels, it is stolen together with the pecks and bushels. If one weighs it with balance and scales, the balance and scales are stolen too. If one relies on something owing to a token or a seal, it is stolen with the token and seal. What is instructed in benevolence and justice is stolen with benevolence and justice to-boot. How so? Those who steal property, are put to death, those who steal kingdoms, become princes. Since in the palaces of such princes, benevolence and justice are still to be found, have they not been stolen likewise? That big robbers usurp princely rights is a great success, of which robber Ché could not boast. The sages are responsible for it⁵³.

⁵² The existence of sages calls forth robbers (of which princes and conquerors are the worst) just as dried up rivers make the valleys empty or crumbling hills block the streams.

⁵³ This paragraph with some unimportant variations towards the end is to be found in *Chuang Tse*, Cap. X.

Likes and dislikes, goodness and wickedness, any attempts at reforming these four are useless. Courtesy and bad manners, politeness and arrogance, any offence in regard to these four can be made good. Those who are simple and honest and know how to endure pain and disappointments do not offend, and have not to make amends. That is everlasting virtue. With those who always talk about trust, but cannot be trusted in what they do, or who will discourse on goodness, but do nothing good, one must be on one's guard.

- (18) The first principle of government is not to allow private interests to prevail. The greatest success consists in restraining the people from quarrelling. In the government which we have now, there is action: individual interests are in conflict with the government, and the confusion is worse than as if there was no government. A ruler is set up, and there the strife begins. The stupid people fight with the ruler, and the confusion is worse than it would be without a ruler⁵⁴. Therefore in a well principled state no actions, neither selfish nor altruistic are done. A ruler is elected, and the stupid people do not oppose him⁵⁵. They are one with their sovereign, things are decided according to law. That is the proper way for a state. A wise ruler at the head of his ministers finds out people's reputation by inquiring into their conduct. From their reputation he learns how they appear to others, and from their appearance how they really are. Afraid of severe punishments, his subjects dare not yield to their selfishness.

- (19) The heart is fond of quietude, the intellect likes to roam far and wide.⁵⁶ When the heart is quiet, it obtains what it

⁵⁴ This was the state of affairs during the Spring and Autumn period, an incessant series of struggles of the different states and of the different factions in each state.

⁵⁵ I read 爭 instead of 尊

⁵⁶ T'eng Tse remarks on a certain antagonism between thought and sentiment.

wants, when the intellect roams far and wide, schemes and plans are laid. The heart dislikes agitation, and the intellect narrowness. The heart being agitated, one loses one's temper; the intellect being narrow, its many projects fail.⁵⁷

In good times the manners are free and easy, in troublesome times they are very ceremonious and difficult to observe. In remote antiquity the music was sound and not plaintive, now it is depraved and licentious. In remote antiquity the people were honest and simple, now they are deceitful and over-active. Once exemplary punishments⁵⁸ were used, and nobody committed an offence⁵⁹. As soon as an attempt is made to better by tattooing and cutting off people's noses they lose all sense of shame. Then there is more disorder than order.

Yao put up a drum for those who had to make complaints, Shun a wood for those who wanted to impeach some one. Tang had censors, Wu warnings engraved in metal. These four sovereigns were sages, and yet they took all these pains.

Li Lu killed Tung Li Tse, and Su Sha⁶⁰ murdered Chi Wên, Chieh executed Lung Fêng, and Chao⁶¹ disembowelled Pi-Kan. These four princes were criminal rulers, therefore they hated sages like enemies. Hence there is as much distance between the wise and the stupid as between a valley several

⁵⁷ A parallel *Kuei Ku Tse* XIII, 12, but differently argued.

⁵⁸ On exemplary punishment 象刑 see Edkins, "*Sün King, the Philosopher*" in *J. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIII page 49. They consisted merely in a change of dress, the criminals having to dress in a certain way according to their offences.

⁵⁹ The usual praise of the good old time.

⁶⁰ Legendary rulers. Li Lu is mentioned in *Chuang Tse*, Chapter 10, of Su Sha I find no trace.

⁶¹ The tyrants Chieh and Chao are well-known and used by the Chinese as typical representatives of wickedness.

thousand feet deep and a mountain several ten thousand high, or between the deepest Hades and the loftiest mountain peak.

- (20) A wise ruler leads his people as a charioteer his coursers, without a bridle, and as a man walks over ice with a heavy burden on his shoulders⁶². Those near him he treats like strangers, and strangers like near relatives. If he is prudent and thrifty, he is blessed with happiness, if extravagant and dissipated, misfortune arises.

A sage leads an easy life. In his own generation he seldom finds his peer. The nature of all things is repose (it needs no punishments with whips and sticks)—silence (there is no noise, no cries). Then the families are well supplied, and so are the individuals, and the whole world enjoys universal peace. One sees everything clearly and distinctly, and knows what is hidden⁶³. One surmises what has not yet happened, and beholds what has not yet come to pass. That is what is called the invisible spirit and the invisible mystery.

- (21) If a sovereign cannot keep his independence and likes to rely on his subordinates, his knowledge becomes more and more narrowed and his position more and more precarious. Pressed from below he has not his hands free, and conforming in all to the people, he cannot uphold his dignity. His knowledge is not sufficient for the administration, his power to mete out punishment, and there is no link between him and the people. If then a sovereign gives rewards, because he is pleased, one must not imagine that one has done something meritorious, and if he punishes, because he is angry, one must not consider it a condign penalty. Because sovereigns will not control their pleasure and anger, rewarding and punishing at will, and like to leave all the

⁶² *i.e.*, with the utmost care.

⁶³ By inspiration from the invisible spirit or mystery.

responsibility to their officials, one kingdom after the other has been lost, and many a prince has been assassinated. The ancients had a saying that many mouths can melt metal⁶¹, and that three men are as dangerous as a tiger. That ought to be a warning.

- (22) The nature of man is such that in discussions he desires to have the last word, and what he has begun he likes to put through. A wise man does not envy others for their excellence on account of his own shortcomings, nor is he jealous of other people's successes, because he himself failed⁶².

If a prince follows those who give good advice and rewards them, and exposes them who give bad advice and punishes them, thus cutting off the way of depravity and evil, and doing away with all licentious talk, his subjects will take the key, and his attendants hold their tongues, and he can be called an intelligent ruler. Those who do good, the prince rewards, those who do evil, he punishes. He treats the people according to the manner in which they show themselves, and requites them conformably to their accomplishments. He follows a sage, and therefore can make use of him. He does so in a reasonable way, and therefore can go on for a long time. The sovereigns of the present day have not the ability of Yao and Shun, but are anxious to have the same government. That plunges them in utter confusion and darkness, and things are not cleared up at

⁶¹ Quoted by *Kuei Ku Tse* IX, 8.

⁶² *Kuei Ku Tse* IX, 8 has the following parallel which is much less reasonable: 困人之情出言 則欲聽舉事則欲成 是故智者不用其所短 而用愚人之所長 不用其所拙而用其愚人之所工 故不也 . . . "A wise man does not put forward his own shortcomings but stupid people's accomplishments, not his own deficiencies, but the successes of those stupid people. Therefore he does not get into trouble. (?)

all. In vain they strive for the semblance of a government, but are incapable of bringing order into the general confusion.

- (23) Sorrows begin after one has obtained an appointment. A disease breaks out, when the patient has already recovered a little. Misfortune is the outcome of idleness. Filial conduct is lost through the wife. Of these four things one must take great care at the end as much as at the beginning.

The wealthy must help the poor, the young and strong the old. Those who are dominated by their propensities and yield to their desires, will become extravagant and brutal. Therefore I hold that there is no reason, why we should esteem people for their nobility, or think much of them for their talents, why we should look up to them, because they have money, or bow to them, because they are strong and bold. He who acts up to this, deserves the name of a perfect man.

- (24) For those who have a proposition to make the greatest difficulty is to get a hearing, for those who want to do something, to carry it through. To carry through something the circumstances must be favourable, to get a hearing the hearer must be favourably predisposed. Therefore throwing a heap of fuel on a fire, one must first light it, and watering a level ground, one first soaks it. Touching a kindred note one always gets a response⁶⁶. That is the only practical way⁶⁷.

- (25) If, after a prince has established his laws, those who abide by them are rewarded, and those who break through

⁶⁶ Wishing to perform something one must make the necessary preparations, as the circumstances may require. One seldom attains one's aim directly, one must prepare one's way, as when making a fire or watering a field.

⁶⁷ *Kuei Ku Tse* VIII, 7 gives this whole paragraph, but in a much more diffuse style. His lucubrations make the impression of a clumsy paraphrase of our passage, which he did not understand well.

the restrictions are punished, such a prince is called a silly ruler and his state a lost state ⁶⁸.

- (26) A wise man stands quietly between right and wrong, and good and evil are distinguished ⁶⁹. A prudent man keeps quiet between what is desirable and what is not, and going forward and backward are well defined ⁷⁰. If a wise man cannot distinguish between right and wrong or a prudent one between what is desirable and what is not, they are frauds.
- (27) The eye is prized for vision, the ear for hearing, the heart for justice. If we see with the world eye, there is nothing which we do not see. If we hear with the world ear, there is nothing which we do not hear. If we think with the world intellect, there is nothing which we do not understand ⁷¹. Possessing these three faculties one preserves them in inaction.

⁶⁸ Only a mystic can say so. In many other aphorisms Teng Tse himself says the contrary.

⁶⁹ He does not use his reasoning power like other mortals, but distinguishes between good and evil intuitively.

⁷⁰ To 有別 must correspond 有類, not 無類 as the text has it.

⁷¹ The same passage with slight changes occurs in *Kuei Ku Tse* XII, 10. For 心貴公 he writes 心貴智 and 以天下之心慮者則無不通 at the end.

(Appendix II.)

CHUANG-TSE.

CAP. XXXIII.

The Empire = Tien-hsia.

Hui Shih was a man full of ideas. His writings would fill five carts. But his doctrines were contradictory, and what he said not to the point. Trying to explain the meaning of things he said :—

- I The infinitely great, beyond which there is nothing, I call the great Unit. The infinitely small, within which there is nothing, I call the small Unit.
- II That which has no dimensions cannot be heaped up, but it measures a thousand li.
- III Heaven is as low as earth. A mountain is on a level with a lake.
- IV The sun sets, when it is in the zenith. Creatures die, when they are born.

I The Chinese commentators quite misunderstand this and the next fundamental proposition.

II Balfour's translation :—"The whole Universe may be filled with matter, even though there be no foundation for anything to rest upon" is a great mistake. Giles omits the important part "cannot be heaped up," which Legge renders by "will not admit of being repeated."

III The statement is quite categorical, therefore Legge's repeated "may be's" are superfluous.

IV Balfour's "that sunset is the same as the meridian," to which he adds "in that one is the result of the other," as well as Legge's "the sun in the meridian may be the sun declining," are both wrong. Their renderings

- V Great likeness is different from small likeness, both I call small likeness and small difference. If things are completely alike or completely different, I speak of great likeness or great difference.
- VI Although there is no limit in the South, there is a limit.
- VII Going to Yueh to-day, one arrives there yesterday.
- VIII Linked rings can be separated.
- IX I know that the centre of the world lies north of Yen and south of Yüeh.
- X One must love all beings equally, for heaven and earth are one and the same.

Hui Shih believed that this sort of thing was looked upon by the world as a great performance, and would enlighten the dialecticians, and the dialecticians of the day were delighted with it. He said further:—

- XI There are feathers in an egg.

would be no sophisms, which we must have here. The same applies to Balfour's "that animal life comes from death, and death from life," which besides is at variance with the Chinese text.

- V This is a definition very similar to No I. Hui-Tse says that all relative similarities and differences, even those commonly called great, are small, absolute likeness and absolute difference he calls great. The text is ambiguous, hence every new translator gives a new version. Balfour and Giles are far from the mark, as are the Chinese commentators.
- VI This is the first antinomy in Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason." Kant tries to show that the infinity of time and space can as well be proved as the reverse.
- VII There is nothing said about the *intention* to go which Balfour interpolates.
- IX Yen is in Chili, Yüeh in Fukien. There is a great distance between the two, which must be denied if the middle of the universe is to be near these two States.
- XI Not upon an egg (Balfour).

- XII A fowl has three legs.
 XIII Ying is the world.
 XIV A dog can be regarded as a sheep.
 XV A horse lays eggs.
 XVI A nail has a tail.
 XVII Fire is not hot.
 XVIII Mountains speak.
 XIX Cart wheels do not triturate the ground.
 XX The eye does not see.
 XXI The finger does not touch, the touching never comes to an end.
 XXII A tortoise is longer than a snake.

XII *Cf.* the sophistic reasons given by Kung Sun Lung, page 75 Sse Ma Piao's explanation, adapted by Giles, that the third leg is "volition" is very poor.

XIII Ying is the capital of the kingdom of Chu, an insignificant place.

XVI I translate "nail" with Balfour and Giles, not "tadpole" as Legge does, who has the authority of several Chinese commentators on his side. It appears to me that this paradox must be analogous to that given by Hsün-tse II, 7:—"A hook has a barb." The explanation given by some Chinese, that "tail" refers to the shape of the Chinese characters: 丁子 is forced.

XVII This proposition, quite familiar to the modern philosopher, is a stumbling-block to the Chinese commentators. Sse Ma Piao submits that heat is not the only quality of fire, another writer speaks of insects or reptiles, said to live in fire, in which case it cannot be hot, a third suggests that in wet and cold places one does not feel the heat.

XVIII This does not refer to echoes, for that would be no sophism. Mountains speak like living beings.

XIX *Cf.* Kung Sun Lung, page .

XXI The idea is the same as of No. XX, *viz.*, that an object, moving against another, never reaches it owing to the infinity of space. Legge's translation that "the finger indicates, but need not touch" is meaningless. Balfour and Giles make the mistake of dividing the one sentence into two separate ones. Balfour moreover mistranslates:—"the finger does not point."

XXII The Chinese explanation, that a tortoise is longer than a snake, because longer lived, repeated by Giles, or because it surpasses (長) the snakes in

- XXIII A square is not square, and a circle cannot be considered as round.
- XXIV A handle does not fit in a chisel.
- XXV The shadow of a flying bird has never yet moved.
- XXVI There is a time, when a swiftly flying arrow is neither moving nor at rest.
- XXVII A dog is no hound.
- XXVIII A yellow horse and a black cow are three.
- XXIX A white dog is black.
- XXX An orphan colt has not had a mother.
- XXXI If every day you chop off half of a stick one foot long, you will not have finished with it after ten thousand generations.

its knowledge of future events, is very unsatisfactory. "Longer" without further addition does not signify "longer lived" or "cleverer" in Chinese any more than in English.

XXIV Cf. Nos. XX and XXII, Giles reads:—"A round hole will not surround a square handle," but the text says nothing about round or square. Besides a handle sticking in a hole is *never* surrounded by it, but by the object containing the hole.

XXV The shadow does not move, at every movement a new shadow is created. The different shadows following one another make the impression of one and the same shadow moving.

XXVII This is the reverse of No XIV.

XXVIII Cf. Kung Sun Lung, Cap. V.

XXIX The explanation that a white dog is black, if his eyes are black, part standing for the whole (Sse Ma Piao and Giles) is as ridiculous as that of Lu Shu Chih saying that, if a dog is not black, but white, its whiteness may be regarded as its blackness.

XXX This paradox may have a deeper metaphysical sense, or be based only on the sophism, that an orphan could not have a mother, because then it would not be an orphan. Present and passed time are wrongly identified.

XXXI Balfour misinterprets this remarkable apophthegm, saying, that after ten thousand generations nothing will be left. Just the contrary, there will be something left for ever.

(Appendix III.)

KUNG SUN LUNG TSE.

CAP. I.

Investigations=Chi-fu.

[Kung Sun Lung¹ was a dialectician of the time of the Six Kingdoms². Dissatisfied with the divergence and the confusion between words and their real objects, he used his peculiar talent to discuss the alleged inseparability of whiteness. Pointing out analogies in other objects, he argued on this theme of whiteness.]

