AN EXEGESIS OF THE "TA TSUNG SHIH"
CHAPTER OF THE CHUANG TZU
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This thesis provides an exegesis of what might be considered a "core" chapter of the Chuang Tzu text. The "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter is "core" in that it can be demonstrably shown to represent a systematic crystallization of Chuang Tzu's philosophical system.

Basically, this thesis consists of four parts. First, in the Introduction, an attempt is made to substantiate the suggestion that the "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter can be considered representative of Chuang Tzu's thought. Second, a section by section translation of the entire chapter is provided. In this translation, emendations in the text are made only when absolutely necessary to make sense of the otherwise unintelligible. Third, extensive annotation to the text is provided in note form, working on the premise that philosophical analysis must be preceded by a reconstruction of a reliable text. In compiling the annotation, we have made an effort to consult and collate the bulk of historically significant commentary and provide alternative interpretations where they arise. We have been particularly meticulous with respect to textual problems, attempting to employ methods of modern textual criticism where possible. We also explore historical
allusions in some depth in order to provide the reader with the background to understand and appreciate the significance of these references. Finally, in Appendix I an annotated bibliography of Chinese commentaries is provided, complete with a listing of the text used, the date of the work, the format of the text, prejudices of the authors and occasionally, a subjective assessment of the individual worth of these commentaries.

This translation and annotation of the "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter is presented as preliminary to a philosophical analysis of the actual content, which unfortunately but necessarily falls beyond the scope of this thesis. In this analysis, it is expected that Chuang Tzu's thought as presented in the "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter can be shown to be an internally consistent system of ideas which provides the reader with a unique if not extremely profound interpretation of his human situation.
"They appeared in the form of a copious review of a work on Chinese metaphysics, Sir," said Pott.

"An abstruse subject I should conceive," said Mr. Pickwick.

"Very, Sir," responded Pott, looking intensely sage. "He cram[med] for it, to use a technical but expressive term; he read up for the subject, at my desire, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

"Indeed!" said Mr. Pickwick; "I was not aware that that valuable work contained any information respecting Chinese metaphysics.

"He read, Sir," rejoined Pott, laying his hand on Mr. Pickwick's knee, and looking round with a smile of intellectual superiority, "he read for metaphysics under the letter M, and for China under the letter C; and combined his information, Sir!"

*(Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club: Chapter 50)*
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INTRODUCTION

The body of this thesis consists of an exegesis of the "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter of the Chuang Tzu. It is our contention that this one chapter contains a relatively systematic crystallization of Chuang Tzu's philosophical system, and can stand as a portion of the Chuang Tzu text demonstrably close to Chuang Tzu in the transmission of his thought. The purposes of this thesis are:

1) to demonstrate with as much certainty as possible that the "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter can be considered representative of Chuang Tzu's thought,
2) to take under consideration the bulk of historically significant commentary in an effort to reproduce the text in as true a form as possible, working on the School of Han Learning chiao k'ang hsueh 桃梨學 principle that scholarship must be preceded by the reconstruction of a reliable text,
3) to provide extensive annotation of the text as a means to give fuller significance to allusions and literary devices as understood from the historical perspective of the author,
4) and to provide, through a thorough reconstruction of this representative and internally consistent portion of the Chuang Tzu text, a basis for a philosophical exegesis of Chuang Tzu's system of thought.
The Chuang Tzu: A Composite Text

It is generally agreed among scholars that the Chuang Tzu is not a homogeneous text, but is rather a work of composite nature containing an admixture of sometimes internally inconsistent thought. The extent to which the Chuang Tzu can be considered the product of many hands is perhaps best demonstrated by briefly outlining the conclusions reached by two contemporary scholars. First, Ch'en Jung-chieh (W.T. Chan) suggests that the nei and wai-tsa chapters (also called "inner" and "outer" chapters respectively) can be differentiated on the basis of the following criteria:

1) the titles of the nei chapters (similar to the Mo Tzu) reflect the gist of the chapter, while the titles of the wai-tsa chapters (with the exception of the "Jang Wang", "Shuo Chien", "Tao Chih" and "Yü Fu" chapters) are composed of the first two or three characters of the chapter (similar to the Mencius)
2) the nei chapters do not quote Lao Tzu, while the wai-tsa chapters quote him quite frequently
3) the nei chapters do not refer to the notion of hsing ("nature") while the wai-tsa chapters refer to it often
4) the nei chapters do not quote or even mention The Book of Documents, The Book of Odes, The Book of Rites or The Book of Music, while the wai-tsa chapters not only quote them, but also use the term liu ching ("the Six Classics") in reference to them
5) the thought contained in the **nei** chapters is consistent, profound, and expressed concisely, whereas the thought of the **wai-tsa** chapters is neither consistent stylistically nor qualitatively.

6) the **nei** chapters can stand as a philosophical doctrine independent of Lao Tzu, while the **wai-tsa** chapters are simply commentary and elaboration on Lao Tzu's thought.

7) the **nei** chapters are somewhat critical of Confucius, but in a tasteful and decorous manner, whereas the **wai-tsa** chapters tend to be abusive.

8) the Emperors Yao and Shun are portrayed differently.

9) the **nei** chapters tend to encourage a striving for the level of **hsiao yao** ("free and uninhibited wandering"—beyond the differentiated phenomenal dimension), while the **wai-tsa** chapters are more pessimistic in tenor.

10) the style, spirit and thought content of the **nei** chapters are not of the same category as these aspects of the **wai-tsa** chapters (with the exception of the "T'ien Hsia" chapter, which is generally grouped with the **nei p'ien** as prefatory material).

While these criteria are by no means unassailable, traditional opinion has tended to make an authentic **nei** and spurious **wai-tsa** distinction. This bifurcation is not unanimous, but can certainly claim the bulk of scholarly support. The actual
scope of the divergence between the thought contained in the
nei chapters and that of the wai-tsa chapters can be illustrated
by a cursory glance at the conclusions of Lo Ken-tse's well-
documented research. On the basis of style, diction, thought
content and a variety of internal factors, Lo separates the
wai-tsa chapters as being representative of the following ten-
dencies in early Chinese thought:

Chapters 8-11 驱梅、馬蹄、舷箝、在宥
--the extreme left-wing Taoist group (i.e., anti-
Confucian and harshly critical of rival currents of
thought) which flourished at the end of the Warring
States period

Chapters 12-14 天地、天道、天軍
--the right-wing Taoist group (i.e., tendency towards
compromise and conciliation rather than confrontation
and denunciation) of early Han

Chapters 15-16 炎意、續牲
--possibly the Occultists 神仙學 of the Ch'in-Han
transition period

Chapters 17, 19-21, 27 秋水、蓮生、山木、田子方、寓言
--later followers of the Chuang Tzu school

Chapters 18, 22-23 至樂、知北遊、庚桑楚
--Lao Tzu school of the late Warring States period

Chapter 26 外物
--Taoist school of Western Han

Chapters 24, 32 徙無鬼、列禦寇
--a miscellaneous collection of anecdotes and
stories without any central ideas--suspects that these are of Han vintage, but has no tangible proof.

Chapter 25 齊陽
--a school representing a synthesis between the thought of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu which took to expounding on elements of both systems of thought.

Chapters 28, 31 讓王、漁父
--Taoist Recluse School of early Han

Chapter 29 盜跖
--Taoistic school of late Warring States period which tended towards extreme hedonism.

Chapter 30 說劍
--late Warring States period Military Strategists

Chapter 33 天下
--Chuang Tzu's own

Again, while Lo Ken-tse's arguments and conclusions can in no way be construed as the final word on the subject of authenticity, he does quite successfully demonstrate the extent to which Chuang Tzu can be considered a composite anthology of Taoist writings representing a very broad range of ideas intellectually and representing more than a century chronologically.

In attempting to deal with this kind of a text, we have before us basically three choices:

First, we can try to reconcile the numerous inconsistencies and divergent attitudes which are so apparent in the text as a
whole. The potential for misinterpretation and distortion in
the context of this process of reconciliation is obvious, and
yet most scholars, fully aware of the nature of the text, insist
on randomly citing passages to support their own interpretations
and ignoring passages which contradict them. There is a very
real futility about the indiscriminate use of the Chuang Tzu
as a homogeneous source, since a point supported by a citation
from one chapter can be immediately neutralized by a quotation
from a different chapter. As H.G. Creel correctly observes,
"if two passages in the Chuang Tzu support a particular view,
it has not always been considered necessary to mention the fact
that twenty passages may repudiate it, perhaps with derision."^5

Scholars who have attempted to synthesize the conflicting
notions contained in this text often dismiss the inconsistency
of the thought as attributable to the mystical and abstruse
nature of the philosophy. Again, others would claim that "the
truth is that neither consistency of thought nor exact term-
inology can be looked for in Chinese philosophy as a whole,
and least of all, perhaps, in such an abstract system as
that of early Taoism."^6

Second, we can admit the formidable incongruencies, and
consider them as sufficient reason for abandoning all but a
very superficial, anecdotal approach to the material.

Finally, we can recognize the necessity of arriving at
one representative portion of the text which can stand as far
above suspicion as possible, and which can be used as a
measure for determining the relationship of later textual
accretions to the original thought. Hopefully, this approach will ultimately enable us to appreciate the thought of Chuang Tzu, not as a nebulous and ill-arranged collection of unrelated and often conflicting stories, but as an internally consistent system of ideas fully capable of explaining the cosmos.

Criteria Used to Select the "Ta Tsung Shih" Chapter As Being Representative of Chuang Tzu's Thought

Our problem here is to establish the credibility of choosing the "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter as a portion of the Chuang Tzu text representative of Chuang Tzu's system of thought and close to him in the transmission of his ideas. Our reasons can be enumerated as follows:

1. As mentioned above, the traditional attitude toward the Chuang Tzu text is to regard the nei chapters (and possibly the "T'ien Hsia" chapter) as that portion of the text which is from Chuang Tzu's own hand. The "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter not only belongs to the nei chapters, but is further the longest of the seven chapters, constituting almost a quarter of the entire section. (The nei chapters contain a total of 13,239 characters, and 2909 of these characters fall under the "Ta Tsung Shih" heading.)

2. The earliest extant description of Chuang Tzu's thought is contained in the "T'ien Hsia" chapter 93/33/62-9. Whether this was originally the postface to the Chuang Tzu
or whether it was written subsequent to the authentic portion of the 
Chuang Tzu text, the fact remains that all indications 
point to it as the earliest account of his philosophical system 
still available. In this account, the description is predom-
inantly of elements contained in our "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter:

"T'ien Hsia" Description Related "Ta Tsung Shih" Passages

Serene and tranquil without form; changing and transforming 
without constancy. (93/33/62)

The tao has reality and credibility, is non-active and 
without physical form. (Text 11; 16/6/29)

In identifying you are without predilection; in trans-
forming you are without that which remains constant. 
(Text 25; 19/6/93)

Is it dead? Or alive? Is it one with the cosmos, proceding 
with spiritual perspicacity? (93/33/62)

Having transcended (the concept of external) phenomena, I 
again consolidated it for nine days, and was then able to 
transcend (the concept of) life. Having transcended (the 
concept of) life, I was then able to attain enlighten-
ment. Having attained enlightenment, I was then able to 
manifest the singleness (of all existence). In manifest-
ing singleness, I was then able to (attain a level) with-
out past or present. Being without past or present, I 
was then able to enter (a level) beyond life and death. 
(Text 13; 17/6/41)

They (travellers in the realm beyond) are going to be on 
an equal footing with change and ramble in the organic 
totality of the cosmos. They consider life to be an 
extraneous excrescence, a foreign growth, and consider 
death to be the lancing of an abscess, the bursting of 
an ulcer. Again, how can men like these pay any mind to 
the succession of life and death? (Text 20; 18/6/68)

One who knows that life and death, existence and non-
existence are all (aspects of) the one thing--I will 
associate with him. (Text 15; 17/6/46)
That which takes life (i.e., the tao) does not (itself) die; that which produces life does not (itself) live. (Text 14; 17/6/41)

Vast, where does it go? Obscure, what is its destination? The myriad things entirely enmeshed, there is nothing else to which one can revert. (93/33/63)

Extraordinary, these transformations! What are you going to be made into next? Where are you going to be sent?...Now, once we take the cosmos to be a great forge and take change to be a great ironsmith, where could I go that would be inadmissible? (Text 17; 17/6/55, 60)

The concourse of the tao of antiquity lay in this. (93/33/63)

Therefore, it is said that fishes forget in the rivers and lakes and human beings forget in the concourse of the tao. (Text 21; 18/6/73— the expression tao shu occurs only in these two chapters)

Responding spontaneously to the occasion, he was not biased and did not disseminate it from only a single point of view. (93/33/64)

...how then are you going to journey along a course of free and easy ambling, unconstrained freedom and aimless wandering? (Text 24; 19/6/84)

He alone came and went with the spirit of the cosmos, but was not arrogant or haughty in his attitude to the myriad things. (93/33/66)

These exceptional men are exceptional in terms of man, but are on a common plane with nature. (Text 21; 18/6/74)

He did not reproach on the basis of right and wrong...(93/33/66)

Rather than praising Yao and condemning Chieh, it is better to forget them both and be transformed in the tao. (Text 9; 16/6/23)

Since Yao has already black-branded your face with his "benevolence" and "righteousness" and disfigured your face with "right" and "wrong"...(Text 24; 19/6/84)

...but dwelt amid the worldly and mundane. (93/33/66)

Close at hand, he seemed to be mundane...(Text 6; 15/6/16)

...taking the code of propriety to be his accessory was his means of functioning in the world. (Text 7; 16/6/18)
Meng Sun alone is awake, but others wail, so he also wails. (Text 23; 18/6/80)

Above he journeyed with change...(93/33/67)

Change intends to make me this contracted and gnarled. (Text 16; 17/6/48, 49)

They are going to be on an equal footing with change and ramble in the organic totality of the cosmos. (Text 20; 18/6/67)

They soar, unconstrained, beyond the mundane world and wander freely in the activity of non-action. (Text 20; 18/6/70)

...while below he was companion with those who transcended life and death and who were without beginning or end. (93/33/67)

Forgetting their liver and gall and dismissing their ears and eyes, they turn beginning and end upside down so that there can be no terminal or extremity. (Text 20; 18/6/69)

Who is able to ascend to the heavens and wander about in the mists, prancing and gamboling in the interminable, forgetting each other in fostering that which is without end or exhaustion. The three men eyed each other and laughed. None controverted the general mind, and as a consequence they associated as friends. (Text 18; 18/6/61)

These are some of the parallels which can be drawn. The main point of congruency, however, is general tenor rather than specific phrasing. This "T'ien Hsia" chapter description of Chuang Tzu's thought shares the following elements in common with the "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter:

1) metaphorical description of enlightenment as the free and uninhibited wandering of the Sublimated Man
2) the notion of tao (as well as synonyms for it, such as pen ("root") and tsung ("essence"))
3) transcendence over life and death through sublimation
4) compliance with the times on the phenomenal level while transcending it on the sublimated level
5) expedient association with the mundane world
6) response to the vicissitudes of change on the phenomenal level
7) repudiation of relative value judgements

The brevity of the "T'ien Hsia" description of Chuang Tzu's thought naturally precludes all but an outline of the major tenets, but even in this brief outline, most of the primary elements contained in the "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter are touched upon.

3. Following the "T'ien Hsia" description of Chuang Tzu's thought, indications are that the next earliest reference is the following passage from the Hsün Tzu 79/21/22:

"Chuang Tzu was biased towards nature, but did not know man."

This passage might be interpreted as a parody on the first line of this "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter: "To know the operations of nature and to know the operations of man is the highest level (of knowledge)." (Text 1; 15/6/1)

4. The "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter contains what seems to be the most comprehensive exposition on the tao—the core idea and actual starting point of Chuang Tzu's system of thought.
5. This chapter can be characterized as a relatively systematic and comprehensive crystallization of Chuang Tzu's thought. In this single chapter, we have a clear statement on what seem to be almost all of the major elements in his philosophical system.

The chapter begins with a discussion of Chuang Tzu's epistemology, first contrasting it with the popular conception and dismissing differentiated knowledge of the phenomenal world as relative and conditioned knowledge (Text 1-2). It then describes in great detail the ideal individual who is capable of experiencing the level of chen chih 真知 ("Sublimated Knowledge"), designating him as the chen jen 真人 ("Sublimated Man") (Text 2-8). Next is a discussion of life and death (Text 9), which logically leads into a concise statement on the meaning of "change" in the phenomenal world (Text 10). Since the notion of change has no application at the level of the unconditioned tao, this chapter then turns to a brief description of the indescribable tao (Text 11), and the effect that an awareness of it can make (Text 12). The next two sections are devoted to an elucidation of the process which a person must undergo in order to gain an awareness of the tao (Text 13-14). We are then presented with a discussion of life and death as phenomenal change in the context of those who have attained the tao awareness (Text 15-18), contrasting their attitudes toward the world of experience with conventional ones (Text 19-23). He then disassociates relative value judgements from this sublimated level of existence (Text 24).
Finally, we have a reiteration of the process of sublimation (Text 25), and a seemingly superficial discussion of change. (Text 26).

From this brief summary of the contents of the chapter, it would appear that this chapter contains most of the elements necessary to Chuang Tzu's interpretation of the cosmos—from a clear statement on the tao to an explanation of life, death and the phenomenal world.

6. In the "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter, there is the following passage:

Hsü Yu exclaimed: "...My teacher! My teacher! He harmonizes the myriad things, yet he does not consider it righteous. His favours reach ten thousand ages yet he does not consider it benevolent. He covers a longer time-span than high antiquity yet he does not consider himself old. He envelops and carries the cosmos, and etches out and engraves the multifarious forms, and yet does not consider himself dexterous. This alone is where I would journey. (Text 24; 19/6/88-9)

This passage is reproduced almost verbatim in the "T'ien Tao" chapter 34/13/12-3, with the significant exception that it is attributed to Chuang Tzu rather than to Hsü Yu. It is possible that the author of the "T'ien Tao" chapter (Lo Ken-tse suggests that it dates from early Han),10 aware that he was copying this "Ta Tsung Shih" passage from a scroll authored by or at least associated with the man, Chuang Tzu, attributed these words to the author rather than the character chosen by the author.

On the basis of the combined weight of the above six criteria, we have selected the "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter of the
Chuang Tzu text as a representative portion which can be associated with the historical Chuang Tzu at a relatively early point in time.

Introduction to the Text and the Exegesis

The philosophical system contained in the chapter below is not a logically developed Kantian progression of complex argumentation. On the contrary, it is a continuous iteration of a few simple yet profound cardinal tenets which, if taken as a whole, provide the reader with an efficient scheme for coping with his human situation. While it is not within the scope of this thesis to provide a philosophical exegesis on the chapter which follows, there is one characteristic of Chuang Tzu's style of presentation which deserves our attention.

The system of thought contained in this chapter represents a constant vacillation between two planes of experience. Since these two perspectives, if properly understood, will do much to relieve the paradoxical fog hanging over much of the work, it might be well to dwell on them briefly at this time.

In Chuang Tzu's thought, there are basically two ways of approaching our situation--we can view the cosmos with the eyes of the subjective individual, or we can experience it as the Sublimated Man. Assuming the posture of the subjective individual, the author is able to posit the existence of a differentiated phenomenal world without entering into the question of its reality. His reason for choosing to speak on
this level is apparent. He is addressing himself to the unsublimated mind, and must communicate with this level of mind on its own ground. He as much as states: We are going to discuss, and in order to discuss, we are going to have to use words and distinctions. As expedient to discussion, let us assume the validity of the world of experience, the subject-object, this-that, right-wrong antitheses and all such relative distinctions. From the vantage point of the phenomenal world, we can investigate various aspects of it such as difference, change and differentiated knowledge. Through the rational processes we can achieve insights into the relativity of phenomenal objects, non-action, the wisdom of compliance and we can even discuss the Sublimated Man—not as he experiences himself, but rather as we experience him. Cogitation and reflexion, however, can only gain us a small amount of ground in understanding and explaining the cosmos. This awareness leads us to our second perspective—what we might call the absolute perspective of the unconditioned tao.

The absolute perspective is the experience of existence from the perspective of the Sublimated Man—it is what Chuang Tzu refers to as chen chih ("Sublimated Knowledge"). Only the Sublimated Man can experience Sublimated Knowledge, and this experience cannot be communicated to a second party. This cognizance, however, did not deter Chuang Tzu from pointing at the moon. Since the predication of any positive characteristic would effectively set bounds upon and delimit this
experience, this perspective is characterized by negative predication (the "neti, neti" of the Brihad-Aranyaka Upanishad, as well as the *via negativa* of the Christian mystics). It is at this plane of experience that relativities such as life, death, change and permanence lose their grip and have no application. It is at this level that ordinary differentiated knowledge loses its validity, having no point of distinction. It is at this level that the metaphysics, epistemology and all aspects of his philosophical system fold into a radically empirical experience of totality which Chuang Tzu calls the *tao*.

From the perspective which assumes the reality of the phenomenal world, discussion on mountains, people and time makes good sense. In fact, it is the very differentiated knowledge which makes such communication possible. If we suddenly move to the absolute perspective, however, we are obliged to turn on our previously accepted reality and reject its validity out of hand. We have to deny the difference between this and that, between subject and object. We have to repudiate the very foundation which has made communication possible on our lower plane. It is the movement between these two planes which gives rise to the seeming contradictions in our text.

Aware of Chuang Tzu's two perspectives, we can proceed to explore the significance of the changing phenomenal world both from its own perspective and from the vantage point of the absolute and all-inclusive *tao*. We can understand what
"knowledge" of the phenomenal world and its differentiated particulars mean as opposed to the experience of the tao.

To exemplify the rational difficulties which arise when Chuang Tzu vacillates between these two perspectives in his discussion, we might cite the passage:

A man like this could climb heights without consternation, could enter water without feeling wet, and could enter fire without feeling hot. (Text 2; 15/6/5)

In this passage, Chuang Tzu is describing his Sublimated Man. This man can be viewed from the perspective of the phenomenal world (i.e., through the eyes of the ordinary person), and from the perspective of the absolute tao (i.e., as the Sublimated Man experiences himself). From the perspective of the phenomenal world, he is a differentiated particular which can be associated with a given physical and temporal form. This form can encounter circumstances seen as external to it which might inhibit its continued phenomenal existence. For example, it can meet with the destruction of fire and water. Hence, from this phenomenal vantage point, the Sublimated Man is as vulnerable as any differentiated phenomenal object.

Again, from the absolute perspective, the Sublimated Man in experiencing sublimation dispensed with any inclination to differentiate, and disassociated himself from any subjective identity or space-time existence. From this level, wholly free from any physical or temporal encumbrances, there can be no sensation of "heat" or "wet". Identifying himself with his experience of the cosmic totality, he stands invulnerable to the aberrations of change.
Hence, from the perspective of the assumed phenomenal world, it can be said of the Sublimated Man that he enters fire and becomes hot, while by introducing the absolute perspective, it can be said that he enters fire but does not feel heat. In vacillating between these two perspectives, Chuang Tzu effectively charges his anecdotes with a paradoxical flavour—but it is through understanding the paradox that we can catch a glimpse of his absolute level of experience.

References and Abbreviations

In citing references, we have attempted to assist the reader by considering both facility and reliability. Wherever practical, the first choice has been to cite the Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series. We have used this source in citing the following seven works:

1) Shih Ching, 2) Tso Chuan, 3) Erh Ya, 4) Lun Yu, 5) Chuang Tzu, 6) Meng Tzu, and 7) Hsün Tzu.

The second choice is the Ssu Pu Ts'ung K'an (2100 ts'e) 四部叢刊 compiled and reproduced in a photolithographic edition in 1920-22 by Shang Wu Yin Shu Kuan 商務印書館, Shanghai. If the cited work is not included in the Ssu Pu Ts'ung K'an, the Ssu Pu Pei Yao (1372 ts'e) 四部備要, compiled and published in Shanghai by Chung Hua Shu Chü 中華書局 (1927-35), is consulted. Again, if not included in this work, we cite the Han Wei Ts'ung Shu (100 ts'e) 漢魏叢書 compiled by Ho T'ang 何鏞 during the Ming dynasty.
In citing Chuang Tzu commentaries, the first source consulted was the Wu Ch'iu Pei Chai Chuang Tzu Chi Ch'eng compiled by Yen Ling-feng and published by I Wen Yin Shu Kuan 藝文印書館, Taipei in 1972. This collection of 30 volumes contains photolithographic copies of 64 commentaries. Since this is only the first of three instalments and is by no means comprehensive, we must also make frequent use of the Tao Tsang texts, individual reprints of older commentaries, and the original editions of more recent researches.

In preparing the translation, we have had the benefit of being able to consult previous translations by:

1) Herbert A. Giles, Chuang Tzu: Mystic, Moralist and Social Reformer (London: 1889)
3) James Ware, The Sayings of Chuang Chou (New York: 1963)
4) Fung Yu-lan, Chuang Tzu (Shanghai: 1933)
7) Fukunaga Mitsuji, Sōshi: Naihen (Tokyo: 1956)
8) Kuan Feng, Chuang Tzu Nei P'ien Shih Chieh Ho: P'ieh P'an (Peking: 1961)
9) Yeh Yü-lin, Pai Hua Shih Chieh Chuang Tzu (Hong Kong: 1967 rep.--orig. pub. 1934)
The following abbreviations are used in the body of this thesis:

**CHC** Ch'u Hsüeh Chi 初學記
—an encyclopaedic work compiled under imperial auspices by Hsü Chien 徐堅 (659-729) et al. in 30 chüan
—Teng and Biggerstaff, pp. 86-7

**CTCC** Wu Ch'iu Pei Chai Chuang Tzu Chi Ch'eng Ch'u Pien 無求備兼莊子集成初編
—see above p. 19

**HPSL** Ku Chin Ho Pi Shih Lei Pei Yao 古今合璧事類備要
—an encyclopaedic work compiled by Hsieh Wei-hsin 謝維新, preface dated 1257, in 366 chüan
—Teng and Biggerstaff, pp. 91-2

**HWTS** Han Wei Ts'ung Shu 漢魏叢書
—see above p. 18

**PKLT** Po K'ung Liu T'ieh 白孔六帖
—an encyclopaedia of ch'eng yü 成語 and anecdotes which is a combination of the Po Shih Liu T'ieh Shih Lei Chi 白氏六帖事類集 (30 chüan) of Po Chü-i 白居易 (772-846), and an early Sung supplement to this work in 30 chüan by K'ung Ch'uan 孔傳, reorganized into 100 chüan before the end of the Sung dynasty
PTSC  Pei T'ang Shu Ch'ao 北堂書鈔
---an encyclopaedic work compiled by Yu Shih-nan 虞世南 (558-638) in 160 ch'üan; collated and annotated by Kuang-t'ao 孔廣陶 and published in 1888
---Teng and Biggerstaff, p. 85

SPPY  Ssu Pu Pei Yao 四部備要
---see above p. 18

SPTK  Ssu Pu Ts'ung K'an 四部叢刊
---see above p. 18

SWLC  Ku Chin Shih Wen Lei Chü 古今事文類聚
---an encyclopaedic work compiled by Chu Mu 祝穆 (preface dated 1246), Fu Ta-yung (Yuan dyn.) and Chu Yüan (Yuan dyn.) in 236 chüan
---Teng and Biggerstaff, pp. 90-1

TPYL  T'ai P'ingYu Lan 太平御覽
---an encyclopaedic work compiled under imperial auspices by Li Fang 李昉 (925-96) in 1000 chüan
---Teng and Biggerstaff, pp. 88-9

YCCC  Yun Chi Ch'i Ch'ien 雲笈七籤
NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. It should be made clear at the outset that the scope of this investigation has been limited to European and Chinese commentary, with particular effort towards comprehensiveness made in the area of the Chinese tradition. Personal language limitations have retarded efforts to fully appreciate the Japanese contributions, although a thorough study has been made of Fukunaga Mitsuji's interpretation of the "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter in Sōshi: Naihen (Tokyo, 1956) of the Chūgoku kotensen series.


3. Fung Yu-lan in "Lun Chuang Tzu 論莊子" p. 119, and "Tsai Lun Chuang Tzu再論莊子" pp. 132-3 (both reprinted in Chuang Tzu Che Hsieh T'ao Lun Chi 莊子哲學討論集) disputes the authenticity of the "Jen Chien Shih" chapter on the basis that the notion of hsin chai 心齋 of "Jen Chien Shih" is mental sublimation through the process of attaining a "knowledgeless" and "desireless" state of absolute tranquillity, while Chuang Tzu's own idea of tso wang 坐忘 (in "Ta Tsung Shih") is mental sublimation through the repudiation of differentiated knowledge. Yeh Kuo-ch'ing 葉國慶 supports the notion that "Jen Chien Shih" is not authentic in his Chuang Tzu Yen Chiu 莊子研究 (Shanghai: 1932).
Jen Chi-yeh contends in *Chuang Tzu Che Hsüeh T'ao Lun* pp. 178ff. that the nei chapters are all spurious, basing his argument heavily upon the Shih Chi 63 biography of Chuang Tzu which associates him with the notions expressed in the "Yü Fu," "Tao Chih" and "Ch'ü Ch'ieh" chapters.

None of these theories can be deemed threatening to the traditional opinion that the nei chapters are authentic. First, Chuang Tzu has many ways of expressing his process of sublimation. All such descriptions represent one or another aspect of the experience, but no statement is inclusive or comprehensive to the extent that it is capable of giving full value to Chuang Tzu's process of enlightenment. Witness, for example, that in this one "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter we have two specific and yet distinct expositions on the method of achieving sublimation (Text 13, 25).

See Kuan Feng (pp. 314-18) for a convincing refutation of Yeh Kuo-ch'ing's arguments against the authenticity of the "Jen Chien Shih" chapter.