- (1) He said, "A white horse is no true horse. That means, the word "white" serves to designate a colour, and the word "horse" to designate a shape. Colour is not shape, and shape not colour. Therefore in speaking of colour one must not adjoin shape, and in speaking of shape one must not add colour. Now, to make one object out of the combination of both is not correct.
- (2) If you look for a white horse in a stable, and there are none but black-coloured ones, they cannot satisfy your demand for a white horse. Since they cannot satisfy that

¹ This first paragraph, giving a short sketch of our author, seems to be a later addition, and introductory remark, which has crept into the text. In Kung Sun Lung's own school, where his book undoubtedly originated, he would not have been called a dialectician of the time of the Six Kingdoms. This must be an addition of a later editor. I therefore put it in brackets.

² The Six Kingdoms are: Chi, Chu, Yen, Chao, Wei and Han, which had formed an alliance in the third century B.C.

demand, the horse sought for is not at hand. Because it is not at hand, a white horse is indeed no horse.

An extension of this method of discrimination would set words and objects right, and thereby change the aspect of the whole world.³

Kung Sun Lung met with Kung Chuan⁴ in the house of the prince of Ping-yuan in Chao⁵. Kung Chuan said. "I always heard that you were a very reasonable man, and for a long time already wished to become your pupil. Only I cannot accept your doctrine that a white horse is no true horse. Please discard this theory, and I will be very glad to become your pupil."

Kung Sun Lung replied. "What you say there, Sir, is preposterous. The disputation on the white horse is just what makes my fame. Now, if you bid me to give it up, I would have nothing to teach. Besides, he who wishes to learn, is, as a rule, in knowledge and wisdom inferior to the teacher. Your request would be nothing else than that you teach me first, before you learn from me. To teach the same man first, from whom you are going to learn afterwards, is illogical."

- (3) "Moreover, even Confucius accepts my view, that a white horse is no horse.⁶ I have heard that the king of Chu drew his bow, and put on arrows to shoot snakes and rhinoceroses in the Yün-mêng Park. But he lost his bow.

³The world indeed would be changed, if all the words spoken corresponded to real objects, and there would be no more lies, no errors. But Kung Sun Lung is mistaken, if he supposes that his attempts at logical discriminations could bring about such a radical change.

⁴Grandson of Confucius in the 6th degree, grandfather of Kung Fu 孔鮒, the alleged author of the work passing under the name of Kung Tsung Tse, 孔叢子. Cf. the Genealogy of Confucius 孔子世家.

⁵The prince of Ping-yuan was son to King Hsiao Chêng of Chao. He died in B.C. 250. The *Shi-chi* devotes to him a special chapter, Book 75.

⁶The following story with almost the same words is inserted in Kung Tsung Tse's chapter on Kung Sun Lung.

His attendants wished to search for it, but the king stopped them, saying, "The king of Chu has lost the bow, and a man of Chu will get it, what need to search for it?"

When Confucius heard of this, he said, "The king of Chu is good and kind, but not quite perfect." And he went on saying, "When a man gets rid of his bow, and another man finds it, it is all right. But why must it be a man of Chu?" Confucius thus makes a difference between a man of Chu, and what is called a man⁷. Therefore, it is wrong to impugn my distinction between a white horse and what is called a horse. You, Sir, are versed in the teachings of the literati, but reject what is admitted by Confucius. You are desirous to learn, but would fain induce me to discard what I might teach. Under such conditions men a hundred times as clever as I would not be able to undertake the task."

Kung Chuan could say nothing against this.

- (4) [Kung Sun Lung⁸ was the guest of the prince of Ping-yuan in Chao. Kung Chuan was a descendant of Confucius. When both met, Kung Chuan said to Kung Sun Lung: "While living on the borders of Lu, I heard of you.

⁷ Kung Sun Lung would make us believe that Confucius agrees with him in saying that a man of Chu is no man, whereas his real meaning is, that a man is no man of Chu, *i.e.* that the category of man is not limited to the State of Chu, but embraces all mankind. Confucius objects to the "Lokalpatriotismus" of the king of Chu, who would leave his bow to an inhabitant of Chu only, if the king's words must be understood in this way.

⁸ This passage, which I put in brackets, must be an interpolation, because it is nothing else than a paraphrase of the preceding paragraph. Since Kung Tsung Tse in his chapter on Kung Sun Lung has this same passage almost verbatim, I imagine that he took it from the text of our author, and that afterwards some reader added it again to Kung Sun Lung as a parallel passage. First a note, it was later on by inadvertence incorporated into the text.

The disputations of Kung Sun Lung and Kung Chuan at the court of the prince of Ping-yuan are alluded to in *Lieh-Tse*, B. IV, 11., *Lü Shih Chun Chiu*, B. 18.

I greatly admired you for your wisdom, and was much pleased with your conduct. To receive your instructions has been my desire for a long time. Now, at last, I have the pleasure of meeting you. There is only one thing, which I cannot accept⁹, that is your theory of a white horse not being a true horse. I beseech you to drop this doctrine, and I am willing to become your disciple."

Kung Sun Lung rejoined, "What you say there, Sir, is preposterous. My system is based on the thesis, that a white horse is no true horse. If you deprive me of that, I have nothing to impart. To learn from me when I have nothing to teach, would be unreasonable. Moreover, only he could wish to learn from me, whose knowledge and wisdom is not equal to mine. Now, to demand that I should give up my view, that a white horse is no true horse, would be first to teach me and afterwards to learn from me. First to instruct me, and then to use me as a teacher would not be admissible. What you ask of me is like what the king of Chi said to Yin Wên¹⁰.

- (5) The king of Chi¹¹ spoke to Yin Wên as follows, "I am very fond of accomplished men, how is it that in Chi there are none?"

⁹ Kung Tsung Tse spoils everything by writing 白馬非白馬 "that a white horse is no white horse." Such a thing Kung Sun Lung never said. Kung Tsung Tse completely misunderstood him. This makes it evident that the original passage belongs to Kung Sun Lung, not to Kung Tsung Tse.

¹⁰ Kung Tsung Tse, *loc. cit.*, tells the interview of the king of Chi with Yin Wên Tse, though in a somewhat abridged form, having most likely culled it from Kung Sun Lung.

¹¹ Yin Wen lived under king Hsüan of Chi, B.C. 342-324. Dr. Faber fixes his reign at B.C. 454-404 (*Doctrines of Confucius*). His statements *loc. cit.* that Yin Wen Tse was a disciple of Kung Sun Lung, and that the latter was a pupil of Confucius, are both wrong.

Yin Wên replied, "I should like to know what Your Majesty understands by an accomplished man."

The king of Chi could not say. Yin Wên went on, "Let us suppose that here we have a man, who serves his sovereign loyally and his parents filially, who is faithful to his friends, and at peace with his fellow-citizens. Endowed with these four qualities, can he be styled an accomplished man?"

The king of Chi rejoined, "Exactly, that is just what I call an accomplished man."

Yin Wên said, "If you had such a man, would you employ him in an official capacity?"

The king replied, "I would be only too glad, but I cannot find such a man."

All that time the king of Chi set high store upon courage. Therefore Yin Wên asked him saying, "Supposing such a man was insulted in open court amidst a crowd of people, but did not dare to fight, would you use him as an official?"

- (6) "If a great lord, quoth the king, does not avenge an insult with his sword, he is dishonoured. A dishonoured man I would not like to have in my employ."

Yin Wên remarked, "However, he who, when insulted, does not draw his sword, does not lose thereby the four above-mentioned qualities. Not having lost these, he is still a gentleman. But Your Majesty would first take him into your service, and afterwards not. Is then a gentleman, as described before, no gentleman?"

The king could not answer. Yin Wên said, "Now, there is a prince, who wishes to govern his State. If anyone is guilty, he condemns him, and if he is not, he condemns him nevertheless. If a man has distinguished himself, he rewards him, and if he has no special deserts, he rewards him also. Yet he complains of his people not being well behaved. Can he rightly do that?"

The king of Chi answered in the negative. Yin Wên observed, "It appears to me that your officials in governing Chi used this method."

The king said, "I believe that my administration is as you say. Therefore, although my people are not well regulated, I dare not complain. Is it that my mind has not thought deeply enough?"

Yin Wên said, "If you admit it, why should I not be outspoken? Your commands state, that whoever kills a man, must die, and who injures him, has to suffer bodily punishment. People in awe of your commands, do not venture to fight when insulted, thus upholding the royal commands. But the king himself says that, whoever does not resent an affront with his sword, is dishonoured, which word means a censure. You disgrace him, although he is not to be blamed, and accordingly would strike his name from the official lists. Not to use him any more as an official is a punishment. Thus somebody not guilty is punished by Your Majesty. And in case you disgrace a man, who dares not fight, you must honour him, who does. The distinctions conferred upon him are marks of approval. Approving of him, you will give him an official post, which means a reward. You reward the undeserving. Those rewarded by you are the same whom your officials put to death. What the sovereign approves of, is condemned by the law¹². Thus rewards and punishments, approval and condemnation, are confounded one with the other. Under these circumstances, even a man ten times as able as Huang Ti¹³ could not keep order.

¹² Yin Wên Tse's criticism can, even nowadays still be applied to those countries where duelling is forbidden by law and punished, but where at the same time officers, who do not avenge an insult sword in hand, are dismissed from the service.

¹³ The mythical emperor.

The king of Chi did not know what to answer.

I regard your words as like those of the king of Chi. You object to the white horse being no horse, but cannot give satisfactory reasons for doing so, therein acting in a way similar to the king of Chi, who could express his partiality for accomplished men, but was unable to distinguish between gentlemen and no gentlemen.

CAP. II.

On the white horse=Pai-ma.

Question.—Is it possible that a white horse is no horse?

Answer.—Yes¹⁴.

Question.—How?

Answer.—A horse denotes a shape, white a colour. Describing a colour, one does not describe a shape, therefore I say that a white horse is no horse¹⁵.

Question.—There being a white horse, one cannot say that there is no horse. If one cannot say that there is no horse, can the existence of the horse be denied? There being a white horse, one must admit that there is a horse, how can whiteness bring about the non-existence of a horse?

¹⁴ The respondent is Kung Sun Lung; the questioner is the champion of common sense.

¹⁵ A horse is a shape only, a white horse a colour and a shape. A shape cannot be identical with a shape and a colour.

Answer.—When a horse is required, yellow and black ones can all be brought, but when a white horse is wanted, there is no room for yellow and black ones. Now, let a white horse be a horse¹⁶. It is but one kind of those required. Then one of those required, a white horse, would not be different from a horse¹⁶. Those required do not differ. Would then yellow and black ones meet the requirement or not? In so far as they would meet the requirement or not, they evidently exclude each other. Yellow as well as black horses are each one kind, they correspond to a call for a horse, but not to a call for a white horse. Hence it results that a white horse cannot be a horse.

Question.—A horse having colour is considered no horse. But there are no colourless horses on earth! Are there therefore no horses on earth.

Answer.—Horses of course have colour, therefore there are white horses. If horses had no colour, there would be merely horses. But how can we single out white horses, for whiteness is no horse?

A white horse is a horse and whiteness. Such being the case¹⁷ I hold that a white horse is no horse¹⁸.

Question.—A horse not yet connected with whiteness, is a horse, and whiteness not yet connected with

¹⁶ A horse in general.

¹⁷ The text reads: 白馬者馬與白也馬與白馬也故曰白馬非馬也. I presume that in the second clause the second character 馬 must have been interpolated. Kung Sun Lung after having maintained that colour is not shape, cannot suddenly say that a white horse is a horse and whiteness, *i.e.* a horse and a white horse. Either the whole second clause 馬與白馬也 is a later addition, or the 馬 before 也 is interpolated. In that case the second clause is only a repetition of the first, a mode of speech not infrequent in deductions, which I try to express in my translation.

¹⁸ See Note 15.

a horse, is whiteness. When horse and whiteness are combined, one speaks of a white horse, which means that they are united. If they were not, one could not give them such a name. Ergo it is not right to say that a white horse is no horse.

Counter-question (Kung Sun Lung).—If we regard a white horse as being a horse, can it be said that a white horse is a yellow horse¹⁹?

Answer.—No.

Answer (Kung Sun Lung).—The idea of a horse²⁰ being different from that of a yellow horse, there must be a difference between a yellow horse and a horse. A yellow horse being different from a horse, a yellow horse cannot be a horse. If a yellow horse is no horse, to hold that a white horse is a horse, would be like flying in a lake or placing the inner and the outer coffins in different places²¹. This would be very illogical reasoning and random talk.

Question.—If there is a white horse, one cannot say that there is no horse, *viz.*, without white colour. In case the idea of a white horse is eliminated, then indeed one cannot speak of a horse. Should, therefore, only a horse correspond to the idea of a horse, and should a white horse not be accounted a horse, then, when we believe, that there is a horse, we could not say that this horse is a horse.

Answer.—If with white things whiteness is not emphasized but forgotten, all is right. If in reference

¹⁹ If a white horse were a horse, it ought to be a yellow horse too, for a yellow horse is also considered a horse. This is at the root of Kung Sun Lung's question.

²⁰ Which Kung Sun Lung in his counter-question has assumed, *e.g.* to be equivalent to that of a white horse.

²¹ Two very unreasonable things.

to a white horse one speaks of whiteness, and emphasizes it, it is no whiteness.²²

The idea of a horse neither excludes nor includes any colour. Therefore, yellow and black ones are all welcome. The idea of a white horse excludes and includes colour²³. Yellow and black ones are all excluded owing to their colour. White horses alone correspond. If there is nothing that excludes, none are excluded. Ergo a white horse is no horse²⁴.

CAP. III.

On definitions = Chih wu.

*Thesis*²⁵.—There are no things which are not defined, but those definitions are no definitions.²⁶

²² I presume that the somewhat eccentric idea of our author is, that there are white things and white horses, but that their whiteness must not be touched upon, for as soon as one speaks of the whiteness of a horse, the subject of the remark is no longer horse and there being no horse, whiteness perishes also.

²³ It includes whiteness and excludes all the other colours.

²⁴ Because it would exclude all the other different coloured horses. The idea of a horse must include every variety of horses, and therefore cannot have any specified colour as whiteness.

²⁵ Kung Sun Lung's view is given in the "thesis," his opponent's in the "antithesis." It is not very easy to correctly separate thesis and antithesis in the text, as the characteristic word 曰 "he replied" is wanting.

²⁶ Men define all things by specifying their attributes, such as whiteness and hardness (colour and cohesion), but these definitions are no definitions, i.e. they are not correct definitions, because all the attributes of things are in reality not such as they appear to us. Hardness and whiteness for instance are not hardness and whiteness in the sense in which an unsophisticated mind regards them. They exist only, while we perceive them, otherwise they hide or vanish i.e. do not exist, as shown in Cap. 5.

Antithesis.—So far as there are no definitions on earth, things cannot be called things²⁷. If what is on earth, is not defined, can things be said to be defined?²⁸

Thesis.—Definitions there are none on earth²⁹, things there are on earth. It is impossible to maintain that, what exists on earth³⁰, is the same with what does not exist³¹.

Antithesis.—If there are no definitions on earth, things cannot be said to be defined. If they cannot be said to be defined, they are not defined.³²

Thesis.—Things though not defined are nevertheless not undefined. There are no definitions on earth²⁹, and things cannot be said to be defined, but that does not mean that they are not defined³³. It does not mean that they are not defined, for there are none but defined things. There being none but defined things, definitions are not definitions³⁴.

Antithesis.—There being no definitions on earth, all that is produced from things, though having its proper name, is not to be considered as defined. To call things defined, which are not considered defined³⁵, would lead to the co-existence of definiteness

²⁷ The opponent takes the common view that things which are not definable, are not real things, all real things being definable.

²⁸ This contradiction the opponent will not admit.

²⁹ True and correct definitions.

³⁰ Things.

³¹ Definitions.

³² The opponent takes the word definition always in one sense, not in two: "definition" and "correct definition" as Kung Sun Lung does.

³³ Defined though not correctly, since all soi-distant definitions are wrong.

³⁴ The common definitions are not real definitions.

³⁵ As Kung Sun Lung apparently does, for his antagonist is not aware of his taking the word definition in two quite opposed meanings, the one negating the other.

and indefiniteness. It is impossible to assert that, what is thought not to be defined, is not undefined. Definitions, moreover ³⁶, are connected with the world.

Thesis.—Because there are no definitions on earth, one must not pretend that things are not defined. Since they cannot be said to be not defined, there are none not defined. There being none undefined, all things are defined.

A definition ³⁷ is not no definition, but a definition referred to an object is no definition.

Antithesis.—Supposing there are no definitions of objects in the world, who would boldly say that there are no definitions? And if there are no objects, who could boldly say that there are definitions? ³⁸

Thesis.—There are definitions in this world, but no definitions of objects ³⁹. Who would flatly assert that they are not definitions, contending that without objects there are no definitions? ⁴⁰ Besides, definitions are of themselves not definitions, they do not become definitions, when they have been referred to an object.

³⁶ See Note 27.

³⁷ A definition *in se*, in the abstract.

³⁸ Objects are the necessary substrata for definitions.

³⁹ The so-called definitions do not define their objects.

⁴⁰ Definitions cannot derive their truth from objects.

CAP. IV.

On accommodation = Tung-pien.

(1)

Question.—Does two contain one?

*Answer*⁴¹.—Two does not contain one.⁴²

Question.—Does two contain right?

Answer.—Two has no right.⁴³

Question.—Does two contain left?

Answer.—Two has no left.

Question.—Can right be called two?

Answer.—No.

Question.—Can left be called two?

Answer.—No.

Question.—Can right and left together be called two?⁴³

Answer.—Yes.

*Question*⁴¹.—Is it allowed to say that a change is not no change?

Answer.—Yes.

Question.—Can one speak of a change, if one part is right?

Answer.—Certainly.

Question.—If you interchange one part of a pair [which part is affected thereby?]⁴⁴

⁴¹ Kung Sun Lung is the respondent.

⁴² One is contained in two practically, but it does not form a constituent part of the general notion of two. This is more evident in the proposition that two has no right; it may have, but it is not necessary, *e.g.* in saying two days or two kings, there is not a right and a left day, or a right and a left king.

⁴³ Right and left together are two, but two is not always right and left, as we have seen. Subject and predicate cannot be simply transposed. Every horse is an animal, but every animal is not a horse.

⁴⁴ There seems to be a lacuna in the text, which I have tried to fill in the translation. Perhaps still more words have been left out.

Answer.—The right.

Question.—When the right has been changed, how can you still call it right? And, if it has not been changed, how can you speak of a change? ⁴⁵

Answer.—If two [as you say] has no right nor left, how is it, that right and left are two? ⁴⁶

(2) [*Thesis* ⁴⁷.—A ram and an ox joined are not a horse. An ox and a ram are not a fowl.

[*Question.*—How so?

[*Answer.*—A ram is only different from an ox. A ram has upper front-teeth, an ox not. Yet this alone does not entitle us to say, that an ox is not a ram, and a ram not an ox. They might not both have those particular teeth, and still belong to the same species. A ram has horns, and an ox has horns. Yet one cannot say, therefore, that an ox is a ram, or a ram an ox. They might both have horns, and yet belong to quite different classes. Rams and oxen have both horns, horses not, whereas horses have long tails, of which rams and oxen are destitute. Therefore, I say that a ram and an ox joined are not a horse. That

⁴⁵ When the right and left of a pair are interchanged, they change their names, right becomes left, and left right. I do not see anything particular in that.

⁴⁶ If two is composed of right and left, it has, of course, right and left. But there are many twos not so formed, therefore Kung Sun Lung argues that two in the abstract contains neither right nor left.

⁴⁷ The end of this chapter I consider as spurious. The reasoning is so inept that the whole appears to me as a very clumsy forgery. There is not a particle of Kung Sun Lung's dialectical acumen in it. The interpolator must have thought that every queer and paradoxical statement is considered very profound by the public, even if devoid of sense. The two parts forming the bulk of this chapter, differ in form from the others. The dialogue is a sham, for the opponent, who might easily expose the imbecility of his adversary's argument, says nothing.

means that there is no horse. Consequently, a ram is not two, and an ox is not two, but a ram and an ox are two, that shows that a ram and an ox are not a horse⁴⁸. If they were considered to be, then such statement would be made with regard to two animals belonging to two quite different classes like right and left.

[A ram has wool, and a fowl has feathers. One can certainly say that a fowl has one leg. Its legs are two. Two and one make three. One may also contend, that an ox and a ram have each one leg. Their legs number four. Four and one make five. Thus oxen and fowls have five feet each, and fowls three⁴⁹. Therefore I hold that an ox and a ram do not make up a fowl. Because there is no fowl, they are no fowl⁵⁰. Between a horse and a fowl it is better to decide in favour of the well-gifted horse⁵¹. It is evident that the non-gifted animal cannot belong to the same category. To place it there would cause a confusion of words and be a senseless undertaking.

(3)

[*Question*.—Take some other objects to discuss.

[*Thesis*.—Green with white is not yellow⁵², white with green not jade-colour.⁵³

[*Question*.—How so?

[*Answer*.—Green and white do not mix together⁵⁴.

When mixed they keep aloof from one another. They

⁴⁸ Much ado about nothing. We do not want a proof that an ox and a ram are not a horse, and certainly not such a stupid one.

⁴⁹ The technical terms for this sort of sophism is *fallacia sensus compositi et divisi*.

⁵⁰ Utter nonsense.

⁵¹ Why? There is no question of superiority.

⁵² Of course not.

⁵³ Yes, it is.

⁵⁴ They do mix.

do not approach each other. When brought together, neither loses its position. Not losing its respective position each stands apart, keeping its own place. Right and left are not blended. Thus they do not become one in green, nor one in white. How then should they become yellow? ⁵⁵

[Yellow is the right colour ⁵⁶. It is the right thing. It means that in a state there are a prince and his ministers ⁵⁷, and that therefore there will be power and longevity.

[Furthermore, if green is blended with white, white does not overpower it, which it would, if it could. Since it does not triumph, wood injures metal ⁵⁸. Wood injuring metal, jade-colour is produced, which is not the proper thing.

[Green and white do not mix. When mixed, they do not overcome one another, and consequently are both in evidence. If they fight for being seen, the colour becomes like jade.

[Better than jade-colour is yellow. The horse is yellow. Could it be classed together with jade-colour? The fowl has jade-colour? Could the fowl be said to be opposed to jade colour?

[When there is tyranny, prince and minister quarrel, and both wish to shine. Both wishing to shine, there is darkness. When there is no light, the

⁵⁵ Rubbish.

⁵⁶ It is the colour of earth and therefore much appreciated.

⁵⁷ The commentary says that a state (land) corresponds with yellow, a prince with white and the ministers with green. If they all keep in their proper spheres (colour), things are quite right.

⁵⁸ Wood corresponds with green, metal with white. There is a fixed system of permutations, according to which the five elements with their attributes are thought to overcome each other.

government is not properly conducted. In default of proper conduct, words and their objects do not correspond, and a mixed colour prevails. Therefore, I say that both shine. When both shine, and the way is lost, it is hardly possible to find it again.]

CAP. V.

(1) *On the hard and white = Chien pai.*

Question.—Are hard, white and stone three?

*Answer*⁵⁹.—No.

Question.—Are they two?

Answer.—Yes.

Question.—How?

Answer.—There being no hardness, one finds whiteness, which process gives two, and there being no whiteness, one finds hardness, which gives two likewise.⁶⁰

Question.—Upon finding whiteness one cannot say that there is no whiteness, and on finding hardness one cannot say that there is no hardness. A

⁵⁹ Kung Sun Lung is the respondent.

⁶⁰ In his next answer our philosopher explains that by "there being no hardness," "there being no whiteness" he denotes the state, when the mind has no perception of hardness or whiteness. At a given moment it has only the sensation of the existence of the stone and of one of its attributes of hardness, when it has recourse to touch, or of whiteness, when it has recourse to sight. So we are at that moment only aware of two, not three things.

stone being thus conditioned, are there not three things? ⁶¹

Answer.—When seeing, one does not perceive hardness; perceiving whiteness, one finds no hardness. When touching, one does not perceive whiteness, but hardness. In perceiving hardness one does not find whiteness ⁶².

(2) *Question.*—If there were no whiteness on earth, one could not see a stone, and if there were no hardness on earth, one could not speak of a stone. The hard, the white and the stone do not exclude one another, how could the third ⁶³ be hidden?

Answer.—It hides itself, not influenced by any alien agent. ⁶⁴

Question.—Whiteness and hardness are indispensable constituents of a stone pervading each other. How do they hide themselves spontaneously?

Answer.—One perceives whiteness, and one perceives hardness, but seeing and not seeing ⁶⁵ separate ⁶⁶. The not seeing separates ⁶⁷. The two do not pervade each other there being separation. That which separates, hides ⁶⁷.

⁶¹ The questioner is of opinion that hardness and whiteness have both objective existence, and that they are not creations of our mind.

⁶² They are sensations produced by different senses.

⁶³ The third entity, either whiteness or hardness.

⁶⁴ There is nobody who takes it away. It is the nature of those entities to disappear, to enter into non-existence, when not perceived by sight or touch.

⁶⁵ No seeing is touch.

⁶⁶ Sight and touch are something radically different.

⁶⁷ That sensation, which is not at work, separates, from that, which is just felt by the sentient being. Separation means that it is not perceptible, but absent for the time being.

Question.—The whiteness of a stone and the hardness of a stone, seeing and not seeing are two things, and together with a stone three things. They permeate one another like width and length. And how should they not be in evidence?

Answer.—When a thing is white, its whiteness is something indefinable, and when it is hard, its hardness is indefinable⁶⁸. If something unknown and indefinable is added, it cannot be inherent in the stone.

Question.—If round about the stone there is not that quality of hardness, there is no stone, and without a stone, one cannot speak of its whiteness. Those qualities which cannot be separated from the stone must have real existence, and cannot perish.

Answer.—A stone is one, hard and white are two, but as far as they are in the stone, they are either tangible or intangible, visible or invisible. The intangible⁶⁹ separates from the tangible, the invisible⁷⁰ hides from the visible. Who will say, that hiding is not the same as separation?

(3)

Question.—Because the eye cannot behold hardness nor the hand grasp whiteness, one cannot urge that there is no hardness or whiteness. Their organs of perception are not the same, and cannot be interchanged. Hard and white have different spheres in the stone, how shall they separate?

Answer.—Hardness is hardness, not through its connexion with the stone or with any other thing. That which does not own its hardness to any combination with something else, must be hard of itself. It does not harden stones, etc. but is hard.

⁶⁸ This recalls chapter III.

⁶⁹ Or visible.

⁷⁰ Or tangible.

Whenever such hardness cannot be found on earth, it is hidden⁷¹.

If whiteness is really not white of itself, how could it whiten stones, etc.? If whiteness is necessarily white, it is so without causing things to be white⁷¹. With yellow and black colour it is the same. As long as a stone is not provided with whiteness⁷², one cannot speak of a hard and white stone. Hence whiteness ceases. Cessation means that it usually adheres to the objects. It is much better to follow this natural course than to connect these qualities with their objects by force in order to find out their nature.

Furthermore, when whiteness is beheld by the eye, it is seen by means of light. When it cannot be seen by light, both light and eye do not give a vision. Then the mind might still see it. But when the mind does not see it either, vision ceases⁷³.

Hardness is perceived with the hand, which knocks against something. Thus knowledge is derived through the hand and knocking. In default of such knowledge the mind does not know either. In such a case one speaks of absence of the mind. When the mind is absent, the world is left alone, and all is right⁷⁴.

⁷¹ Hardness and whiteness are not inherent in the object, but have separate existences. Yet their independent self-existences are intermittent, they vanish, when not perceived.

⁷² *I.e.* as long as it is not looked at.

⁷³ And the colour disappears.

⁷⁴ The real objective world.

CAP. VI.

*Words and reality*⁷⁵. = *Ming-shih*.

Heaven and earth together with their productions are things. If they are treated as things, and nothing more, there is reality. If what is real is treated as real without any wild speculation, there is order. By getting out of order you fall into disorder. By observing order one obtains correctness.

By calling right, what is not right, you cast suspicion on what is right. If you call right what is real, in doing so you give it a correct name.

When the name is correct, it responds to this and that. If you call it by this name, but this thing does not respond, then this denomination is a mistaken one. If you call it by that name, but that thing⁷⁶ does not respond, then that denomination is a mistaken one. If you represent what disagrees as what agrees, you will have disagreement and confusion.

If that is called that, and agrees with that, it responds to that, and name and object are that. If this is called this, and agrees with this, it responds to this, and name and object are this. Thus we make that agree which agrees. Making that agree which agrees, is correct.

Calling that that, we confine ourselves to that, and calling this this, we confine ourselves to this, which is right. Making this that, one has that and

⁷⁵ There is not much in this chapter. Nearly all the propositions are tautologies.

⁷⁶ I read 而此不唯乎此. The text has 而行. The analogy with the preceding clause calls for 此.

this, and making that this, one has this and that, which is wrong.

A word ought to correspond to its object. Knowing that this is not this⁷⁷, one knows that this is not in this, and therefore⁷⁸ does not call it so. Knowing that that is not that, one knows that that is not in that, and consequently one does not give it that name. That is the highest aim! The sage emperors of old would thoroughly examine words, and their real objects, and be careful in what they said. Excellent, indeed, those sage old emperors!

⁷⁷ After 非 in the text a 此 must be added: 知此之非此也 instead of 知此之非也.

⁷⁸ The character 明 must be altered into 則: 則不謂也. The parallelism with the following clause necessitates these corrections.

(Appendix IV.)

LIEH TSE, Book IV, 11.

"Yo Chêng Tse Yü¹ said [to Prince Mao of Chung-shan]:

"How should a pupil of Kung Sun Lung not gloss over his short-comings? But I will tell you some more fallacies of his. He mystified the king of Wei saying that:

- I Thoughts are not from the heart.
- II Definitions do not hit the point.
- III Things can never be reduced to naught.
- IV A shadow does not move.
- V A hair will lift 300 piculs.
- VI A white horse is no horse.
- VII An orphan colt has not had a mother.

Words fail me to describe how he mixes up all categories, and turns all relations upside down."

Prince Mao rejoined, "You do not understand his excellent words, and think them wrong, but you are in the wrong yourself³."

¹ A disciple of Mencius.

² A son of the Marquis Wên of Wei 魏 (425-387 B.C.) Chung-shan was the name of his principality. He is quoted as the author of a small work in four chapters in the Han Catalogue.

I *i.e.* from the material heart. They are the work of the immaterial mind. Cf. Kung Sun Lung Cap. V., page , where it is said that the eye does not see, but the mind.

II As show in Cap. III.

III See Hui Tse's paradox, No. XXXI.

IV Hui Tse, No. XXV.

VI Cf. Cap. I. and II.

VII Hui Tse No. XXX.

³ The first three explanations given by the Prince are very unsatisfactory.

Without thoughts hearts are all equal⁴. Without defining one always hits the mark⁵. That things are reduced to naught, is what always happens⁶. That the shadow does not move, means that it changes. A hair will lift 300 piculs, if they are exactly balanced⁷. A white horse is no horse, because shape and attribute are at variance."

⁴ What does that prove?

⁵ That is a Taoistic way of putting things, but not in accordance with either Kung Sun Lung's or Hui Tse's views.

⁶ Kung Sun Lung and Hui Tse just maintain the contrary.

⁷ Exactly balanced, 300 piculs on either side of a balance, when the smallest plus placed on one side will make it go down.

(Appendix V.)

HSÜN TSE.

CAP. II, 1.