Jen Chi-yeh, in taking the Shih Chi 63 biography of Chuang Tzu as the basis of his argument, assumes the accuracy of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's description. The very brevity of this relatively unflattering account disqualifies it as a description which can stand unsupported. It discusses his text as being "empty verbiage without factual support" and states that "his wording is deep and remote, letting himself go in an effort to suit himself." Because of his lack of restraint in his writings, "kings, dukes and officials are not able to make use of them." Even the most starchy Confucian would have to allow that Ssu-ma Ch'ien's description is not a model of objectivity.


7. See Appendix III below for a complete translation of this section.

8. This again is the traditional point of view. For example, Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV8p1174); Wang Fu-chih (CTCCV19p698). Ma Hsü-lun (p. 898) states that this is Chuang Tzu's own explanation of his tao.

   For a critical discussion of prevailing theories on the authenticity of this "T'ien Hsia" chapter, see Chang Ch'eng-ch'iü's 張成秋 Chuang Tzu F'ien Mu K'ao 莊子篇日考 (Taipei: 1971) pp. 165-173. He concludes that it might be Chuang Tzu's own, and it might also be that of a Chuang Tzu convert. It is definitely pro-Taoist in tenor and specifically pro-Chuang Tzu.

   Again, see Yen Ling-feng's Lao Chuang Yen Chiu 老莊研究 (Taipei: 1966) pp. 169-207 where he lists 27 scholars who contend that this "T'ien Hsia" chapter is prefatory, while he lists 9 others who contend that it is not. Yen Ling-feng's own position falls with the latter group.

9. This is a far less popular opinion. See Hu Wen-ying (CTCC V21p511); Kuan Feng (pp. 357-8). Although Kuan Feng supports T'an Chieh-fu's 譚戒甫 contention that the "T'ien Hsia" chapter is a combination of the "Huai Nan Wang Chuang Tzu Lüeh Yao 淮南王莊子略要 " and "Hui Shih惠施" chapters (see Appendix I under Ssu-ma Piao; T'an Chieh-fu's hypothesis is presented in his "Hsien Tsai Chuang Tzu T'ien Hsia P'ien Te Yen Chiu 現在莊子天下篇的研究 " published in Chung Kuo Che Hsüeh Shih Lun Wen Ch'u Chi 中國哲學史論文叢集 published by K'o Hsüeh Ch'u Pan She 科學出版社, 1959)
of the original 52 chapters, he still maintains that the outline of Chuang Tzu's thought coincides with the material in the nei chapters.


11. From their evaluations of this text, it would seem apparent that many of the commentators are implicitly aware of these two perspectives, and a few critics even state quite specifically that they are dealing on two levels. See, for example, P'an Chi-ch'ing (CTCCV12p399) and Kuan Feng (p. 239). This idea of levels is not peculiar to Chuang Tzu alone, but is characteristic of Taoist writings. H. Welch in his The Parting of the Way (Boston: 1957), p. 50 makes a similar observation in discussing Lao Tzu: "...the doctrines of Lao Tzu have a different look at different levels; his words have a different application at different levels."
1. TEXT

To know the operations of nature\(^1\) and to know the operations of man is the highest level (of knowledge).\(^2\) To know the operations of nature is innate.\(^3\) To know the operations of man is to use those elements of knowledge which one knows to develop\(^4\) those which one does not. And to exhaust one's natural span of years without expiring prematurely--this is the proliferation of knowledge.

EXEGESIS

1. The word \(t'ien\) 天, here translated as "nature", takes on a variety of meanings in the *Chuang Tzu*, and as a consequence requires a rendering from context rather than an automatic substitution of any one English word. Here we follow Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p269) in interpreting the word \(t'ien\) as "nature": "The operations of nature mean the darkness and brightness of the three luminaries, the life-cycle of the four seasons, the gathering and wasting of winds and clouds and the cold and warmth of the thunder and rains."

There has been a tendency, especially since the *tzu-jan* commentators of the Wei-Chin period, to define the *tao* as the principle of natural change. From the usage of *tao* in this "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter, however, it would seem that \(t'ien\) as an aspect of the phenomenal world has assumed this function. The *tao*, absolute and unconditioned, cannot be delimited by
identifying it with "change"—rather it must retain a posture beyond any static-dynamic antithesis.

It is to be noted that in Chuang Tzu's philosophical system, t'ien assumes the procreative function, whereas in Lao Tzu's thought this falls within the sphere of the tao. This marks an important divergence in their philosophies.

In the Tao Te Ching, we read:

There was something heterogeneously formed,
Predating Heaven and Earth in its birth.
...This can be considered the mother of the universe.
I do not know its name—constrained, I would designate it "tao". (Chapter 25)

The Great tao is so expansive, reaching in all directions.
The myriad things depend on it for their conception...
(Chapter 34)

The tao engenders them, and its virtue cultivates them;
The physical world gives form to them, and their environment completes them.
Consequently, of the myriad things, none but revere the tao and venerate its virtue.
(Chapter 51)

T'ang Chün-i makes this aspect of Lao Tzu's concept very clear. He suggests that the metaphysical tao is the source of the myriad things, and by itself, is without any phenomenal appearance. Phenomenal appearance only becomes apparent in its contrast with other things. Thus, since the things which are produced are distinct from that which produces them, the phenomenal appearance of the tao becomes clear from its contrast with the myriad things which it engenders. (See his Chung Kuo Che Hsüeh Yüan Lun, Vol. I, pp. 348ff.)

If there is one exception to the statement that the tao does not have the procreative function in the Chuang Tzu, it
might be the passage:

Now, the brilliant is engendered out of darkness; that which has structure is engendered out of the formless; spiritual essence is engendered out of the tao. Form was originally engendered from essence, and the myriad things engender each other through form. (58/22/30)

Lo Ken-tse, however, after analyzing this chapter, suggests that "Chih Pei Yu" is in fact a later compilation of the Lao Tzu school. (Chu Tzu K'ao So, pp. 299ff.)

In this passage, t'ien is used to designate one aspect of the phenomenal world held up in contrast to a second aspect--the sphere of man. As such, it is the progenitor of all things. Cf. Text 9, 16/6/21 below.

According to Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p38), the Ts'ui Chuan and Hsiang Hsiu texts had the character shih ("to lose") for t'ien ("nature"). This would appear to be a graphic error due to the similarity between the two characters shih (small seal script: 已) and t'ien (small seal script: 天) which was corrected in the Kuo Hsiang and all subsequent versions.

2. There is what would appear to be an amplification of this passage in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 18/14la:

If one knows the operations of nature and knows the practices of man, then he will have the means to make a path for himself in the world. If one knows nature but does not know man, then he will be without the means to communicate with the mundane world. If one knows man but does not know nature, then he will be without the means to ramble with the tao.

Again, in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 21/160a:

To speak of the tao and not speak of reality is to be without the means to drift about in the world. To
speak of reality and not speak of the tao is to be without the means to wander and relax with change.

It would seem that the author(s) of these passages in the composite Huai Nan Tzu text accept this first portion of the "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter as an exposition of Chuang Tzu's own epistemology. As it were, this passage is followed by an explanation that knowledge of the phenomenal world (including both the operations of man and nature) is conditional, and is not the chen chih ("Sublimated Knowledge").

3. This, of course, does not refer to a comprehensive knowledge of the workings of nature, but rather to a knowledge (or "instinctive knowledge") of certain facets of the natural order necessary for survival.

4. Yen Ling-feng (p. 685) suggests an alternative reading as: "...to use those elements of knowledge which one knows to regulate those which one does not." He reads the character yang ("to develop") as chih ("to regulate"), following the Chao Ch' i commentary on the Mencius 68/7B/35 passage:

   In regulating (yang) the mind, nothing is better than reducing desires.

2. TEXT

   Even so, (this hypothesis) has its difficulties. Now, knowledge has that upon which it is conditional before it is rightly knowledge. And that upon which it is conditional is never fixed. (For example,) how do we know that which we
call "nature" is not in fact "man," or that which we call "man" is not in fact "nature"? Moreover, there must be the "Sublimated Man" before there can be "Sublimated Knowledge."

What is meant by "Sublimated Man"? The "Sublimated Man" of antiquity did not run contrary to (even) the trivial, did not force accomplishments, and did not contrive affairs. A man like this could err without remorse, and could do things right without becoming supercilious. A man like this could climb heights without consternation, could enter water without feeling wet, and could enter fire without feeling hot. The (capacity of) one's knowledge to ascend to and reach the tao is like this.

EXEGESIS
1. Here we follow Yen Ling-feng (p. 685) who suggests that the character tai is similar to the modern expression "condition." This passage means that the accuracy of what we call knowledge is dependent upon certain conditions for verification.

2. This passage is similar in style and content to the following passage from the "Ch'i Wu Lun" chapter:

   How do we know that which we call "knowing" is not "not-knowing", or that which we call "not-knowing" is in fact "knowing"? (6/2/66)

The expression yung chü ("how") first occurs in this passage.
3. The character chen ("Sublimated") does not appear in any of the pre-Chuang Tzu texts, with the exception of once in the Mo Tzu (7/6/35) and three times in the Lao Tzu (Chapters 21, 41 and 54). Lo Ken-tse in his Chu Tzu K'ao So pp. 167ff. collates various theories regarding the authenticity of this portion of the Mo Tzu, and concludes that this chapter was probably written between the years 286-246 B.C. at the end of the Warring States period. Sun I-jang in his preface to Mo Tzu Chien Ku p. 1 feels that the wording of this chapter would date it as late Chou, and suggests that it is from the hands of Confucians rather than from Mohists. It is likely, then, that the earliest extant text to use this term chen was either the Lao Tzu or Chuang Tzu. It would seem that this word was at least made popular as a special term in the Taoist writings. This can be attested to by the Shuo Wen definition which defines chen as "the immortals undergoing physical transformations and ascending to Heaven." Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p126) further points out that the character chen is classified in the Shuo Wen under the radical hua which is the original form of hua ("to change"). There is no doubt that by the time of Hsü Shen, the character chen had very strong Taoistic connotations.

Ts'ao Shou-k'un is not convinced that this term chen had such strong religious Taoist implications at Chuang Tzu's time, and goes to great lengths in contending that Chuang Tzu's use of this word does not carry with it the connotations of the Shuo Wen definition. He claims that those
passages of the *Chuang Tzu* which smack of religious Taoism, such as references to sylphish transformations, two thousand year life-spans, etc. "...certainly cannot be relied upon as representing Chuang Tzu's own thought....In the *Shuo Wen* 

Chü Tu 説文解詁 of Wang Yün 王筠, under the character *chen* it explains that while references to the 'Sublimated Man (*chen jen 真人*)' in the *Li Shih Ch'un Ch'iu* and *Huai Nan Tzu* indicate immortals, Chuang Tzu alone states that '*chen is the superlative degree of essence and integrity.'" (87/31/32)

There are many parts of even the *nei* chapters which, if interpreted literally, have religious Taoist meanings. The extent to which the *Chuang Tzu* reflects this tradition is a matter of interpretation and emphasis.

The Lao-Chuang partnership in popularizing terms is not confined to this one term *chen*. The term *tzu jen* 自然, for example, which appears in Chapters 17, 23, 25, 51 and 64 of the *Tao Te Ching* and then again in the *Chuang Tzu* does not appear in any texts anterior to them. (There is one occurrence in the *Mo Tzu* 70/42/50, but Lo Ken-tse in his *Chu Tzu K'ao So* pp. 183-94 dates this part of the *Mo Tzu* as post-Chuang Tzu and pre-Hsüan Tzu.)

4. From the above discussion of the character *chen*, we can better appreciate how terms like *chen jen* 真人("Sublimated Man") and *chen chih* 真知("Sublimated Knowledge") would have been received by Chuang Tzu's contemporaries.

Wang K'ai-yün (cited in Ts'ao Shou-k'un CTCCV30p128)
points out that the notion of the "Sublimated Man" is the primary theme of the "K'o I" chapter. In the "K'o I" chapter, the "Sublimated Man" is depicted as an adherent of religious Taoist practices. He would seem to be a later elaboration on elements found in this "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter such as his invincibility, his peculiar breathing, and his experience of a higher level of existence. Lo Ken-tse (ibid. pp. 291-2) suggests that the "K'o I" chapter is the product of followers of the Occultist School of the Ch'in-Han era. As the case may be, the references to the "Sublimated Man" in this chapter should not be confused with the picture presented in the "K'o I" portion of the text.

5. The commentaries present us with basically three interpretations of this phrase:

1) Lü Hui-ch'ing (CTCCV5p64) and Hu Wen-ying (CTCCV21p92) would interpret this as meaning that the Sublimated Man does not follow the crowd and abandon the few. Lü Hui-ch'ing states that since the standard of right and wrong in the world is not universal, people naturally tend to follow the majority. If one follows the crowd, however, he cannot avoid offending the few.

2) Wang Hsien-ch'ien (CTCCV26p75) and Kuo Liang-han (CTCCV13p321) suggest that in repudiating his subjectivity, the Sublimated Man becomes vacuous and offends nothing—not even the small and trivial. Wang Hsien-ch'ien says that the Sublimated Man makes himself vacuous and accords with things. Albeit they are trivial, he does not run contrary
3) Wu Shih-shang (CTCCV22pl4) and Ch'ü Fu (CTCCV21pl75) suggest that Chuang Tzu's meaning is that the Sublimated Man is aware of the fact that the large is dependent upon the small and the important is dependent upon the incidental. Thus Wu Shih-shang states that the Sublimated Man looks upon the incidental as important. This interpretation alludes to Chapter 64 of the Tao Te Ching:

When a situation is stable,  
It is a simple matter to maintain it.  
When symptoms have not yet appeared,  
It is a simple matter to make plans.  
When something is brittle,  
It is easily fractured;  
When something is fine,  
It is easily scattered.  
Negotiate a situation before it arises;  
Put a situation in proper order before disorder sets in.  
A tree with the girth of a man's embrace  
Germinates from the tiniest sprout;  
A pavilion of nine levels  
Is erected on a basketful of earth;  
A journey of one thousand li  
Commences from the ground beneath one's feet...  
In carrying out their affairs,  
The people are constantly thwarted on the very brink of success.  
If one is as conscientious at the end as he was at the start,  
Then there would be no failures.

We follow Wang Hsien-ch'ien's interpretation for several reasons. First, the three parallel phrases "...did not run contrary to (even) the trivial, did not force accomplishments and did not contrive affairs" all reflect the attitude of the Sublimated Man towards his affairs. Secondly, this entire section deals with the vacuity (i.e., the absence of the subjective identity) of the Sublimated Man. And thirdly, the Sublimated Man, free from all attachments and commitments, would respond to all
things spontaneously—the important and the trivial alike. Hence, this interpretation also embraces the basic meaning of Wu Shih-shang's reading (3).

6. Hu Yüan-chün (p. 49) suggests that *hsiung* "force" is being used like *yung* "brave", altering this passage to read "...did not bravely accomplish." Kao Heng (p. 26) would read *hsiung* as *huan* because of the two passages in 10/4/36 and 10/4/52 which contain the expression *huan ch'eng* "gladly accomplish". (Kao reads *huan* for *ch'ên* in 10/4/52). This would change the translation to "...did not gladly accomplish."

The character *hsiung* here makes good sense, and there is no necessity for accepting an alternate reading.

7. Ma Hsü-lun (p. 181) states that *ch'eng* and *kua* are contrasts, and that *ch'eng* should be read as *sheng* "prosperity". Again, the text makes good sense as it stands, and does not require amending.

8. This phrase has basically two interpretations:

1) Kuo Hsiang (CTCCV1p131) and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3 pp273-4) both interpret this passage literally. Kuo Hsiang states that he gives full rein to his will and moves straight ahead, and the various gentlemen accord with him of their own volition. He does not have to plan and scheme in order to realize this co-operation. In this interpretation, *shih*
is read literally as "gentlemen" (or in Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, as shih chung士眾, "the masses"). Hence, this phrase would read: "...did not scheme to win the masses (gentlemen)."

2) This second interpretation was probably first introduced by Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p248), and represents the consensus of subsequent commentators. Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p157), for example, states that the phrase pu mo shih不謀士 is equivalent to pu mou shih不謀事. The commentary to the Kuan Tzu and various other pre-Han works attest to the fact that shih and shih士 were used interchangeably (see Rickett, p. 112). Again, the Shuo Wen defines the character shih士 as shih士. Our translation follows this emendation.

Important to note here is that according to Chuang Tzu, action would be spontaneous—as he says below: "Compelled, he did what must be done. (Text 6)" The ideal Taoist attitude toward activity is doing what must be done without contriving to act. We can see that in this passage the idea of "planning" is contrary to the Taoist ideal, and has a pejorative connotation. Thus we render it "contrive."

9. Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p249) observes that the expression jo jan che 茫然者 originated with the Chuang Tzu.

10. Early commentators felt some discomfort at the implication that Chuang Tzu's ideal man was in fact capable of errors in judgement. Kuo Hsiang (CTCCV1p131), for example, dismisses it outright, stating that this ideal man is wholly beyond
Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p274) interprets the character kuo  as referring to the proper time, suggesting that if the proper time has passed, he is always free of remorseful sentiments. The character kuo  ("err") is obviously being used antithetic to the character tang  ("right"), and as such, must be interpreted in terms of Chuang Tzu's thought rather than dismissed out of hand. "To err" and "to be right" are judgements made on a condition of the phenomenal world, and are wholly relative. Now, the Sublimated Man in becoming cognizant of his oneness with all things, is incapable of entertaining such subjective and relative value judgements. Hence, we can only assume that Chuang Tzu's meaning would be that the Sublimated Man, without contriving to act, does what must be done. People around him might make value judgements on his actions, saying this is right and that wrong, but the Sublimated Man himself is free from any remorse or superciliousness. For complementary analyses, cf. Lü Hui-ch'ing (CTCCV5p64) and Yü Yüeh (p. 196).

11. Note that this sentence begins with "A man like this could climb heights without consternation." "Consternation" is an emotion, a feeling. It is the result of subjective reflexion on a given situation. This can be applied to the second and third phrases which constitute this sentence--the Sublimated Man can "become wet" by entering water, but cannot "feel wet." That is, other people can say of the physical existence which they look upon as the Sublimated Man that it has "become wet,"
but since the Sublimated Man is devoid of subjective consciousness, there is nothing to register or "feel" this wetness. From the perspective of the phenomenal world in which the Sublimated Man and the water, fire, etc. are two (i.e. from the perspective of the ordinary man), there is wetness and heat, but from the absolute perspective at which the Sublimated Man is one with all things, all relative notions such as wetness, dryness, heat, cold, etc. dissolve.

12. This metaphor is used repeatedly throughout the Chuang Tzu. See 6/2/71, 44/17/49, 48/19/8 and 57/21/68. There is also a similar passage in the Lieh Tzu SPTK 2/5b.

13. The expression which we have translated as "to ascend to and reach"—teng ko 登假 (according to Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p39 and Yen Fu p. 18, the character 假 should be pronounced ko in this expression)—appears as a binomial in many of the early texts in one of three forms: 1) 登假, 2) 登叚 and 3) 登霞. These are used interchangeably and have the same meaning. It is used in the Mo Tzu 39/25/79 to mean "spiritual ascent," and seems to carry this supernatural connotation with it throughout the early texts (for additional ref., see Chu Kuei-yao CTCCV26pp142-3).

Wen I-to (Shen Hua Yu Shih p. 159) contends that the expressions teng ko 登叚 and sheng ko 昇霞 are both alternate forms of teng ko 登假. When the sun shines on a bank of clouds from the side, they appear to be red and burning. This, he states, is the meaning of ko 霞. Hence, ko 霞 is used as a substitute for its cognate ko 假.
Wen I-to further suggests that the term teng ko登霞 was not indigenous to the Chinese, but rather originated with the barbarian Ch'iang peoples to the west. He cites Mo Tzu 39/25/79 which has the passage:

To the west of Ch'in was the state of I Ch'ixi儀渠．When their relatives would die, they would gather up firewood and incinerate them. When the smoke ascended, they called it teng ko登霞．

Again, he cites Li Shih Ch'un Ch'iu SPTK 14/84a which says:

The people of Shih氏 and Ch'iang羌 in being made captives do not grieve at being tied and bound, but rather grieve at dying without being cremated.

It originally meant that at the time of incineration, the spirit would avail itself of the fire and smoke, and ascend to the heavens. After being introduced into the Chinese states, this term came to have two usages. The death of the ruler was called teng ko登霞 (Li Chi SPTK 1/15b; Legge I:108), as was the spiritual ascent of the hsien jen仙人 (Ch'ien Han Shu SPTK PNP 25下/15a). Whereas the former usage was within the scope of the old concept, the latter usage was an extension of its original meaning.

14. According to Ma Hsü-lun (p. 182), some texts are without the character che者．See the Kuo Hsiang edition CTCCV1pl31.

3. TEXT

The Sublimated Man of antiquity did not dream in his sleep and was without anxieties while awake.¹ He did not relish² his victuals,³ and ever so profound was his breathing.
This Sublimated Man breathes from his heels, while the common man breathes from his throat. The garbled speech of one who is early in adhering (to the way of the Sublimated Man) is like the regurgitating (of an infant). One whose passions and desires are deep is shallow in natural expression.

EXEGESIS

1. This phrase "...did not dream in his sleep and was without anxieties while awake" is repeated verbatim in 40/15/13.

2. Ma Hsü-lun (p. 182) comments that the character kan甘 is being used as a simplified form of han西甘 which is defined in the Shuo Wen as "intoxicated." See note 3 below.

3. Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p131) observes that many commentators explain the phrase "he did not relish his victuals" as expressing the idea that the Sublimated Man found his victuals flavourless (e.g. Kuo Hsiang, Ch'eng Hsüan-ying), or at least expressing the notion that he has no appetite (e.g. Lu Ch'ang-keng and Hsüan Ying). He feels that these explanations are too superficial, and suggests that since ch'in眠 ("sleep") and chöeh覚 ("awake") are antithetical, shih食 ("victuals") and hsi息 ("breathing") should also have the same relationship. According to Ma Hsü-lun (p. 182), the character kan is semantically related to han西甘. This would imply that the breathing of the Sublimated Man is completely free from
obstructions, and thus relates this to the subsequent phrase: "...and ever so profound was his breathing." The gist of these four phrases is a description of the Sublimated Man as being without cogitation or reflexion.

Ts'ao Shou-k'un then goes on to point out that speech is actually verbalized cogitation, and since the Sublimated Man is without cogitation, he is without speech. Thus, he does not hold his food in his mouth (han ⾷) in order to speak (i.e. he does not speak with his mouth full):

Such being the case, when one begins to think while eating, the muscles of the throat will naturally be activated. Consequently, the food will be held in the mouth, he will be unable to swallow, and his breathing will for this reason be obstructed. The Sublimated Man's being able to eat without holding the food in his mouth is due to his being without cogitation or reflexion.

Ma Hsü-lun is correct in suggesting that the character 甘 is at times used as a loan character for han 食 (see Morohashi 7-21643-7), and the character 甘 was probably originally a graph of a mouth with something in it (Karlgren, Grammata Serica). Nonetheless, we follow the traditional and more literal interpretation for two reasons. First, the characters 甘 and 食 are used together frequently in early texts. For example, see Lao Tzu 80 (repeated in Chuang Tzu 25/10/31) and Mencius 53/7A/27. Secondly, the notion of culinary pleasures acting as a distraction is a reoccurring theme in the Taoist texts. (Lao Tzu 12; Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 8/50; Chuang Tzu 33/12/97). Lao Tzu 35 describes the tao by stating that "it is so insipid that it is without taste."

Chuang Tzu's point in this passage is that since the
Sublimated Man is without a subjective identity and is without the value judgements which are so instrumental in shaping the posture of this subjectivity, he is wholly free from physical attachments. Hence, he finds neither pleasure nor pain in his physical existence.

4. This sentence is of course metaphorical. Since the Sublimated Man has repudiated his subjectivity, his breathing is not hampered by passions, desires or cogitation. As such, he is able to breathe with his whole existence (i.e. down to his heels or "root"). The unenlightened masses, however, are constrained by their self-delimiting subjectivity and the conditional nature of their existence. For this metaphor in the *Lieh Tzu* and a discussion of it, see A.C. Graham's translation p. 48 note 1.

5. Commentaries are at some variance with respect to the meaning of the expression ɨ yen 咽 ㄏ:

1) Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p158), Ma Hsü-lun (p. 182) and Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p129) are in agreement that ɨ yen 咽 is a loan character for yeh ㄩ, which according to the *Shuo Wen* means food lodged in the throat (=to choke). They further agree that yen ㄏ should be read as yin ยอม. Thus, they would interpret this as the sound of choking.

2) Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 97) and Lin Shu (CTCCV27p185) read ɨ yen 咽 as hou 候 ("throat"), and yen ㄏ as yin ยอม ("sound"). Thus, they interpret this expression as "throat noises."
3) Hsüan Ying (p. 61) states that 呼 is the entering of sound, while 呼 is the expulsion of it. In this case, this expression should be rendered "the inhalation and speech..."

Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2 p38) is probably correct in suggesting that 呼 means difficulty in swallowing (Shuo Wen definition). As such, it is not necessary that it act as a loan character. Also, there seems to be no reason to alter the text to read 呼 when 呼 makes equally good sense.

6. Commentators are in disagreement over the meaning of the expression 軍 fu che屈服者:

1) Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 97) suggests that it means "unclear" or "obstructed". Thus, this phrase would read "Since (his throat) is not clear..."

2) Lin Shu (CTCCV2 p786) suggests that it means "unnatural (pu tzu jan 不自然)."

3) Ma Hsü-lun (p. 182) states that 軍 is a loan character for pao 傾 which is the original form of 軍, meaning "to prostrate oneself on the ground."

4) Yen Ling-feng (p. 686) suggests that the expression 軍 軍 is nonsensical here, it being likely that it is a mis-taken rendering of 軍 軍 which is directly antithetical to the phrase which follows it: "one whose passions and desires are so deep..." (In his Lao Tzu Ta Chieh pp. 243-4, Yen Ling-feng interprets this expression 軍 軍 as "early in adhering to.") Hence, his interpretation would make this pos-itive, referring to the Sublimated Man rather than to the common
man: "The sounds in the throat of one who is early in adhering
to the way of the Sublimated Man) are like the regurgitating
(of an infant)."
Since he interprets this phrase as being parallel to the one which follows it, the character ch'i
in the expression ch'i ch'i yu should be omitted.

Yen Ling-feng's interpretation amounts to a suggestion that this passage is an allusion to ideas contained in the *Tao Te Ching*. First, the notion that the highest level of knowledge and experience cannot be articulated is a reoccurring theme in both Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu (e.g. Lao Tzu 1, 56; Chuang Tzu 36/13/65-68). Secondly, the metaphor of the infant as an embodiment of the *tao* also occurs throughout the *Tao Te Ching* (e.g. 20, 56). Thirdly, the idea of reducing desires is a major tenet in the *Tao Te Ching* (e.g. 3, 19, 37, 46, 57, 64).

Again, this first section of the "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter has several passages which are reminiscent of Chapter 59 in the *Tao Te Ching* from which the expression tsao fu (早服) is taken:

In governing the people and nurturing one's own person,
Nothing can be compared to frugality.
Only being frugal can be called being early in adhering (tsao fu).
Being early in adhering means accumulating *virtus* in great measure...
Since no one is able to calculate the limits of his strength.
He can take on the responsibility of the nation...
This is called the principle of having deep roots and a firm base.

The phrase above marked with a (1) appears verbatim in 15/6/11.
The phrase marked (2) is perhaps alluded to in 15/6/11.
Hence, the Sage in employing the military is able to destroy a nation without forfeiting the goodwill of its people.

Phrase (3) compares with the notion that the "Sublimated Man breathes from his heels (i.e. his 'root')" above.

Chuang Tzu's ideal man is free of cogitation and reflexion (as suggested by Ts'ao Shou-k'un CTCCV30p13l), and since speech is the verbalization of thought, it is consistent with Chuang Tzu's description (see Text 6, 15/6/16-7 below) that the speech of the Sublimated Man is nothing more than a garbled noise.

Since Yen Ling-feng's explanation of this passage is most in keeping with the context of Chuang Tzu's thought, we have followed him in our interpretation.

7. Ma Hsü-lun (p. 182) suggests that the character 花 be read 調, citing the fact that Wang Ch'ung cites the passage from Mencius 26/3B/10: "He went out and vomited it up." in his Lun Heng SPPY 30/14b with the character 調 in place of 花. These two words are close enough in meaning to make any change in the text academic.

8. We read 氣 as 時. Wang Shu-min (1/48) points out that the Tao Tsang editions of Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (510/7/7a), Wang Yüan-tse (503/5/3a) and Ch'ü Po-hsiu (470/14/7b) all have 時. Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p158) cites an example in Hsün Tzu 17/6/49 where according to the Yang Ching commentary, 氣 is used as a loan character for 時. He cites a second example
in the *Ch'ien Han Shu* (SPTK: PNP 87/13b) in which, according to the Yen Shih-ku commentar y, this is also the case. Further, there are passages in the *Chuang Tzu* (6/2/68; 64/24/2; 64/24/3) in which *ch'i* is used as a loan character for *shih*, whereas the character *shih* does not appear in the text at all.

9. Ch'en Shen (CTCCV11p92) points out that this expression *t'ien chi* ("natural expression") does not appear in texts anterior to the *Chuang Tzu*. It occurs not infrequently in the *Chuang Tzu*, and then reappears in the *Lieh Tzu* and *Huai Nan Tzu*. In reference to this term, Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30 pl130) comments that *chi* is the control of expressed motion (*Shuo Wen* definition), and that *t'ien chi* means expressed motion arising out of nature.

Wen I-to (p. 264) suggests that this passage: "This Sublimated Man breathes from his heels...is shallow in natural expression" constitutes a break in the meaning and style of the chapter, and is early commentary erroneously inserted into the original text. He provides no support for this hypothesis, nor does the content or style of this passage seem in any way to recommend such a theory.

4. TEXT

The Sublimated Man of antiquity did not know pleasure\(^1\) for life nor displeasure for death. He embarked (on life) without rejoicing\(^2\) and passed on without resistance.\(^3\) Like a flash\(^4\) he came; like a flash he went, and that was all. He did not
ponder his origins nor question his final destination. He received (life) and enjoyed it, then forfeited it and returned (to a primordial state). This is what is called not aiding the tao with our minds, and not assisting nature with man. This is what is called the Sublimated Man.

EXEGESIS

1. The character ydeh 説 is read as ydeh 説. The Ch'en Shen 1591 edition (CTCCV11p92), Yeh Ping-ch'ing 1614 edition (CTCCV16 p102) and Kuo Liang-han 1626 (CTCCV13p317) all have ydeh 説.

2. Chang Ping-lin (p. 15) suggests that hsin 欣 is a loan character for hsin 欣. The Shuo Wen defines hsin 欣 as "k'ai 開 (to open)". He quotes Ssu-ma Fa who states that the good are those who open up (hsin 欣) the goodness of the people and stay (pi 閉) their evil. The character chü 距 also means "to stay" or "to shut", and in this passage hsin 欣 and chü 距 are antithetical.

   Chang Ping-lin is correct in suggesting that the ideas contained in the two parallel phrases of this sentence are antithetical, but the character hsin 欣 does not appear in any of the pre-Han texts. Thus, it would seem that Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p159) is correct in suggesting that hsin 欣 is a loan character for hsin 欣.

3. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p38) states that one text has chü 距 for chü 距. Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p159) suggests that it
is probable that  胡 is a loan character for  萊 .

4. Of the early texts, the Hsü Miao, Ts'ui Chuan and Ssu-ma Piao have  賴 傲然, while the Hsiang Hsiu, Kuo Hsiang and Lu Te-ming all have  小傲然.

With respect to the  賴 傲然 reading, Hsiang Hsiu (in Kuo Hsiang CTCCV1pl32) suggests that it means "naturally unconcerned." Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p276) interprets it as "the appearance of being unfettered," while Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p252) offers "complaisance".

 賴 傲然, on the other hand, means "quickly". Chu Kueiyao (CTCCv26p159) cites the following three passages from the Ч'у Tz'u:

1) SPTK 33/2/40a 傲 禽来兮忽而折
2) SPTK 33/9/107a 往来傲息
3) SPTK 33/15/146b 賴息兮容裔

as well as a passage from  魂 Shih Ch'un Ch'iu SPPY 8/7:

Cowardice and courage are without constancy. They come and go in a flash (shu 傲息), and none understand their principles.

Now, there are two points which are particularly significant about the passages cited above. First, three of them use  傲 in reference to the notion of "coming and going." Secondly, in these passages (with the exception of the  魂 Shih Ch'un Ch'iu passage) and in many other passages which can be cited from early sources, the character  傲 has strong supernatural associations, usually referring to the movement of ghosts and spirits. To attest the association of this character
with the supernatural there is the 21/7/35 passage in this text in which the terms *shu* and *hu* are taken as the rulers of the spiritual Southern and Northern Seas respectively. This is consistent with the use of *chen* and the expression *teng ko* which also have superphysical connotations.

Ma Hsü-lun (p. 183) suggests that *shu* is a loan character for *ch'iu*, which the *Shuo Wen* defines as "rapid," and which is consistent with the *shu* *jan* reading.

5. Basically, Chuang Tzu's commentators offer three interpretations for this phrase:

1) Many of the commentators follow Kuo Hsiang and read it literally as "he did not forget (*wang*) his origins." Wu Shih-shang (CTCCV22pl14) comments: "He (the Sublimated Man) did not rejoice in life, but even so the principles of life are certainly something which should be completely comprehended. Hence, he did not forget his origins."

2) Ma Hsü-lun (p. 183) states that *wang* is an incorrect rendering of *chi* . He cites a related passage in 73/25/77 in support of his reading:

That which has not yet been born cannot dread (*chi*) it.

Additional evidence to support Ma Hsü-lun's reading might be the obvious graphic similarity between *wang* and *chi*. Again, according to Wang Mu-yeh (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2pl42), the Ch'i general T'ien Chi is T'ien Wang.

3) Wang Shu-min (Chu Tzu Chiao Cheng p. 169) interprets *wang* as a graphic distortion for the character *chih*. 
He cites a similar passage from the *Huai Nan Tzu* SPTK 8/50b:

> It (the government during the era of Great Tranquillity) did not plan on (mou谋) that which began, and did not design (j意) the outcome.

The characters mou谋 ("to plan") and j意("to design") are parallel in this passage, but have related meanings. In other words, it is not imperative that there are opposites in parallel, as is evidenced by this *Huai Nan Tzu* passage. He also cites a phrase from *Li Shih Ch'un Ch'iu* SPPY 1/9:

> Aim (chih志) at the (sagacious) predecessors while enquiring (ch'iu求) of those after you.

In this passage, the two characters chih志 and ch'iu求 are used in parallel, similar to Wang Shu-min's emendation. Ch'ien Mu (p. 48) supports Wang Shu-min's theory.

The fact that wang志 is erroneously written as chih志 in 15/6/10 below would indicate that these two characters are easily confused, and may have even been transposed. In Chuang Tzu's thought, the level of the sublimated mind is wu hsìn无心, and the concept of "forgetting" is of central importance in the attainment of this mental level. It is inconsistent with Chuang Tzu's thought that the Sublimated Man would retain anything in his mind, since anything retained is itself a restriction that would re-enforce his subjective self while inhibiting his experience of oneness with all things. For this reason, we follow Yen Ling-feng, Wang Shu-min and Ch'ien Mu in interpreting wang志 as a graphic distortion of chih志. The fact that Ma Hsü-lun (as well as Ts'ao Shou-k'un CTCCV30p133 and Ch'en T'ien-ch'i p. 97) suggests that wang志 be read as chi志 is further evidence in that they recognize the inconsistency of
the original phrase with the thought of Chuang Tzu.

6. The Chao Chien I text has mistakenly copied ai 愛 for shou 受.

7. Ma Hsi-lun (p. 183) suggests that wang 阜 be read as its cognate wang 敷. In support of such a reading, Ts'ao Shou-k'un cites a passage from 4/2/18 which is similar both in wording and content:

    Once a man has received his mature form, it is not lost as he awaits the end.

In this passage we have the parallel between "received (shou 受)" and "lost (wang 敷)."

    The fact that wang 敷 is frequently used as a loan for wang 阜 in early texts is another indication that they might have been confused in the transmission of the text.

    According to the traditional commentaries, this phrase would read: "...then forgot about it and gave it back." Here, however, we follow Ma Hsi-lun and Ts'ao Shou-k'un.

8. There are several textual variations for the character yünn 捐:

   1) Yen Ling-feng (p. 687) follows the yünn 捐 reading found in the Kuo Hsiang text, and after citing variations on this character, concludes that they are all distortions of the text. Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p252) supports this reading, interpreting pu yünn 不捐 as "notabandoning for an instant." Again, Liu Wu (cited in Yen Ling-feng p. 657) insists that the character yünn
is not in error. He suggests that this phrase means that the Sublimated Man does not reject the tao with his mind, following the Shuo Wen definition of ydan as ch'i 贰 ("to reject"). He further supports this interpretation by citing Kuo Hsiang's commentary which states that "the Sublimated Man understands that to employ the mind is to turn his back (pei 背) on the tao..." The characters pei 背 ("turn the back on") and ch'i 貳 ("reject") are very close in meaning.

2) Chang Ping-lin (p. 15) supports the variant i 握. According to Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p38), the Kuo Hsiang text had i 揟 in place of ydan 損. Chang Ping-lin follows the Shuo Wen definition of i 揟 to interpret this passage as "do not clasp the tao with the ming." He further sees this interpretation as being consistent with the notions of "not rejoicing," "without resistance" and "not ponder...nor question" found in this passage.

3) Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p38) quotes the Ts'ui Chuan commentary as saying that some texts have chi 揟 in place of ydan 損. The word "oar:" is simply not appropriate here.

4) Yu Yuhe (p. 196) suggests that ydan 損 is an error for pei 背, which is equivalent to the character pei 背. He bases his interpretation on mainly the Kuo Hsiang commentary:

The Sublimated Man understands that to employ the mind is to turn his back (pei 背) on the tao...

Yü Yuhe's interpretation would give us: "...is called not turning away from the tao with our minds."

5) Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p160) and Wang Shu-min (1/49) both suggest that ydan 損 is a distortion of sun 損.
Wang Shu-min offers some rather formidable evidence for reading this *sun*. First, the So Yin commentary on the Shih Chi SPTK PNP 84/14a quotes this phrase verbatim with the exception that it has *sun* rather than *yulan* and *suz* rather than *tao* (the So Yin commentary in the SPTK has *yulan*, but the SPPY 84/11a and the Takikawa Shigen edition Vol. 8:3870 both have *sun*). Again, the Tun Huang text of 50/20/53: "Not accepting the injuries (*sun*) of nature is easy, but..." has *yulan* in place of *sun*, indicating that these characters are quite conceivably confused because of the graphic similarity. Chu Kuei-yao offers further examples of confusion between these two characters, and concludes that this passage should be interpreted as "...not injuring the *tao* with the mind."

6) Hsu Yen-huai (CTCV20p104) suggests that *yulan* is an error for the character *yulan* on the basis of the passage in 6/2/74:

The Sage...does not enjoy seeking and does not pursue (*yulan*) the *tao*.

Ma Hsu-lun (p. 184) adds that *yulan* is a loan character for *yulan* (which is cognate of *yulan*) on the basis that they rhymed in Middle Chinese.

Since we must select one interpretation from among these, we might compare the evidence which supports them. The evidence for (6) is rather scant--this theory is primarily dependent upon the fact that the characters *yulan* and *yulan* rhymed in Archaic Chinese. According to Karlgren's reconstructions: *yulan* *yuan* *yuan* *yuan* these two characters were homophonous in Middle Chinese, but
had different initials in Archaic Chinese.

Interpretation (5) has some convincing textual evidence, but  sun 损 means "to injure," and the idea that man can do injury to the tao with his mind is incongruent with Chuang Tzu's thought. Man is either aware of his synonymity with the tao or he is not—but this certainly has no adverse effect on the tao.

Interpretation (3) can be dismissed as nonsense, while interpretation (2) is similar to (5) in that its purport is not consistent with Chuang Tzu's tao—a person can attempt to embrace the tao with his mind, but can only succeed by attaining a level of wu hsin 無心. In other words, the mind is an impediment to enlightenment.

Interpretations (1) and (4) amount to the same thing, which would cancel (4) since (1) does not require any alteration of the text.

Of the above interpretations, it would appear that (1) is the most satisfactory. However, there is one point which earlier commentators seemed to have overlooked. There are striking parallels contained in these phrases. For example, 說 = 悅/惠; 生/死; 訥 = 欣/厭 =拒; 往/來; 始/終; 受/忘 = 亡. On this basis, it would be in context to expect that the word in question form a parallel with the character chu 助 in the following sentence. The most logical choice, both philologically and semantically, would be ydan 援. First, according to Karlgren's reconstructions, we have:

提 giūn/yūn/yūn 援 giūn/yūn/yūn
These two characters were homophonous in Archaic Chinese. Secondly, although the characters rouch and chu are not parallel in the sense of being antithetical, they are parallel in that they can be synonymous. The character rouch has the meaning of "to assist," "to help" attested as early as the Chan Kuo Ts'e (see Morohashi, 12407).

9. Wang Yu (in Wang Fu-chih CTCCV19p153) advances the idea that the use of the character chu ("assisting") is similar to the expression chu chang in Mencius. He is referring to the anecdote about the man of Sung who attempts to accelerate the growing process by tugging on the stalks of his corn (Mencius 11/2A/2). Mencius says that "those in the world who do not help the corn grow are few," entreating man not to interfere in the natural processes of development.

This phrase expresses an attitude similar to the Tao Te Ching 64:

In order to assist the natural course of the myriad things, He (the Sage) does not dare to act.

This notion also reoccurs in the Chuang Tzu:

Therefore, the Sage observes nature, but does not assist it... (28/17/51)
Therefore I say: Do not destroy the natural with the artificial... (44/17/52)

5. TEXT

A person like this forgets his mind, his bearing is tranquil and his forehead is of a simple and honest mien. With coolness like the autumn and geniality like the spring,
his joy and anger follow the four seasons. He is appropriate to things, and none can fathom his consequence. Hence, the Sage in employing the military is able to destroy a nation without forfeiting the goodwill of its people. His benefits and favours extend to ten thousand generations, but it is not for any love of others. Thus, one who delights in having intercourse with other things is not a Sage; one who has emotional attachments is not benevolent; one who takes his schedule from the heavens is not a superior person; one who cannot identify advantage and disadvantage is not an ideal man; one who extends his reputation while losing sight of his (true) self is not a gentleman; and one who destroys his own person and is not true (to his own nature) is not a person who can induce others to follow him. Now, men like Hu Pu-hsieh, Wu Kuang, Po I, Shu Ch'i, the Viscount of Chi, Hsü Yü, Chi T'o, and Shen-t'ü Ti are all (examples of men who) laboured in the service of others and who adapted themselves to what was appropriate for others without making themselves appropriate to that which is appropriate to themselves.

EXEGESIS

1. This phrase has several alternative readings:

1) The Kuo Hsiang and the Ch'eng Hsüan-yüng texts have ch'i hsin chih 心志 ("the mind of a person like this is focused..."). Wang Yü (in Wang Fu-chih CTCC
V19p154) comments that the character chih 志 means to concentrate, to watch and assess rather than accumulate. Again, Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p253) says that chih means having that which is dominant and fixed—i.e. the tao.

2) Wen I-to (p. 265) states: "Of old chih 志 was written as chih 志. Kuo Hsiang comments that being peaceful wherein one dwells constitutes chih 志. But chih 志 does not have the meaning of 'dwelling peacefully.' The two occurrences of the character chih 志 in the original (Kuo Hsiang) text and his commentary should both be written as chih 志. The reading chih 志 came from chih 志. In the small seal script, chih 志 (志) and chih 志 (之) are relatively close in appearance, and chih 志 was erroneously written as chih 志. This was neither consistent in terms of style nor content, and so subsequent copyists randomly altered it to chih 志. I have now corrected this."

3) Lin Yun-ming (CTCCV18p136), Ch'i Fu (CTCCV21p178), Wang Hsien-ch'ien (CTCCV26p76) and most of the commentators after Chao I-fu and Ch'u Po-hsiu interpret this passage as wang 忘 ("forget") rather than chih 志 ("focus").

Chao I-fu (in Chiao Hung p. 65) and Ch'u Po-hsiu (Tao Tsang 470/14/16) both suggest that chih 志 is a mistaken rendering of the character wang 忘. To exemplify the possibility of this confusion, Wang Shu-min (p. 49) points out the passage in Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu SPPY 1/9:

Aim (chih 志) at the (sagacious) predecessors while enquiring of those after you, which has wang 忘 rather than chih 志 in the original
Chuang Tzu 67/24/55 passage.

Yen Ling-feng (p. 687) in support of this interpretation states that if passages like "a man like this could climb heights without consternation...and could enter fire without feeling hot (Text 2)" and "the Sublimated Man of antiquity did not know pleasure for life nor displeasure for death (Text 4)" are not hsin wāng 心忘, then what could they be?

Ch'ü Fu (CTCCV21p178), Lin Yü-n-ming (CTCCV18p136), and P'u Ch'i-lung (CTCCV20p35) all mention the importance of this alternative reading, considering the two characters hsin wāng 心忘 to be the central idea in the entire chapter.

Wen I-to's interpretation does not really provide any substantiating evidence, and can be dismissed as not only a guess, but as a bad guess since as an alternative it is not consistent with Chuang Tzu's thought. Chuang Tzu makes frequent use of hsin 心 as a symbol for the subjective self (e.g. his concept of ch'eng hsin 成心) and recommends the repudiation rather than the pacification of this mind. This same criticism can be made of interpretation (1). Since the "mind" appears to be an undesireable accessory, the Sublimated Man would probably be more likely to forget it than to focus it.

In our interpretation, we have reversed the order of hsin 心 and wāng 忘 so that it reads "forgets his mind" rather than "mind forgets." Ch'ü Fu (CTCCV21p178) supports such an interpretation.

Further, the repeated nasal finals in this passage would
suggest such a reading.

2. For \( \text{chi} \) Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p38) has \( \text{chi} \), and points out that the Ts'ui Chuan text had \( \text{chi} \). According to the Shuo Wen, \( \text{chi} \) is an archaic form of \( \text{chi} \), and according to Karlgren (GSR1031) \( \text{chi} \) is a simple variant of \( \text{chi} \).

3. According to Wang Mou-hung (CTCCV20pl2), \( \text{sang} \) should be interpreted as \( \text{t'ung} \).

4. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2pp38-9) states that the Hsiang Hsiu text had \( \text{ch'i} \) ("large") rather than \( \text{k'uei} \), and further, that the Ssu-ma Piao text had the same variant for \( \text{k'uei} \) in 35/13/59.

5. Most modern editions have the popular form \( \text{ch'i} \) rather than the \( \text{ch'i} \) which occurs throughout the pre-Han texts.

6. Ma Hsü-lun (p. 185) observes that the Wen Hsinan commentary SPTK 58/1085b quotes this passage with \( \text{nuan} \) as \( \text{ai} \), which would appear to be a misrendering of \( \text{nuan} \). Ma Hsü-lun further notes that the Chuang Tzu I Lin quotes this passage with \( \text{nuan} \) but the CTCCV5p6 version of the Chuang Tzu I Lin has \( \text{nuan} \) -- Ma Hsü-lun is presumably citing a different edition. These variations on \( \text{nuan} \) are both homophonous and synonymous.

7. Here we interpret \( \text{t'ung} \) as meaning \( \text{ho} \) ("to follow, blend in with") rather than Watson's (p. 78) "prevail through."

The Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 8/53 has a passage almost identical which reads:

His joy and anger are harmonious with (ho _LOAD characters_LOADED_1) the four seasons.

Wang Shu-min (1/49) suggests that the original text had the character hu 與 following the t'ung 圖 on the basis of this passage in the Huai Nan Tzu and the Ch'eng Hsüan-ying commentary (CTCCV3p278).

8. This passage is reminiscent of similar passages in 5/2/42:

The reason why the tao is inhibited is the same as why love is fulfilled.

and 65/24/20:

Loving the people is the beginning of injurying them.

Chuang Tzu is expounding on the same principle which is made in Lao Tzu 5:

The Sage is amoral—
He considers the common people to be straw dogs.

Love is partiality, and partiality is the result of differentiation.

9. Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p134) notes that the Chang Chan commentary to the Lieh Tzu SPTK 4/13 quotes this passage verbatim with the exception that it has the character ch'ıung 聞 following lo 劉. Ts'ao Shou-k'un and Ma Hsü-lun (p. 186) both recommend that the word ch'ıung be re-inserted, giving us a reading: "one whose delight is exhausted in the penetration of things is not a Sage."

It would seem that this Chang Chan commentary on the
Lieh Tzu has confused a passage in this chapter with a passage similar in wording in 79/28/67 which states:

Those of antiquity who attained the tao were delighted in failure (ch'iung) as well as in success (t'ung). That which delighted them was not success or failure.

Ts'ao Shou-k'un and Ma Hsü-lun simply increase the confusion.

10. This idea is central to Chuang Tzu's thought, and is repeated throughout the text (e.g. 36/14/7; 63/23/51; 64/23/67), as well as occurring frequently in the Tao Te Ching ( Chapters 5, 49, 56, and 79). It represents the essential point of departure between the Taoist and the opposing ethical systems. In opposition to the Confucian structure of graduated, heterogeneous relationships and the Mohist system of universal, undifferentiated brotherhood emerges the Taoist alternative of repudiating all ethical relationships. In order to establish intra-personal relationships, one must first acknowledge the objective existence of "persons" external to himself as well as his own subjective identity--this the Taoists are not willing to do.

11. There are several variant readings for this phrase:

1) Wang K'ai-yün (cited in Ch'ien Mu p. 48) suggests that t'ien ("the heavens") should be read as hsien ("precedence")--"one who gives precedence to the proper time is not a superior person." He further observes that some would read t'ien as shih ("neglect")--"one who neglects the proper time..."
2) Wang Shu-min (1/49) notes the Tao Tsang editions of Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (510/7/11b) and Ch'u Po-hsiu (470/14/13a) both quote the Kuo Hsiang commentary with shih jen, but he concludes that jen is a simple corruption of t'ien. The Ku I Ts'ung Shu edition of the Kuo Hsiang commentary has shih t'ien, while the Ho Pi Shih Lei text has shih chih. From this, Ma Hsü-lun (p. 186) infers that the original text of the Chuang Tzu must have had the same order as the Kuo Hsiang commentary (i.e. shih t'ien rather than t'ien shih).

Wang K'ai-yün offers no proof for wanting to alter the text other than the obvious graphic similarity between the character t'ien and shih or hsien. Now, the binomial t'ien shih appears throughout the pre-Ch'in works (e.g. I Ching, Shu Ching, Mencius), generally connoting the determination of the auspicious time to undertake a given event. It even reoccurs in the Chuang Tzu 56/21/40 as "the course of the heavens." Chuang Tzu's point here is simply that "seasonableness" (which implies premeditation and calculation) is not spontaneity. The currency of this binomial in pre-Ch'in texts and its reoccurrence in the Chuang Tzu are indications that the text should remain unaltered.

12. Wu Ju-lun (CTCCV26p42) and more recently Wang Shu-min (1/49-50) both suggest that hsing ming should be read as hsün ming. In support of this interpretation, Wang Shu-min cites the passage in 22/8/20:
If he is a gentleman, he will put his life on the line (hsün atitis) for reputation.

The Tao Tsang 470 edition of the Ch'ü Po-hsiu text has hsün for hsün, which would change this to read:

If he is a gentleman, he will devote himself to enhancing his reputation.

The character hsing in the original text has the meaning of "to carry into action, to extend." It is satisfactory as it is and requires no emendation.

13. This sentence is very reminiscent of Tao Te Ching 54, especially in the wording:

If one nurtures (this tao) in his person (shen),
Then his virtue will be unsullied (chen).

It sounds, in fact, like a negative alternative to this Lao Tzu passage.

14. The only other reference to this man that we have in the pre-Han texts is a passage in the Han Fei Tzu SPTK 17/44 where he is listed together with eleven other worthies who "perceive advantage without feeling delighted and approach difficulties without trepidation." Hu-Pu-hsieh is referred to as Hu Pu-chi in this Han Fei Tzu passage, but the fact is that the two characters 代 GSR599 kē/kgí/kie and 稔 GSR552 kēr/kie/kí constituted a perfect rhyme in Archaic Chinese leaves little doubt that these are references to the same man.

Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p281) notes that one tradition identifies him as an ancient worthy who drowned himself in a river rather than accepting Yao's abdication.
Fukunaga Mitsuji (p. 234) suggests that his name pu hsieh 不偕 "means that he does not walk with the same gait as the common world."

Wu Kuang 鬬光 appears again in 79/28/71 as Mou Kuang 鬬光, and in Hsun Tzu 93/25/26 as Mou Kuang 鬬光. The two characters 鬬 GSR1109müı̆/müı̆-wu and 鬬 GSR1109müı̆/müı̆-mou constitute a perfect rhyme, while 鬬 GSR1110müı̆/müı̆-mou is close. It is obvious from the context of these passages that they all refer to the same person.

According to the information contained in the Chuang Tzu 75/26/47; 79/28/71, 75, Wu Kuang was a worthy who lived during the Hsia-Shang transition. T'ang, founder of the Shang, approached Wu Kuang for advice in attacking Chieh, last ruler of the Hsia. Wu Kuang turned him away. After destroying Chieh, T'ang again approached Wu Kuang and offered him the empire on the grounds that according to the way of the ancients, the wise person plans strategy, the martial person carries these plans out, and the benevolent person occupies the throne. Wu Kuang again declined, and admonished T'ang by saying: "Deposing the ruler is not righteous; slaying the people is not benevolent--it is not fitting for me to enjoy the benefits when others have perpetrated these crimes. I have heard it said: 'If it is not his righteousness, do not accept his emoluments; if it is a world without the way, do not walk its ground.' How is it that you show deference to me!--this I cannot endure seeing for long." He thereupon weighed himself down with a rock and
drowned himself in the Lu River (present-day Anhui).

This account of Wu Kuang is further alluded to in the *Hou Han Shu* SPTK PNP 28下/15 and *Pao P'u Tzu* SPTK 8/43b, and on the basis of this story, he is taken as a paragon of selflessness and virtue in the *Shih Tzu* 下/12, *Huai Nan Tzu* SPTK 7/48a-b and *Shih Chi* SPTK PNP 61/6. In the *Han Fei Tzu* SPTK 7/36 and the Kao Yu commentary to the *Huai Nan Tzu* SPTK 7/48a, a new twist is given to this story in that T'ang is villainously attempting to transfer the stigma of having committed regicide onto Wu Kuang by investing him as the new ruler.

Later tradition in the *Lieh Hsien Ch'an Chuan* (in the *Chung Kuo Ku Tai Pan Hua Ts'ung K'an* 1/2) we are told that his ears were 7 ts'ūn in length and that he was fond of dressing himself in rushes and leek roots. It then repeats the tradition found in the *Chuang Tzu*, adding that Wu Kuang re-emerges some four hundred years later at the time of Wu Ting (r. 1324-1265). Wu Ting wanted Wu Kuang to be his prime minister, but Wu Kuang fled to the Shang Fu mountains never to return.

16. The account of Po I and Shu Ch'i is one of the most frequently alluded to stories in the corpus of Chinese literature, appearing in everything from *The Book of Documents* to the Ch'ien Lung Emperor's poem on the *I Ch'ii Miao*. The following version is based on the *Shih Chi* 61 biography and its So Yin commentary.
Po I (ming允, tzu公信) and Shu Ch'i (ming致, tzu公達) were apparently posthumous titles (shih誽), while Po伯 and Shu叔 are designations for eldest and third son respectively--were two sons of the ruler (hsing遷初, tzu子朝) of Ku Chu弧竹, the present-day location of which is in dispute. This state was enfoeffed upon their ancestors by T'ang of Shang, and before his death, their father appointed Shu Ch'i to succeed him. When he died, Shu Ch'i wanted to abdicate in favour of Po I. Po I would not accept the throne, insisting that Shu Ch'i's appointment was a paternal injunction. He thereupon fled, but even so, Shu Ch'i was unwilling to take the throne, and followed after Po I. In the meantime, the people of Ku Chu invested the second brother.

Po I and Shu Ch'i head the Hsi Po (西伯: the name for Chou Wen Wang周文王 before the fall of Shang) was very deferential to old men, but by the time they arrived, Wen Wang had died. Carrying his father's scarifical tablet and honouring his father as "Wen Wang", Wu Wang then set out to attack Chou of Shang. Po I and Shu Ch'i halted his horse and admonished him, saying: "Your father is not yet buried and you are taking up arms---can this be called filial? A subject assassinating his ruler--can this be called benevolent?"

Those around Wu Wang wanted to kill them on the spot, but T'ai Kung, one of Wu Wang's ministers, pronounced them righteous and pulled them away. After Wu Wang had settled the disorder of Shang, everyone in the empire paid homage to Chou with
the exception of Po I and Shu Ch'i, who looked on it as disgraced. To preserve their righteousness they refused to eat the grain of Chou, and consequently secluded themselves on Shou Yang mountain (there are historically several mountains by this name, and which of these was the one on which Po I and Shu Ch'i died is in dispute) and ate wild beans. Before dying of starvation, they recorded their grievances in a song which has been passed on to posterity.

17. This account of the Viscount of Chi is based on the Shang Shu SPTK 5/39, 7/45 and the Shih Chi SPTK PNP 38/2-3, 38/8;

The Viscount of Chi (箕: thought to have been a small state in what is now Shansi province, east of T'ai Ku Hsien) was a relative (the later Han Ma Jung 馬融 and the Three Kingdoms Wang Su 王肅 commentaries say paternal uncle, while the later Han Fu Ch'ien 服虔 and Chin Tu Yu 杜預 commentaries have elder step-brother) of the notorious Chou, last ruler of Shang. The Viscount of Chi and Pi Kan held the posts of Grand and Lesser Tutor (according to the K'ung Ying-ta commentary 孔穎達) respectively, and both admonished Chou for his extravagances and debauchery, but to no avail. In counselling the Viscount of Wei to flee, the Viscount of Chi and Pi Kan make it clear that they feel it their obligation to serve the throne and if necessary, share in its destruction. People warn the Viscount of Chi to fly, but he declines on the grounds that an unheeded minister in flight draws attention to the wickedness of his sovereign. He then dishevelled his hair,
feigned madness (according to the Shih Tzu account, he also painted his body and acted ferocious) and was subsequently incarcerated and enslaved by Chou (following Takigawa Shigen's interpretation). When Wu Wang destroyed Shang, he released the Viscount of Chi and erected a tomb for the unfortunate Pi Kan who had incurred the wrath of Chou by the candor of his remonstrances.

The Shang Shu SPTK 7/45 account has Wu Wang in his 13th year (two years after the conquest) going to the Viscount of Chi, and the Viscount of Chi imparting to him the "Great Plan" on the working of the cosmos and the proper government of the empire.

The Shih Chi SPTK PNP 38/3-8 adds that Wu Wang enfeoffed the Viscount of Chi in Chao Hsien (extending into present-day Korea), but he would still not recognize the Chou dynasty. His posterity, however, finally did.

There is some debate among commentators as to whether the four characters chi tzu hsü yu refer to two persons, or simply one.

Ts'ui Chuan and Ssu-ma Piao (both cited in Lu Te-ming CTCC V2p39) both interpret hsü yu as the name (ming) of the Viscount of Chi, basing this theory on a passage in the Shih Tzu SPPY 1/5a:

The Viscount of Chi, Hsü Yu (note that this can also be interpreted as "the Viscount of Chi and Hsü Yu) lacquered his body, acted ferocious and dishevelled his hair, feigning madness to avoid this.