- I Mountains and pools are equally high, heaven and earth are level.
- II Chi and Chin are conterminous.
- III That which enters by the ear issues from the mouth.
- IV A hook has a barb.
- V There are feathers in an egg.

Utterances like this are difficult to uphold, nevertheless Hui Shih and Têng Hsi were bold enough to undertake their defence.

I *Cf.* page 57, No. III.

II The Chi State was in Shantung, Chin in the province of Shensi, both wide apart.

III This dictum is very puzzling. Does it mean that every sound heard penetrates into the ear, and from there goes out again by the mouth? Or does it convey the idea that every answer, given by word of mouth, has been evoked by what we have heard? The Chinese scholiasts refer to echoes, but no mention is made of mountains.

V See page 58, No. XI.

鄧子

TENG TSE—CHINESE TEXT.

周 鄧析撰

無厚篇

(1)

天於人無厚也君於民無厚也父於子無厚也兄於弟無厚也何以言之天不能屏勃厲之氣全夭折之人使爲善之民必壽此於民無厚也凡民有穿窬爲盜者有詐僞相迷者此皆生於不足起於貧窮而君必執法誅之此於民無厚也堯舜位爲天子而丹朱商均爲布衣此於子無厚也周公誅管蔡此於弟無厚也推此言之何厚之有

(2)

循名責實君之事也奉法宣令臣之職也下不得自擅上操其柄而不理者未之有也君有三累臣有四責何謂三累惟親所信一累以名取士二累近故親疏三累何謂四責受重賞而無功一責居大位而不治二責理官而不平三責御軍陣而奔北四責君無三累臣無四責可以安國

(3)

勢者君之輿威者君之策臣者君之馬民者君之輪勢固則輿安威定則策勁臣順則馬良民和則輪利爲國失此必有覆車奔馬折輪敗載之患安得不危異同之不可別是非之不可定白黑之不可分清濁之不可理久矣誠聽能聞於無聲視能見於無形計能規於未兆慮能防於未然斯無他也

震

不以耳聽則通於無聲矣不以目視則昭於無形矣不以心計則達於無兆矣不以智慮則合於未然矣君者藏形匿形羣下無私掩目塞耳萬民恐

(4)

循名責實察法立威是明王也夫明於形者分不遇於事察於動者用不失則利故明君審一萬物自定名不可以外務智不可以從他求諸己之謂也

(5)

治世位不可越職不可亂百官有司各務其刑上循名以督實下奉教而不違所美觀其所終所惡計其所窮喜不以賞怒不以罰可謂治世

(6)

夫負重者患塗遠據貴者憂民離負重塗遠者身疲而無功在上離民者雖勞而不治故智者量塗而後負明君視民而出政獵羆虎者不於外國釣鯨鯢者不於清池何則園非羆虎之窟也池非鯨鯢之泉也楚之不泝流陳之不東麀長盧之士呂子之蒙恥

(7)

夫游而不見敬不恭也居而不見愛不仁也言而不見用不信也求而不能得無始也謀而不見喜無理也計而不見從遺道也因勢而發舉則行等而名殊人齊而得時則力敵而功倍其所以然者乘勢之在外推辯說所非聽也虛言向非所應也無益亂非舉也故談者別殊類使不相害序異端使不相亂論志通意非務相乖也若飾詞以相亂匿詞以相移非古之辯也慮不先定不可以應卒兵不閑習不可以當敵廟算千里帷幄之奇百戰百勝黃帝之師

(8)

死生自命貧富自時怨天折者不知命也怨貧賤者不知時也故臨難不懼知天命也貧窮無憊達時序也凶饑之歲父死於室子死於戶而不相怨者無所顧也同舟渡海中流遇風救患若一所憂同也張羅而收唱和不差者其利等也故體痛者口不能不呼心悅者顏不能不笑責賈者以舉千鈞責元者以及走兔驅逸足於庭求援捷於檻斯道理而求之猶倒裳而索領事有遠而親近而疎就而不用去而反求風此四行明主大憂也

(9) 夫水濁則無掉尾之魚政苛則無逸樂之士故令煩則民詐政擾則民不定不治其本而務其末譬如拯溺鍾之以石救火投之以薪

(10) 夫達道者無知之道也無能之道也是知大道不知而中不能而成無有而足守虛責實而萬事畢忠由於不忠義生於不義音而不收謂之放言出而不督謂之闕故見其象致其形循其理正其名得其端知其情若此何往不復何事不成有物者意也無外者德也有人者行也無人者道也故德非所履處非所處則失道非其道不道則諂意無賢慮無忠行無道言虛如受實萬事畢

(11) 夫言榮不若辱非誠辭也得不得不若失非實談也不進則退不喜則憂不得則亡此世人之常真人危斯十者而爲一矣所謂大辯者別天下之行具天下之物選善退惡時措其宜而功立德至矣小辯則不然別言異道以言相射以行相伐使民不知其要無他故焉故淺知也君子并物而錯之兼塗而用之五味未嘗而辨於口五行在身而布於人故何方之道不從面從之義不行治亂之法不用懷然寬裕蕩然簡易略而無失精詳入纖微也

(12) 夫舟浮於水車轉於陸此自然道也有不治者知不豫焉

(13) 夫木擊折轆水戾破舟不怨木石而罪巧拙故有知則惑有心則隘有目則眩是以規矩一而不易不爲秦楚緩節不爲胡越改容一而不邪方行而不流一日形之萬世傳之無爲爲之也

(14) 夫自見之明借人見之闇也自聞之聰借人聞之聾也明君知此則去就之分定矣爲君當若冬日之陽夏日之陰萬物自歸莫之使也恬臥而功自成優游而政自治豈在振目揜腕手據鞭朴而後爲治歟

(15)

夫合事有不合者知與未知也合而不結者陽親而陰疎故遠而親者忘相應也近而疎者忘不合也就而不用者策不得已而去而反求者無違行也近而不御者心相乖也遠而相思者合其謀也故明君擇人不可不審士之進趣亦不可不詳

轉辭篇

(16)

世間悲哀喜樂嗔怒憂愁久惑於此今轉之在己爲哀在他爲悲在己爲樂在他爲喜在己爲嗔在他爲怒在己爲愁在他爲憂在己若扶之與攜謝之與議故之與右諾之與己相去千里也夫言之術與智者言依於博與博者言依於辯與辯者言依於安與貴者言依於勢與富者言依於豪與貧者言依於利與勇者言依於敢與愚者言依於說此言之術也不用在早圖不窮在早稼非所宜言勿言非所宜爲勿爲以避其危非所宜取勿取以避其咎非所宜爭勿爭以避其聲一聲而非駟馬勿追一言而急駟馬不及故惡言不出口苟語不留耳此謂君子也夫任臣之法闇則不任也慧則不從也仁則不親也勇則不近也信則不信也不以人用人故謂之神怒出於不怒爲出於不爲視於無有則得其所見聽於無聲則得其所聞故無形者有形之本無聲者有聲之母循名責實實之極也按實定名名之極也參以相平轉而相成故得之形名

(17)

夫川竭而谷虛丘夷而淵實聖人以死大盜不起天下平而故也聖人不死大盜不止何以知其然爲之斗斛而量之則并斗斛而竊之爲之權衡以平之則并與權衡而竊之爲之符璽以信之則并與符璽而竊之爲之仁義以教之則并仁義而竊之何以知其然彼竊財誅竊國者爲諸侯諸侯之門仁義存焉是非竊仁義邪故遂於大

(18)

(19)

(20)

(21)

盜霸諸侯此重利也盜跖所不可桀者乃聖人之罪也欲之與惡善之與惡四者變之失恭之與儉敬之與傲四者失之修故善素朴任懷憂而無失未有修焉此德之永也言有信而不爲信言有善而不爲善者不可不察也其治之法莫大於私不行功莫大於使民不爭今也立法而行私與法爭其亂也甚於無法立君而爭愚與君爭夫亂也甚於無君故有道之國則私善不行君立而愚者不尊民一於君事斷於法此國之道也明君之督大臣緣身而責名緣名而責形緣形而責實臣懼其重誅之至於是不敢行其私矣

心欲安靜慮欲深遠心安靜則心策生慮深遠則計謀成心不欲躁慮不欲淺心躁則精神滑慮淺則百事傾治世之禮簡而易行亂世之禮煩而難遵上古之樂質而不悲當今之樂邪而爲淫上古之民質而敦朴今世之民詐而多行上古象形而民不犯教有墨劓不以爲恥斯民所以亂多治少也堯置敢諫之鼓舜立誹謗之木湯有司直之人武有戒愼之銘此四君子者聖人也而猶若此之勤至於栗陸氏殺東里子宿沙氏戮箕文桀誅龍逢紂劓比干四主者亂君故其疾賢若仇是以賢愚之相覺若百丈之谿與萬仞之山若九地之下與重山之顛明君之御民若御奔而無轡履冰而負重親而疎之疎而親之故畏儉則福生驕奢則禍起聖人道遙一世罕匹萬物之形寂然無鞭朴之罰莫然無叱咤之聲而家給人足天下太平視昭昭知冥冥推未運觀未然故神而不可見幽而不可見此之謂也

君人者不能自專而好任下則智日困而數日窮迫於下則不能申行隨於國則不能持知不足以爲治威不足以行誅無以與下交矣故喜而使賞不必當功怒而使誅不必值罪不愜喜怒誅賞從其意而欲委任臣下故亡國相繼殺君不絕古人有言衆口鑠金三人成虎不可不察也

(22)

夫人情發言欲勝舉事欲成故明者不以其短疾人之長不以其拙病人之工言有善者則而賞之言有非者顯而罰之塞邪枉之路蕩淫辭之端臣下閱之左右結舌可謂明君爲善者君與之賞爲惡者君與之罰因其所以來而報之循其所以進而答之聖人因之故能用之因之循理故能長久今之爲君無堯舜之才而慕堯舜之治故終顛殞乎混冥之中而事不覺於昭明之術是以虛慕欲治之名無益亂世之理也

(23)

患生於官成病始於少瘳禍生於懈慢孝衰於妻子此四者慎終如始也富必給資壯必給老快情恣欲必多侈侮故曰尊貴無以高人聰明無以籠人資給無以先人剛勇無以勝人能履行此可以爲天下君

(24)

夫謀莫難於必聽事莫難於必成成必合於數聽必合於情故抱薪加火爍者必先燃平地注水濕者必先濡故曰動之以其類安有不應者獨行之術也

(25)

明君立法之後中程者賞缺繩者誅此之謂君曰亂君國曰亡國

(26)

智者寂於是非故善惡有別明者寂於去就故進退無類若智不能察是非明不能審去就斯謂虛妄

(27)

目貴明耳貴聰心貴公以天下之目視則無不見以天下之耳聽則無不聞以天下之智慮則無不知得此三術則存於不爲也

莊子天下篇

CHUANG TSE—CHINESE TEXT.

惠施多方其書五車其道舛駁其言也不中歷物之意曰至大無外謂之大一至小無內謂之小一無厚不可積也其大千里天與地卑山與澤平日方中方睨物方生方死大同而與小同異此之謂小同異萬物畢同畢異此之謂大同異南方無窮而有窮今日適越而昔來連環可解也我知天之中央燕之北越之南是也汜愛萬物天地一體也施惠以此爲大觀於天下而曉辯者天下之辯者相與樂之卵有毛鷄三足郢有天下夫可以爲羊馬有卵丁子有尾火不熱山出口輪不踞地目不見指不至至不絕龜長於蛇矩不方規不可以爲圓鑿不圓枘飛鳥之景未嘗動也鏃失之疾而有不行不止之時狗非犬黃馬驪牛三白狗黑孤駒未嘗有母一尺之極日取其半萬世不竭

公孫龍子

KUNG SUN LUNG TSE—CHINESE TEXT.

Cap. I. 跡府第一

(1) 公孫龍六國時辯士也疾名實之散亂因資材之所長爲守白之論假物取譬以守白辯謂白馬爲非馬也白馬爲非馬者言白所以名色言馬所以名形也色非形形非色也夫言色則形不當與言形則色不宜從今合以爲物非也

(2) 如求白馬於廐中無有而有駮色之馬然不可以應有白馬也不可以應有白馬則所求之馬亡矣亡則白馬竟非馬欲推是辯以正名實而化天下焉龍與孔穿會趙平原君家穿曰素聞先生高誼願爲弟子久但不取先生以白馬爲非馬耳請去此術則穿請爲弟子龍曰先生之言悖龍之所以爲名者乃以白馬之論爾今使龍去之則無以教焉且欲師之者以智與學不如也今使龍去之此先教而後師之也先教而後師之者悖且

(3) 白馬非馬乃仲尼之所取龍聞楚王張繁弱之弓載忘歸之矢以射蛟兕於雲夢之圃而喪其弓左右請求之王曰止楚王遣弓楚人得之又何求乎仲尼聞之曰楚王仁義而未遂也亦曰人亡弓人得之而已何必楚若此仲尼異楚人於所謂人夫是仲尼異楚人於所謂人而非龍異白馬於所謂馬悖先生修儒術而非仲尼之所取欲學而使龍去所教則雖百龍固不能當前矣孔穿無以應焉

(4) 公孫龍趙平原君之客也孔穿孔子之葉也穿與龍會穿謂龍曰臣居魯側聞下風高先生之智說先生之行願受業之日久矣乃今得見然所不取先生者獨不取先生之以白馬爲非馬耳請去白馬非馬之學穿請爲弟子公孫龍曰先生之言悖龍之學以白馬爲非馬者也使龍去之則龍無以教無以教而乃學於龍也者悖且夫欲

(5)

學於龍者以智與學焉爲不逮也今教龍去白馬非馬是先教而後師之也先教而後師之不可先生之所以教龍者似齊王之謂尹文也

齊王之謂尹文曰寡人甚好士以齊國無士何也尹文曰願聞大王之所謂士者齊王無以應尹文曰今有人於此事君則忠事親則孝交友則信處鄉則順有此四行可謂士乎齊王曰善此眞吾所謂士也尹文曰王得此人肯以爲臣乎王曰所願而不可得也是時齊王好勇於是尹文曰使此人廣庭大衆之中見侵侮而終不敢鬪王將以爲臣乎

(6)

王曰鉅士也見侮而不鬪辱也辱則寡人不以爲臣矣尹文曰唯見侮而不鬪未失其四行也是人未失其四行其所以爲士也然而王一以爲臣一不以爲臣則向之所謂士者乃非士乎齊王無以應尹文曰今有人君將理其國人有非則非之無非則亦非之有功則賞之無功則亦賞之而怨人之不理也可乎齊王曰不可尹文曰臣竊觀下吏之理齊其方若此矣王曰寡人理國信若先生之言人雖不理寡人不敢怨也意未至然與尹文曰言之敢無說乎王之令曰殺人者死傷人者刑人有畏王之令者見侮而終不敢鬪是全王之令也而王曰見侮而不鬪者辱也謂之辱非之也無非而王辱之故因除其籍不以爲臣也不以爲臣者罰之也此無罪而王罰之也且王辱不敢鬪者必榮敢鬪者也榮敢鬪者是而王是之必以爲臣矣必以爲臣者賞之也彼無功而王賞之王之所賞吏之所誅也上之所是而法之所非也賞罰是非相與四謬雖十黃帝不能理也齊王無以應焉故龍以子之言有似齊王子知難白馬之非馬不知所以難之說以此猶知好士之名而不知察士之類