This tradition of the Viscount of Chi is referred to time and again throughout the pre-Han texts, but never once
in any of the other texts is he referred to by name as the "Viscount of Chi, Hsü Yü"—rather, always as simply the "Viscount of Chi". Even when mentioned a second time in the *Chuang Tzu* 73/26/1, he is simply the "Viscount of Chi". As mentioned above, the passage in the *Shih Tzu* referred to by Ts'ui Chuan and Ssu-ma Piao presents the same problem as the passage in question in the *Chuang Tzu*—in both cases, the four characters can be interpreted as either one person or two.

Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p39) observes that some commentators suggest that this passage in the *Shih Tzu* (and by inference, the passage in the *Chuang Tzu*) refers to the Viscount of Chi and Pi Kan. In this case, Hsü Yü is interpreted as the name (明) of Pi Kan. The fact that in the pre-Han texts, more frequently than not, the Viscount of Chi and Pi Kan are mentioned together would recommend such an interpretation. Also, since the Viscount of Chi and Pi Kan both suffered for the same cause, it is not improbable that they would be listed together. On the other hand, Pi Kan is nowhere else referred to as Hsü Yü—neither in the other early texts nor in other chapters of the *Chuang Tzu* itself.

Chu I-tung (cited in the *Ts'ao Shou-k'un* CTCCV30p134 commentary) notes that there is a passage in the *Chan Kuo Ts'e* SPTK 5/4b which is very similar to the *Shih Tzu* passage cited above, with the one very important difference that instead of Hsü Yü, it has Chieh Yü. He thus concludes that this passage in the *Chuang Tzu* refers to two people: the
Viscount of Chi and this man, Chieh Yü.

Chieh Yü was a contemporary of Confucius who lived in Ch'ü, and who feigned madness in order to avoid an official career. According to the *Ku Lieh Nü Chuan* SPTK 2/33, he was offered chariots and riches to assume the governorship of Huai Nan, but refused. On hearing this, his wife insisted that they flee, recognizing the danger of disobeying their ruler while at the same time being aware of the necessity of maintaining her husband's virtue (which would be tarnished by official service). Thus, they carried off their pots and pans and changed their name.

While Confucius was travelling in Ch'ü (*Lun Yu* 37/18/5; *Chuang Tzu* 12/4/56; *Shih Chi* SPTK PNP 47/9), Chieh Yü wandered about his door, singing metaphorically about the utter futility and real personal danger of Confucius' mission.

He appears in *Chuang Tzu* 2/1/27 as a man of such profundity that a Yao or Shun could be fashioned from his dust (i.e., his most insignificant, unessential parts), and again in 19/7/4-5 as an expositor of the Taoist methods of government.

It is unlikely that this reference in the "Ta Tsung Shih" chapter has any relation to Chieh Yü, since 1) he made no personal sacrifice on behalf of his society, as this passage would imply, and 2) he is considered elsewhere in the *Chuang Tzu* (notably, the *nei* chapters) as a paragon of the Taoist way.

Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p281) suggests another tradition which identifies this reference to Hstü Yü as *Wu Tzu-hsü* (see *Shih Chi* 66 for one of many accounts).
As a consequence of loyal remonstrances to his sovereign (King P'ing of Ch'u), Wu Tzu-hsü's father, Wu She was executed along with an elder brother, Wu Shang. Rather than meeting a similar fate without an opportunity for revenge, Wu Tzu-hsü fled to the state of Wu and, fixing himself of the purpose of wreaking vengeance on his father's murderer, he eventually led troops to attack Ch'u. Having to settle for exhuming King P'ing's body and flogging it publicly, he continued in the service of Wu. Finally, slandered at court, Wu Tzu-hsü was presented with a sword (by Fu Chai) and allowed the honour of suicide. As a final gesture of defiance, he commanded his retainers to pluck out his eyes and hang them on the Eastern Gate in order that he might watch the Yüeh bandits as they come to destroy Wu. He then cut his own throat and died. Fu Chai, hearing of Wu Tzu-hsü's treason, was enraged and ordered that his corpse be stuffed into a leather sack and thrown in the river. The people of Wu took pity on him, and erected a shrine in honour of him on the bank of the river.

Yet another possibility not mentioned by the commentators is that Hsü Yü was an ancient worthy whose story has been lost in the course of history. This has all but happened to the next figure, Chi T'o.

18. The only other reference in the early texts that we have to this man is in a later chapter of the 
Chuang Tzu 75/26/47. He was a recluse during the reign of T'ang, founder of the Shang dynasty. On hearing that T'ang had offered the throne
to Hsu Yu and Wu Kuang, he was afraid that it might be offered to him. Thus, he led his disciples and leapt into the K'o River (款水; it is possible that this is a reference to the k'o shui款水, since k'o款 is at times used as a loan character for k'o款 in the early texts (see Morohashi 25655)). The K'o River款水 as described in the Shui Ching Chu SPTK 15/212a was located to the east of Lo Ning Hsien洛寧縣 in present-day Honan). The various nobles mourned him for three years.

19. The Ts'ui Chuan text (according to Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p39) has Ssu-t'u Ti司徒狄 instead of Shen-t'u Ti申徒狄, while the Shuo Yuan SPTK 16/75 has Shen-t'u Ti申屠狄. According to the Feng Su T'ung I (I Wen supplement ch. 5), Shen-t'u was originally written as Shen-t'u申屠, but due to the similarity in pronunciation (they are homophonous), it was changed to Shen-t'u申徒. The Feng Su T'ung I also indicates that Ssu-t'u was originally the name of an office, but later it came to be used as a surname.

Shen-t'u Ti, apart from the reference in this passage, appears twice more in the Chuang Tzu. In 82/29/42 we learn that when his remonstrances went unheeded, he weighed himself down with a rock and threw himself into the river, becoming food for the fishes and turtles. The 75/26/47 passage adds nothing to this, other than establishing him as a contemporary of Chi T'o (see note 18 above) and Wu Kuang (see note 15 above) during the reign of T'ang, virtuous king and
founder of the Shang dynasty.

A much fuller account of Shen-t'u Ti is found in the Hsin Hstl SPTK 7/44. Because the age in which he lived was not right for him, he was about to throw himself into the river. Ts'ui Chia 惟嘉 heard about this, and stopped him, saying: I have heard that a sage is benevolent and that while in the world, a gentleman is a father and mother to the people. Now, can it be that getting wet is sufficient reason for not going to the rescue of a drowning man?

To this Shen-t'u Ti replied that this was not the case at all. In ancient times, Chieh 東 kills Kuan-lun Feng 俄 and Chou 射 killed Wang Tzu Pi Kan 王子比千, and both of them lost the empire. Wu 吳 killed Wu Tzu-hsü 任子胥, and Ch'en 陳 killed Hsieh Yeh 派治, and both brought destruction on their states and brought injury on their families. It is not a question of sagely wisdom, but rather because it is not used.

Thereupon, he weighed himself down with a rock and drowned himself in the river.

This same tradition appears almost verbatim in the Han Shih Wai Chuan SPTK 1/8 (cf. Hightower, pp. 34-5).

There are some discrepancies in the various accounts as to the age in which Shen-t'u Ti lived. As mentioned above, the Chuang Tzu 75/26/47 passage identifies him as a contemporary of Chi T'o and Wu Kuang at the end of the Hsia and beginning of the Shang.

The Kao Yu commentary to the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 16/119
places Shen-t'u Ti as a person who lived at the end of the Shang, and who, no longer being able to endure watching Chou's disorder, drowned himself. The Yen Shih-ku commentary to the Ch'ien Han Shu SPPY 51/12/4 quotes Fu Ch'ien who identifies him as a resolute scholar who lived at the end of the Shang. The Ch'ien Han Shu passage also gives the location of his suicide as Yung Chou (雍州), one of the nine chou of antiquity in the region of present-day Shensi and Kansu). The So Yin commentary to the Shih Chi SPTK 83/12/8 quotes Wei Chao who states that Shen-t'u was a man of the Six States period during the Warring States era.

The T'ai P'ing Yü Lan 802/5a cites a passage from Mo Tzu in which Shen-t'u Ti is portrayed speaking with Chou Kung.

According to the Hsin Hsu and Han Shih Wai Chuan accounts cited above, Shen-t'u Ti would have had to have been a relatively late figure, since he refers to people like Wu Tzu-hsü who is 6th-5th C. B.C.

6. TEXT

In his bearing, the Sublimated Man of antiquity was in phase (with things), but did not show predilection; Though he seemed deficient, he would suffer no accretion. Contented, he was solid and yet not conspicuous; Vast, he was vacuous but not ostentatious. Exhilarating, he seemed to enjoy (his fun); Compelled, he did what must be done.
Aroused, there was a complexion which drew us close;10
Contented,11 there was virtus which won us.
Close at hand,12 he seemed to be mundane;13
While loftily,14 he could never be restrained.
Dilatory, he seemed to be fond of relaxation;15
And absently,16 he forgot his conversation.17

EXEGESIS

1. The Wang K'ai-yünn (cited in Yen Ling-feng p. 688) text has i 聖 rather than i 義, interpreting this sentence as "the Sublimated Man of antiquity matched up (with things around him), but did not show predilection." This is very close to our translation, which is based on the traditional interpretation.

2. This passage is one of the most controversial in this chapter, and has inspired several interpretations:

1) Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p163) interprets this literally as "...was righteous (i 義), but did not show predilection (p'eng 朋)." To support this, he cites a very similar passage in the Ho Kuan Tzu SPTK 13/37b:

If one shows predilection (p'eng 朋; Lu Te-ming and Lu Tien commentaries state 朋 = 慢), then righteousness (i 義) cannot be established.

Yu Yeh (p. 196) suggests that there is a fundamental conflict in this literal interpretation since chuang 翟 refers to physical appearance rather than character (i.e. "righteousness"),
but Chang Ping-lin (pp. 15-6) cites a passage from the Kung Yang commentary on the 2nd year of Duke Huan: "...righteousness took form in his countenance" to demonstrate that his is a viable interpretation.

2) In the Kuo Hsiang (CTCCV1p135) and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p282) commentaries, the character i 義 is equated with i 宜. We follow this in our translation above.

3) Chang Ping-lin (pp. 15-6) interprets i 義 literally, but takes p'eng 朋 as a loan character for p'ing 鴻. To attest this relationship, he cites the Kuo SPTK 19/140a: "arousing his ire" in which p'eng 朋 is used as a loan character for p'ing 鴻. Also, the names p'ing ho 湖河 and p'ing ho 鳳河 are used interchangeably as names. To support his reading, Chang Ping-lin might also mention the similar pronunciation of these two words is Archaic Chinese:

\[ GSR886 \text{b} \text{eng/b'eng/p'eng} \quad \text{鴻} \quad GSR899 \text{b} \text{eng/b'eng/p'ing} \]

According to this interpretation, this sentence should read: "...was righteous in his complexion, but without the bearing of aroused arrogance."

4) Yu Yeh (p. 196) suggests that i 義 is a loan character for ou 貳, and p'eng 朋 is a loan character for peng 偽. To support this interpretation, he cites a passage from 35/13/59:

Your bearing is recalcitrant (i jan 義然 = o jan 傲然)

like a horse roped and secured.

Again, the passage in the I Ching SPTK 3/16b:

In coming and going he is without suffering; in rising and falling (p'eng 朋) he is without calamity.
is quoted with 像 in place of p'eng 像 in the Ch'ien Han Shu SPTK PNP 27/34a. Watson (p. 79) follows this interpretation: "...his bearing was lofty and did not crumble."

5) Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 99 follows Yü Yüeh in taking 互 as a loan character for 呉, but suggests that p'eng be taken more literally as "equal". He concludes that his passage should be interpreted as "the (spiritual) attitude of the Sublimated Man is lofty and without ( 不 =wu 無 ) equal."

Generally speaking, much of the dissatisfaction with this passage obvious in the commentaries is due to the basic incompatibility of "righteousness ( rectified)" with the overall picture of Chuang Tzu's ideal man. One of the primary steps in the process of sublimation is the repudiation of such relative subjective value judgements (e.g. 7/2/92, 19/6/90). Hence, we can entertain some hesitation towards a literal translation of this character.

Interpretations (4) and (5) suggest that 互 be read as 呉 primarily on the basis of the passage in 35/13/59 cited above, but from the context of this passage we can question this rendering. It is unlikely that this Sublimated Man would be described in the same terms as a person who is being berated by Lao Tzu for his unsavoury appearance--an appearance presented in counterdistinction to that of the Sublimated Man.

If we accept the interpretation of p'eng 像 offered in
To read $p'\text{eng}$ as a loan character for $p'\text{ing}$ as suggested in (3), or to read it as a loan character for $\text{peng}$ suggested in (4) involves unnecessary tampering with the text, since $p'\text{eng}$ makes perfectly good sense as it is. Further, the particle $\text{erh}$ as used in these phrases marks contrast. In order for $p'\text{ing}$ to be a viable alternative, it should be paralleled with $\text{i}$ which is semantically difficult. Similarly, $\text{peng}$ needs $\text{ch}^\text{i}$ which is also questionable.

In view of these various difficulties, we are left with (2) as perhaps the most likely choice. The fact that Kuo Hsiang and Ch'eng Hsüan-yüng both support such an interpretation adds weight to this alternative.

3. The character $\text{yi}$ (here translated as "contented") appears a second time in the eighth line of this rhymed passage. Some commentators suggest that it is the corruption of some other unknown character. The Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu SPPY 15/7b passage discussed in note 4 below and which is probably modelled on this Chuang Tzu passage would tend to support such a query, since none of the characters in the $\text{XX 丰}$ sentence pattern are repeated.

Wang Hsien-ch'ien (CTCCV26p78) is of the opinion that it might be a loan character for $\text{yi}$ which the Shuo Wen defines as "travelling peacefully." Li Chen (cited in Chiao Cheng Chuang Tzu Chi Shih p. 236--probably from his Liu Shu Hsi Yün 六書系譜) suggests this word among several. He also
considers the character 聞 ("wandering") since Kuo Hsiang (CTCCV1p135) uses it in his commentary on this passage: "Constantly wandering in solitude..." Also, the character 聞, which according to the Shuo Wen means "walking quickly and comfortably."

Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p165) suggests that it may be a corruption of 彼 (meaning "hilly and rocky terrain," but offers little to recommend such an interpretation.

Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p135) suggests that here is a loan character for 彼 ("satisfied, contented") since these two words were used interchangeably in ancient texts. The fact that these words were relatively close in pronunciation lends credence to this theory. Again, the commentators hold different views on variant characters, but they are in general agreement on what the word means here.

4. This portion of the text is rhymed. It probably originally contained six pair of sentence-end rhymes in the twelve lines. As the text now stands, the six pairs are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pair</th>
<th>Characters</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>朋</td>
<td>GSR886 b'ang/b'eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>堅</td>
<td>GSR368 kien/kien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>輔</td>
<td>GSR955 x'iang/x'iao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>色</td>
<td>GSR927 洗/洗/洗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>世</td>
<td>GSR339 睡/睡/睡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>閉</td>
<td>GSR412 派/派/派</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this table we can see that pairs I, III, IV and V constitute perfect rhymes, while pairs II and VI do not rhyme at all. From the fact that four pairs rhyme we cannot necessarily
infer that all six pairs originally rhymed. However, in the 
Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu SPPY 15/7b there is a passage which par-
allels this section of the Chuang Tzu in many ways, and if we 
accept the traditional dating on the Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu (later 
part of 3rd C. B.C.—see A.C. Graham, Asia Major 8/2:158), we 
might infer that this passage was modelled on the Chuang Tzu 
text. There are basically three characteristics which this 
Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu passage shares with this section of the 
Chuang Tzu:

1) sentence pattern: ...) ...

2) the portion of the text with the sentence pattern 
described in (1) is followed by a passage which has the 
structure: 丫 为 B; 丫 为 D: etc.

3) this text, like the Chuang Tzu, contains sentence-end 
rhymes as follows:

I 有 GSR995 giüg/jiüw/yu  吾 GSR976 ziąg/i: /yi
II 移 GSR3 dia/iæ/-/yi  化 GSR19 xwa/xwa/-/hua
III 固 GSR49 ko/kuo/-/ku  于 GSR49 ko/kuo/-/ku
IV 極 GSR256 giword/jiword/yilan  --------------------------
V 极 GSR910 g'íai/g'íak/ki  每 GSR906 ts'íak/ts'íak/ts'í
VI 庫 GSR874 b'ieæ/b'ieæ/peil/pi  還 GSR866 zieg/zïg/-/shï
VII 慕 GSR69 li3 /li3o/-/li3  孽 GSR89 zio /i3o/-/yi3

Note that pairs I-III and V-VII all constitute perfect rhymes. 
We have amended the text following the Li Shan 李善 commentary 
(SPPY) which inserts the phrase ending in chi 極. The fact that 
"ydan 色" is not paired might suggest corruption in the text.

Assuming that our Chuang Tzu text is the source of the
Lu Shih Ch'un Ch'iu passage, and given the uniformity in structure and the exactness of the rhyming in the uncorrupted portions of both texts, we can safely assume that there is something amiss in those pairs which do not rhyme: namely, pairs II and VI.

Liu Shih-p'ei (p. 6) suggests that chien 竿 was originally ku 固. During the Sui dynasty the character chien was tabooed, and all instances of it in the texts were changed to ku. After the establishment of the T'ang, the altered texts were restored, and ku again became chien. Unfortunately, the T'ang scholars in their enthusiasm also changed some texts which originally had ku to chien, and Liu Shih-p'ei cites this passage as a case in point. To substantiate his theory, Liu Shih-p'ei also points out the similar problem with Sung scholars restoring the character chih 治 from li 理. Again, the Kuo Hsiang commentary uses the word ku 固 in its explanation of this passage.

Liu Shih-p'ei's theory is an improvement in terms of restoring the rhyme, but GSR49 ko /kwo/ku and GSR44 g'wa/ywa/hua have different tones. Also, the fact that Kuo Hsiang uses ku 固 rather than chien 竿 in his commentary means little—he uses tu 猫 rather than ku 猫, but we do not alter the text on this account.

A much better adjustment is suggested by Yao Nai (cited in Ch'ien Mu p. 49). He feels that the two characters ku 猫 and chien 竿 have been interchanged in the transmission of the text. The characters GSR41 kwo/kwo/ku and GSR44 g'wa/ywa/hua constitute a perfect rhyme. Also, the passage
is appropriate to the overall gist of the chapter—that is, the Sublimated Man is different from others in terms of comprehension, but undistinguishable from the ordinary man in his appearance.

There is some debate among commentators as to the meaning of the word ku角瓜:

1) Yu Ydeh (p. 196) equates it with ku Clearsaw ("big bone"), a metaphor for something really solid (chien坚).

2) Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26pp164-5) suggests that it is a loan character for ch'deh 磷 ("hard, stony"=solid).

3) Li Chen (cited in Wang Hsien-ch'ien's CTCCV26p78 commentary) suggests that it is a loan character for ku 磔 ("alone"). This is very close to Wang Mu-yeh (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p39) who states that it means "standing alone without contingency," and to Kuo Hsiang who offers tu 獨 ("alone") as his interpretation.

4) Ts'ui Chuan (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p39) takes it as a loan character for ling 榀 ("squared or hewn timber"=ling ch'deh 榀角--"a projection, protrusion," which is again quite close to (3) above). It would appear that he makes this connection from taking ku 角瓜 as a loan character for ku 磔, and the Shuo Wen definition of ku 磔 is ling 榀.

Although there is some obvious disagreement here, the general consensus is that ku 角瓜 means "standing alone and apart from others"="conspicuous."

5. In reference to the use of terms like ping ping 齒 ("exhilarating"), and for that matter, in reference to arriving at
a definition for any term, we must rely upon a collocation of passages in which the term is used. Unfortunately, many of these terms found in the *Chuang Tzu*—especially these gestalt words—cannot be attested in any other early texts. As a consequence, our translation of them is necessarily based on context and commentaries postdating the text itself by usually no less than half a mellenium. Thus, even Karlgren, as good as he is, is speculative in offering definitions for these terms.

6. Yen Ling-feng (p. 688) in order to retain the uniformity of this rhymed passage, suggests that the character *ping* not be repeated. If we look at the *Lù Shih Ch'un Ch'iu* imitation passage (see note 4 above), however, three of the words introducing the rhyming sentences are repeated, while the remainder are not. There does not appear to be any pattern to these repetitions. We can probably dismiss Yen Ling-feng's objection on the basis of this parallel passage.

Ch'en Ching-yuan (I) (CTCCV5p5) points out that the Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, Wen Jo-hai and Chang Ch'un-fang texts current at his time all had the particle *yeh* at the end of the sentence rather than *hu*. The *Lù Shih Ch'un Ch'iu* SPPY 15/7b passage which imitates the style of this section would support this amendment. Also, grammatically, one would expect *...* rather than *...*.

7. Ch'en Ching-yuan (I)(CTCCV5p5) observes that the Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, Wen Jo-hai and Chang Ch'un-fang texts repeat the character *ts'ui* , making it uniform with the repeated *ping* in the
preceding sentence. Wang Shu-min (1/50) and Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p135) both support this alteration, but on looking at the 落世或一精 SPPY 15/7b passage, the repeated characters are erratic. The very irregularity would suggest that there is no necessity to have uniformity in this respect.

The Hsiang Hsiu commentary (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p39) suggests that ts'ui 壬 means "the appearance of motion." Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p283) qualifies this by interpreting it as "compelled motion." Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 99) indicates that this should be read as its cognate character ts'ui 壬 ("pressed, compelled").

Wang Yu (in Wang Fu-chih CTCCV19p156) interprets this character literally as "high, lofty," while the Emperor Chien Wen of Liang commentary (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p39) would read it as "humble, yielding."

Given the context of the sentence, the ts'ui 壬 ("compelled") interpretation seems most appropriate.

8. The text should read yeh rather than hu . See note 6 above.

9. According to Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p39), ch'u 渠 also occurs as ch'u 壬 ("uncomfortable; flushed in rage").

The meaning of this character ch'u 渠 is much debated. The Emperor Chien Wen of Liang commentary (in Lu Te-ming CTCC V2p39) and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p283) offer the meaning "to gather, collect," while Ssu-ma Piao (in Lu Te-ming CTCC
V2p39), Ma Hsü-lun (p. 189) and Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p165) interpret it as a loan character for the cognate hstl ("pent-up emotions, turning colour in rage"). Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p258) has "the appearance of being fully happy."

The character ch' u t appears again in 49/19/40 as "accumulated, stored," and the implication is that an accumulation of vital vapours in different parts of the body is the source of anger, forgetfulness and illness. Again, at the dispersion of these vapours, one suffers from deficiency. Thus, it is apparent that the accumulation of vapours is the source of various changes in mood, and consequently, in physical appearance.

10. Liu Feng-pao (CTCCV24p237) and a consensus of the commentators would interpret the verb chin here as "to cause others to come close."

11. For a discussion of yû , see note 3 above.

12. According to the Ts'ui Chuan text (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2 p39), li should be kuang .

Among those commentators who read this as li, Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV2p283) interprets it as "in encountering peril," Kuo Hsiang (CTCCV1p135) as "evil," Wang Yû (in Wang Fu-chih CTCCV19p156) as "sickly", Lin Yûn-ming (CTCCV18p137) as "ugly", Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p258) as "serious" and Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p166) as "transcending boundaries."
The Ts'ui Chuan commentary, having kuang, interprets it as "broad and enduring."

The interpretation of this character is largely dependent upon how we take the character shih in the second portion of this sentence. See note 13 below.

13. Yu Yüeh (pp. 196-7) suggests that shih is a loan character for t'ai ("proud"). This interpretation is shared by Chang Ping-lin (p. 16), Wu Ju-lun (CTCCV26p42) and Ma Hsü-lun (p. 189). Chang Mo-sheng (p. 158) observes that this is possible in terms of rhyme: the character GSR316 t'êd/ê'ai/-t'ai rhymes with GSR339 sj'êj/sj'ai/-shü and GSR317 d'êj/d'ai/-chü, as does the alternate form GSR317 d'êj/d'ai/-ta.

Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p166) suggests that shih is a loan character for shih.

Given our preference for a literal translation wherever possible, we interpret shih literally as "wordly, mundane." We interpret li to mean "close at hand" in order to form a contrast with the sentence which follows it. Just as above where Chuang Tzu describes the Sublimated Man as "solid and yet not conspicuous," here he is restating this characteristic. At the level of the phenomenal world and physical existence (i.e. from the point of view of those around him), there is nothing which marks the Sublimated Man as distinct from other people.

The final particle hu should be read yeh. See note 6 above.

14. This character also appears in 14/5/55 meaning "great". Wang Mu-yeh (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p39) interprets this character
as "to surpass and transcend the worldly," providing a needed contrast with the preceding sentence. Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p259) states that it means "great--without that which makes him condescend to the mundane," again providing contrast.

15. Yao Nai, Wang K'ai-yûn (both in Kao Heng pp. 26-7) and Hsüan Ying (p. 62) all suggest that pi 阙 is a corruption of hsien 阙. As we have seen in note 4 above, the author has been so meticulous in his rhymes that it is unlikely that they would break down here. On the other hand, GSR192 閨/鬢/飡 and GSR251 閤/鬢/飡 constitute a perfect rhyme. The similarity of the two characters pi 阙 and hsien 阙 suggests an error in copying.

16. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p39) observes that this character is alternatively written as mien 覽, but all presently extant texts have men 楙. Also, the Li I and Wang Mu-yeh commentaries which Lu Te-ming cites seem to be offering interpretations of men 楙.

Here we follow Wang Mu-yeh's interpretation: "to abandon and forget." Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p167) offers textual evidence to support Wang Mu-yeh's reading.

17. Liu Shih-p'ei (p. 6) suggests that yen 餜 is a mistaken rendering of shuo 說 on the basis that GSR412 聽/pie1-/p and 說 GSR324 聽/shuo rhymed, which is probably not the case.
Kao Heng (p. 27) comments that the word order of this phrase has in all likelihood been changed, and suggests that it should be restored to ch'i wang yen from the wang ch'i yen in the present text. The sentence structure of the preceding sentences in this section would support such an alteration. Also, Kao Heng cites a passage from 75/26/49 where wang and yen are placed together. We have followed Kao Heng in making this amendment.

7. TEXT

(The Sublimated Man) took attenuation as his primary concern, took the code of propriety to be his accessory, took knowledge to be appropriateness, and took virtus to be compliance. Taking attenuation as his primary concern was to feel easy in his diminution; taking the code of propriety to be his accessory was his means of functioning in the world; taking knowledge to be appropriateness was to be expedient to the situation; and taking virtus to be compliance meant climbing a hill with those who have feet. And the Sublimated Man considered this to be something which should be diligently carried into practice.

EXEGESIS

1. At first glance, this entire section appears to constitute a striking diversion in grammar and style from the chapter as a whole. This has led several prominent commentators to
suggest that this passage is in fact a later interpolation (e.g. Chang Mo-sheng p. 160). We have, however, the *Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu* SPPY 15/7b passage which seems to be modelled on Text 6 and 7 of this chapter, and which passes from the sentence structure into the phrases: "以天為法,以德為行,以直為宗." paralleling this Text 7 exactly. From this we might infer that this is either part of the original text or else that it was interpolated very early, between the composition of this chapter and the compilation of the *Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu*.

Assuming that this section is in fact part of the original text, we are then faced with the task of attempting to interpret it in such a fashion as to make it congruent with the general tenor of Chuang Tzu's thought. Obviously, a literal translation of this passage is not only unsatisfactory, but very much at odds with our initial picture of the Sublimated Man. Thus, we must approach it as metaphor.

Kao Heng (p. 20), aware of the fundamental inconsistency of this section, suggests that this passage takes a "chicken" as a metaphor. Through some ingenious if not incredible substitutions, he arrives at the interpretation:

(The Sublimated Man) took punishment as his body, took the code of propriety as his wings, took knowledge as his roost (時 =時) and took virtus as his perch (循 =循 =條 =條 =條 =條 =條).

Shih Te-ch'ing (4/15) interprets hsin as meaning "not retaining his ego"—taking the total obliteration of the subjective self as his body.

Kuan Feng (p. 236) observes that there are three steps
in Chuang Tzu's process of enlightenment: **yu tai** 有待 ---
**wu i** 無己 --- **wu tai** 無待. Coupling this framework with
the Shih Te-ch'ing interpretation of **hsing**, we can explain
this passage as a metaphor for the repudiation of the subjective
self. The phrase **hsing wei t'í** 了心為體("...took atten-
uation as his primary concern") represents the process between
the mundane existence of **yu tai** 有待 and the supermundane exis-
tence of **wu tai** 无待 --- it is the process of attaining a
state of **wu i** 無己 through a total rejection of the subject-
tive ego.

The character **hsing** here is similar in meaning to the
character **sun** 损 in the *Tao Te Ching* 48:

In the pursuit of learning,
One must daily expand his sphere of activity,
But in the pursuit of the **tao**,
One must daily reduce (**sun** 损) it;
Reducing it and reducing it again
Until one attains a state of "non-activity".

It is also reminiscent of the notion of **wu sang wo** 吾喪我 in
3/2/3 where **wu 吾** is the Sublimated Man and **wo 我** is his sub-
jective ego.

The term **t'i** 體 is parallel to **i** 壹 in the following
sentence, and means "primary" as opposed to "accessory."

Wu Ju-lun (CTCCV26p43) interprets **hsing** 形 as **hsing** 形, but offers no support for such a rendering.

2. We know from a later passage in this chapter (19/6/91) that
**li** 禮 ("the code of propriety") is repudiated in the process
of sublimation. At the same time, however, it is expedient
that the Sublimated Man employ this code of propriety in
dwelling among ordinary people. In Text 6 above it states that "close at hand, he seemed to be mundane." The necessity of coping with life in this world is also brought out in the Tao Te Ching 20:

But those things which all men fear need not be affronted.

This point is again illustrated in this chapter by the anecdote concerning Meng Sun Ts'ai (18/6/75-82) in which it states that "Meng Sun alone is awake, but others wail, so he also wails." This suggests a capacity of the Sublimated Man to dwell in and blend into the mundane world of man without overtly violating the society in which he lives.

3. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2pp39-40) observes that hsün循 is also taken as hsiu脩, and that both are permissible. Yu Yueh (p. 197), however, does not agree. He suggests that the phrase which follows: "...meant climbing a hill with those who have feet." would disqualify hsiu脩 as a possible alternative, since in the context it would make little sense.

4. According to Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p40), the Ts'ui Chuan edition has nao淖 ("mud") for ch'o繀, but this makes no sense. The interchangeability of these two characters is attested to by the fact that the expression ch'o Yueh繀 in 2/1/29 appears again in 26/11/17 as nao Yueh淖.

5. Here we read the character穢 as shai—"to reduce, diminish."
6. Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 100) suggests that the character ch'iu 隠 here is very similar to the same character in the expression shou ch'iu 隠 ("one's original home, his place of birth"). In this sense, it is a metaphor for the tao. Kuo Liang-han (CTCCV13p329) concurs in this opinion, pointing out that "mountains" and "hills" are frequently used as metaphors for the tao in the Chuang Tzu (e.g. the Ku She姑射2/1/28, 35; Yin Fen隱25/7/22/1; Chû Tz'u具茨65/24/25, 27; K'un Lun 昆侖29/12/18; 46/18/20).

Many of the Ch'ing texts (Wang Fu-chih CTCCV19, Hsü T'ing-huai CTCCV20; Wang Mou-hung CTCCV20) have ch'iu 隠 rather than ch'iu 隠. The use of the character ch'iu 隠 was prohibited by imperial order during the Ch'ing in deference to Confucius (except in the term yulan ch'iu 圓丘, a circular mound used as the location of an imperial sacrifice). See the Shin-koku gyosei ho 清國行政法 prepared by the Rinji Taiwan Kyukan Chosakai Dai 1-bu (Governor-General of Taiwan 1895-1945) published in 1965-66, IA/2/72.

7. In terms of both word usage and content, it would seem that this sentence is corrupt. Literally, it reads: "And others really take him (the Sublimated Man) to be diligent in his conduct." Hu Wen-ying (CTCCV21p94) and Ma Hsü-lun (p. 192) both suggest that the characters jen 人 and chen 真 have been inverted, interpreting it as: "And the Sublimated Man considers it to be wearisome activity."

The literal translation above is plausible in terms of content, since it is very possible that other people might
judge the conduct of the Sublimated Man in terms of its results. In this case, he may seem to work at what is in fact the natural development of the things around him. The use of 聰 adverbially as "really, truly" is very uncommon in the Chuang Tzu. In fact, of the only two such usages, one has a variant reading (54/21/7) while the other occurs in a chapter thought to be a later edition (77/28/26; Lo Ken-tse (pp. 307-9) dates this "Jang Wang" chapter as early Han).

The Hu Wen-ying and Ma Hsu-lun interpretation above makes the Sublimated Man the subject, and is not consistent with our interpretation of this entire passage.

In the Tao Te Ching 41 there is a similar passage:

When the noblest level of man hears of the tao, He diligently applies himself and carries it into practice.

Assuming that the Tao Te Ching is of earlier composition, this may conceivably be an allusion to this chapter.

Yen Ling-feng (p. 689) regards this as a corrupt passage, and suggests that we should refrain from forcing an explanation.

8. TEXT

Therefore, his likes are one, as are his dislikes. His "oneness" is one, as is his "not-oneness". In his "oneness" he is the disciple of nature, while in his "not-oneness" he is the disciple of man. The person in whom the natural and the human elements do not dominate each other is called the
Sublimated Man.  

EXEGESIS

1. This section can best be interpreted as a response to the dualism between the natural and the contrived introduced at the beginning of the chapter. As is stated clearly in the sentence which follows this one, that which makes man one with all things is his nature, while that which differentiates him is his own subjective conception of himself.

2. The use of 聲 in this kind of a "natural—contrived" contrast is perhaps similar to its use in the Tao Te Ching 59:

In governing the people and nurturing one's own person (善天),
Nothing can be compared to frugality.

Yen Ling-feng (Lao Tzu Ta Chieh pp. 242-3) interprets the expression 善天 as "preserving and nurturing one's own natural endowment." Literally, 善天 means "to serve Heaven," but what it seems to mean in this context is to fulfill that which has been endowed by Heaven.

In the 十 Shih Ch'un Ch'iu SPPY 1/4a there is a similar usage:

The activity of the Son of Heaven takes compliance with nature (全天) as its motivation.

The Kao Yu commentary interprets 聲 here as 象 ("nature"). Again, in the 十 Shih Ch'un Ch'iu SPPY 1/5a:

Therefore, the Sage's regulation of the myriad things is in order to realize his person (全其天).

The Kao Yu commentary interprets 聲 here as 象 ("person").
The word t'ien here can be seen as standing in contradistinction to the notion of "artificiality".

3. Chuang Tzu is suggesting that only when the "natural" and the "contrived" coincide can one be said to have attained the level of Sublimated Knowledge (chen chih). The phrase "the person in whom the natural and the human elements do not dominate each other..." is perhaps best understood as simply a negative expression of the principle that t'ien jen ho i 天人合一.

9. TEXT

Life and death are a matter of destiny. Their having the constancy of day and night is due to nature. Man's having those things over which he exercises no sway is a reality which he shares with all things. He alone takes nature to be his father and loves it throughout his life—how much more should he love that which supercedes it! Man alone takes having a ruler to be better than being without and is willing to face death on his behalf throughout his life—how much more should he be willing to do the same for the Sublimated (Ruler).

When a spring runs dry, the fishes flop about together on the land, breathing on each other to keep damp and wetting each other with their froth. This is not as good as forgetting each other in the rivers and lakes. Rather than
praising Yao and condemning Chieh, it is better to forget them both and be transformed in the tao.

The Great Clod encumbers me with a physical form, fatigues me with life, retires me with age and rests me with death. Assuredly, any reasons that I have for approving of my life are the very reasons why I should approve of my death.

EXEGESIS

1. For similar passages, see 46/18/22: "Life and death are day and night."; 55/21/33: "...and life and death, beginning and end will become day and night."

P'an Chi-ch'ing (CTCCV12p399) associates the character ming ("destiny") with ch'ing ("reality") and cho ("that which supercedes it") below, suggesting that these are alternate designations for the tao. Ch'en Shen (CTCCV11p96), on the other hand, identifies ming ("destiny") with t'ien ("nature"). Since the concept of "destiny" is inextricably connected with change, and since Chuang Tzu chooses to associate change with t'ien ("nature") rather than the tao, we cannot assume that ming ("destiny") is an alternate designation for the tao at all.

Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p305) interprets the concept of "destiny" expressed in this passage to be reflected in the "Li Ming" chapter of the Lieh Tzu, i.e. a radical fatalism which negates conscious choice and repudiates contrived or premeditated response. Cf. A.C. Graham's introduction to this chapter in
his *The Book of Lieh Tzu* pp. 118-21.

2. Wu Ju-lun (CTCCV26p43), Hu Yüan-chün (p. 52) and Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 102) all suggest that *yu* 
be read as *yu* 鱒. This phrase would thus be rendered: "Their being like the constancy of day and night is due to nature."

3. According to Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p40), the Ts'ui Chuan text had *ta*革目 ("soft leather") as a variant for *tan* 日 ("day").

4. The Kuo Hsiang commentary (CTCCV1p137) states: "The Sublimated Man enjoys daytime during the day and night-time during the night. Taking life and death as day and night, how could there be anything which he does not acquire?" From his commentary, it is apparent that he is interpreting the character *yu* ^/\ as the interrogative particle *yu* 会, loan character for *yu* 参.

In the *Chuang Tzu*, the interrogative particle *yu* is written as *yu* 胡 with the radical 亠 (see A.C. Graham, *Asia Major* 8/2, p. 155). Lin Yün-ming (CTCCV18p139) would read *yu* 胡 in *ch'u* sheng, while Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p168) suggests that *yu* 胡 be read as *yu* 将 ("to participate in").

5. The character *ch'ing* 傳 (trans. "reality") occurs four times in this chapter. In each instance Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p261ff.) and many of the other commentators interpret it as *shih* 齊; in our translation we concur with this interpretation.
6. We follow Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 102) in interpreting  特 as 但.

7. Hu Wen-ying (CTCCV21p95) interprets this as: "He alone takes nature to be his father. It (nature) loves the ordinary people (as a father loves his sons)--how much more so the superior and eminent!" He then proceeds to interpret the sentence which follows this one and which is parallel to it in the same way that we have translated it above, betraying a certain grammatical inconsistency.

8. In this passage, the rank of 天 ("nature") as opposed to the 道 is made evident. Whereas 天 is assigned the procreative function, the 道 is something which supercedes it and is something upon which nature depends.

9. Yang Shu-ta (CTCCV30p7) points out that all of the previous commentaries (and as a consequence, all of the English translations) have misread the character 已 as 吉, giving rise to certain grammatical problems. If we were to read this as 吉, we would have to translate this passage as "man alone takes having a ruler (有君) as being greater than himself." In other words, the 君 would be superfluous. In reading it as 已, Yang Shu-ta cites a similar passage in the Lun Yü 37/17/20 (Legge I:329): "Are there not gamesters and chessplayers? To be one of these would still be better than doing nothing at all (為之猶)
The expression yueh hu i 愈乎已 in this chapter can be compared to the expression hsien hu i 玄乎已 in the Lun Yu passage.

10. The character chen 真 ("Sublimated") refers back to ch'un君 ("Ruler"). Chen ch'un 真君 is used elsewhere to refer to the tao (4/2/17), as are similar designations (e.g. chen tsai 真宰 in 4/2/15).

11. This passage is cited in later works with the variants hsii 倚 and hsii 倚 for hsii 倚, and ju 漱 for ju 濃 (see Wang Shu-min 1/50a-b). According to Wang Shu-min, the two variants for hsii 倚 are simply being used as loan characters. The character ju 漱 is a popular form of ju 濃. Since the two character 濃 GSR134 氏/氏/ju and 濃 GSR108 木/木/ju, 氏/氏/ju constituted a perfect rhyme, we can find examples of them being used in parallel construction in other early texts (e.g. Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/12a).

12. This passage "When a spring...in the rivers and lakes." is repeated as the words of Lao Tzu in 39/14/60 with only very minor variation (ju 虾 becomes jo 驤). This might be interpreted as an amplification of the thought contained in Lao Tzu 36:

Fishes cannot be taken from the depths.
The use of water (i.e. lakes, streams, the sea, etc.) as a metaphor for the magnitude and naturalness of the tao is common currency among the Taoist thinkers. In Lao Tzu 32 it says:

As a metaphor to describe the universe returning to
Perhaps we can say it is like streams and creeks rolling to the rivers and seas. (following Chiang Hsi-ch'ang's interpretation)

Wang Shu-min (1/50b) comments that this passage is cited in later works such as TPYL 935 with the particle yeh, following hui. In opposition to this variation we have the two occurrences of this passage in the Chuang Tzu, as well as the fact that it would spoil the parallelism with the sentence which follows it.

13. Ma Hsü-lun (p. 193) observes that the Shih Te T'ang and Ch'ung Te Shu Yüan texts both have erh ch'i 而其 for yü ch'i 與其. For the repetition of this passage with slight modification which occurs in 74/26/22, Wang Shu-min (1/50b-51a) points out two texts which have erh ch'i 而其 for yü ch'i 與其. The passage in Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 9/58 which is based on this phrase from the Chuang Tzu has yü ch'i 與其 with no variations. If this phrase originally began with yü ch'i 與其 in the sense of "rather than," it would constitute the only such usage in the text.

14. Yao (tr. 2356-2257) is a legendary ruler who appears throughout early Chinese literature as a paragon of sagely wisdom and moral virtue. Chieh (tr. 1818-1763), on the other hand, was the last ruler of the Hsia dynasty whose evil actions are regarded as having brought about the decline and fall of his empire. Through a process of gradual inflation he has become known to Chinese tradition as a tyrant of boundless villainy.
15. Ma Hsü-lun (p. 193) and Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 103) both suggest that the character ch'i in the expression ch'i tao be read as chih, functioning here similar to the particle in (i.e. "in").

In support of such an interpretation, we might indicate the phonological similarity between GSR9529\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{3}\textsuperscript{2} and GSR9627\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{4}\textsuperscript{2} /chii/. Also, the fact that the parallel passages in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 9/58 and in the Chuang Tzu 74/26/22 both alter this portion of the sentence might indicate dissatisfaction with the common understanding of hua ch'i tao.

16. As well as forming the basis for the passages in 74/26/22 and Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 9/58 as mentioned above, this portion of our text is also closely related both stylistically and in terms of content to a Shih Tzu passage cited in the TPYL 80.

17. There is some debate among commentators as to the actual meaning of the expression ta k'uai (the "Great Clod"). Kao T'ang (CTCCV23p59) and Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 103) both consider that it is a reference to ti (the "Earth"). Ch'ien Mu (p. 145) agrees, but suggests that in modern parlance, this is equivalent to t'ien ti ("the cosmos"). This interpretation is also contained in the commentary of Kuo Liang-han (CTCCV13p334) and Hsiao Ch'un-po (p. 116). Ssu-ma Piao (cited by Huang Shih CTCCV23p46) and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p291) both consider that it means tzu jan ("natural
spontaneity").

This expression is used three times in the *Chuang Tzu* (see also 3/2/4, 17/6/57), and from the context it would seem that it is a reference to our physical environment. Creel (What is Taoism? p. 33) and B. Watson (p. 265) both suggest that the expression *ta wei* 大隠 which occurs in 65/24/25, 66/24/27 and 66/24/28 is in fact a corruption of *ta k'uai* 大塊. From context, *ta wei* would seem to be a metaphorical allusion to the *tao*.

18. Wang Shu-min (1/51a) comments that *i'j'i* ("retires") appears in a parallel passage in the *Huai Nan Tzu* SPTK 2/10b as *i'j'i*. The Ch'eng Hsüan-ying commentary (CTCCV3p291) also has *i'j'i* for *i'j'i*. These two words were not only homophonous, but also overlapped in meaning.

19. The parallel passage in *Huai Nan Tzu* SPTK 2/10b has *hsiu* 休 for *hsi* 息 ("rests"), and the Kao Yu commentary states specifically that *Chuang Tzu* has *hsiu*. The So Yin commentary to the *Shih Chi* SPTK PNP 84/14a also has *hsiu*. However, this same passage occurs twice in this chapter, and in both cases it has the word *hsi*. Again, the Chang Chan commentary to the *Lieh Tzu* SPTK 1/4a attests the *hsi* wording.

20. Po Chü-i was inspired by this passage to compose three short poems. See the final portion of the *Chuang Tzu* section in the *Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng* 古今圖書集成 21/435-38.
21. Wang Mou-hung (CTCCV20pl4) and Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30 pl38) both suggest that this entire section from "When a spring runs dry..." to "...approve of my death" is not continuous with its context, and is an erroneous interpolation. Consequently, they omit it.

Yeh Ping-ching (CTCCV16pl07) and Ma Hsü-lun (p. 193) would omit the passage "The Great Clod...approve of my death," as later interpolation since it does occur a second time later in this chapter (17/6/57).

Although repetition encourages suspicion, there is one glaring point of fact which wants to support both the authenticity and the order of this passage which is in question. In the parallel passage in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/10b, it repeats the Chuang Tzu almost verbatim from "The Great Clod..." to "can the number of things in which he can find pleasure thus be calculated!" in exactly the same order. This would indicate that if this portion of the text is a later interpolation, it must have occurred in the century and a half between the composition of this portion of the Chuang Tzu and the compilation of the Huai Nan Tzu.

10. TEXT

Now, if one conceals a boat in the ravine of a hill, the hill being concealed in a marsh—we can say that it is safe. But then during the night one who has the strength might shoulder it (the boat) and abscond with it. Those who
are sleeping⁸ would not know.⁹ To conceal the small in the large was correct,¹⁰ but there is still that which evanesces.¹¹ If we conceal the cosmos¹² in the cosmos, there will be no evanescence. This then is the great reality of the Eternal Thing.¹³ When¹⁴ man is cast¹⁵ in human form, he is pleased with it. But things like the human form undergo innumerable mutations without ever reaching a point of exhaustion.¹⁶ Can the number of such things in which he can find pleasure thus be calculated!¹⁷ Hence, when the Sage rambles in that aspect of things which admits of no evanescence and in which all is sustained, when he approves of youth¹⁸ in the same way that he approves of old age and approves of the beginning in the same way that he approves of the end, then others will even imitate him. How much more, then, should they (strive to emulate) that which connects all things and upon which each transformation¹⁹ depends!²⁰

EXEGESIS

1. In our translation, we have followed the sense of Ma Ch'i-ch'ang's (2/20a) interpretation:

   In the marsh there is a hill, and in the hill there is a ravine, and then, the boat is concealed in the ravine...

It would seem that the author has had to pay for his parallelism with ambiguity.

Hsü T'ing-huai (CTCCV20p107) would extend the parallelism even further, suggesting that the original text had the phrase "conceal the ravine in the hill" (ts'ang huo yu shan).
between the phrases "conceals a boat in the ravine of a hill (ts'ang chou yü huô)" and "conceals the hill in a marsh (ts'ang shan yü tse)." Whereas in terms of the traditional interpretation, this can probably be construed as an improvement in style, there is no substantial evidence or even necessity for adding to the text. On the contrary, the fact that this passage occurs almost verbatim in the 

**Huai Nan Tzu** SPTK 2/10b and again in Liu Tzu's 

**Hsin Lun** HWTS 81 ts'e 10/5a, would indicate a very early corruption of the text if such an omission did occur. Another reason for retaining the text in its present form is the occurrence of rhyme in this passage between 

GSR767 xâk/ xâk/ho and GSR790 dâk/dâk/tse.

2. A literal rendering of this passage as "if one conceals a boat in the ravine of a hill and conceals the hill in a marsh..." has traditionally caused commentators some consternation. As Yü Yüeh (p. 197) deduces: "A hill cannot be concealed in a marsh, and it is not something which a strong person can take on his back and abscond with!" As an alternative, he suggests that we read shan ("hill") as shan ("wicker fishtrap"). There is an obvious phonetic and graphic relationship between these two words. Yü Yüeh also notes that both a boat and a fishtrap are items associated with a fisherman, and they they are both a temptation to those who would steal. As such, it would be logical that the fisherman would take the precaution of concealing them. (Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p.103) and Ch'ien Mu
(p. 51) credit this explanation to Wu Yen-hsü 武延緒, but his Chuang Tzu Cha Chi 莊子札記 did not appear until 1916, some 46 years after Yü Yüeh).  

Wang Shu-min (1/51a-b) offers a second alternative. He observes that in the ancient texts, chou 舟 ("boat") and ch'e 車 ("carriage") are often used as parallel metaphors. For example, in 38/14/35:

For travelling nothing is as efficacious as using a boat, while for touring on land, nothing is as efficacious as using a carriage.

(see also 42/17/12; 49/19/25; 52/20/17). Also, the CTYH 59 cites this passage with ch'e 車 instead of shan 山. As we have mentioned in note 1 above, the parallel passages in the Huai Nan Tzu and Hsin Lun would indicate a very early alteration in the Chuang Tzu text if such were the case, since both of these works have shan 山 ("hill").

In our translation we have followed Ma Ch'i-ch'ang (see note 1), choosing to amend the text only when faced with no other alternative. A point perhaps worth noting is that the Chinese character shan 山 which is commonly translated "mountain" in English also embraces the meaning of "hill". In fact, according to Wang Nien-sun's Shou Chi Kuang Ya Shu Cheng 疏證 SPPY 9B/9a:

Ch'in designated the grave of the Son of Heaven shan 山, while Han called it ling 陵.

Thus, the notion of a hill being concealed in a marsh is not at all incredible.
3. Wang Hsien-ch'ien (CTCCV26p80) interprets tse澤 as "pond" rather than "marsh", and from this infers that a hill concealed in a poind is in fact an island.

4. Wang Shu-min (l/51b) cites several works which have the character jen 人 ("people") before the phrase wei chih ku i 謂之固矣. The parallel passage in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/10b also has this variation. The Wen Hsüan commentary (Li Chou-han 李昭翰) SPTK 59/1093a has the variation jen i wei ku 人以為固, also with the character jen 人. Again, the Wen Hsüan commentary (Li Shan 李善) also quotes the standard wei chih ku i 謂之固矣 on the same page. The former variation would translate as "...people would say that it is safe," while the latter would read: "...people would consider it sage."

Wang Shu-min also cites a text which has the particle i 已 preceding i矣.

5. Wang Shu-min (l/51b) and Ma Hsü-lun (p. 194) cite the TPYL and various later encyclopaedic works which quote this passage as jen 人 tse然則 rather than jen erh 然而, with no significant difference in meaning.

6. Liu Shih-p'ei (p. 2b) comments that the Liu Chun 劉峻 commentary to the Shih Shuo Hsin Yül cites this passage with the character ta 大 ("great") preceding the character li 力 ("strength"). He further points out that in other cases this commentary has proven very reliable in reproducing the original
text of Chuang Tzu. Also, the Kuo Hsiang commentary (CTCCVLp139) states: "Of those things with unforced strength, nothing is greater (ta 大) than change." From this, Liu Shih-p'ei infers that the text on which Kuo Hsiang wrote this commentary also had the character ta. The fact that this passage is cited in several earlier works without the word ta would cast some doubt on this emendation.

7. It is very probable that the original text has the character ch'ū 走 ("hasten") rather than tsou 走 ("run"—trans. as "abscond"). First, the parallel passage in Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/10b has this variation. Secondly, Wang Shu-min (1/51b-52a) cites seven anthologies and encyclopaedic works which have ch'ū 走 rather than tsou. Again, the Ch'eng Hsüan-ying commentary (CTCC V3p292) has ch'ū 走, indicating that the text upon which it is commenting also had ch'ū 走. In terms of meaning, this variant is of little significance—the Kao Yu commentary on the parallel Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/10b passage states that "ch'ū 走 means tsou 走."

8. Wang Shu-min (1/51b-52a) points out that several later texts in citing this passage have either ch'i 其 or erh 而 before the character mei 某. The parallel Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/10b passage does not.

Yang Shu-ta (CTCCV30p7) suggests that the character mei 味 ("bewildered") be read as its cognate mei 载 ("to sleep"). The fact that the theft occurs during the night would suggest
that the victims of the theft would be sleeping. Further, the parallel passage in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/10b has mei 見 rather than mei 明. We have adopted this reading in our translation.

9. Wang Shu-min (1/51b-52a) indicates that several later texts in citing this passage end this phrase with the particle yeh 也, and that one text has pu ch'ueh 不 ("would not be aware") for pu chih 不知 ("would not know"). The parallel Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/10b passage is the same as the Chuang Tzu in this respect.

10. Kuo Liang-han (CTCCV13p336) suggests that the "small" and "large" are in reference to the "boat" as opposed to the "ravine of a hill," and to the "hill" as opposed to the "marsh". In other words, the magnitude of the ravine of a hill is such that it can conceal a boat, and the magnitude of the marsh is such that it can conceal a hill.

11. This portion of the parallel Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/10b is at variance with the original text. It has:

Those who are sleeping would not know that there still is that which evanesces (tun 看 rather than tun 見). If we conceal the cosmos in the cosmos, there will be nothing which suffers the loss (tun 看) of its physical form.

In substituting the character tun 看 for tun 見, the author of this portion of the Huai Nan Tzu has selected a far more common character which is both homophonous and in the sense of
"evanesces", synonymous with the original word.

Kuan Feng (p. 239) observes that this entire passage about concealing A in B may be looked upon as an amplification of a principle contained in Lao Tzu's notion of "those who grasp it lose it (Lao Tzu 29, 64)." It is only when one is able to comprehend the whole as an undifferentiated totality that he is able to escape the transience of his world of experience. As soon as he "grasps" onto an aspect of this phenomenal world, he establishes a point of reference for change. Hence, this act of differentiation causes whatever has been "grasped" to become immediately vulnerable to the vicissitudes of change. If, on the other hand, one insists upon the experience of an undifferentiated totality, he remains eternally beyond the shadow of change.

12. We have chosen to translate the expression t'ien hsia --commonly translated as "the world" or literally as "all under the heavens"--as "the cosmos". In this passage, this expression is used loosely in the sense of concealing "all-that-is" in "all-that-is".

13. The expression heng wu ("Eternal Thing") refers to the tao. By comprehending the cosmos as an unconditional whole which does not allow of permutation, one is able to experience the eternal, unchanging reality of the tao.

14. The parallel passage in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/10b has
i — rather than t'e 特, as does the passage in 17/6/59 below. Wu Ju-lun (CTCCV26p44) suggests that in relation to the wan hua 異化 ("innumerable mutations") below, i — and t'e 特 have the same meaning. They indicate a contrast between the singularity of taking on the human form and the plurality of similar transformations. Hence, we translate t'e here as "when" in the sense of "once having been."

15. The parallel passage in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/10b has fan 范 rather than fan 風. These two characters are homophonous cogantes. The Kao Yu commentary to this Huai Nan Tzu passage provides basically two alternative interpretations. It can mean "to encounter (ych 恩 or tsao 追)" or "to imitate, to mould (fa 法)." The Kuo Hsiang, Ch'eng Hsu-an-ying and most of the traditional commentaries follow the first interpretation. From these two interpretations, we can arrive at three alternative translations:

1) "When man encounters the human form..."
2) "When man imitates the human form..."
3) "When man is cast in human form..."

The preferability of the third translation can be demonstrated by the function of this character fan 風 later in this same chapter. In 17/6/58-9, it is used directly parallel to the character chu 金 ("to cast metal"). See Yang Shu-ta (CTCCV30p7) and Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26pp169-70).

16. This phrase is repeated in 55/21/34.
Since one undergoes innumerable mutations without ever reaching a point of exhaustion, who will be able to trouble his mind?

17. Wang Shu-min (l/52b) and Chang Mo-sheng (p. 164) suggest that we should follow a discrepancy in the parallel Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/10b passage and insert the phrase: pi erh fu hsin （"Becoming delapidated and then again being revitalized, can the number of such things..."). They further suggest that the Kuo Hsiang commentary (CTCCV1p140) on this passage seems to have been written for a text containing this phrase. It states:

Fundamentally he is not a man, but is transformed to become one. In being transformed into a man, he loses his old form. Losing his old form but remaining happy, he is happy in whatever he encounters.

Wang Mou-hung (CTCCV20p14) and Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p138) consider that the passage: "When man is cast in human form...can find pleasure thus be calculated!" is not continuous with the context and consequently represents an erroneous interpolation. Ma Hsü-lun (p. 195) would insert it below the following phrase: "...then change would certainly consider me an inauspicious person!" in 17/6/59.

The fact that the parallel passage in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/10b extends from "The Great Clod encumbers me with a physical form, fatigues me with life...(Text 9)" to "Can the number of such things in which he can find pleasure thus be calculated!" as one continuous block of text in precisely the same order would tend to discourage such an emendation.
On first reading of the text, it would seem true that this section would be easier to cope with in terms of translation if we follow the advice of these three commentators and omit the passage in question. There is no difficulty, however, in following the author's argument in the text as it stands:

1. One should strive to experience the undifferentiated whole (i.e. the "Eternal Thing" or tao), and by doing so, escape change.

2. The unsublimated man finds pleasure in being cast as man and thinks it superior to being cast as any other object of the phenomenal world. In fact, being cast as man or being cast as any other thing is all the same—differentiating among them is an inferior way of viewing the world of experience.

3. The Sublimated Man (i.e. the Sage) chooses to identify himself with the totality of these differentiated objects, and by doing so, attains a level of experience which admits of no permutation. From this level of experience, youth and age, beginning and end and all such relative concepts become meaningless.

18. For the character translated here as "youth", there are four variants in the texts:

1) the text on which the Lu Te-ming commentary (CTCCV2p40) is based has the character yao ("elegant").

2) according to Lu Te-ming, the Ts'ui Chuan text had chiao ("artful").

3) according to Lu Te-ming, an unspecified text had yao.
("premature death") or yao ("young and beautiful").

4) according to Ch'en Ching-yidun (CTCCV5p49), the Chang Chün-fang text has shao ("few, a little") or shao ("young"). We choose to interpret this as shao (which is synonymous with yao) because the Kuo Hsiang commentary (CTCCV1p140) states that "one who does not approve of youth (shao) and who negates old age will not be able to embody change and identify life and death as one," indicating that the text on which this commentary was written also had shao. Again, shao ("youth") and lao ("old age") are opposites, whereas throughout the text of Chuang Tzu, yao (as "premature death") is paired with shou ("longevity") (e.g. 5/2/52; 20/7/16; 59/22/37).

19. Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 104) states that the expression i hua refers to all change, and is similar to wan hua in meaning.

20. Ma Hsü-lun (p. 195) and Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p138) would both omit the passage "...when he approves of youth... upon which each transformation depends!", choosing to insert it following the passage "When man is cast in human form...can find pleasure thus be calculated!" in 17/6/59. See note 17. above.

This emendation is unnecessary.
11. TEXT

The tao has reality\(^1\) and credibility,\(^2\) is non-active\(^3\) and without physical form. It can be transmitted, but cannot be received;\(^4\) it can be acquired, but cannot be perceived.\(^5\) It is its own root and substratum. Predating the cosmos, it has already\(^6\) had a sustained existence from remote antiquity. It spiritualized\(^7\) the shades of the dead and the gods, and engendered the firmament and the earth. It exists above\(^8\) the Great Ultimate,\(^9\) and yet is not high; it exists below the six directions,\(^10\) but is not deep. It is anterior to the cosmos\(^11\) and yet is not long-lived; it covers a longer time span than high antiquity and yet is\(^12\) not old.

EXEGESIS

1. See Text 9 note 5 above. Hsi T'ung (in Ts'ao Shou-k'\un CTCCV30pl39) reads ch'ing\(^4\) ("reality") as a loan character for its cognate and rhyme character ching\(^4\) ("essence"), basing this interpretation on a similar passage in Lao Tzu 21:

In the tao's constituting an entity,
It is nebulous and hazy;
Though hazy and nebulous,
In its midst there are shapes (hsiang\(^\times\));
Though nebulous and hazy,
In its midst there are things;
Though obscure and vague,
In its midst there is its essence (ching\(^\times\)).
Its essence is very sublime,
And in its midst there is credibility (hsin\(^\times\)).