CAP. II. 白馬論第一

白馬非馬可乎曰可曰何哉曰馬者所以命形也白者所以命色也命色者非命形也故曰白馬非馬曰有白馬不可謂無馬也不可謂無馬者非馬也有白馬爲有馬白之非馬何也曰求馬黃黑馬皆可致求白馬黃黑馬不可致使白馬乃馬也是所求一也所求一者白者不異馬也所求不異如黃黑馬有可有不可何也可與不可其相非明故黃黑馬一也而可以應有馬而不可以應有白馬是白馬之非馬審矣曰以馬之有色爲非馬天下非有無色之馬也天下無馬可乎曰馬固有有色故有白馬使馬無色有馬而已耳安取白馬故白者非馬也白馬者馬與白也馬與白馬也故曰白馬非馬也曰馬未與白爲馬白未與馬爲白合馬與白復名白馬是相與以不相與爲名未可故曰白馬非馬未可曰以有白馬爲有馬謂有白馬爲有黃馬可乎曰未可曰以有馬爲異有黃馬是異黃馬於馬也異黃馬於馬是以黃馬爲非馬以黃馬爲非馬而以白馬爲有馬此飛者入池而棺槨異處此天下之悖言亂辭也曰有白馬不可謂無馬者離白之謂也是離者有白馬不可謂有馬也故所以爲有馬者獨以馬爲有馬耳非有白馬爲有馬故其爲有馬也不可以謂馬馬也曰白者不定所白忘之而可也白馬者言白定所白也定所白者非白也馬者無去取於色故黃黑皆所以應白馬者有去取於色黃黑馬皆所以色去故唯白馬獨可以應耳無去者非有去也故曰白馬非馬

CAP. III. 指物論第三

物莫非指而指非指天下無指物無可以謂物非指者天下而物可謂指乎指也者天下之所無也物也者天下之所有也以天下之所有爲天下之所無未可天下無指而物不可謂指也不可謂指者非指也非指者物莫非

指也天下無指而物不可謂指者非有非指也非有非指者物莫非指也物莫非指者而指非指也天下無指者生於物之各有名不爲指也不爲指而謂之指是兼不爲指以有不爲指之無不爲指未可且指者天下之所兼天下無指者物不可謂無指也不可謂無指者非有非指也非有非指者物莫非指指非非指也指與物非指也使天下無物指誰徑謂非指天下無物誰徑謂指天下有指無物指誰徑謂非指徑謂無物非指且夫指固自爲非指奚待於物而乃與爲指

Cap. IV. 通變論第四

(1)

曰二有一乎曰二無一曰二有右乎曰二無右曰二有左乎曰二無左曰右可謂二乎曰不可曰左可謂二乎曰不可曰左與右可謂二乎曰可曰謂變非不變可乎曰可曰右有與可謂變乎曰可曰變隻曰右曰右苟變安可謂右苟不變安可謂變曰二苟無左又無右二者左與右奈何

(2)

羊合牛非馬牛合羊非雞曰何哉曰羊與牛唯異羊有齒牛無齒而牛之非羊也羊之非牛也未可是不俱有而或類焉羊有角牛有角牛之而羊也羊之而牛也未可是俱有而類之不同也羊牛有角馬無角馬有尾羊牛無尾故曰羊合牛非馬也非馬者無馬也無馬者羊不二牛不二而羊牛二是而羊而牛非馬可也若舉而以是猶類之不同若左右猶是舉牛羊有毛雞有羽謂雞足一數足二二而一故三謂牛羊足一數足四四而一故五牛羊足五雞足三故曰牛合羊非雞非有以非雞也與馬以雞寧馬材不材其無以類審矣舉是謂亂名是狂舉曰他辯曰青以白非黃白以青非碧曰何哉曰青白不相與而相與反對也不相鄰而相鄰不害其方也不害其方者反而對各當其所左右不驪故一於青不可一於白不可惡乎其有黃矣哉黃其正矣是正舉也其有君

(3)

臣之於國焉故強壽矣而且青驪乎白而白不勝也白足之勝矣而不勝是木賊金也木賊金者碧碧則非正舉青白不相與而相與不相勝則兩明也爭而明其色碧也與其碧寧黃黃其馬也其與類乎碧其鷄也其與暴乎暴則君臣爭而兩明也兩明者昏不明非正舉也非正舉者名實無當驪色章焉故曰兩明也兩明而道喪其無有以正焉

CAP. V. 堅白論第五

(1) 堅白石三可乎曰不可曰二可乎曰可曰何哉曰無堅得白其舉也二無白得堅其舉也二曰得其所白不可謂無白得其所堅不可謂無堅而之石也之於然也非三也曰視不得其所堅而得其所白者無堅也拊不得其所白而得其所堅得其堅也無白也

(2) 曰天下無白不可以視石天下無堅不可以謂石堅白石不相外藏三可乎曰有自藏也非藏而藏也曰其白也其堅也而石必得以相盛盈其自藏奈何曰得其白得其堅見與不見離不見離一一不相盈故離離也者藏也曰石之白石之堅見與不見二與三若廣修而相盈也其非舉乎曰物白焉不定其所白物堅焉不定其所堅不定者兼惡乎其石也曰循石非彼無石非石無所取乎白石不相離者固乎其無已曰於石一也堅白二也而在於石故有知焉有不知焉有見焉有不見焉故知與不知相與離見與不見相與藏藏故孰謂之不離

(3) 曰目不能堅手不能白不可謂無堅不可謂無白其異任也其無以代也堅白域於石惡乎離曰堅未與石爲堅而物兼未與爲堅而堅必堅其不堅石物而堅天下未有若堅而堅藏白固不能自白惡能白石物乎若白者必白則不自物而白焉黃黑與之然石其無有惡取堅白石乎故離也離也者因是力與知果不若因是且猶白以

目以火見而火不見則火與目不見而神見神不見而見離堅以手而手以捶是捶與手知而不知而神與不知神乎是之謂離焉離也者天下故獨而正

Cap VI. 名實論第六

天地與其所產焉物也物以物其所物而不過焉實也實以實其所實不曠焉位也出其所位非位位其所位焉正也以其所正正其所不正疑其所正其正者正其所實也正其所實者正其名也其名正則唯乎其彼此焉謂彼而彼不唯乎彼則彼謂不行謂此而此不唯乎此則此謂不行其以當不當也不當而亂也故彼彼當乎彼則唯乎其謂行彼此此當乎此則唯乎其謂行此其以當而當也以當而當正也故彼彼止於彼此此止於此可彼此而彼且此此彼而此且彼不可夫名實謂也知此之非此知此之不在此也則不謂也知彼之非彼也知彼之不在彼也則不謂也至矣哉古之明王審其名實慎其所謂至矣哉古之明王

列子仲尼

LIEH TSE—CHINESE TEXT.

樂正子輿曰子龍之徒焉得不飾其闕吾又言其尤者龍誑魏王曰有意不心有指
不至有物不盡有影不移髮引千鈞白馬非馬孤犢未嘗有母其貢類反倫不可勝
言也公子牟曰子不諱至言而以爲尤也尤其在子矣夫無意則心同無指則皆至
盡物者常有影不移者說在改也髮引千鈞勢至等也白馬非馬形名離也孤犢未
嘗有母非孤犢也

荀子不苟篇

HSÜN TSE—CHINESE TEXT.

山淵平天地比齊秦襲入乎耳出乎口鉤有須卵有毛是說之難持者也而惠施鄧析能之

SHANGHAI FOLK-LORE.

BY ERNEST BOX.

Folk-lore, as its name indicates, is the lore or wisdom of the common folk. It deals with the customs and superstitions, the legends and myths of the people. From a study of these and the thoughts underlying them, we are able to learn something of the forces at work shaping and moulding the life of the people.

I wish to give you some selections from notes which I have made during the last eight years, 1890-1898, on local folk-lore. The district from which they have been gleaned is Shanghai and the country a hundred miles around, embracing a part of South Kiangsu, and the northern part of the Chehkiang Province. My purpose in making a study of this subject was to learn what I could of the contents and working of the Chinese mind, and thereby to get a glimpse of the universe as it appears looked at through Chinese eyes. I shall not on this occasion attempt to deal scientifically with the various facts which will come before us, either from the point of view of their relative antiquity, or in comparison with the folk-lore of other lands. Our chief concern will be to learn, as far as possible, the nature of the relations which the people in this district regard themselves as sustaining towards the mysterious powers and forces around them, influencing their lives for weal or woe.

As a child I remember a certain pathway in my native place which passed through the village churchyard. It was fringed on either side with funereal yew and cypress, and

when the shades of night cast their gloom over the place, the white grave-stones on either side became suggestive of ghostly faces, and every slight rustle in the trees seemed like the movement of mysterious spirits hovering around. Disbelieving, yet powerless to throw off the feeling of uncanniness which oppressed him, the child, following an instinct which centuries of education had not eradicated, would at last give way to his fears and speed like the wind along the dark pathway, and through the tall iron gateway of the churchyard, which would swing back with a loud crash, and, as the child thought, effectually cut off his ghostly pursuers.

Here in this strange land we find these same instincts of fear, not, as with us, existing merely as faint shadows, but having a force and potency which makes the existence of countless hosts of spirits hovering around, a more real fact than even that of a man's fellow human beings in the flesh. To have these spiritual forces on one's side, or at least neutral, is, therefore, naturally the prime consideration of men. To make a foe of one who is a fellow human being is bad enough, but it is as nothing to the terror which possesses him who believes he has incurred the enmity of one or more of these dread beings. Hence the thousand and one ways and means by which the Chinese seek to secure the favour and appease the wrath of the mysterious and powerful spirits with which their universe is peopled. Having grasped this fundamental fact, which more or less underlies all the phenomena we are to consider here, we shall be in a better position to understand the curious customs and superstitions which a study of Shanghai folk-lore brings to our notice.

As a writer has said: "when all nature is mysterious and full of unknown activities any natural object or occurrence which appeals strongly to the imagination, or

excites sentiments of awe and reverence, is readily taken for a divine or demoniac life."

"A supernatural being as such is not necessarily a god, but becomes one only when he enters into stated relations with a community of men." We may therefore distinguish between the gods of the people and the other spirits; the former having a more intimate and friendly relationship with men, the latter, as strangers, being more or less regarded as foes and avoided as dangerous. The relation of man to the god is that of the worshipper, the relation of man to the spirits is one in which superstition and magic play a prominent part. The lines between these two are not clearly defined, but the distinction is an important one, and helps us the better to understand the part these powers are supposed to play in the daily life of the people.

We will first notice a few of the local customs which throw light upon the conception which the people have of their gods, and the relationships they have with them; dealing afterwards with the spirits in general.

1.—THE PEOPLE AND THEIR RELATION TO THE GODS.

If you go to an idol-maker's shop where there are images of various deities in different stages of progress, from the rough block of wood to the finished article with human features, you will be told, if you enquire, that these are not yet living gods, but are only the forms which later on are to be possessed by some deity who will make it a part of himself, as the human body is the organ of the human soul. There is therefore some special ritual performed by the priests, differing in different places, by means of which the image is consecrated and becomes the abode of the god.

In the P'ing Hu district, south of Shanghai, the custom is to take the newly made image to some open space, and

there to watch until the first living thing passes by; a snake, rat, or any other creature. This is captured and imprisoned alive in the image, an aperture in the back of the figure having been made for this purpose. The image then becomes alive, and the god whom the figure was made to represent is supposed to have taken up his abode in it.

A variation of this is seen in some places where the idol is placed at the foot of a bridge and the people wait until a dog is seen crossing over, when guns and crackers are fired and the dog's spirit is supposed to pass into the idol, which thus becomes possessed of life. With this life the idol also becomes possessed of all the attributes which are supposed to belong to the deity in question.

The different gods have their different spheres of influence, and are conceived of as being able to help those who approach them as worshippers along those lines. Some are especially efficacious in conferring wealth, others in bestowing offspring, and still others in averting calamity and healing sickness. There is, for instance, a temple in the country at Sinza, just beyond Shanghai, called the "Temple of the Sun," patronised by the women of the district, the god of which is supposed to have special power over sickness. Those seeking medical advice prostrate themselves before the idol and then take a bamboo tube full of bamboo tallies, or slips, each with a number attached. The suppliant on her knees shakes the tube until one of the slips falls out. This is taken to the priest, and a docket with a corresponding number is given her containing the answer to her prayer, and the advice she has come to obtain. This is called 求籤 *Jeu ts'ien*, or "Enquiry by Lot," and the answer is called 籤訣 *Ts'ien K'ueh*, or the "Secret of the Lot." I procured one hundred of these oracles numbered consecutively, and will give the translation of a few to illustrate the nature of the power which it is

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supposed the gods have, and how they are conceived of as utilizing the forces of nature for man's benefit.

No. 2.—To nourish the principle of life and suppress the fires that consume you is not difficult.

You must have Buddha in the heart, this is the remedy.

Take a stick of ink, rub it on a slab with well water until it becomes a thick paste.

Take this,—then seek quiet and repose. I promise you restoration of health.

Directions for use.—Take a stick of fine ink and some water just taken out of a well, rub the ink on the slab till you have a thick mixture, add a little more well water. Taken on an empty stomach recovery will be the more speedy.

No. 8.—You are of an obstinate disposition, never willing to confess your faults.

Sickness has come to you, you are irritable, and your mind is like tangled hemp.

I advise you to comb your hair and wash your feet.

Take one year old flowers of the allspice, boil them and drink.

Directions for use.—Take some of last year's allspice flowers, wash them in clean water, add some dew, boil the whole together, and take three doses of the same.

No. 12.—As you constantly perform charitable deeds you have been able to store up secret merits.

Thanks to the destiny appointed you by the Buddha, your life has not come to its end.

Take yeast, the ashes of incense, and earth from the east wall. (東壁土.)

Beat all together in a mortar and pour on rice water.

Directions for use.—Yeast, incense ashes, earth taken from the east wall, each one mace. Grind together to powder, pour on rice water. Take three doses.

No. 17.—Scheming each day until every device has been exhausted.

In your heart you have but one concern, the enrichment of your family.

You must know that this world's hours pass swiftly by.

Except you humble yourself before the Lotus Throne, the hour of repentance is already past.

Directions for use.—Ashes from the incense burner, one dose. Unless you trust in the Buddha and recite prayers, all remedies you may seek will be in vain.

No. 21.—Do you say that incense ashes taken as medicine is of little efficacy?

Can you know what the friendly help and subtle power of the gods can do for man?

In the morning swallow rice water and the 1,000 tassel flower. (千捶花.)

One dose—you are well! Sickness will have left you.

Directions for use.—Take one pinch of incense ashes from the burner, add some 1,000 tasselled flowers. Boil well, add rice water, mix together and drink.

No. 31.—Crouching Dragon's Liver (伏龍肝) and pure incense ashes, river water, boil to thick soup, drink two cups full. For a whole day eat no flesh and destroy no life!

The spring of life will expand, the propitious star will come.

Directions for use.—Crouching Dragon's Liver is the earth from beneath the kitchen furnace. Take three mace of this and one pinch of clean incense ashes; boil in river water and drink.

No. 32.—The demon of sickness has long troubled you and you are unable to cast off your despondency. Your mouth has been saying "yes" when your heart said "no"—your nature is deceitful.

To-day you come seeking help. You should repent of your sins.

Take the snuff of lamp wicks, bamboo leaves and a gold hair pin.

Directions for use.—Take the snuff of three lamp wicks, twelve bamboo leaves washed in clean water, and one gold hair pin. Take these three and boil together in river water. If you do not possess any gold ornaments, take two mace of the golden yellow dendrobium in place of it (金钗石斛).

Amongst other remedies, not the least curious, is the following:—Collect tea leaves from seven different families, a little from each, take some boiling river water and pour on the leaves, drink some each day until the sickness has departed, then stop.

Some of the ingredients prescribed are of such a nature that I have thought it best to withhold the translation as unfit for mention in a public lecture.

I have given these particulars as illustrating the relationship which is held to exist between the gods and their worshippers on the one hand, and the gods and nature on the other. Man seeks in his gods the help which superhuman power possesses over the forces of nature, and which makes him as a worshipper better able to defend himself from the mysterious and evil forces which ever threaten his existence.

But it is not in sickness alone that the people come before the gods and enquire of them by lot. Almost every concern of life where some important decision has to be made, or where advice is needed, is brought before the gods for their guidance and help.

A few years ago in a time of drought, the people of a town called Dodeu (Ta-t'uan), south-east of Shanghai, sought the help of one of their gods, carrying his image around their fields in procession. Not long after the much desired rain came, and there was great rejoicing. In a

neighbouring town called Sing-zahng (Hsin-chang) a similar appeal to their own deities had proved of none effect. A deputation therefore was sent to Dodeu to borrow the idol, in the hope that his beneficent power would be exercised in their behalf. The idol was lent them by the Dodeu people, but whilst carrying it to their own town, along a path that ran by the river-side, by some accident one of the men slipped and the idol fell into the river. The conclusion that everyone came to, was that the god was not willing to use his supernatural powers for strangers, refusing to help any but his own worshippers who had a definite connection with him. They therefore gave up their mission and returned the idol to his temple again.

We have here illustrated not only the conception that the gods have mysterious power over the forces of nature, but also the idea that such powers are only exerted in certain localities over which the god has jurisdiction, and on behalf of certain persons who stand in a definite relation to him, and as his worshippers have a claim upon his services.

It is difficult for Western minds to understand the curious relationships which the Chinese people have with their gods. On the one hand they are treated as superhuman beings who are to be approached with awe and reverence befitting their great power, whilst on the other hand they are, on certain occasions and in certain aspects, treated as though they were human beings, and able to come into human relations with men.

It is a common practice in these parts for parents to give their children to the god of some temple for adoption. Standing in so close and vital relationship to him they are supposed to be thereby effectually protected from the innumerable evils which threaten the young life.

A curious incident in this connection came across my notice a few years ago. The Chehsien of P'ing-hu presented his young grandson to the city god for adoption. The child thus becoming the adopted son of the god the question was raised as to the relationship of the official himself to the god, now that his grandson had become the son of the god. Had he not thereby made himself the father of the god? This of course could never do, for, having made himself the father of the god, how could he go to the City Temple and prostrate himself as aforetime, and as official duty still required. The "Relations" had thus got sadly mixed up and no one seemed able to untangle the threads.

Some time ago when one of the idols at Lutien, a place a few miles north-west of Shanghai, was being carried round the town in procession, amongst the onlookers was a young woman belonging to the family of my Chinese writer. Soon after she was taken ill, and she then told her family that when passing her the idol had smiled on her, and that now he had come to claim her as his bride. Soon after she died, and a marriage ceremony having been gone through, an image was made in her likeness and placed by the side of the god, and she is worshipped by the people to-day as the wife of the god.

Other cases have come under my notice in which a husband has presented his own wife to the god. A room was specially furnished in the precincts of the temple where the woman lived, and she was regarded as standing in relation to the god as wife to her husband.

It is well known that, as has been stated above, the people regard their own local deities whom they worship as having duties to perform on behalf of those who are their worshippers. If these duties are not performed satisfactorily the gods are liable to receive chastisement at the hands of

the people, just as are the mandarins who fail to fulfil their duties.

It is therefore no uncommon thing to hear of such treatment of the gods in times when there is severe drought, floods or pestilence. Other occasions also arise when such remedies have to be made use of. Outside the city of Nan-wei (Nan-h'ui), to the east of Shanghai, there are embankments to protect the land from the sea. The land between the embankments and the sea is watered by means of a canal passing under the embankment, but regulated by water gates. The priest of one of the temples in the neighbourhood claimed that the god of his temple had charge of this gateway, and that without his consent the gate could not be opened. A new official declined to follow precedent and refused to visit the temple to secure permission. In consequence of this, as it was said, the water could not be made to flow through, the god being gravely displeased at the disrespect shown him. The official commanded the idol to appear before him in his Yamen. The image was carried there and when in the mandarin's presence the god was commanded to prostrate himself as is usual with persons on trial. The idol was then placed face down on the ground and the mandarin soundly rated him for his insubordination and condemned his evil conduct in refusing to allow the water to pass through the gateway, though he knew it was necessary for the welfare of the people. He then commanded the runners to inflict forty blows as a punishment for the idol's evil deeds. This was done and the people saw nothing extraordinary in it all, as it was in harmony with their conception of the mutual relations existing between the gods and themselves.

Their treatment of the gods is often most child-like and ludicrous. I saw once in a large temple courtyard some clay images which had been undergoing repair. New

arms and legs, ears and noses, had been put on, and the idols placed out in the sun to be dried and hardened before being painted. On closer inspection I found that a small piece of red paper was pasted over each eye. On enquiry I was told that this was done whilst the repairs were being made lest the idol should see what was going on and be angry at the treatment. When the process was complete the covers would be removed from the eyes. In this way the idol was mended with impunity. "What the eye sees not, the heart grieves not."

On a recent occasion whilst travelling in the neighbourhood of Sung-kiang, a friend and myself visited a small river-side shrine patronized by country people. Inside there were some images in the last stages of decay. The arms and feet of several had fallen off, some rough dirty straw and a wooden stick protruding being all that remained of the limbs. More striking still, the faces and bodies of the idols were punctured with innumerable holes, giving them the appearance of being pock-marked. We soon found that this was produced by swarms of hornets, which had made their nests in the images and were busy flying in and out through the holes. And yet, in spite of all, the half-burnt candles on the altar showed that the images were still worshipped as gods, and their protection sought by the people residing in the neighbourhood. This may be accounted for by the fact that this spot, originally perhaps some thicket or grove, which, when the ground was first cleared, was thought to be the abode of a spirit, had for many generations been associated with the worship of the supernatural powers, and that the place, even more than the images, was regarded as the haunt of the being whose protection they desired. Many other features illustrating the relations sustained between the gods and men might be given did space permit. Such for instance, is the rôle given them as judges ;

those who have been wronged presenting their petitions should they have failed to procure justice in the ordinary courts.

Then again there are the theatrical performances which are provided by their votaries for their entertainment, and the feasts which are made in their honour. The essential, spiritual part of the food is partaken of by the god, the worshippers themselves taking the rest, the god and the people sharing in a common meal and thus renewing their covenant relationship. Have we not here ideas, in the germ, which we may with profit make use of in seeking to elevate and purify the religious life and conceptions of the people?

From the various side-lights given us in the above sketches taken direct from the life of the people, we may gather the following among other important facts. The gods are spirits or supernatural beings who have on the one hand power over the forces of nature and possess a knowledge of its secrets, and on the other hand stand in intimate relations with some section more or less large of the community, who in return for the due performance of certain acts of ritual have the right to expect the powerful help of the god in the concerns of their daily life. Failing this help he is regarded as having broken his contract, and is worthy of condemnation. The strength of the worship of idols lies in the conviction that as body and soul are united to form a man, so there is supposed to be a real union of the material and spiritual in the idol. And so real does the body appear to them to become that the gods are regarded as entering into the closest relations with men through sight, hearing, taste and the various other organs of the body. There are traces also of what is perhaps an earlier and less developed conception in which the god is associated rather with a definite locality than as an actual embodiment in some particular idol.

II.—THE PEOPLE AND THEIR RELATION TO THE DEMI-GODS.

Before dealing with the relations of the people to spirits, I must first briefly touch on an intermediary class of beings which are sometimes spoken of as *Demi-gods*. These are a class of spirits which for the most part are associated with some one or other member of the animal or vegetable kingdoms; and which, in some cases, are conceived of as having power to change their form, and even, it is said, to assume human form. Amongst the animals which I have found to be held in special reverence by the people in this district, and to whom supernatural powers are ascribed, are, in addition to the dragon and other mythological creatures, the tortoise, fox, tiger, cock, stoat, toad, otter, fish and snake.

A few years ago near Nan-wei, a countryman found a large tortoise in an earthenware vessel. The mouth of the vessel was smaller than the tortoise, and the fact of its having, as it was supposed, passed through an aperture smaller than itself caused it to be regarded as possessing mysterious powers. The rumour of the wonder-working power of this tortoise soon spread through the district, and people came from all directions to worship it. Incense was burnt before it, and each one purchased from the lucky discoverer some of the sacred water in the vessel. So great was the demand for the water that the man had to refill the vessel every night. Finally an official interfered and put a stop to the proceedings by breaking the pot and liberating the tortoise.

This year (1898) when in Gahze, Kia-shen, a Chinese gentleman, brought me a white tortoise which was supposed to possess mysterious powers. If kept in the house, it would protect it from the risk of fire. If carried in a ship,

it would protect that vessel from shipwreck. One other peculiarity claimed for this tortoise was that it acted as a compass, always facing south. This last claim I was able to test for myself, and, after repeated experiments, I found that the tortoise did, for some reason or other, on every occasion turn itself round until it faced south.

There is also a tortoise with a jointed breast-bone which keeps away snakes from the house, and a green-haired tortoise—a specimen of which I have seen,—which is able to protect its owners from the perils of fire.

Though there are now, so far as I know, no foxes in this part of the country, yet the belief in the supernatural power of the fox is to be found in most places. In the Yamens at Soochow, Sung-kiang and Kahting there is, I am told, in an upper storey, an empty room called the 狐仙樓, *Woo Sien Leu*, or the "Fox Genii's Chamber." In the course of official business a great number of documents are accumulated in the archives of the Yamen. Sometimes these are urgently required and the person in charge is unable to find them. He then lights some sticks of incense and prostrates himself, beseeching the help of the fox god. Shutting up all the windows and doors, he leaves the room for a time. Returning after an interval he will find, it is said, thanks to the kindly help of the fox god, one volume or packet sticking out beyond the others; this will be the manuscript or volume he is in search of. There are also strange stories told of the 狐狸精 *Woo-li-tsing*, or "Fox Apparition," which, sometimes as a wraith, and sometimes in the form of a human being, mingles with men and works with strange power and subtle influence upon them.

There are also certain fox taboos which have to be carefully avoided, lest harm befall the unwary person who chances to break them.

The virtues of the tiger's bones are well known to all as a specific in sickness. In many parts of this district on the 5th day of the 5th moon the children's faces are daubed over with yellow ochre and the sign 王 painted on their foreheads, signifying the tiger; who is king of the beasts, and whose help is sought in frightening off evil powers and influences which on this day are especially active.

Most of the animals mentioned above are supposed to have the power of changing their form, and of coming and going in a mysterious way. Some say these are animals who were once men and who will after many years be permitted to regain, permanently, the human form. The contact of these creatures, whether in apparitional or human form, with human beings, is a dangerous thing, sickness and death generally resulting. The neighbour of a Chinese friend of mine in Lutien fell sick. It was suspected that one of these apparitional animals was the cause of the sickness. Some young men armed with swords watched by the sick person's couch at night to keep off the dreaded visitor. In the middle of the night the woman cried out "The *toad* man has come!" The young men all shouted noisily to frighten it away. Suddenly they saw a toad on the table. They struck at it, but it mysteriously disappeared. It was a Toad *Tsing* 精 or apparition. Shortly after the woman died.

The cock, according to Groot, is "the chief embodiment of the great *yahng* 陽 element, which represents the light, warmth and life of the universe." The significance of this we shall see presently in connection with funeral customs. It is sufficient here to say that, like the fox, toad and other animals, the cock is also supposed to have the power of changing itself into human form, and, in this form, to inflict injury on man.

The snake, as is well known, is often regarded with feelings of awe and veneration. To injure a snake which has found for itself a domicile in your house is regarded, as I know from personal experience, as a dangerous thing to do; whilst to purchase a snake that has been captured, and liberate it is a good deed that will not go by unrewarded. I have come across several temples in this district in which the snake is especially held in honour. The familiar legend of the Hangchow "White Snake" which appeared oftentimes in human form, and was possessed of magic powers, may serve to illustrate the fact which I am stating as to this class of supernatural beings allied to both man and beast.

Serpent worship naturally suggests tree worship. Traces of this ancient form of worship are also to be found in this district. At Minghong (Min-hang), for instance, there is an old giant tree which the Chinese of the place told me was the abode of a god, and therefore a sacred tree. I was told if the tree was dug up or cut down the person doing so would die.

Closely allied to this, as a part of nature worship, is the reverence paid to the gods of the rivers and of caves, the gods of fire and of thunder, and other deities more or less associated with the powers of nature.

There are two ceremonies observed in this district which seem to have their origin also in nature worship, and which we may mention here.

On the 1st day of Spring, 立春 *Li-ch'un*, the head official of the Native city of Shanghai goes in his sedan chair, accompanied by a large retinue, to the outside of the East Gate to "Meet the Spring" 迎春. An ox is led by some person in the procession, properly a child, who is called 太歲 *T'ai-sui*, or "the revolution of the seasons," and is supposed to represent the spirit of fruitfulness

(cf. Phrygian Cybele). The ox is called 春牛, and its body is painted with various colours signifying the "Royal Astronomer's" determinations as to the character of the coming season—red, for instance, intimating a drought.

Towards the end of the year, at the festival of "Frost's Descent," 霜降 *Shuang-chiang*, there is a somewhat similar ceremony called 迎霜降 "Meet the Descent of Frost." On this occasion, however, a military official is chosen, as he has authority over destructive forces and is supposed to be able to protect the people from the baneful influences of the winter season.

There is another very interesting custom in this district in connection with the worship of nature, *viz.*, the celebration of the "Flowers' Birthday" on the 12th day of the 2nd Chinese month. The women and children prepare red papers, or silk favours of various colours, and on the appointed day suspend them on the flowers and the branches of flowering shrubs. The women and children then recite certain laudatory and congratulatory sentences, and prostrate themselves. By this worship it is supposed that a fruitful season can be assured. This custom is a social, and, not as above, a public and official one.

We now come to our third division:—

III.—THE PEOPLE AND THEIR RELATION TO THE SPIRITS.

As we have already stated, man's relation to the spirits is not the same as that which exists between man and the gods; the latter is friendly, the former is more or less one of hostility. In the latter, the spirit of worship is to some extent brought into play, in the former, superstition and magic are the most prominent factors.

It must, however, be borne in mind that here in China the spirits must be divided into two classes;—those which belong to a person's own immediate ancestry, which are

members of his own family, and therefore in normal circumstances friendly; and other spirits, whether human or superhuman, which are linked by no ties to the person, but are strangers and naturally hostile. The cult of ancestor worship is too well known to require special treatment from me. I shall therefore in this paper confine my attention to the relations which the people bear to the spirits generally.

For convenience and clearness I have, following Dennys*, arranged the material I have collected relating to this branch of our subject under the heads of: (1) Birth and Childhood, (2) Marriage, (3) Business and Social Life, (4) Sickness, (5) Death and Burial, and (6) After Death;—shewing how their conception of the spirit world and the relation of the spirits to men enters into and affects each of these departments of human life.

1.—*The Spirits and their relation to Birth and Childhood.*

We have already noticed that to the Chinese mind the universe is peopled with innumerable spirits who are conceived of as possessing power to harm all who in any way incur their hostility. Their malignant influence is supposed to be especially active at certain important crises in human life. One of these is childbirth. With a view to ward off evil influences on such occasions, various superstitious practices are resorted to. To this superstitious fear also is to be attributed the dread many of the Chinese have lest a child should be born in the street, beneath the eaves of their house; or lest, by visiting a house at that time or in other ways, they should be brought in contact with the malignant influences associated with childbirth.

The charms of all kinds which may be seen on the persons of growing children point to the same fear of injury from evil spirits. The silver collar round the neck which is

* Folk-Lore of China; by N. B. Dennys.

never removed, small locks, bags with stones, or other charms, are a few only of the devices resorted to. The following four characters on children's hats, or on the locks suspended from the neck, may often be seen in this district 關煞開通, "May the danger of this crisis be safely passed."