Although this alteration is worth considering, there is a passage in the Chuang Tzu itself (4/2/14) which reflects the wording of this passage:
It would seem that there is a Sublime Ruler, but we really do not acquire any such indication. That it can be spread abroad is already credible (hsin 信), but I cannot perceive its physical form (hsing 形). It has reality (ch'ing 情) and yet is without physical form (hsing 形).

As Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p139) points out, it is undoubtedly better to use Chuang Tzu to explain Chuang Tzu than to cite Lao Tzu.

2. Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p70) comments that ch'ing 情 ("reality") means shih 實 ("reality"), and has the same meaning as hsin 信 ("credibility"). To support this observation, he cites the 4/2/15 passage translated in note 1 above.

Kuo Liang-han (CTCCV13p344) relates this description of the tao to the passage which follows, suggesting that it is because the tao has this "reality" and "credibility" that it can be "transmitted" and "acquired," and it is because it is "non-active" and is without "physical form" that it can neither be "received" nor "perceived."

3. Wen I-to (p. 267) propounds the thesis that wei 萬 ("active") is a corruption of the character hsiang 象 ("shapes"). To support this, he cites examples in ancient texts in which these two characters are used interchangeably, and further notes that in the li shu script, these two characters bear a striking similarity. In amending this to hsiang, he is then able to extend the parallel between ch'ing 情 ("reality") and hsin 信 ("credibility") to hsiang 象 ("shapes") and hsing 形 ("physical form").

There are certain factors which might tend to discredit.
this emendation. First, in the Lao Tzu 21 (cited in note 1 above) it states specifically that in the tao "there are shapes (hsiang)." (Cf. Lao Tzu 14) To state that it is "without shapes" would contradict Lao Tzu directly. In fact, Lao Tzu 41 uses the term ta hsiang 太象 ("Great Shape") as another designation for the tao. Secondly, the notion of being "non-active (wu wei 无为)" is one of the most fundamental Taoist concepts, and is frequently used to describe the activity of the tao. In absence of any substantial indication of textual corruption, we retain the original wording.

4. On the basis of a Ch'ü Tz'u SPTK 5/88b passage which is parallel to this:

The tao can be received, but it cannot be transmitted.

Wen I-to (pp. 267-8) emends the Chuang Tzu text by reversing the order of the two characters ch'uan ("transmit") and shou ("receive"). He further suggests that ch'uan ("transmit") be read as po 撥 ("grope for"), supporting this alteration with a passage from Lao Tzu 14 (repeated in Chuang Tzu 60/22/66):

We grope about (po 撣) for it (the tao) but do not grasp hold of it.
And call it "subtle".

Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 104) considers shou ("receive") to be a loan character for shou 授 ("to give").

Rather than altering the text, Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p171) and Wang Ying-lin (in Ch'ien Mu p. 51) interpret this phrase in terms of the connotations of the words. Chu Kuei-yao observes that the Hung Hsing-tsu 洪興祖 commentary to the
Ch'u Tz'u would justify this discrepancy by interpreting the Ch'u Tz'u passage as meaning that the tao can be acquired with the mind, but cannot be transmitted through calculation. The Chuang Tzu, on the other hand, means that it can be transmitted with the mind, but cannot be acquired through discussion. We would follow this interpretation.

5. This phrase is reminiscent of the Lao Tzu 14:

We look for it (the tao) but do not perceive it, and call it "unpertruding;"
...Encountering it, we cannot perceive its front;
Following behind it, we cannot perceive its back.

and Lao Tzu 35:

But if we speak of the tao,
It is so insipid that it is tasteless;
If we look for it,
It is too subtle to be seen...

6. Chang Mo-sheng (p. 167) and Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 104) both read the character i ("to use") as its rhyme character and loan character i ("already").

7. Chang Ping-lin (p. 18) suggests that the character shen ("spiritualize") has the connotation of sheng ("to engender").

The meaning of this passage is again reminiscent of Lao Tzu 39:

The gods became spiritual through acquiring the One (i.e. the tao)...
If the gods were without that which sustains their spirituality,
I fear they would become inert.
8. The modern text reads: "It existed before (hsien 先) the Great Ultimate...," but we have amended the text by substituting shang 上 ("above") for hsien 先 ("before"). We have made this emendation because:

1) hsien ("before") is not parallel to the word hsia 下 ("below") in the phrase which follows this one.

2) hsien ("before") does not correspond to the word kao 岬 ("high"), whereas hsia ("below") does correspond to shen 深 ("deep") in the next phrase.

3) the Kuo Hsiang commentary (CTCCV1p141) states:

Moreover, above (shang 上) and below there is nothing which is not penetrated, so it cannot be designated by terms like "high" and "low".

The Ch'eng Hsiin-ying commentary (CTCCV3p297) states:

The Great Ultimate is the five vapours... The tao exists above (shang 上) the five vapours, but it is not high or remote.

The fact that both of these commentaries have shang ("above") rather than hsien ("before") might indicate that the texts on which they are commenting also read shang.

4) the expression "above the Great Ultimate (t'ai chi chih shang 太極之上)" also occurs in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 6/40b.

For more discussion of this emendation, see Yu Yüeh (p. 197).

Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p40) comments that the Ts'ui Chuan text had chih hsien wei 先之, and Lu Wen-ch'ao (CTCCV23p6) notes that one text has hsien chih 先之, but both of these textual variants are obvious corruptions.
9. In the I Ching SPYK 7/46b it states:

Thus, the I (易) had the Great Ultimate (t'ai chi 太極).
This engendered the two primordial forms.

The K'ung Ying-ta 孔颖达 commentary on this passage states:

The Great Ultimate refers to the primordial vapours which were blended as one before their separation into the heavens and the earth, and is equivalent to the Great Genesis (t'ai ch'u 太初) or Great One (t'ai i 太一).

Yü Yüeh (p. 197) and Ch'ien Mu (p. 316) choose to interpret the term "Great Ultimate" according to the Lu Te-ming gloss of the I Ching passage, which defines it as t'ien 天 ("nature"). In order to justify the emendation shang 上 ("above") (see note 8 above), in the preceding passage, they misconstrue Lu Te-ming's apparent meaning, and read t'ien as "the heavens."

In the passage above cited from the I Ching SPYK 7/46b, it states that the Great Ultimate "engendered the two primordial forms (liang i 賽)." These "two primordial forms (liang i)" are traditionally identified as the heavens (t'ien) and the earth. Hence, Yü Yüeh and Ch'ien Mu are saying that the Great Ultimate (which they define as t'ien) engendered the heavens (t'ien) and earth.

In interpreting this expression "Great Ultimate", we follow K'ung Ying-ta's commentary on the I Ching cited above.

10. In reference to the expression liu chi 六極 "six directions"), Ch'ien Mu (pp. 315-6) notes two alternative explanations:

1) According to Ssu-ma Piao (sic--this is not Ssu-ma Piao's explanation, but is in fact Ch'eng Hsüan-ying's CTCCV3 p297) this means the four directions plus up and down, i.e. six directions.
2) It is the same as the expression *liu chi* in the *Shu Ching* passage: *wu fu liu chi*五福六極 (*"the five fortunes and the six extremities"*). The *Shu Ching* states:

As to the six extremities (*liu chi*六極) again, the first is misfortune, shortening the life; the second is sickness; the third is sorrow; the fourth is poverty; the fifth is wickedness; the sixth is weakness. (Legge III: 343)

C'ien Mu correctly points out that while the expression *liu chi* in this passage and in 20/7/9 definitely refers to the six directions, in the *wai* chapters (36/14/4; 37/14/28) it refers to the *liu chi* of the *Shu Ching* (i.e. the "six extremities").

11. The phrase *hsien t'ien ti sheng*"先天地生" (*"it is anterior to the cosmos") also occurs in *Lao Tzu* 25.

12. The *Shih Te T'ang* text does not have the character *wei* ("is"), but we have restored it according to the Ku I Ts'ung *Shu* text. Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p140) observes that it also occurs in the Chiao Hun *Chuang Tzu* I text. This same passage is repeated below in 19/6/89 with the character *wei* included. Also, the three sentences which precede this phrase are parallel to it in construction, and all three have *wei*. It would appear that this is a simple omission.

12. **TEXT**

Hsi Wei¹ obtained it (i.e. the *tao*) and through it separated² the heavens and the earth.³ Fu Hsi⁴ obtained it and
through it penetrated to the source of the primordial stuff. The Great Bear constellation obtained it and has been constant in its course without deviation. The sun and moon obtained it and have continued without pause. K'an P'ei obtained it and through it entered the K'un Lun mountains. P'ing I obtained it and through it rambled about in the Great River. Chien (K'un?) Wu obtained it and through it dwelt in the great mountains. Huang Ti obtained it and through it ascended to the cloudy heavens. Chuan Hsü obtained it and through it he dwelt in the Dark Palace. Yü Ch'iang obtained it and occupied the northern extremities. Hsi Wang Mu obtained it and abides (on the throne) in Shao Kuang. No one knows of their beginnings or of their consequence. P'eng Tsu obtained it, and his life span extended from the era of the Yu Yü dynasty through the era of the Five Lords. Fu Yu obtained it and through it became Prime Minister to Wu Ting to hold sway over the world. Riding the Tung Wei star cluster, and bestriding the Sagittarius and Scorpio constellations, he assumed his position among the assembled stars.

EXEGESIS

1. There are basically two theories as to the identity of this reference, Hsi Wei Shih 稽氏氏:

1) Ssu-ma Piao (cited in Huang Shih CTCCV23p47) states that this is the personal appellation of an emperor of high antiquity. Ch'eng Hsüan-yüng (CTCCV3p297) elaborates on
this legendary ruler, placing him chronologically before the advent of the written word. Because he acquired the spiritually universal tao, he was thus able to drive out the various substances and lend assistance to the two primordial forms. Wen I-to (p. 268) suggests that Hsi Wei is chronologically anterior to Fu Hsi (cf. B. Karlgren, BMFEA 18:220), and is in fact identical with P'an Ku 盘古 . He interprets the phrase ch'ieh t'ien 枭 撼天地 as "separated the heavens and the earth" in accordance with the P'an Ku legend (the Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 commentary to the Shi Ching SPTK 16/116a states that ch'ieh 助 means k'ai 開 --"to open").

2) Li I (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p40) states that hsi 西 should be pronounced shih 牝. Ma Hsü-lun (pp. 196-7) would follow the Shuo Wen in writing hsi 西 as hsi 猕. According to the Shuo Wen, the people of southern Ch'ü designated the boar (shih 牝) with the character hsi 猕.

Assuming that hsi wei shih 西吾氏 is an alternative form of shih wei shih 牝吾氏, some commentators (see Yü Yüeh (I) p. 6b; Wang Yü CTCCV19p163; Ts'ao Shou-k'un CTCC V30p140) identify him as a descendant of one of the Five Hegemons (wu pa 五霸).

The Pai Hu T'ung SPTK 1/12a states:

What does Five Hegemons (wu pa) mean? It refers to K'un Wu Shih 西吾氏, Ta Pi'eng Shih 自彭氏, Shih Wei Shih 西吾氏, Duke Huan of Ch'i 車桓公, and Duke Wen of Chin 舜文公. In ancient times the tao of the Three True Kings fell into disuse, and the Five Hegemons preserved the political administration. They led the various nobles, enthroned the Son of Heaven, rectified the changes in the empire, restored the central states and repelled the barbarians. Therefore, they were
called pa ("take the lead, have hegemony"). In ancient times, K'un Wu Shih was the pa during the Hsia dynasty; Ta P'eng Shih and Shih Wei Shih were the pa during the Yin; and Duke Huan of Ch'i and Duke Wen of Chin were the pa during the Chou. (cf. T.S. Tjan, *Po Hu T'ung*, p. 236)

The *Kuo Yu* SPTK 16/119a states that the Shih Wei and Ta P'eng lines were the Lords of Shang. Also cf. *Feng Su T'ung* I SPTK 1/10a.

Again, in the *Tso Chuan* 301/24/1, it traces the lineage of Shih Wei Shih from the T'ao T'ang Shih 陶唐氏 at the time of Shun to the Fan 范 clan of Chin during the Ch'ung Ch'iu period.

In choosing between these two traditions, we would have to lean to the former for several reasons:

1) *hsi wei shih* 稷帝氏 occurs in three other portions of the *Chuang Tzu*. Although the authenticity of these later passages is highly suspect (see Lo Ken-tse, pp. 297-307), they are all three very Taoist in tenor and at very least represent the closest in-depth commentary that we have on the *Chuang Tzu*.

The 72/25/54 passage refers to a historiographer contemporary with Confucius who does not seem to relate to either interpretation.

In the 60/22/79 passage, he appears listed in a chronological sequence which places him as first in the list of legendary sage-rulers. The chronology is re-enforced by the fact that in this passage (as B. Watson p. 246 points out):

"...the park of Hsi Wei Shih, the garden of Huang Ti, the palace of Yu Yu Shih and the halls of T'ang and Wu...,"

the park, garden, palace, and halls represent a "devolution
from naturalness to increasing artificiality and extravagance."

In the 74/26/36 passage, Hsi Wei is portrayed as a symbol of antiquity so remote that his principles no longer have any practical application:

Now to exalt antiquity and be contemptuous of the contemporary is the tradition of the scholar, and further is to examine the modern world from the point of view of Hsi Wei's legacy.

2) To accept the latter interpretation requires that we also accept the equation: 總 = 總 = 總 .

3) If, as Wen I-to suggests, Hsi Wei Shih is a tradition identical to or overlapping with the P'an Ku legend, then this might account for the gradual eclipse of Hsi Wei from early Chinese literature.

2. The two cognates ch'i and chieh/hsieh occur as loan characters for ch'ieh ("separated"). The Ts'ui Chuan commentary (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p40) would interpret this phrase as "complete (ch'eng 成 ) the heavens and the earth;" Ssu-ma Piao (also in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p40) suggests that it means to "acquire the essence (yao 要 ) of the heavens and earth." Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p297) interprets this as a loan character for ch'i (契), meaning "to be able to commingle the myriad things and conjoin the heavens and the earth." In our translation, however, we follow Wen I-to (see note 1 above).

3. Passages similar to this portion of the chapter in terms of sentence structure and with related content occur in Lao
Tzu 39, Han Fei Tzu SPTK 6/32a and Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 11/78a.

Yeh Ping-ching (CTCCV16p211) comments that Chuang Tzu is availing himself of half true/half fictitious examples and is employing his imagination in this passage to make the point that the tao has always existed.

4. According to the Shih Chi SPTK PNP 1/la-b, Fu Hsi (伏羲, also known as 伏犧, 包犧, 定義, 宿羲, 宿義, 虚義, 虚義, 炱義) was conceived when his mother Hua Hsu 華胥 trod in the footprint of a giant in the Lei marshlands, and was born at Ch'eng Chi 成紀 with a snakes body and a human head. He was born into a world in which "people would know their mothers but not their fathers (P'ai H'u T'ung SPTK 1/10b; cf. T.S. Tjan, p. 232)"--a world in which man was little better than an uncivilized beast. To this world he introduced fire, social relationships, marriage, rope writing, fishing, husbandry, sacrificial animals, and all such basic elements of early civilization. Among other things, he was the first to begin the drawing of the eight diagrams, by means of which man could come to understand the manifestations of the spirits and gods and classify the various conditions of the myriad things. The first of the Three Illustrious Kings (san huang 三皇), he made his capital at Ch'en 陳 and reigned for 111 years. (cf. M. Granet, La Pensee Chinoise, pp. 183-4; Wen I-to, Shen Hua Yü Shih, p. 3ff.; Yüan K'o, Chung Kuo Ku Tai Shen Hua, p. 40ff.)

Wang Shu-min (1/53a-b) observes that several texts have different variations on the name, Fu Hsi. Also, several of
the early texts have Fu Hsi Shih 伏羲氏 rather than simply Fu Hsi. According to Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p40), the Ts'ui Chuan text also had this character shih 氏, making it parallel to Hsi Wei Shih 稀姬氏 in the first sentence.

5. The character hsi 脣 is interpreted by Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p298) and Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p270) as "to harmonize," but Ssu-ma Piao (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p40) suggests that it means ju 入 ("to penetrate"). The fact that 脣 GSR689 dzjom/ zjom/si and 入 GSR695 jajp/ jajp/ju are close phonetically would tend to support Ssu-ma Piao's interpretation. Also, the character hsi appears again below in this passage with the meaning of "to enter".

6. The use of the character mu 母 (literally, "mother"—"source) as a metaphor for "source" is common particularly in the Lao Tzu:

Chap. 1: "Being" names the mother (mu) of the myriad things.

Chap. 25: ...this can be considered the mother (mu) of the universe.

Chap. 52: The world has its genesis, and this genesis can be considered the mother (mu) of the world. When we have an understanding of the mother (mu), we can use this to understand her progeny.

Fu Hsi is, among other things, credited with the contribution of the eight diagrams. When properly understood, these diagrams enable their user to fathom the initiatives of the spiritual world, to comprehend the transformations of yin and yang, and ultimately, to predict their manifestations in the
phenomenal world. Perhaps this penetration to "the source of the primordial stuff" is a reference to this contribution.

7. The term wei tou 我斗 is an alternate designation for pei tou 北斗 ("Northern Dipper, Great Bear"), which was considered the ruling constellation of the various stars. It is also referred to as wei tou in the Han Fei Tzu SPTK 6/32a in what seems to be a related passage:

The Great Bear constellation obtained it and through it effected its majesty.

8. The Ts'ui Chuan text (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p41) had tai 代 rather than t'e 忒 ("deviation"). Ma Hsi-lun (pp. 197-8) points out that these two words both have the connotation of "to change." Again, they are cognate words with a definite graphic resemblance.

9. There are related passages in 58/22/23:

The sun and moon cannot but progress.

and Han Fei Tzu SPTK 6/32a:

The sun and moon obtained it and through it have eternally sustained their refulgence.

10. K'an P'eï 堪坏 is rather an obscure reference. First, it occurs in various forms:

1) 堪坏
2) 堪坏 Wang Yu CTCCV19p163
3) 堪坏 Ts'ui Chuan text (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p41)
Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p41) identifies K'an P'ei with Ch'in Fu who appears in the Huai Nan Tzu (see (7) below)

Shan Hsi Ching SPTK 2/13b

Hou Han Shu SPTK PNP 49/59/31a-b

Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 6/41b; 11/78a--in the modern text it does not occur as ch'in fu

The two characters GSR658 k'äm/k'äm/k'än and 骁 GSR652 k'äm/k'äm/k'än constitute a perfect rhyme, while the character 骁 GSR606 k'äm/k'äm/k'än is relatively close. The five characters 堅/堅/堅/堅/堅 appear to be cognates. The two characters 坚 GSR999 b'üag/b'üai/p'ei and 骁 GSR1000 b'üag/ b'üag/ fu belong to the same rhyme group but have different tones, while there is an obvious graphic similarity between fu 貝 and ch'ieh 月.

The Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 6/41b describes him as partner charioteer to Ta Ping. They do not require the equipage such as reins, bit or whip; nor do they have to drive the horses. Rather, the carriage and horse move of their own accord. The Kao Yu commentary says that they were the charioteers for the Great One (t'ai i 大一), or as another theory has it, they were men of antiquity who by virtue of their spiritual vapours drove the yin and yang.

Again, in Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 11/78a, it states that: Ch'ien Ch'ieh 鉴月 obtained the tao (of hsien immortality and ascended) to dwell on K'un Lun mountain.

In the Shan Hsi Ching SPTK 2/13b, it contains the
passage of Ch'in P'ei being punished for his complicity in the killing of Pao (some texts have tsu) Chiang on the southern slopes of the K'un Lun mountain. He was transformed into a great osprey, resembling an eagle with black feathers, a white head, a red beak and tiger-like talons. His voice was like that of a wild duck. To see him would portend great military engagements.

K'an P'ei, according to Ssu-ma Piao (in Huang-Shih CTCC V23p48), was a spirit with a human face and animal body. As can be seen in the passages above, he is usually associated with the K'un Lun mountain.

11. See note 5 above.

12. The K'un Lun mountain, situated in the northwestern reaches of China, and P'eng Lai off the east coast of Shantung, were two principle Taoist paradises. This mountain range held a central position in the mythology and religion of early China as the residence of the Hsi Wang Mu and a pantheon of gods and spirits. Here, amid the splendors of jade trees, fruits of eternal life, phoenixes and all such accoutrements, the adventures of the gods were cast. Described with varying degrees of detail, the K'un Lun mountain(s) appear throughout the corpus of early Chinese literature, notably, Shan Hai Ching SPTK 11 and the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 4. For a summary account, see Yuan K'o, Chung Kuo Ku Tai Shen Hua, pp. 99ff. and M. Granet, La Pensee Chinoise, pp. 357-8.
13. P'ing I 凤夷 occurs in the pre-Ch'in and Han texts under various related names:

1) 凤夷 Chuang Tzu; Shui Ching Chu SPTK 1/15b
2) 罕夷 Mu T'ien Tzu Chuan SPTK 1/3b
3) 冰夷 Shan Hai Ching SPTK 12/59a
4) 河帝 Kao Yu commentary on Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 1/2b
5) 河伯 Chang Shou-chieh commentary to Shih Chi SPTK PNP 28/13b-c
6) 河伯 Shui Ching Chu SPTK 1/15b; Mu T'ien Tzu Chuan SPTK 1/3b

The two characters 凤 and 河 are cognates and constitute a perfect rhyme. Again, the characters 罕 and 凤 have a certain graphic similarity. The two characters 凤 and 帝 also constitute a perfect rhyme. The variant 河 is of a later date, and does not seem to have any phonetic or graphic relationship with the earlier variations. 凤 is of course a rank: "Lord of the River." In Lu Te-ming's commentary (CTCCV2p89) on the Chuang Tzu passage 42/17/1, he observes that one tradition identifies the "Lord of the River" with the surname 凤 and personal name kung tzu 凤 and makes her the wife of 凤公.
300 jen deep and only Ping I resides there permanently. (cf. *Shui Ching Chu* SPTK 1/15b which cites this passage.)

In the *Shui Ching Chu* SPTK 1/15b, the story of Mu T'ien Tzu's arrival at Mt. Yang Yü is elaborated upon (cf. *Mu T'ien Tzu Chuan* SPTK 1/3b). Mu Yang Yü is the location of Ping I's residences. Mu T'ien Tzu performs the chen sacrifice of dropping gifts into the river for the Lord of the River, who reciprocates "by unrolling a chart of the river for him on which is recorded the location of various treasures. Mu T'ien Tzu then uses the chart to guide his westward journey.

In the *Huai Nan Tzu* SPTK 11/78a it states that:

Of old, Ping I obtained the tao and through it lurked in the Great River.

Substituting the character "ramble about" for "to lurk" and "it" for "tao tchih", this passage is identical with our *Chuang Tzu* text. The Kao Yu commentary on this sentence states that Ping I was a man of the T'i Shou district of T'ung Hsiang in Hua Yin (in present-day Shensi province). He weighed himself down with eight rocks (and drowned himself) to become a water immortal.

Ma Hsin-lun (pp. 198-9) notes that the *Pao P'u Tzu* has him sinking into the river on the first keng day. T'ien Ti (the Supreme deity) thereupon made him Lord of the River.

An extension of this river spirit tradition has him as a great charioteer. In the *Huai Nan Tzu* SPTK 1/2b, Ping I and Ta Ping are portrayed as great charioteers driving...
a cloud chariot through infinite distances, leaving no tracks and casting no shadow. Crossing mountains and rivers, they leap over K'un Lun and enter the residence of God. No chariot nor any horses can offer them competition.

In the Shui Hai Chuan SPTK 12/59a he rides two dragons, while the Po Wu Chih SPPY 1/2b-3a has him riding on dragons and tigers, and dashing off a myriad li.

In this passage in the Chuang Tzu, P'ing I is depicted as having attained the tao and as a consequence, rambling about freely in the depths. He is again mentioned in the "Ch'iu Shui" chapter quite extensively in a dialogue between himself, Lord of the (Yellow) River, and Jo, God of the North Sea 北海若.

2) The second tradition identifies P'ing I as a historical feudal lord rather than as a legendary river god. The Chu Shu Chi Nien SPTK J/8a states that in the 16th year of the Ti Fen 帝芬 reign (error for Ti Huai 帝槐 r. 2040-2014 B.C.??), there was a conflict between the Lord of Lo, Yung Yu 津伯用 and the Lord of Ho, P'ing Yi 河伯馮夷.

Again, in the Chu Shu Chi Nien SPTK 8b, it says that in the 12th year of the Ti Hsieh 帝泄 reign (1996-1980 B.C.), the nobleman of Yin, Tzu Hai 子亥 was a guest in Yu I, but acted in a licentious manner. The ruler of Yu I, Mien Ch'en 濟臣 killed him and disposed of him. Therefore, Shang Chia Wei 上甲微 borrowed troops from the Lord of Ho 河伯 to attack Yu I. He destroyed it and subsequently killed its ruler, Mien Ch'en. This Middle Age period was in decline,
and Shang Chia Wei restored it. Therefore, the people of Yin were avenged. This story is repeated with some variations in the *Shui Hai Chuan* SPTK 14/63b.

From the context of our reference and on the basis of the parallel passage in the *Huai Nan Tzu* SPTK 11/78a, it would appear that the P'ing I mentioned here is an allusion to the river spirit, the Lord of the Yellow River.

(Cf. Ma Hsi-lun, pp. 198-9; B. Karlgren, *BMFEA* 18:320, 325-6. Karlgren's *Huai Nan Tzu* references should read "Ch'i Su" for "Chuei hing").

14. According to Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p41), the Ts'ui Chuan text had *t'ai* for *ta*. Ch'eng Hsi-lan-ying (CTCCV3p299) and Ch'en Ching-yu (CTCCV5p50) suggest that *ta ch'uan* ("Great River") is a reference to the Yellow River. This would be in keeping with the P'ing I tradition.

15. This reference to Chien Wu presents no little difficulty. Chien Wu appears in three other passages in the *Chuang Tzu*:

1) 2/1/26: Chien Wu describes his conversation with Chieh Yu to Lien Shu in rather disparaging terms. Lien Shu, aware of Chieh Yu's level of mind, describes Chien Wu as "deaf" and "blind"—not in terms of his senses, but in terms of his inability to understand and appreciate Chieh Yu's experiential attainment. Chieh Yu is portrayed with precisely the same characteristics as the Sublimated Man
in this chapter, and is representative of this level of mind. Chien Wu, on the other hand, is representative of the ordinary level of perception.

2) 19/7/4: Chien Wu is upbraided by Chieh Yu for accepting the advice of Chung Shih on government by artificial precepts. Instead, Chieh Yu advocates the Taoist notion of allowing things to find their natural course. Again, Chieh Yu is the Taoist protagonist, while Chien Wu is an artless half-wit.

3) 57/21/61: Sun Shu-ao is unconcerned with honour and office. Chien Wu is awestruck by Sun Shu-ao's capacity to allow things to take their natural course without making any differentiation between eminence and obscurity. Here again, Chien Wu is barely ordinary.

In all three of these passages, Chien Wu is an individual who embraces prejudices which effectively choke off his capacity to appreciate the tao. In this "Ta Tsung Shih" passage, however, he is conversely depicted as a figure capable of both experiencing the tao and applying his awareness. Unfortunately, we have no other references in the early literature to shed light on this contradiction. Ssu-ma Piao (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p41) describes him as a mountain spirit who did not die, but who lived until Confucius' time, while Li I (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p7) simply describes him as a Sage. Neither of them, however, provide any sources.

In the Shan Hai Ching SPTK 2/14b, a spirit named Lu Wu is mentioned as having dominion over the K'un Lun
mountains. The Kuo P'u commentary on this passage identifies Lu Wu with Chien Wu, but provides no support for this hypothesis. In fact, the two characters chien and lu are very different both phonetically and graphically.

A possibility not previously explored is that Chien Wu might be a corruption of k'un wu 昆吾. The two characters GSR240 g'an/yen/hen (one reading) and 昆 GSR417 kwon/ kwon/k'un constitute a perfect rhyme and are graphically similar (small seal: 昆 昆).

In the Pai Hu T'ung SPTK 1/12a, K'un Wu Shih 昆吾氏 (like Shih Wei Shih 氏氏 mentioned in note 1 above) is identified as one of the Five Hegemons. He is specifically associated with the Hsia dynasty and the state of Wei, having the surname chi and the personal name fan (see Kuo Yu SPTK 16/119a and the Wei Chao commentary). According to the Feng Su T'ung I SPTK 1/10a:

He became leader of an alliance and executed those who did not follow his commands, thereby demonstrating respect for the royal house.

In his commentary to the Shan Hai Ching SPTK 15/66b, Kuo P'u identifies K'un Wu as the name of an ancient king. It is further the name of a mountain whose valley stream produces high grade metal. Throughout the early literature, the name K'un Wu is associated with the smelting of ore and the art of metallurgy. In the Mo Tzu SPTK 11/103a, it states that:

Of old, Hsia Hou K'ai 夏后開 sent Fei Lien 悪廉 to
gather (採) ore from the mountains and rivers and cast ting (鼎) ceremonial vessels (釣鼎) in K'un Wu.

These ting possess supernatural qualities such as being able to boil without being heated and being able to move without being moved. In the Shan Hai Ching SPTK 5/32b it states:

Again westward 200 li is called K'un Wu mountain. On it there is a lot of copper ore.

The Kuo P'u commentary adds that:

This mountain produces a famous metal having a colour which is read like fire. If one uses it in casting a knife, he can cut jade with it like slicing through mud.

See also Lu Shih Ch'un Ch'iu SPTK 17/115a and the Lieh Tzu SPTK 5/21a. According to tradition, K'un Wu mountain was in what is now P'u Yang prefecture 濮陽縣 in Shantung.