The life of a child up to fifteen years of age is supposed to pass through crises in fate, a crisis taking place at intervals of three years. There are ways, however, by means of which the perils of these dangerous places in life's pathway may be avoided or diminished. One of the methods adopted in a number of places around Shanghai is the ceremony called 過關, kwo-kwan, or "Passing the Barrier," or place of crisis. The Taoist priests erect a sort of guard house of bamboo poles, reeds and paper. Led by the priest the children, each carrying a dragon flag, pass under the structure, and go in procession through the gateway or bridge in the interior. The priest all the time uses his magical powers to keep off the evil spirits while the children are passing. A great crowd gathers to watch the ceremony, and there is much excitement. When all have safely passed there is of course great rejoicing. In one of the cities where this custom is observed, Nan-h'ui, I came across another curious attempt to ward off danger from the ill-will of the spirits. A child was brought to visit me about nine or ten years of age, dressed as a girl but with unbound feet. I found that the child was really not a girl but a boy, the only male survivor of a well-known family in the place. All the other male relations having died it was thought by the women of the family that the spirits had some special spite against the house. The question then was asked, how may the child be saved from their malice? The device hit upon was to pass off the male child as a girl. All females in China being regarded as

holding an inferior position, it was thought, that dressed as a girl, the child would be beneath the notice of the spirits' malignant spite, the dress deceiving the spirits into believing that the child really was a girl. The children of the town used to call him by a nick-name "Siau Nyi Koo" or "Little Nun." Accompanying me for a walk one day with other children, I plucked a red flower and was about to stick it in his dress. He told me that he was not allowed to wear anything red as it was dangerous for him to do so. Red is associated not only with festivity, but, as in this case, with unpropitious ideas, such as crime and death, red being the criminal dress. Most of you will be familiar with the religious processions which take place three times each year, when an idol is carried through the streets followed by large numbers of children and not a few adults, dressed in red garments and wearing manacles. They are doing penance as prisoners of the god, having in sickness confessed their sins; and vowed, if granted restoration of health, to do public penance. Parents do this for their children when their sickness is long or dangerous.

2.—*The Spirits and Marriage.*

When a wedding is about to take place a proclamation is issued by the family informing the gods of the fact, notifying them as to the date, and requesting them to graciously protect the household on that auspicious day from all evil spirits and unpropitious influences. This document is burnt together with incense and a plentiful supply of paper money. The two spirits of Harmony 和合二仙, *Hwo Hoh Rh Siën*, are worshipped by the young couple on the wedding day, with a view to obtaining their blessing on the union.

In China, where betrothals are contracted in childhood, it often happens that one of the contracting parties dies

before the time appointed for the marriage. Sometimes, in the case of the future husband dying, the young girl will refuse to marry any other person, and a ceremony called 抱牌做親, or "Grasping the Tablet Wedding Ceremony," will take place, when the living bride is joined in wedlock with the deceased person to whom she was betrothed, whose spirit is supposed to have taken up its abode in the ancestral tablet.

A curious incident in this connection occurred this very year (1898) in Lutien, mentioned *supra*. A native of that place succeeded in gaining the coveted honour of becoming a Hanlin. In earlier life he had been betrothed to a young girl who died. Later on he married some one else and has now a family. Hearing of the great honour which had befallen him who had once stood in the relation of a prospective son-in-law, the family of the deceased girl, who were people of means, entered into an arrangement with the Hanlin, who was in straitened circumstances, by which a marriage was celebrated between the spirit of the girl who had died years ago and the successful scholar. Her coffin was removed to the latter's burial ground in great state, and at the wedding celebration everything was done in the best of style. It did not seem to matter in the least that at the time of the wedding the bridegroom was away in Peking,—he and his family obtained the much needed cash, and the bride's relatives in the flesh obtained honour and a name in having a Hanlin as son-in-law.

3.—*The Spirits and their Relation to Business and Social Life.*

I have not time to treat of the thousand and one ways by means of which that mysterious quality called "Luck" is wooed by John Chinaman. Arrangements of walls and door sills, the avoidance of unpropitious words and deeds,

and countless other devices all play a part in the scheme. I will give but one illustration.

In Kahding there is said to be a silk shop which possesses a *Fu Yang Fah* 富陽法. This is a spirit or god of luck which is kept in a bag, and ensures the possessor becoming rich.

Fu Yang is a city in Chekiang, where, as I am told, there is a shop which sells "Lucky Spirits." Many bags are suspended in the place, with strange characters inscribed on them, each bag contains one of these imps. When purchased, care must be taken in carrying the bag home. Before crossing a bridge, the purchaser must call out the name of the imp, or he will become frightened and escape. Having reached home the imp must be hidden in a secret place. It will not be long before business begins to prosper. By the aid of magic the imp will cause inferior goods to appear to the eyes of the customers, as goods of the first quality. After the space of some years the imp is supposed to make his escape. This is accompanied with a loss of prosperity, business at once beginning to decay.

The spirits in various ways interfere with the life of the people, and cause them distress.

In one city where an old Memorial Tablet was being repaired, it was feared that the earth spirits might be incensed and inflict some calamity on the people. Every shop in the neighbourhood therefore had suspended over it dummy figures of men made like 5th of November guys, with bows and arrows, spears and guns, all held up threateningly as though to attack any evil spirits that dared to molest those who dwelt within.

During the China-Japanese war a line of telegraph wires was erected along the Pootung coast, connecting the various beacons for defensive purposes. Passing by the line of telegraph in an out-of-the-way place, I saw, much

to my amusement, dummy men with guns stationed on the roofs of the cottages, as though shooting at the spirits that passed along the wires, to keep them from working their ill-will on the people and the place. The idea being that messages were carried along the wires by means of spirits. The strange noises made by the vibration of the wires being put down to the passing along of these imps.

In all cases of the disturbance of the ground, especially of earth which has long been waste, danger is risked of the spirits of the earth taking offence. To this belief is doubtless due the custom, which, if the people are to be credited, is even in these parts secretly observed,—of propitiating the spirits by human sacrifice.

It was freely reported that this was done recently in building one of the silk filatures at Soochow.

I am also informed that in the potteries in Kiangsi, a new furnace is secretly consecrated by the shedding of a child's blood, as a sacrifice to ward off evil influences or accidents.

In connection with sacrifice it may be stated that it is the custom to formally open a newly-built theatre by killing a cock, and sprinkling its blood over the stage.

There is no doubt that a careful study of some of these secret practices of the Chinese would give us the key as to the origin of the vile charges they have been in the habit of bringing against foreigners.

4.—*The Spirits and their Relation to Sickness.*

When living in P'ing-hu, a city in North Chehkiang, it surprised me very much to discover that amongst the common people doctors were seldom consulted in cases of sickness.

Buddhist and Taoist priests, fortune-tellers, and various classes of men and women whose business was to have dealings with spirits, were regarded as best able to cure

diseases. The reason for this is doubtless to be found in the belief everywhere prevailing that sickness is for the most part the work of the evil spirits; and that either the help of the superior spirits or gods must be enlisted, or the spirits be frustrated in their evil designs by the use of magic and incantations.

I have collected a list of some extraordinary things used as medicine and supposed to have what may be called magic virtue, but a medical journal is more suited than a public lecture for details such as these. We have, however, already spoken of the charm of incense as a specific in sickness. I have known cases where people with sore eyes have entirely lost their sight by rubbing the inflamed organ with incense ashes taken from the temple.

A woman whom I knew personally a short time since, being anxious on account of her mother's serious illness, cut off a piece of her own flesh and boiled it to a broth. It was given to the mother to drink without her knowing what it was—to have known would have destroyed its efficacy.

In Gahze (Kia-shen) it is the custom when one is sick to take a few cash and wrap them up in red paper, and unobserved, to throw the packet into the street. Whoever picks up the package—and there are plenty of strangers who do not know, or beggars who do not care—will, it is believed, carry away in his own person the sickness from which the other has been suffering. Characters such as the following are often written on the paper 出賣惡傷風, "I sell out my interest in a bad cold."

In Ch'angshu, north of Shanghai, there is a modification of this idea. His medicine is carefully prepared, and in addition to the sick person himself swallowing the dose, the mixture is at nightfall thrown out into the roadway;

and he who treads upon it in passing by will catch the complaint which the other person is desirous to be freed from. I have, since my notice was first drawn to this custom, frequently seen the medicine-herbs lying in the pathways of the city.

When any member of a family is seriously ill, a witch woman 師娘 will often be sent for to search for evil spirits. By the use of incantation and magic the spirits, if there be any, will be discovered, and a report as to the quality and number of them will be given, with directions as to how they may be ejected.

Taoist priests generally are called in to expel the evil spirits. Having captured the spirits they sometimes put them into an earthenware vessel, a cover containing a magic character being put over it, and the spirits are then safely carried away by the priests. As already stated, these suppositionary spirits are sometimes sold to people by the Taoists and others as having the power to confer prosperity on those who possess them. The price I am told is from \$20 to \$40.

Among other expedients adopted in sickness are the following:—If a wedding is taking place near the sick person's house a valuable specific is to cut off a piece of the bridal dress and make soup of it for the sick.

贖魂 *Shuh Hwun*, "Redeeming the soul." When a sick person is at the point of death and is already unconscious, it is supposed in some cases that he has already been carried off by the "runners" of the Lower Regions. The friends then take the man's clothes and proceed to the temple with paper money and redeem the man's soul. The spirit having been released and handed over to them, is then wrapped up in the clothes, and the party return to the sick man's room believing his life has been given back.

保人 *Pao Jän*, "Going surety." Another method is to write the sick man's **八字** *Pah tsz'*, or horoscope, which gives the year, month, day and hour of his birth. Several of the sick man's friends will take this document to the temple, making gifts of paper money, and offer themselves as sureties for the good conduct of the person in question.

借壽 *Tsié sheu*, "Borrowing years." The sick man in this case is supposed to have reached the limit of his life and is sick unto death. Friends and relatives will agree together to each make a present to the man of one or more years of his own life. In the temple, or by the aid of Taoist or Buddhist priests at the house, a ceremony is gone through, in which the years of life so presented are deducted from each person's span of life and the whole given over to the sick man, who thus, by the generosity and self-sacrifice of his friends, secures a new lease of life.

解星宿 *Kiai sing siu*, "Cutting off or changing a person's star." Sometimes sickness is attributed to the person having an unlucky star. Certain ceremonies are performed and magic exercised by means of which the sick man's evil star is changed for a new and propitious one.

叫魂 *Kiao Hwun*, "Calling back the life." In cases of sudden sickness or during a fainting fit the spirit is often supposed to have been startled out of the body; and it is customary to take the person's clothes and go on to the roof or round about the house and call back the person by name, lest his spirit should fail to find its way back to the body.

This is more often done in the case of small children, who are apparently at the point of death.

燒替身 *Shao t'i shün*, "Substitution by burning." Among other devices to escape the fatal hour of death is the following:—The sick person's characters or horoscope

are written down on paper; and through the medium of fire sent to the spirits, requesting them to find some other living person with a similar horoscope, and to take that person's soul and bring it and give it to the sick man in exchange for his own. The sick man's soul is then transferred to the other person's body, and causes his death. When recovering, the person whose soul has been changed is almost a stranger to his own people, differing in speech and habit, and he himself scarcely recognises them. Care has to be taken lest the new soul should seek to return to its old haunts.

5.—*The Spirits and their Relation to Death and Burial.*

In P'ing-hu and other places it is customary for the mourners on their return from a funeral to pass over a fire, which is lit at the threshold of the door so that all deadly influences may be cut off, including the evil spirits who are supposed to have been responsible for the death which has occurred.

Another way of cutting off the evil influences is to break a rice bowl over the grave.

In some cases, where the spirit of the dead person is supposed to have possessed a low vitality, life is borrowed from some animal for the purpose of aiding the spirit by strengthening it for its arduous journey. In the city just mentioned it is the custom, when a young woman dies not long before the time appointed for her marriage, to bury a live fish with her body. She is thought to have died before her time on account of her low vitality, and the life of the fish is supposed to mingle with her own and strengthen it for its journey to the spirit world.

In an earlier part of this paper we said that the cock was regarded as possessing to an extraordinary degree the life element, the *yaling* of the universe. This accounts

for the sight often seen in a funeral procession, where it is customary for a live cock to be placed on the coffin as it is being carried for burial.

Another common sight is the burning of paper money and paper clothes, and paper houses furnished throughout. Recently at Lutien I saw a paper house as large as a cottage, containing three rooms furnished in the best Chinese style. A poor Chinese widow who was childless, and had no one to sacrifice to her "manes" when she died, had been saving up her money for some years to purchase this paper house. It was, on this day, to be burnt with appropriate rites by the priests, and sent before her for her use in the lower regions when she came to die.

It is not at all uncommon for large piles of valuable clothing to be burnt at the death of a member of a family for the benefit of the spirit in the shadow world. A *poor* ghost is considered to have a very hard time, as, having no money, he is at the mercy of all wicked spirits who care to molest him.

In forwarding the gifts to the spirits, great care has to be taken, as there are always fierce spirits—hungry ghosts—hovering round to get possession of the good things for themselves. You may sometimes see in the streets of Shanghai a heap of paper money enclosed in a circle of chalk or lime which has been drawn round it to keep off the spirits. It is impossible for them to cross this magic circle, at least, that is the opinion commonly held.

At the time of the funeral it is the custom in some places to take two knots of cotton thread and fasten them to a stick of bamboo shaped like a sword. These are placed in a basket with paper money, and carried with the coffin to the grave. The priests take these knots and

wave them to and fro whilst reciting prayers. The pall or coffin cover is then placed on the ground, and the knots are carefully wrapped up in it; one of the spirits of the dead man having, it is thought, passed into them. The whole is handed to the chief mourner who hastens home, and, having fixed the two sword sticks on either side of the deceased person's tablet, hangs the knots of cotton upon them, and the spirit then passes into the tablet and is worshipped by the family. By them it is not regarded as impossible for the spirit of the dead to be in two places at the same time. Each soul is conceived of as a trinity, one spirit being in the ancestral tablet, one in the grave, and one in the place of departed spirits or Hades.

6.—*The Spirits after Death.*

The relation existing between the departed spirits and the living in China is much closer than it is usually considered to be with us in the west.

In the P'ing-hu and Gabze districts it is commonly believed that after about a year the souls of very young children are allowed to return to their home, re-enter the mother's womb, and in due course be re-born. It is a common sight to see the small coffins there with a hole burnt in the side to permit the escape of the spirit.

There are also certain festivals when the spirits are allowed a holiday and may visit their old haunts. Feasts are prepared for them by the living members of the family, and generous offerings made in paper money, dollars and bank notes, or any paper things such as clothes, sedan-chairs, ricschas (in Shanghai), opium pipes, or any other things which they might wish to possess.

In this way by the generous offerings of friends, and an occasional visit to the upper world, the relations between the living and the dead are maintained.

In most cases, however, the return of the spirits to the upper world is attended with considerable danger to men, because the great majority of spirits set free are strange spirits, whose own relations have not looked after their interests. Many, too, are of criminal instincts. Even with one's own spirits there is a danger lest they should imagine themselves not dealt fairly with by the members of their families yet alive. And again there are those spirits which are, and always have been, non-human demons. The spirits and demons therefore are almost universally regarded as a source of danger and peril.

To appease these evil spirits and procure their goodwill, there is therefore at stated occasions a free public official distribution of paper money for the benefit of all and sundry, called the Feast of Hungry Ghosts!

In the country places you may any evening see the cottagers come out as it gets dusk with a bowl of rice, or a handful of cotton seeds, which are placed in a little pile at a spot where cross paths meet. After lighting some sticks of incense or a candle, the person prostrates himself in worship, beseeching the spirits to accept his offering, and refrain from harming his household during the night. Till this is done they dare not retire to rest.

Travellers out late at night in the streets of the inland towns are often to be heard calling out with discordant noises to frighten away the spirits who are supposed to be lurking at every street corner.

A person whom I knew at Ping-hu used always to shut up his house at sunset and retire with his family for the night, fearing to open the gate again lest the spirits should enter. A Chinese friend of mine who lodged there had to find rooms elsewhere, because, coming home after sunset, the landlord said he let in these evil spirits when he opened the door.

The spirits of suicides and drowned persons are regarded as especially malignant in their evil influence on mankind.

In both of these cases it is supposed that the spirit has to procure a substitute, whose death will, according to Buddhist teaching, allow him to proceed on his journey to the spirit world.