There are several points which recommend interpreting Chien Wu (肩) as a corruption of K'un Wu (昆):

1) phonetic and graphic similarity between chien and wu
2) the association of K'un Wu with mountains
3) the proximity of K'un Wu mountain to T'ai Shan 泰山, T'ai Shan being located in present-day T'ai An prefecture 泰安縣 of Shantung.
4) the association of K'un Wu with the art of metallurgy--Chuang Tzu frequently borrows the artisan as his ideal man
5) perhaps most important, the obvious incongruency between this passage and the other references to Chien Wu in the Chuang Tzu text (two of which are significantly nei chapters).
6) the dearth of information in contemporaneous texts
on the figure, Chien Wu.

While the substitution "K'un Wu" is by no means conclusive, this "Chien Wu" reference is certainly suspect.

16. The ta shan 大山 ("great mountains") here may be the not uncommon abbreviation for t'ai shan 泰山("T'ai Shan"). If our "K'un Wu" substitution is appropriate, then it would more probably connote "great mountains," since there is no documented relationship between "K'un Wu" and "T'ai Shan". Again, the fact that "K'un Wu" refers to both a person and a mountain might account for the lack of geographical specification.

17. Huang Ti 黄帝, first of the Five Emperors五帝 (Shih Chi tradition), is a common figure in early literature—particularly that literature of Taoist persuasion. The traditional dates of his reign are 2698-2598 B.C. From the Shih Chi SPTK 1 and its commentary, we have it that he was born the son of Shao Tien 少典, with the surname Kung Sun 公孫 (later changed to Chi 姜), and personal name Hsüan Yüan 軒轅. He lived on the Hsüan Yüan mountain, and married a girl of the Hsi Ling 西陵 named Lei Tsu 嬪祖. When he died, he was buried on Ch'iao mountain 橋山, and was succeeded by his grandson Kao Yang 高陽 who became Emperor Chuan Hsü 顓頊. (one tradition inserts the brief reign of Shao Hao 少昊 between Huang Ti and Chuan Hsü).

The accounts of and variations on Huang Ti's reign are numerous. The earlies reference to Huang Ti is a bronze in-
scription from Ch'i dated from about 375 B.C. in which he is referred to as a remote ancestor by the King of Ch'i. (See Yu Ying-shih, HJAS 25:103 for pertinent references). The various legends regarding Huang Ti are particularly related to the state of Ch'i.

The legend alluded to in this passage is probably the ascension to heaven described in the Shih Chi SPTK 28/31a (cf. Lun Heng SPTK 7/70a):

Huang Ti gathered copper on Mt. Shou and then cast a ting ceremonial vessel at the foot of Mt. Ching. When the ting was complete, a dragon appeared with his dewlap hanging down. He descended to meet Huang Ti. Huang Ti mounted it, and the various ministers and court ladies who followed him in mounting it numbered over seventy. (cf. Chavannes, Memoires III:488)

Some modern scholars (see Yu Ying-shih, HJAS 25:105) suggest that this theme of Huang Ti's ascent is Han in origin, and that this Chuang Tzu passage is a later interpolation. Karlgren (BMFEA 18:281), for example, comments that:

In the Shi ki passim there are entries which show how the taoistic charlatans of the Han era invested Huang Ti's person with various features belonging to their stock in trade: Huang Ti never died (Lü shu, Chav. III, 330).

Citing the above ascent theme as a case in point, he continues:

For various such themes, which obviously have no pre-Han origin, see Chavannes passim.

The primary if not only reason for scepticism regarding the pre-Han source of this Huang Ti ascent tradition is the absence of pre-Han documentation which would attest it. Such negative evidence casts a rather timid shadow of suspicion on our reference. The pre-Han currency of the notion of hsien ascent to immortality is evidenced by the spiritual man 神人
on Ku I mountain in *Chuang Tzu* 2/1/28. Again, the century preceding the Han dynasty was the maturation period of Taoist lore. If we were simply without any pre-Han evidence to support the idea of an earlier development of this theme, we would still have to consider it a possibility. Given the fact of this *Chuang Tzu* allusion in what is traditionally considered the most authentic portion of the text, it is perhaps unwise to categorically dismiss the Huang Ti ascent theme as a Han accretion.

18. Chuan Hsu, also known as Kao Yang, according to the systematized *Shih Chi* tradition, is the second of the Five Emperors, and successor to his grandfather, Huang Ti. The traditional dates of his reign are 2514-2436. His father was Ch'ang I, second legitimate son of Huang Ti; his mother was Ch'ang P'u, a girl of Shu Shan Shih. His grandson was Hou Yu, founder of the Hsia dynasty.

As in the case of Huang Ti, the traditions shrouding this legendary ruler are too numerous and too varied to recount. The most popular story is the battle between Chuan Hsu and the rebel, Kung Kung related in *Huai Nan Tzu* 3/17a:

> Of old, Kung Kung contended with Chuan Hsu to become emperor. Enraged, he butted Pu Chou mountain, breaking the pillars of the sky and severing the stays of the earth. The sky was sloped to the northwest, and thus the celestial bodies move around it; the earth did not fill the southeast, and hence the waters and silts return there. (cf. *Lieh Tzu* 5/17b)
19. This reference to the *hstlan kung* ("Dark Palace") is rather obscure--there is only one other occurrence in the pre-Han texts in the *Mo Tzu* SPTK 5/44a:

Of old, the San Miao were very unruly. Heaven commanded (the emperor) to destroy them. The sun (omitting 九) appeared at night, and it rained blood on three mornings. Dragons were born in the ancestral temple and dogs wailed in the marketplace. In summer ice formed; the earth split and struck springs. The five grains were mutated and the people were most terrified. Kao Yang ('s descendant, Shun 卯) then issued his commands (to Yü 禹) in the Dark Palace (*hstlan kung*). Yü personally grasped the jade septre of Heaven to go and punish the Yu Miao. (cf. Karlgren, BMFEA 18:252)

In this *Mo Tzu* passage, the Dark Palace is also associated with the Chuan Hsü (i.e. Kao Yang) lineage.

Relatively early in the development of a Chinese cosmogonic system, the sequence of the legendary rulers of high antiquity was made correlative to the seasons, musical notes, the cardinal points, the natural elements, geographical regions and the spirits associated with these given elements and regions. The emperor Chuan Hsü was analogous with winter and the spirit of the ultimate *yin* 太陰, Hstlan Ming 亢, ruler over punishment and death (*Ch'ü Tz'u* SPTK 16/167a and commentary; *Li Chi* SPTK 5/57a), with the northern reaches and the note 羽 in the Chinese scale (*Pai Hsün T'ung* SPTK 3/28b). He was also associated with the element water (*Tso Chuan* 393/397/5). (Cf. Karlgren, BMFEA 18:222-4)

From these various associations, we can (and the Chinese commentators do--see Ch'eng Hstlan-ying CTCCV3p299) surmise that this "Dark Palace" is the residence of Chuan Hsü in the darkness of the northern reaches from which he extends his control.
20. The spirit of the Northern Seas, Yü Ch'i'ang, appears in the early texts with two variations:

1) he is referred to as Yü Ch'i'ang in Shan Hai Ching SPTK 8/35b and 17/71a; Lieh Tzu SPTK 5/17b; Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu SPTK 22/163a.

2) he is referred to as Yü Ching in Shan Hai Ching SPTK 14/63b.

The character 前 GSR713 2iang/chiang is a familiar loan character for 前 GSR710 2iang/chiang, and the third variant 前 GSR755 k'iang/chiang constitutes a perfect rhyme with them.

It would seem that Yü Ch'i'ang was originally the designation for a geographical region, whether historical or otherwise. Karlgren (BMFEA 18:281-2) points out that the Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu SPTK 22/163a passage which lists "the gathered waters of Yü Ch'i'ang" along with "the state of Ch'dan Jung," "the wilderness of K'ua Fu," and "the mountains of Chi Shih" as places which Yü passed on his journey. To re-enforce Karlgren's theory, we can quote the Kuei Tsang (an early work on divination often associated with the I Ching which is now only extant as fragments quoted in other texts) which is cited in Lu Temicing (CTCCV2p41):

Of old, Mu Wang Tzu divined in Yü Ch'i'ang.

Also, in the Shan Hai Ching 17/17a it says:

There is a Tan Erh state which has the surname of Jen who are the descendants of Yü Hao and who eat grain. On an islet of the Northern Sea there is a spiritual man who has a human face and a bird-like body. He has two azure snakes as ear pendants and he
treads on two red snakes. His name is Yü Ch'iang. (Cf. Shan Hai Ching SPTK 8/53b for a similar description.)

In the commentary to Lu Shih Ch'un Ch'iu SPTK 17/116a, Kao Yu describes Tan Erh as "the state of the northern extremity." From these passages, we can suggest that where Yü Ch'iang is used as a designation for a state of the far north, it might be an alternate name for Tan Erh.

With respect to Yü Ch'iang as a spirit, the Shan Hai Ching SPTK 14/63b traces his lineage to his father Yü Hao, a spiritual man of similar physical consequence who resides on an island in the Eastern Sea. Again, Yü Hao is described as a son of Huang Ti, and both Yü Hao and Yü Ch'iang are called sea spirits.

In his commentary to Shan Hai Ching SPTK 8/53b, Kuo P'u describes Yü Ch'iang as having a black body, hands and feet, and as riding two dragons. He further equates him with Hsüan Ming, the spirit of the north (see note 19 above), but this is probably because of their common geographical associations.

There is a passage in the Lieh Tzu SPTK 5/17b which provides some additional information on the figure of Yü Ch'iang:

God was afraid they (the five mountains on which the immortals live) would drift to the extreme west and he would lose the residences of the group of Sages. He then commanded Yü Ch'iang to charge fifteen giant sea-turtles to raise their heads and carry them.

Our reference here is to Yü Ch'iang, an ocean spirit who dwells on an island in the extreme north.
21. B. Schlindler (*Asia Major Intro.* 366) suggests that *pei chi* ("northern extremities") here refers to the polar star, in which Yü Ch'iang makes his residence. We cannot, however, find any early literature to support this interpretation.

22. Hsi Wang Mu 西王母, in all of the pre-Han texts, is a territory located in the far west (*Erh Ya* 21/9/7). It is at times also referred to as Hsi Wang Kuo 西王國 (*Hsün Tzu* 96/27/13). Its territory includes the K'un Lun mountain mentioned in note 12 above (*Chu Shu Chi Nien* SPTK /22b-23a).

The name Hsi Wang Mu is also used in pre-Han texts as a designation for the ruler of the western state (*Chu Shu Chi Nien* SPTK /4b). By the early Han texts, this ruler has taken on various supernatural powers, and is depicted as:

He has a human-like appearance with a leopard's tail and tiger's teeth. He is adept at wailing and wears a head ornament in his dishevelled hair. He supervises the cruelty of Heaven and the Wu Ts'an star (*Shan Hai Ching* SPTK 2/15a).

There is some debate among commentators as to the sex of Hsi Wang Mu—on the basis of the character *mu* ("mother"), many have simply assumed that this ruler was female. Karlgren (*BMFEA* 18:271) posts his objections to this inference on the basis of a tradition which makes Ch'ên Ch'ou 昌昭 the teacher of Yao, Wu Ch'eng Chao 膺成昭 the teacher of Shun, and Hsi Wang Kuo 西王國 the teacher of Yü (*Hsün Tzu* 96/27/13). Karlgren feels that the fact that Yü:

...studied under Si Wang Kuo (the ruler of) Si Wang
state, just as Yao and Shun had studied under two other
gentlemen, suggests a male ruler (Yü would not have
had a female teacher).

Perhaps a more substantial bit of evidence than offered
by Karlgren is the fact that the two characters 亢 GSR947 mag/
maw/mu and 亢 GSR929 kwak/kwak/kuo are phonetically close,
belonging to the same Shih Ching rhyme category. The fact
that the character 王 GSR7393 wang/jiang/wang ends in a
nasal would further tend to diminish the significance of the
different "m-" and "kw-" initials. It is possible that Hsi Wang
Mu and Hsi Wang Kuo are variations in the transliteration of a
foreign state or region.

For discussions of Hsi Wang Mu, see Karlgren, BMFEA 18:
270-2; M. Granet, La Pensee Chinoise pp. 357-8; Yu Ying-shih
HJAS 25:96-7.

23. The actual residence of Hsi Wang Mu is somewhat enigmatic.
He is described as being at times on K'un Lun mountain (Chu
Shu Chi Nien SPTK T/22b-23a), at times on Jade mountain 玉山
(Shan Hai Ching SPTK 2/15a), at times on Yen mountain 苍山
(Mu T'ien Tzu Chuan SPTK 3/8b), and then in the Shan Hai
Ching SPTK 16/69b, we find him living in a cave. Kuo P'u,
in his commentary on this Shan Hai Ching passage, observes
that Hsi Wang Mu has a variety of alternative residences. We
have no documentary proof in early texts as to the location
or even meaning of shao kuang 少廣. Ssu-ma Piao (in Lu Te-
ming CTCCV2p41) reads it as the name of a cave, while Ts'ui
Chuan (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p41) and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3
p300) interpret it as the name of a mountain. Another tradi-
tion has it as the name of a vacuous western expanse (Lu Te-
mìng CTCCV2p41 and Liu Feng-pao CTCCV24p251). The sources of
these commentators are, of course, a mystery.

From the context, we can at least infer that "Shao Kuang"
is a place name.

24. There is some ambiguity as to the antecedent(s) of this
sentence:

1) it may have application to Hsi Wang Mu alone in which
case it should read: "No one knows of his beginnings or of
his consequence." (cf. Giles, p. 78; Fung Yu-lan, p. 118;
Watson, p. 82)

2) it may refer to the "it" of "obtained it," in which
case it would read: "No one knows of its (i.e. the tao's)
beginnings or of its consequence." (Legge, I:245)

3) it may apply back to these legendary rulers, spirits,
etc. in totality—as we have interpreted it.

25. In Chinese legend, P'eng Tsu 彭祖 is representative of
longevity, parallel to Methusaleh in the Western tradition.
According to the legend, he was a descendant of Emperor Chuan
Hsiü (see note 18 above), and was the third son of Lu Chung 陸終
(Shih Chi SPTK PNP 40/2a). Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p4) cites the
Shih Pen 世本 (a text on the inventors of various things and
the derivation of names, now extant only in those portions
quoted in other texts) which says that his surname was
Chien and his personal appellation was K'eng. During the Shang dynasty he held the position of Keeper of the Archives and during the Chou he was a Palace Functionary, living to be 800 years old.

The Wei Chao commentary to the Kuo Yu SPTK 16/119a identifies P'eng Tsu as the third son of Lu Chung who was enfeoffed at Ta P'eng. The Ta P'eng clan were hegemons during the Shang dynasty, along with the Shih Wei (see note 1 above).

The details of P'eng Tsu's extended life span are many and varied, and are not always without contradictions (see Karlgren, BMFEA 18:274-5). In the Chuang Tzu text 1/1/12, he is described as having a reputation for longevity, while in 5/2/52 and 40/15/6 he is used as a symbol for long life.

26. The expression Yu Yu 可虞 can refer to three related and yet different historical facts:

1) as Karlgren (BMFEA 18:217-8) effectively demonstrates, it can refer to a dynasty parallel to the Hsia, Shang and Chou complete with its own rites and customs. For example, in the Kuo Yu SPTK 16/118b, it states that:

The descendants of those who effected the great accomplishments of the world have never been anything but glorious. They are the Yu, Hsia, Shang and Chou. References to this dynasty are particularly common in the Li Chi.

2) the name Yu Yu (or Yu Yu Shih 可虞氏) can also refer to a feudal house of which Shun was a member (Chu Shu Chi Nien SPTK 4/4a) and which existed into the Hsia dynasty
with Shun's descendants (Tso Chuan 456/19/1; Ch'u Tzu SPTK 1/19a).

3) Yu Yū Shih can refer to the ruler Shun (trad. r. 2255-2207), and does so in the Chuang Tzu 19/7/2 and elsewhere.

Now, with respect to our reference in this passage of the Chuang Tzu, we must note that according to the Shih Chi SPTK PNP 1/25a, P'eng Tsu was already in the employ of the court during the time of Yao (trad. r. 2357-2257). Although (as Karlgren, BMFEA 18:275 suggests) this might be an attempt on the part of a systematizer to be specific about P'eng Tsu's dates, we cannot rule out the possibility that tradition might have associated P'eng Tsu with the pre-Shun court. Given this possibility, we do best to interpret this reference to Yu Yū in the most general way—namely, as the pre-Hsia dynasty described in alternative (1) above.

27. This term wu po五伯 ("Five Lords"), like san huang三皇 ("Three Illustrious Ones") and wu ti五帝 ("Five Emperors"), refers to different persons, depending upon which tradition it is associated with.

First, wu po is often confused with wu pa (phonetically, 伯 GSR782 păk/pı́k/po and 霸 GSR772 p'ı́k/p'ı́k/p'ı́o are very close). This confusion is exemplified by the Tso Chuan 214/2/4 which states that:

The hegemons, the Five lords (wu po chih pa五伯之霸 ) exerted themselves in bringing the various nobles in line to serve the royal commands.

In the Kuo Yū SPTK 16/119a, K'un Wu 昆吾, Ta P'eng 大彭, and
Shih Wei 永幸, all included among the Five Hegemons 王霸, are called the po 伯("Lords") of their respective dynasties. In the Pai Hu T'ung SPTK 1/12a-b, pa 霸 is defined as po 伯. Yen Shih-ku, in his commentary on the Ch'ien Han Shu SPTK PNP 13/1b, glosses the term wu po 五伯 in one instance with the sequence of historical figures most commonly seen as the wu pa 五霸, and in another instance he glosses the same term with a different sequence of historical persons more commonly called the wu po 五伯.

Admitting the possibility that the confusion noted above was already current in the 4th C. B.C., the expression wu po 五伯 might well refer to any of the following groups of historical figures:

1) 蠡吾氏, 大行氏, 永幸氏, 齐桓公, 晋文公
   (Pai Hu T'ung SPTK 1/12a; Ch'ien Han Shu, Yen Shih-ku commentary on SPTK PNP 13/1b)
2) 齐桓公, 晋文公, 秦穆公, 楚庄王, 吴王阖闾
   (Pai Hu T'ung SPTK 1/12a)
3) 齐桓公, 晋文公, 秦穆公, 宋襄公, 楚庄王
   (Pai Hu T'ung SPTK 1/12b)
4) 齐桓, 晋文, 秦繋 (繋 = 穆), 宋襄, 楚庄
   (Feng Su T'ung I SPTK 1/10a)
5) 齐桓, 晋文, 楚庄, 吴阖闾, 越句践
   (Hsüen Tzu 38/11/12)
6) 齐桓, 宋襄, 晋文, 秦穆, 吴夫差
   (Ch'ien Han Shu, Yen Shih-ku commentary on SPTK PNP 13/1b)

Duke Huan of Ch'i and Duke Wen of Chin occur in all six of these
alternative groups. Both of these are 7th C. B.C. figures. Based on the traditional dating of the legendary emperors, P'eng Tsu lived to at least 1500 years old. It is rather curious as to the source of the number 800 years which is usually associated with his age (e.g. Ts'ui Chuan in Lu Temeeng CTCCV2p4; Ch'eng Hsiao-yin CTCCV3p300, etc.).

The Ch'ung Te Shu Yulan text has wang  for wu  here—seemingly a graphic error (Ma Hsi-lun, p. 201).

28. The story of Yâeh is often alluded to in the early texts (e.g. Meng Tzu 50/68/15; Lu Shih Ch'un Ch'iu SPTK 22/162b; Kuo Yu SPTK 17/128a-b; Hsün Tzu 13/5/11; Han Shih Wai Chuan SPTK 7/59b; Shuo Yulan SPTK 11/51c, 17/78c). According to the systematized account in the Shih Chi SPTK PNP 3/8b, when Emperor Hsiao I 小 (trad. r. 1352-1324 B.C.) died, Emperor Wu Ting (trad. r. 1324-1265 B.C.) was enthroned. When Emperor Wu Ting came to the throne, he thought to restore Yin, but had not found adequate counsel. For three years he did not speak. All political matters were decided upon in the high ministry, thereby observing the state of the nation. One night Wu Ting dreamt he was going to acquire a Sage named Yâeh. He scrutinized his various ministers and functionaries on the basis of what he had seen in his dream, but it was none of them. Therefore, he then charged his artisans to make a likeness and scoured the open country, finding Yâeh in Fu Hsien (in present-day Hopei). At this point in time, Yâeh was a convict, working on a chain-
gang in Fu Hsien. When Wu Ting gave him audience, he identified him as the man, and after having received him and conversed with him, he remarked that this was indeed a Sage. He then promoted him to High Minister, and the state of Ying received proper administration. Taking the locality of Fu Hsien as his surname, he became designated Fu Yüeh.

The event of Fu Yüeh's posthumous ascent to dwell in what is now called the "Fu Yüeh" star is alluded to in Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 6/40b and Ch'u Tz'u SPTK 5/87a-b. The "Fu Yüeh" star is a small star in the Scorpio constellation which, according to legend, burns brightly when the ruler enjoys loyal counsel and which is dim when the ministers are causing disorder in the nation. (See the Hsing Ching HWT 3/3b)

The Shih Te T'ang text has chuan for fu—an obvious graphic error. (Ma Hsü-lun, p. 201)

29. The Ch'ung Te Shu Yüan text has erroneously omitted the two characters i hsiang ("through it became Prime Minister to"). (Ma Hsü-lun, p. 201)

30. This phrase is ambiguous in that we cannot really be sure grammatically whether it is Fu Yüeh or Wu Ting who "held sway over the world." Legge I:245, Giles p. 78 and Fung Yu-lan p. 118 all take Fu Yüeh as the subject—this seems most logical. Watson p. 82, however, takes it as a clause modifying Wu Ting.
31. This *tung wei* ("Tung Wei star cluster") refers to the eastern portion of the Milky Way which falls between the Scorpio constellation and the Polar Star.

32. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p42) observes that the Ts'ui Chuan text had an additional twenty-two characters following "...the assembled stars." This would translate: "in his birth he was without father and mother, and when he died he ascended (to the stars). After three years had elapsed, his physical form had disappeared. This explains the impossibility of assigning a name to a spirit."

Wang Shu-min (1/53b) observes that the commentary on the *Wen Hsuan* SPTK 12/244a and the SWLC 49 cite this passage with the character *ch'i* before *ssu*, making it uniform with the phrase which precedes it.

Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p142) suggests that Kuo Hsiang felt this portion of the chapter to be a spurious interpolation by later scholars, and as a consequence, omitted it. Yen Fu (p. 18) goes somewhat further, suggesting that this entire section and the one which precedes it (i.e. from "The *tao* has reality and credibility..." to the end of this passage which has been omitted in the popular text) are least in keeping with Chuang Tzu, and do not warrant close scrutiny.

Ch'ien Mu (p. 52) is of the opinion that much of this portion of the text concerning the legendary rulers is doctrine
of the Occultists dating from late Chou (which presumably means that it is not Chuang Tzu's own). This is, however, only speculation.

13. TEXT

Nan-po Tzu-K'uei enquired of Nü Yü: "You are advanced in years, and yet your complexion is like that of an infant. How is this?"

She replied: "I have heard of the tao."

Nan-po Tzu-k'uei asked: "Can the tao be approached through study?"

"What! How could it be?" she replied. "You are not the man to do it anyway! Now, Pu-liang was gifted with the ability of the Sages, but was without their tao. I have the tao of the Sages, but am without their ability. I wanted to teach him it, but would it be possible in the end to make him a Sage? I think not—and yet, it is (relatively) easy to relate the tao of the Sages to one who has their abilities!

Still, I will tell you of it. I consolidated it for three days, and was then able to transcend (the concept of an external) world. Having transcended (the concept of an external) world, I again consolidated it for seven days, and was then able to transcend (the concept of external) phenomena. Having transcended (the concept of external) phenomena, I again consolidated it for nine days, and was then able to transcend (the concept of) life. Having transcended (the concept of) life, I was then able to attain
enlightenment. Having attained enlightenment, I was then able to manifest the singleness (of all existence). In manifesting singleness, I was then able to (attain a level) without past or present. Being without past or present, I was then able to enter (a level) beyond life and death.

EXEGESIS

1. Although Na-po Tzu-k'uei appears only in this one passage, Li I (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p42), Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3pp301-2), Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p273) and many of the other commentators suggest that he is one and the same with Nan-po Tzu-ch'i. Li I interprets this as an error which has arisen because of the similarity in pronunciation between 菩 GSR605gjwer/g'jwi/ k'uei and 師 GSR952g'ia/g'ji/k'i. Wang Shu-min (1/54a) points out that the commentary to Wen Hsüan SPTK 20/376a has 師 in this passage rather than k'uei. Chia Shan-hsiang (CTCCV5pl6) says that k'uei is pronounced 師. Yü Yüeh (I,p. 4b) and Chang Mo-sheng (p. 172) both consider that Nan-po Tzu-k'uei is again the same as Nan-kuo Tzu-ch'i in 3/2/1. The two characters 伯 GSR782påk/påk/po and 郭 GSR774kwåh/kwåh/kwuo constitute a perfect rhyme.

If we attempt to identify these various references as one man, the most obvious difficulty is that the person mentioned in 3/2/1, 11/4/75 and 67/24/61 represents the
Sublimated Man, while Nan-po Tzu-k'uei mentioned in this passage does not. From context it is an easy matter to establish a link between Nan-kuo Tzu-ch'i in 3/2/1 and Nan-po Tzu-ch'i in 67/24/61 (and then to 11/4/75), but other than questionable phonetic similarity, there is really no grounds on which to associate Nan-po Tzu-k'uei with these other passages.

2. Nü Yu女儒 appears only in this one passage. The Hsu Miao gloss (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p42) indicates that the character 儒 should be pronounced yu女, while the Li I gloss (ibid.) has it pronounced chu女短.

The fact that this name contains the character nü女 does not mean that this person is necessarily a woman (see Karlgren, BMFEA 13:229), but most early references which contain nü do refer to females. E.g. Nü Chieh女節, mother of Shao Hao; Nü Lu Shih女模氏, wife of Chuan Hsü; Nü Hua女華, daughter of Shao Tien; Nü Ch'u女樞, mother of Chuan Hsü; Nü Huang女皇, wife of Yao; Nü Ch'i女岐, Yao's sister-in-law.

3. According to Ma Hsü-lun (p. 202), the Han Fen Lou text has ju儒, which is a popular form of ju儒("infant"). Wang Mou-hung (CTCCV20pl4) states that one text has ju儒 as another variant, but that this is incorrect.

4. Many commentators make the comparison between the expression wen tao聞道("heard of the tao") in this passage and the Lun 6/4/8 usage. This expression also occurs in Lao Tzu 41. It
would appear that this term means more than simply "hearing" of the *tao*—perhaps more like "grasping and comprehending" or "experiencing" the *tao*.

5. According to the *Chiao Cheng Chuang Tzu Chi Shih* (Vlp252), the Cháo Chien I text is without the character *tao*.

6. *Pu-liang I* appears in only this one passage. Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p302) indicates that he was of the Chia clan with the surname *Pu-liang* and the personal name *I*. The Wang Yüan-tse (CTCCV6p189—-Tao Tsang) has *pu* instead of *pu*. Wang Shu-min (1/54a) cites two later texts which quote this passage, one with the character *che* following after *I*, and one with it following *ts'ai* ("ability").

Ch'ien Mu (p. 53) quotes Ts'ao Yao-hsiang who says that Pu-liang was a follower of Mo Tzu.

7. Wang Shu-min (1/54a-b) cites two later works which quote this passage with the final particle *yeh* rather than *hu*.

My interpretation and translation of this portion of the text from here to the end of this section differs considerably from previous commentators. The text here is obscure in parts, making it particularly subject to interpretation. Still, most commentators (with the exception of Kuan Feng pp. 220-1, p. 232 n. 7) agree that this passage is a description of Nü Yu imparting the *tao* of the Sages to Pu-liang I. I find this inter-
interpretation unsatisfactory for the following reasons:

1) this passage begins with the statement that Nd Yû has "heard" the tao, and is followed by an explanation of where and how she acquired this "knowledge".

2) a basic Taoist tenet is that the tao cannot be imparted to another person, but must be acquired by the individual himself. (e.g. 5/2/43; 16/6/29; 36/13/64). Thus, Nd Yû states emphatically that the tao is not something which can be acquired through study.

3) the account of the experiential process of sublimation presented here does not sound second hand, but rather sounds like a description of one's own experience.

4) the Chinese text lends itself more readily to this interpretation. The one phrase which obstructs our interpretation is wu yu shou erh kao chih—8 but this phrase is obviously corrupt (see note 8 below).

A synopsis of this passage is that Nan-po Tzu-k'uei wants Nd Yû to "teach" him her secret. She replies that this is impossible. At one time she attempted to transmit it to someone considerably more able than Nan-po Tzu-k'uei, but was still unsuccessful. Even so, she is willing to explain her own experience to him.

8. Wen I-to (p. 268) reverses the positions of shou and kao in this passage. He bases this alteration on the fact that below it has two would-be parallel phrases: "I again consolidated it for seven days" and "I again consolidated it
for nine days," Also, from the sequence in the Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p303) commentary, it would appear that this text originally had kao before shou.

Kuan Feng (p. 232n7) accepts Wen I-to's theory, but then expands upon it, rather loosely interpreting this phrase as "Explaining the tao of the Sages to a person who has the ability of the Sages is very easy, but I still told him that he must undertake the task of consolidating the mind. (My experience of the tao was like this...) (p. 220)" Kuan Feng then continues Ni Yü as the subject, as do we.

Liu Feng-pao (CTCCV24p255) suggests that the numbers three, seven and nine in this passage are the language of the School of Internal Cultivation (nei hsiu chia 内修家), but Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p273) interprets these numbers as having no particular relevance other than indicating passage from one level to another.

9. The Shih Te T'ang text, according to Ma Hsü-lun (p. 202), is without the character hsia 下 in the expression t'ien hsia 天下 ("world"). From context we can see that this is a simple omission.