We have here in this idea of 討替 *Tao ti*, "Seeking a substitute," the explanation of not a few of the customs of the people which strike one as cruel and barbarous. Such for instance as their disinclination to save a drowning person lest they themselves should be dragged down as a substitute by the spirit of one previously drowned there, who it is supposed is endeavouring to secure a substitute and effect his own escape.

There is another class of spirits which is held in the greatest fear, *viz.*, those spirits which have power after death to re-animate their corpse, and inflict harm upon any who may fall into their clutches. In local parlance they are called 僵屍 *Jang sz* (Kiang shi) or "Rigid corpses," and it is supposed that at nightfall, and especially on moonlight nights, they come out from their coffins and lie in wait for belated travellers. These they pursue, and having caught them crush the life out of them, dragging them into their coffin as their prey. It is the old legend of the vampire in a new dress. I have heard a number of these stories from my Chinese friends, who, in the evening time, when travelling with me, beguile the hours with stories of the common folk and their beliefs. The *Jang sz*, it is said, is able to fly. It pursues children who wander near its haunt. It fears the ringing of a bell. The story is told of a man who for a whole night rang a bell near to the place where one of these *Jang sz* was supposed to be, and effectually drove it away from its haunt. In the morning, however, his hand was found to be palsied, and it remained so till death.

A broom or sieve is as effective as a bell in putting the vampire to flight.

Among other explanations given me of this strange being is that a corpse becomes a *Jang sz*, as the result of tears which the mourners have shed over the body.

Also that if the coffin of a *Jang sz* is opened to the sun it will lose its power to re-animate the body. Sunlight is fatal to it.

On the other hand, if a rice ball is put into the mouth of a *Jang sz*, it can once again become alive, though liable to be suddenly re-transformed into the old condition as an inanimate corpse.

A story is current that, in Kahding, a young man passing by some deserted grave mounds and coffins, saw a beautiful young woman with whom he fell in love, and with her consent led her home and made her his wife. She bore him three children, and they lived happily together for some years. One day, however, the husband and wife quarrelled, and the wife suddenly disappeared. The husband in great distress sought her, following her footprints until he reached the spot when he had first met her. There he saw, sticking out of one of the coffins, just a corner of his wife's dress, caught in the coffin lid as it had been hurriedly closed. He then knew that his wife was a *Jang sz* and returned home disconsolate. He is still living, so it is said, in the city of Kahding, a few miles north of Shanghai, as also his three children. (*cf.* Undine).

Stories are also told of the 壓鬼 *Yen-ku'ei*, or night-mare demon, the incubus which at night crushes its victims whilst they are asleep. When any one is heard groaning in his sleep, and this cause is supposed to be due to the night-mare demon, you must on no account enter into the room, but must either call aloud from the outside, or

open the door and throw in a broom,—a potent preservative against the wiles of evil spirits. If you hurriedly enter in, the person attacked is liable to be crushed to death by the night-mare demon.

The efficacy of the broom suggests another topic, viz.

IV.—TABOOS AND HOW THEY MAY BE AVOIDED.

Taboos are of two kinds (1) Those that protect the sanctity of holy places and the prerogatives of the gods; (2) Those associated with supernatural dangers arising from the presence of hostile spirits.

The first class has already been illustrated by the injunction against touching a tree which has been made the abode of a god. There is also the avoidance of sacred names. Of the second class I have only time for one or two local illustrations.

1.—*Household Taboos.*

Certain actions and seasons are regarded as tabooed, *i.e.*, to be avoided as unlucky. The origin of the taboo is in most cases not easy to discover.

(a.)—*Chicken on the Roof.*—This is regarded as unlucky. A Chinese neighbour of mine was endeavouring one day to drive off a chicken which had flown on to his roof-top. In doing so he fell and broke his leg. Thus the belief of the people in the ill-luck of a chicken on the roof was signally confirmed.

(b.)—*Saucepans* must on no account be scraped on the first and fifteenth days of the month.

(c.)—If a hen is sitting on eggs and it thunders, it is unlucky. Some heavy furniture must be dragged to and fro over the floor to make a noise so that the thunder cannot be heard.

(d.)—If a child has small-pox and it thunders it is unlucky—the pustules will be suppressed. The remedy is the same as above.

(e.)—**概臀** *Ke Dung* (Kai t'un).—All unpropitious words are taboo on the first day of the New Year. Lest children should thoughtlessly give utterance to such words the precaution is taken by their mothers the preceding night, when they are asleep, to take some paper and wipe their mouths, thinking thereby to remove the ill effects of any such expressions as they may give utterance to. This done, as it is put, "their words are not to be regarded as words."

2.—*Boat Taboos.*

(a.)—When travelling in a boat care must be taken not to place one's chopsticks across his rice bowl. The reason given is that such a position suggests a boat going aground.

(b.)—Rice left behind on the side of the copper in cooking must not be called by its usual name **飯滯** *Fan chi*, because the character **滯** also signifies an obstruction or stoppage, and the sound is similar to **遲** slow, **飯快** being used in place of it, the latter character meaning "quick."

(c.)—It is unlucky to pass under a bridge when a woman is crossing it.

(d.)—There are many days on which it is unlucky to start on a journey. This can be avoided by procuring a charm protecting you from one hundred unlucky days.

(e.)—Many bridges are found in this district called "Dumb Bridges." It is very unlucky for anyone to speak whilst the boat is passing through.

3.—*Silkworm Taboos.*

In North Chehkiang during the season when the silkworm is spinning its cocoon, no callers are allowed, and

every precaution is taken to preserve the silkworms from all harmful influences. One feature which this takes is to make a large number of words, used in every-day life taboo, on account of their association in sound or meaning with what is unpropitious. A new set of words or phrases has therefore to be used at this season in place of those current at other times. A few examples are given below :—

Usual word :—

鹽 Salt, *yien* suggestive of 蜒蚰 *yien-yeu*—a slug, replaced by 海沙 sea sand.

油 Oil, suggestive of 游 a word signifying the creeping motion of snakes, replaced by 立勿設 insufficiently established.

蠟燭 Candle, (guttering of a burning candle, suggestive of caterpillar falling over on to its side), replaced by 油段 Oil stick.

竹笋 Bamboo shoots, suggestive of 損傷 signifying to injure or spoil, replaced by 蘿蔔 Turnip.

茶 Tea, suggestive of 蛇 a snake, replaced by 湯 Broth.

薑 Ginger, suggesting 僵 (the rigidity of death), replaced by 辣 hot and pungent.

死 Death, (unpropitious), replaced by 太平 Great Peace.

看戲 To go to the Theatre (Taboo, because where there are theatricals every one leaves work and goes off on pleasure, and it is feared the silkworm will cease working), replaced by 看銅銅 哐噠 sound of the drum and gong.

桃葉 Peach leaf, suggesting 逃脫 to flee, replaced by 張頭 leaf which suggests productiveness.



REVIEW.

DR. F. HIRTH AND THE HIUNG NU.

In Munich last year Dr. F. Hirth published under the title of *Ueber Wolga-Hunnen und Hiung-nu*, a pamphlet, the substance of which had been presented to the History Classe of the Royal Academy of Munich, in which he sought to find additional evidence in favour of the long exploded error of Deguignes that the Hiung Nu of the old Chinese writers were to be identified with the Hunni of Ammianus Marcellinus. Deguignes confessed that his surmise arose only from the superficial and apparent resemblance of the two names. Philologically there is absolutely no connection, the elements that go to make up the Chinese characters in their modern form having sounded very differently in the second century before Christ.

I should be the last to question Dr. Hirth's scholarship, or cast doubt on his profound knowledge of Chinese, and my note is not to be taken as prompted by any such intention; yet it is difficult to understand how he has been misled in the translation of a sufficiently simple passage, which refers to the Hiung Nu only incidentally, and to the Hunni not at all. I give from his notes the text.

粟特國在葱嶺之西古之奄蔡
一名溫那沙居於大澤在康居
西北去代一萬六千里先是匈
奴殺其王而有其國至王忽倪
己三世矣其國商人先多詣涼
土販貨及克姑臧悉見虜高宗
初粟特王遣使請贖之詔聽焉
自後無使朝獻

With the exception of the proper names this presents no difficulty. I present a translation.

"Su[k]te[h] is situated west of the Ts'ungling; it was the ancient Imts'ai and was also known as Wannasha. It lies close by a great marsh to the north-west of K'angku, and is distant from Tai 16,000 *li*. In former days the Hiung Nu killed its king, and held possession of the country for three generations up to the time of king [H]wui 'r sz.¹

Formerly the merchants of this country went in numbers to dispose of their wares in the land of Liang: [a party] having entered Kutsang were made prisoners, and at the beginning of the reign Kaots'ung [of the Wei] the king of Su[k]te[h] sent a mission requesting their enlargement.

After this period no further diplomatic intercourse took place."

With the exception of the *Wannas*, the proper names here given need but little explanation, most being well known to every student of the Geography of Central Asia during the Roman period. Sakte is, of course, the ancient Sughdha of the Zend Avesta, the Sogdia or Sogdiana of the Greeks, and is conterminous with the country watered by the Zarafshan, the Greek Polytimetus; its capital then as now was Samarkand, the Marakanda of Arrian. Sz-ma Ts'ien, in the 122nd Chapter of the *Shiki*, calls the country in full 奄蔡黎軒 [I]m-Ts'ai-li-kan. I showed in 1879, [Trans., vol. xiv, p. 7] that the first two characters were inverted by the transcriber, and that the name intended was Ts'ai[i]mlikan, 奄 standing merely for the letter *m*, while *ts'* represented *s*, the name indicated was Sa[l]markand, agreeing with the old tradition which made Selm, the son of Feridun its eponym. Sz-ma likewise speaks of the great Marsh, which we must identify with the Palus Oxiana of the Latin writers. The land of Liang stretched along the western and north-western frontier of China, its

¹ There seems a discrepancy here. According to Persian accounts, it was King Firuz who, after having been aided by the Turks of Trans-Oxiana to dethrone his brother Hormazd (*see below*), attacked, in 482, his former benefactors, and was ignominiously defeated, and himself left dead on the field.

extent varying from time to time; the name survives in Liangcheo in Kausuh. T'ai was the capital adopted by the House of Toba, who established the Wei dynasty.

Kutsang here is the country called by Ma-twan Lin Kweishwang, and by the Armenian writers Kushan. It formed the most powerful of the five states into which the Ephthalite kingdom was divided, its king Kitolo [Katulphus] having conquered the others, extended his territories into Afghanistan. This kingdom is better known from its coins, which bear the inscription [K]SHA[tra]ONAM [K]SHA[tra]O KANESHKO KOSHANA,—which may be rendered "Kshatra of Kshatras,—King of KUSHAN." Northwards it extended into the valley of the Upper Oxus, as far as the mountains north of Shehr-i-sebz, and was roughly conterminous with the Greek Bactria. Early in the sixth century, Timur, the Khakan of the Tukueh, having joined forces with the king of Persia, these kingdoms were divided between them. These Tukueh were professedly the successors of the ancient Hiung Nu, but had adopted the new tribal name of Tughul or Tughrul.

So far we have heard nothing of the Huns in this connection, but Dr. Hirth conceives he has found their name in that of the King of Sughdh. Merely premising that if Dr. Hirth had found a name which by some process might be made to resemble Hun or Hunni, this would scarcely advance the proof. Hurnas, as Dr. Hirth suggests, may have been a son of Attila, but in the failure of all connecting evidence, a faint reminiscence of such a name in the person of a king of Sughdh could scarcely be held to affect the argument. The main population of Samarkand has at all periods been Iranian, and we have no record up to the time of the *Weishu* of it having ever been absorbed in any other nationality. As a matter of fact history throws light on the case; but first we may enquire what sound the Chinese author intended to reproduce in the three characters 忽倪已, in modern Chinese Hwui i sz'. Our author would have us believe that in old Chinese, say prior to our era, the sound was Hut ngai ssi, but here all the indications point in a different direction. The *Weishu* was not written before the

sixth century, and the Weis were a northern race, closely related to the Manchus of to-day, and under that influence the ancient consonantal endings had already sloughed off and had been converted into a mere echo,—the juhsheng tone of the Chinese lexicographers. In all probability the Chinese of the Wei was not unlike that that we know to have prevailed north of the Yangtsze in the Ming period. But neither in old nor modern Chinese is the initial of 忽 represented by *h*. In Cantonese the syllable is pronounced fa[t], in Amoy it is hwa[t], in Ningpo hwéh, in old Mandarin hwuh, and it is only in the corrupt Pekinese as rendered by Wade, that it drops its original sound and becomes *h*. The character is composed of two elements, a radical which does not affect the sound, and a primitive preserving in a great measure the old phonetic element and here again, even in Pekinese, the initial breathing is preserved; the sound is Wuh, for an ancient wut. We cannot be far wrong in assuming the writer intended to express the sound *fi*. Nor is the second character less clear, the phonetic element of the character 兒 ranges through *n*, *ng* and *r*. But *ng* and *n* in the old renderings of foreign names introduced by Sz'ma Ts'ien represent the western *r*, which gives us the second syllable. There is no difficulty about the last, which is still *s* or *z*. The word is in fact Firuz, and history fully confirms this. The reign of Kaots'ung, mentioned above, lasted from 452 to 466; while in 438 Yezdegird II, King of Persia, died through an accident. His son Hormazd succeeded him, but the succession was disputed by his brother Firuz, who fled across the Oxus, and raised the standard of revolt. With the aid of a king of "Turan" called Khush Nuaz, he succeeded two years later in defeating his brother and seated himself on the throne. This is apparently the king Firuz to whom the *Weishu* refers. Unfortunately our sources of information about Samarkand during the Sassanian dynasty are extremely limited, but it was apparently a bone of contention between Persia, the Ephthalite kings of Kushan, and the rising power of the Tukueh. Finally, by a strange combination of the Persian King, Anushirwan, and the Khakan of the Tukueh, the Ephthalite kingdom was destroyed, and its territory

partitioned, Trans-oxiana falling to the portion of the Khakan. It is to these struggles that the author of the *Weishu* alludes.

The only other people in the extract quoted is the 溫那沙, Wennas, for there is little doubt that 沙 [sha] is here the sign of the plural. Of these people we do not seem to hear elsewhere, but Ptolemy, in his account of Sogdiana, after describing the Kirrhadae or Kirrhodees as living by the Jaxartes and Oxus, goes on to describe the district of Wandabanda, Ουδδζβανδα, as midway between the mountains called Caucasus and Imaus. He speaks also within the Imaus of mountains called the Alan range and places in this position his Alanic Scyths, Ἀλανοὶ Σκύθοι. Alans and Wends are indeed placed side by side, not only in this position, but almost everywhere from the Danube to the Vistula. Writing at a later period, Ma Twanlin, as quoted by Rénusat, tells of An, also called Puho, [Bokhara], that at the time of the Wei it was called Numi, apparently for T'umi, i.e. Derbend, it is bounded on the west by the stream of the Oxus, and its capital is known as Alanmi. This country, he proceeds to say, formed part of the state of K'angku. As a general mess has been made by translators over this country of K'angku, a few words may be useful. K'angku first appears in Sz'ma Ts'ien, and is there, and, in the early Chinese authors, invariably, Kashgar. In the eleventh century the descendants of a Turk called Seljuk established an empire which finally became conterminous with Ferghâna and extended to the Byzantine realm. This country is, by the Chinese, called the state of K'angku. Seljuk or his son seems to have crossed the Jaxartes about A.D. 1000 and first established his seat of government at the city of Kashgar, which hence gave its name to the kingdom which soon reached to the Oxus. Seljuk's grandsons were the celebrated Togrul and his brother David [Daûd]. Togrul died without issue, and was succeeded by his still more celebrated nephew Alp Arslan, the son of Daûd, who, in the west, is more generally known as Chakur. Ma Twanlin always speaks of the sovereigns of K'angku as descendants of Shaowu, that is to say, Daûd. A little knowledge, says Pope,

is a dangerous thing, and in no instance do we find a better exemplification of the general truth of the aphorism than in our would-be Chinese authorities.

THOS. W. KINGSMILL.

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