10. According to Ma Hsü-lun (p. 202), the Shih Te T'ang text is without the character neng 能 ("able"). Since the preceding parallel phrases all have this word, it would appear to be a simple omission.
11. The expression chao ch'e (trans. "enlightenment") means literally "dawning, brightening" and "penetrating comprehension". This expression is similar in purport to Lao Tzu's notion of ming ("natural perspicacity") which occurs throughout his text (e.g. 16, 27, 36, 55).

12. The characters chien/hsien tu (trans. "manifest the singleness (of all existence)") mean literally "see/manifest" and "single, alone" respectively. To interpret the character 見 as chien ("to see") would imply that the tao has an objective existence, and this is incongruent with Chuang Tzu's notion of the tao. This term in fact expresses the notion that all things are knit together, and through sublimating the mind we are able to experience the totality and manifest this realization in our conduct. This same concept is also central in the Lao Tzu (see chapters 10, 14, 19, 22, 28, 39). Kuan Feng (pp. 342-3) interprets tu as a direct reference to the tao, while Hsüan Ying (p. 66) similarly interprets it as a reference to i ("the One"). Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 107) states that since the tao is absolute and unconditioned, Chuang Tzu refers to it as tu. Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p304) makes the association between this expression hsien tu and the notion of permanence and unchangingness found in the Lao Tzu 25:

Soundless, formless, it stands solitary (tu li) and does not change.

14. TEXT

That which takes life (i.e. the tao) does not (itself)
die; that which produces life does not (itself) live. In its constituting an entity, there is nothing which it does not dispatch and nothing which it does not receive; there is nothing which it does not destroy and nothing which it does not complete. Its name is Turbidity-and-Tranquillity. (This Turbidity-and-Tranquillity is completion out of turbidity.)

Nan-po Tzu-k'uei inquired: "But from whom did you hear of this?"


EXEGESIS

1. There is a passage similar to this one in the Lieh Tzu SPTK 1/2a:

Therefore, that which engenders things is not itself engendered, and that which transforms things is not itself transformed.

Again, in the Chuang Tzu 60/22/74 there is another passage:
Do not consider life to be the animation of the inanimate; do not consider death to be the extinction of the animate. Are life and death interdependent? They both have that which makes them one thing.

According to Ch'en Ching-ydan (CTCCV5p5), the Chiang Nan Ku Tsang text had the character ku 故 ("therefore") preceding this sentence, as does the Lieh Tzu passage above.

There are basically two interpretations of this passage which are popular with the commentators:

1) Ts'ui Chuan (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p42) and Su Yü (in Wang Hsien-ch'ien CTCCV26p84) take man as the subject, and interpret this as: "One who repudiates his concern for life does not die, while one who is always nourishing life does not live." As such, this passage illustrates the concept of transcending life and death.

2) Kuan Feng (p. 243) interprets the expression sha sheng che 死生者 ("that which takes life") as the Ruler (chu tsai 主宰), change (tsao wu che 变物者 —see below Text 16 note 4 for this term), or simply the tao. Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 107) interprets the expression sheng sheng che 生生者 ("that which produces life") in a similar manner. This amounts to an Aristotelean proof for the existence of a Prime Mover—the existence of some ultimate source beyond the shadow of life and death.

Alternative (2) is more literal and most continuous with the context.

2. Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 107) interprets the character wei 伟 ("constituting") as the particle yu 由 which implies relation-
ship, meaning that the relationship of the tao to things is such that on the one hand there is that which it dispatches and on the other there is that which it receives. It would seem that Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien makes this suggestion because of his reluctance to call the tao a wu 物 ("entity"). Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p143) points out that wu here is like the modern expression tung hsi 东西 ("thing"), and cites a passage from Lao Tzu 25: yu wu hun ch'eng 有物 混成 ("There was an entity heterogeneously formed...") in which the tao is also referred to as a wu.. A better example than this is Lao Tzu 21: tao chih wei wu 道之 為物 ("In the tao's constituting an entity...").

3. The two characters chiang 撷 ("to dispatch") and ying 莹 ("to receive") also appear as parallels in 21/7/33, 60/22/77 and 60/22/81. Chang Ping-lin (p. 18) observes that whenever these two characters are used in parallel construction, chiang 撷 is equivalent to sung 義 ("to send"). The use of the double negative wu pu 勿不 is also common in Lao Tzu (e.g. 3, 37, 48).

4. The two characters GSR814 蓾/穀/穀 and GSR837 ieng/nieng/ying in forming this term constitute a perfect rhyme. Many of the commentators attempt to resolve the obvious conflict of ideas represented by these two antithetical words. Kuo Hsiang (CTCCV1p145), for example, equates ying 撰 ("turbidity") with its rhyme word GSR843 ieng/ iuáng/jung which means "to bind". (See Ts'ui Chuan in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p43, Chu Kuei-yao CTCCV26p174-5, Ma Hsü-lun p. 203 for similar interpretations).
In constructing this term, Chuang Tzu combines two antithetical notions. Fung Yu-lan (*Spirit*, p. 75), in discussing this expression, states that:

The man who dwells in this sphere, regarding the material world from the point of view of the Great Whole, sees all things as neither being constructed nor being destroyed. At the same time he can also say that there is nothing which is not being constructed and not being destroyed. So we have the words "ying ning", **ying** to be in a state of activity, **ning** to be in a state of tranquillity. Hence **ying ning** means a condition of tranquillity which is not incompatible with the confused activity of things.

This paradox illustrates the two perspectives which are always apparent in the *Chuang Tzu*. The word **ying** ("turbidity") reflects the assumption of a phenomenal world in viewing the world of experience. To expedite communication with those who accept the reality of an external, objective world, Chuang Tzu also posits its existence. From this perspective, one is immediately aware of the various relationships between differentiated phenomena which form the basis of all change. The word **ning** ("tranquillity"), on the other hand, reflects the level of the sublimated mind. This mind has repudiated all distinctions to the extent of abandoning its own subjectivity, and as such, it is able to experience the sum total of all existence. Since this level of mind transcends all relative distinctions such as time and space, it naturally precludes the notion of change.

5. Yen Ling-feng (p. 665) suggests that this phrase contained in parentheses is in fact ancient commentary which has been confused with and interpolated into the original text. This would appear to be the case.
6. The name *p'i mo* ("Bamboo Slips-and-Marking Thread") and the names which follow in this passage are all very obscure. Most commentators interpret them as fictitious persons which represent various stages in the process of coming to an awareness of the *tao*. Yü Yüeh (I: pp. 7b-8a), on the basis of hsüan ming who is apparently the son of *shao hao shih* 少皜氏 (*皜* = 昊), concludes that these names in fact represent historical persons, but this is very doubtful.

These names appear to be in a sequence beginning with the most mundane and progressing to the most sublime and abstruse. Although each commentary seems to be at variance with the others, most of them associate this first name *p'i mo* with the written word and writing instruments. Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 108) observes that in ancient times they would split (p'i) bamboo to make bamboo slips, and then draw on these with a marking thread (mo). Sons and grandsons represent the links between a generation and the ones which precede and which follow it, and thus embody the notion of transmission. Thus Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien interprets this phrase as meaning that he has heard the *tao* from the transmission of words.

7. Whereas the first name *p'i mo* is associated with the written word, this name *lo sung* is commonly interpreted as a reference to the spoken language. Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p307) notes that on first being composed it is a written document, but that the second step is to memorize and recite this document.
8. The name *chan ming* ("Eyes-Perspicaciously-Witnessing") refers to the level of becoming clearly aware through the eyes. Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p307) comments that in reading until one has memorized his subject, he becomes very familiar with the essential gist. He thus becomes gradually aware of the profoundest principles, and his spirit becomes clear and bright.

9. The meaning of this name *nieh hsü* ("Ears Hearing") is not so certain. Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 108) interprets it as audio apprehension. According to the *Shuo Wen*, *nieh* means "to whisper," while *hsü* means "to hear words."

10. According to Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p307) and Lü Hui-ch'ing (CTCCV5p70), the character *hsü* means "necessary," while *hsü* means "to use, put into practice." Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 108) then interprets this as "cultivating it in our conduct."

11. Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p308) puts this into context, explaining that because of the teachings he comprehends the principles, and relying on this understanding he carries these principles into practice. As a consequence he causes the highest wisdom to be brilliantly manifest and folksongs (ou) to fill the roads. The character *wu* is commonly used as an expletive. It would seem that this expression means intoning eulogies as an expression of having experienced an awareness of the *tao*. 
12. The name hstān ming is also found in 45/17/78, meaning some nebulous location beyond the bounds of direction in which the person who has attained the level of sublimation can wander at will.

13. Li I (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p42) states that the character ts'ān here has the meaning of "lofty". He characterizes this term as meaning "solitary, vast and unnameable."

14. In the name i shih ("Perhaps-Beginning") we arrive at the level of "not yet beginning to have that which is not yet beginning to have non-being (5/2/50)"—in other words, the very source of all existence, which is itself impossible to define.

15. TEXT

The four people—Tzu Ssu, Tzu Yū, Tzu Li, and Tzu Lai—were all engaged in conversation:

"Who is able to take Non-being as his head, to take life as his back and to take death as his buttocks? One who knows that life and death, existence and non-existence are all (aspects of) the one thing—"I will associate with him!"

The four men eyed each other and laughed. None controverted the general mind, and thereupon they became friends.
EXEGESIS

1. The Kuo Ch'ing-fan text (1895) has tzu yung in place of tzu ssu. This amendment is probably based on Ts'ui Chuan's (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p43) commentary which quotes Huai Nan Tzu as having tzu yung in a passage about him living to be 54 years of age and then becoming ill as a hunchback. This passage does occur in the modern text of Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 7/47b with the exception that it has tzu ch'iu rather than tzu yung. The graphic similarity between ch'iu and yung could well account for this confusion. The person Tzu Yung is again mentioned in Pao P'u Tzu SPTK 38/210a.

The passage in Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 7/47b mentioned above, according to the Ts'ui Chuan commentary, originally had tzu yung rather than tzu ch'iu. This passage describes Tzu Ch'iu (=Tzu Yung) in much the same terms that Tzu Lao is described below (Text 16). In fact, the wording is so similar that we would have to assume that this Chuang Tzu passage was the model for the Huai Nan Tzu text:

Tzu Ch'iu (=Tzu Yung) was fifty-four years old when he became ill as a hunchback. His lower orifices were higher than the tip of his head, and his abdomen pressed against his jaw. His two haunches were uppermost, and his anus pointed to the heavens. Crawling over to a well, he peeped at himself, and exclaimed: "Extraordinary! Change (see Text 16 note 4) makes me this contracted and gnarled!" (cf. Evan Morgan's very inaccurate translation in Tao: The Great Luminant, p. 69)

Perhaps the most satisfactory way to resolve the discrepancies in these texts is:

1) to change the modern Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 7/47b to read Tzu Yung rather than Tzu Ch'iu, and
2) to reconstruct this Chuang Tzu passage on the basis of the Huai Nan Tzu passage cited above and the Pao P'u Tzu SPTK 38/210a passage which states:

Tzu Yung sighed at the greatness (wei 大) of nature's (t'ien 天) principles.

and which might well be an allusion to this anecdote. Such being the case, this passage would read:

The four people—Tzu Lai, Tzu Yü, Tzu Li and Tzu Yung—... and the passage which follows (Text 16) would read Tzu Yung for Tzu Lai. (Cf. Chu Kuei-yao CTCCV26pp179-80; Ma Hsû-lun p. 204).

Our information on the historical person Tzu Ssu is limited to this one passage, while our information on Tzu Lai can only be gleaned from this passage and what follows in Text 16.

2. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p43) observes that in reference to the name Tzu Yü, one text has yü 與 for yü 奕. The TPYL 409 also cites this passage with yü 與.

Since several of the other references in this chapter are to disciples of Confucius, it is quite possible that this person Tzu Yü is one of Confucius' most intimate disciples, Tseng Shen 曾參 (505-436 B.C.). In the Shih Chi SPTK PNP 67/14b biography of Tseng Shen, it identifies him as a man of Nan Wu Ch'eng 南武城 (in Lu 鬧) whose tzu was Tzu Yü 子輿. He was 46 years Confucius' junior, and was considered by Confucius to be a person capable of fully grasping the doctrine of filial piety. The instructions which Confucius expounded to Tzu Yü on this subject, according to popular tradition, were
collected as the Hsiao Ching. Again, there are the ten books still extant which form a commentary to the Ta Hsêh, and which are attributed to Tseng Shen. Tzu Yü appears again in Text 26 (19/6/94) in a passage which may be construed as a humorous allusion to his devotion to filial piety.

For a detailed chronology, see Ch'ien Mu's Hsien Ch'in Chu Tzu Hsi Nien pp. 74-5.

3. This passage is our only source of information on the person Tzu Li. Wang Shu-min (1/54b) comments that the TPYL 738 and CHC 18 have 了 instead of 了. The TPYL 409 cites it with the variant 了. These three words are homophonous.

4. This passage is repeated almost verbatim in 63/23/60:

We take Non-being as our head, take life as our back and take death as our buttocks. One who knows that life and death, existence and non-existence are all (aspects of) the one principle (following Ch'en Ching-yüan CTCCV5p21 who cites the Wen Jo-hai text as having tsung rather than shou.)--I will associate with him! This word wù ("Non-being") has inspired a considerable amount of debate among Western sinologists. In our interpretation, we would follow Prof. Link's tentative definition of the notion pen wù in Tao An (HR 9/2-3:199-200):

1) Pen wù is conceived as the original source and foundation beyond temporality of the latter (and, therefore, from the Chinese point of view, inferior) dichotomous "existence/nonexistence" of phenomenal things and characteristics.

2) It is contrasted with, and defined as not to be identified with, the mere "absence of things." It is in no sense to be conceived as the deprivation or "emptying of existence."

3) As the primal source from which all things (existent and nonexistent) have sprung, it is, in Lao Tzu's words,
"empty, yet full." The phenomenal world, including man and his experience, are but an exfoliation of the original source. Hence, at least in a latent state, pen wu includes all (both world and non-world, i.e., the source beyond the beginning as well as man and his world of experience) in the endless alternating cycle of being and nonbeing, past, present and future."

We must give wu this definition here, as it is not assigned a parallel. As Prof. Link suggests, it represents a reality which can be experienced beyond the "dichotomous existence/nonexistence of phenomenal things"—the Non-being which is at once nothing and everything, the undifferentiated totality—the tao.

Professor P. Boodberg would "protest with the utmost vigor" (HJAS 20 (1957): 607) the translation of wu as "Non-being", on the grounds that in this particular time-frame, it was used only as a transitive verb. He states with great certainty that:

There is no doubt that prior to the invasion of China by Buddhism with its Indo-European glosso-philosophical paraphernalia which made ontological speculation possible, these two Chinese terms (yu and wu), even in Taoist environment, remained securely within the semantic and philosophical category of habit or possession, being both essentially transitive verbs: "to have (something)" and "not to have (something)"...

The fact is that yu and wu are frequently used as nouns in Chinese texts which are positively anterior to the Buddhist conquest of China. (Cf. D. Bodde, FEQ 14 (1955):231-2; W.T. Chan, Lao Tzu:100; A.C. Graham, AM 7/1-2 (1959):104).

In this passage, there is some danger of pressing the metaphor too far. For example, Liu Feng-pao (CTCCV24p259) suggests that "head" represents the beginning, "back" represents the middle, and "buttocks" represents the end. To
suggest that these portions of the anatomy represent some temporal sequential order is to destroy Chuang Tzu's thesis that these are simply all aspects of one entity. (Cf. Wang Yü CTCCV19p168 who points out that these are three portions of one anatomy).

5. Wang Shu-min (1/55a) cites the CHC 18 and TPYL 409 which quote this passage with the character neng ("able") before chih ("knows"). The Ch'eng Hsüan-ying commentary (CTCCV3 p309) also has "whoever is able (neng) to know this—I will associate with him," which might imply that the text originally did have this character neng. However, in note 4 above we cite a parallel passage from 63/23/60 which is also lacking the character neng.

16. TEXT

Not long thereafter, Tzu Yu fell ill, and Tzu Ssu went to enquire after him. (Tzu Yü) said: "Extraordinary! Change intends to make me this contracted and gnarled!"

(Tzu Yü's body) was bent and hunched up, and he had a deformed back. Above were his five vital organs, while his chin was buried in his navel. His shoulders were higher than the crown of his head, and the hooked excrescence (of his hunchback) pointed to the heavens. His yin and yang vapours were in a state of imbalance, but his heart was tranquil and unruffled.
Hobbling across and mirroring himself in the well, he sighed: "Oh! Change really intends to make me this contracted and gnarled!" Tzu Ssu asked: "Do you dislike (what has befallen you)?" "I do not!" he replied, "Why should I dislike it? If gradually it transforms my left arm into a cock, then with it I can seek to tell the time. If gradually it transforms my right arm into a pellet, then on account of it I can seek to have owl roasting. If gradually it transforms my buttocks into (a pair of) wheels and my spirit into a horse, then on account of it I will be able to ride them. How again (would I have to rely upon a) horse-drawn carriage! Now, that which is acquired is (in accordance with) the proper time, while that which is lost follows in course. If one is content with the proper time and is satisfied with compliance, then sadness and happiness cannot enter into it. This is what was called "extricating oneself from the bonds" in ancient times. Those who are unable to extricate themselves are bound up (by phenomena), but the fact that nothing can outdo nature has been long-standing. How then could I dislike it?"

EXEGESIS

1. Yu Yeh (pp. 197-8) suggests that this should be Tzu Lai rather than Tzu Yu. In Text 15 note 1 above we have concluded that it should in fact be Tzu Yung.
2. According to Wang Shu-min (1/55a) and Liu Wen-tien (CTCCV29 p4), (Sung) Lo Ta-ching 罗大经 in his Ho Lin Yü Lu 鹤林玉露 quotes this passage with chi 疾 rather than ping 病 ("ill"). Liu Wen-tien suggests that chi 疾 would be more in keeping with ancient usage, but repeated use in 17/6/54 and 19/6/94 would tend to indicate that this passage at least originally had ping.

3. Ts'ui Chuan (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p43) comments that this passage from "Extraordinary..." to "Hobbling across and mirroring himself in the well..." is all Tzu Ssu himself describing the condition of the illness.

On the contrary, it is obvious that either all (Ma Hsü-lun pp. 204-5) or at least some (as we interpret it) of this passage is from the mouth of Tzu Yü, since he uses the word yu 余 ("me") twice. It would seem that Ts'ui Chuan has simply confused the two.

4. The expression tsao wu che 蛻物者 (trans. "change") appears several times in this text, particularly in this chapter. The expression tsao hua (che) 蛻化(者) also occurs several times, and is likewise translated as "change." The Lieh Tzu and Huai Nan Tzu also use the term tsao hua (che) quite extensively.

Ch'ien Mu (pp. 143-5) states emphatically this term was purposely introduced in the Chuang Tzu in order to avoid using a term which otherwise connoted a transcendent creator with
an existence independent of that which is created. He suggests that the ta yeh 大冶 ("Great Ironmonger") and ta lu 大鍾 ("Great Kiln") introduced below are metaphors of the same quality.

Therefore, although the Chuang Tzu repeatedly employs the terms tsao wu che 和 tsao hua che, in Chuang Tzu's own mind, he certainly did not consider that this tsao wu che or tsao hua che had a real existence. (p. 144)

Ch'ien Mu's point is that if Chuang Tzu had wanted to present the notion of a creator independent of his creation, he would have more than likely chosen a traditional term such as t'ien 天, ti 帝 or shen 神. He created his own term because he wanted to propound a new notion—a notion in which the creator, the created and the substance of creation are one.

Ch'ien Mu's interpretation of these two terms is re-enforced by the passage in Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 11/78a:

The Five Rulers and Three Kings...above were friends with the gods and spirits and below were on an equal footing with change (tsao hua 質化).

If tsao hua did in fact refer to a ruling force of the universe comparable to the early Confucian t'ien 天, it is unlikely that it would assume a station beneath that of the gods and spirits.

It would seem to me that translators have done Chuang Tzu a serious injustice in projecting the notion of "creation" or "genesis" which is so strong in the Western tradition over onto its Chinese counterpart. Words like "Creator (Legge, Watson)," God (Giles)" and "Maker of things (Fung Yu-lan)" obviously have very immediate religious connotations in the English language which do not at all hold true of the term which they are made to represent.
5. The expression chū chū ("contracted and gnarled") has several interpretations. As mentioned in Text 15 note 1 above, there is a parallel passage to this in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 7/47b. The Kao Yu commentary on that passage interprets chū chū as "the appearance of being fine." The Hsiang Hsiu commentary (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p43) states that it means "beautiful." This kind of an interpretation means that Tzu Lai takes his own appearance as being skilfully wrought and in accordance with his fate, but it still implies a value judgement on his physical condition, which is not in keeping with the general tenor of this passage.

Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 110) reads the expression GSR108 as the homophone GSR122 which has a secondary meaning of "crooked." Since "crooked" is not the basic meaning of the character chū, but is rather a secondary meaning, the character chū, a homophonous cognate of chū which appears in 48/19/17, 21 is perhaps a better choice. The Shuo Wen defines the character chū as "hunch-back."

Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p149) cites Wang Yin-chih who would change the final particle yeh in this sentence to the interrogative particle yeh in accordance with the parallel Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 7/47b passage. The fact that this sentence is repeated below (17/6/49) and also has the particle yeh would tend to cast doubt on this emendation.

6. The expression fa pei （"deformed back") has basically
three interpretations. Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p279) suggests that it means the appearance of ulcers (i.e. a swelling on the surface of the back). Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p310) understands it to mean that the backbone becomes exposed. Wen I-to (pp. 268-9) reads fa$n^2$ as its cognate po$n^2$, which means "bent" or "crooked". As such, it stands parallel to ch'ü 曲 ("bent") which precedes it.

Since all of these interpretations are related, we have simply chosen a word which will cover them all.

7. In addition to the parallel passage in Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 7/47b mentioned above, there is also a related passage in the Chuang Tzu 12/4/83:

> The chin of the deformed man, Shu, was buried in his navel. His shoulders were higher than the crown of his head, and his queue pointed to the heavens. His five vital organs were uppermost, and his two haunches flanked him.

This related passage in 12/4/83 has the character ch'i 腹 for ch'i 齊 ("navel"), as does Ch'eng Hsüan-ying's commentary (CTCCV3p310) and this passage as cited in Lo Ta-ching's Ro Da Jing Ho Lin Yi Lu 鴻林玉露.

8. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p43) comments that one text has hsiang 項 ("neck"), rather than ting 頂 ("crown of his head"), while the Ts'ui Chuan text has kung 釘 (a name for a part of a wheel). Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p150) and Ma Hsu-lun (p. 205) both amend this as hsiang 項, but the fact that the parallel passage in Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 7/47b and the related passage in 12/4/83
both have 亭頂 ("crown of his head") would tend to support this reading.

9. Li I (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p43) and Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p279) both interpret the expression kou chui句 ("hooked excrescence") as an ancient hair-style which resembles a wen on the head. We choose to treat it literally as the hump of the hunchback.

The parallel passage in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 7/47b is of little use here, having chu ying燾營 ("anus") instead of kou chui句 . The related passage in 12/4/83 has k'uai tsui 會提, which according to the Ssu-ma Piao and Ts'ui Chuan commentaries (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p32) means an ancient hair-style, and according to the Hsiang Hsiu commentary (ibid.) means a hunching up of the shoulders.

10. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p43) observes that the Ts'ui Chuan text has the character 增 instead of 里 ("imbalance"), suggesting that it means "full." The correct form of this character is mi忱 which in abbreviated form is忱 or忱 . In this abbreviated form, there is an obvious graphic similarity between mi忱忱 and 里 彚. Yen Ling-feng (p. 628) cites Hsi T'ung who provides an example from the Han Shu SPTK PNP 27中上/1b which states:

When the vapours do injury to each other we call it imbalance (里 彚).

Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26pp180-1) further gives various examples in which 里 彚 and loan characters for it are associated with
the aberrations of the vapours.

A second textual problem in this sentence is the punctuation. The Ts'ui Chuan text (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p43) extends this sentence to read:

His *yin* and *yang* vapours caused imbalance in his heart. We have followed the Kuo Hsiang punctuation in our translation, ending this sentence after *li*.

The gist of this passage is that although Tzu Yu has been severely deformed by change, he feels no resentment or regret. A rendering based on the Ts'ui Chuan punctuation would imply that physical deformity has disturbed his heart, and this is not in keeping with the general thrust of the content.

Wang K'ai-yûn (in Ch'ien Mu p. 54) would read *wu* as *wu* 又, which would change the translation to read:

His *yin* and *yang* vapours were furthermore imbalanced.

11. The Ts'ui Chuan (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p43) text has the variant pien hsien 跽鮮 for pien hsien 跽鮮 (*hobbling*). There are basically two interpretations of this expression. Ssu-ma Piao (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p43), Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p311) and most of the traditional commentaries suggest that it means walking with some difficulty due to physical deformity. Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26pl81) and Kuan Feng (p. 233n9), on the other hand, suggest that although he is suffering from physical deformity, it is unable to fetter his heart. Thus, he is able to move lightly and agilely. Chu Kuei-yao and Kuan Feng tend to project their understanding of the philosophical
content of this passage onto their interpretation of the passage. If Tzu Yd was thus stricken with physical deformity, and yet was still able to sprint to the edge of the well, then he would have no reason to feel resentment or distress. The point here is that Tzu Yd's health has been dealt a severe blow, and where most people would experience a certain amount of bitterness, his level of mind enables him to wholly accept any change in his condition.

The Han Fen Lou text and Ch'ung Te Shu Ydan text both have \( yu \) for \( yu \).

12. See note 5 above.

13. The character \( wang \) ("I do not") here is used like \( wu \). See A.C. Graham, AM 8/2 (Sept. 1961):174-6 for a discussion of the use of \( wang \) as \( wu \) current primarily in pre-Han times. \( Wang \) is used in the same way in 46/18/21 and 50/19/52.

14. Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p280) observes that in this section, the most unusual thing is the use of the two characters \( chin \) \( chia \) ("if gradually"). According to Wang Shu-min (1/55b), the word \( chin \) should be read \( ch'in \) as it appears in TPYL 369 where it cites this passage. The Shuo Wen defines \( ch'in \) as "gradually advancing." Lin Hsi-i (ibid.) suggests that \( chia \) indicates that this is a conditional sentence.

15. This passage is related to 6/2/76 which states:
You see an egg and look for a cock; you see a pellet and look for a roast owl.

The *Huai Nan Tzu* SPTK 16/122b has a very similar passage. On the basis of this passage, Wang Hsien-ch'i'en (CTCCV26p86) suggests that 蜜 ("cock") is an error for the character 蠍 ("egg"). He also interprets the expression shih yeh 時夜 as "cock". Thus, according to Wang Hsien-ch'i'en, this sentence should read:

If gradually it transforms my left arm into an egg, then with it I can seek for a cock.

This makes good sense.

The expression shih yeh 時夜 ("cock") which occurs in the 6/2/76 passage and again here is somewhat obscure, and should probably be ssu yeh 司夜. The two words 時 GSR961 g29/21 /shí and 司 GSR972 j29/sì /sì constitute a perfect rhyme. What seems to have occurred is that a later copyist (or the author??) did not understand shih yeh 時夜 as "cock", but rather understood it as referring to the capacity of the cock to indicate the time, and so altered the passage accordingly. In the *Huai Nan Tzu* SPTK 16/122b passage, the author simply changed shih yeh to ch'en yeh 晨夜.

According to Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p44), one text is without the character ch'iu 求 ("to seek"). Yü Yüeh (p. 198) observes that a cock is able to announce the time of its own accord, and certainly does not have to "seek" to announce it. However, the sentence which follows this one is parallel in construction, and includes the character ch'iu 求, as do the related passages in 6/2/76 and *Huai Nan Tzu* SPTK 16/122b.
16. The Han Fen Lou and Shih Te T'ang texts have *yin erh ch'eng chih* 因而乘之 in place of *yin i ch'eng chih* 因以乘之 (*"then on account of it I will be able to ride them"*). The Ku I Ts'ung Shu has the character *i* 以 rather than *erh* 而, according to Wang Shu-min (1/56a). The two phrases which are parallel to this one both have *i* 以. Therefore, we follow this variation. (The Harvard-Yenching Index #20 text has *tz'u* 比 rather than *i* 以 or *erh* 而, but this would appear to be a simple printing error.)

17. There is a related passage in 8/3/18:

> When it was appropriate to come, the Master (Lao Tzu) accorded with the proper time. When it was appropriate to leave, the Master complied with it. If one is content with the proper time and is satisfied with compliance, then sadness and happiness cannot enter into it. In ancient times, this is what was called the "extricating oneself from the bonds" of the gods.

17. TEXT

> Before long, Tzu Lai fell ill. Wheezing and panting, he was on the brink of death. His wife and children gathered about him and wept. Tzu Li, having gone to enquire after him, reviled them, saying: "Get away! Don't impede his transformations!"

> Leaning against the door, he talked with him, saying: "Extraordinary, these transformations! What are you going to be made into next? Where are you going to be sent? Will you be made into a rat's liver, or will you be made into an insect's arm?"
Tzu Lai replied: "The relationship of children to their parents is one of total devotion, and they only need be commanded to obey. But the relationship of man to the yin and yang vapours is no less than his relationship to his parents. If now that they (the yin and yang vapours) have drawn me near to death, I do not heed them, then I (can only be considered) of a violent (nature). And what form of punishment will they levy for that! The Great Clod encumbers me with a physical form, fatigues me with life,retires me with age and rests me with death. Assuredly, any reasons that I have for approving of my life are the very reasons why I should approve of my death."

Now, if the great ironsmith were in the process of casting metal, and the metal, thrusting and brandishing itself, said: "I must be forged into a Mo Yeh sword!", the great ironsmith would certainly consider it an inauspicious bit of metal. Now, if once having been cast in the human form, I were to whine: "Make me into a man! Make me into a man!", then change would certainly consider me an inauspicious person! Now, once we take the cosmos to be a great forge and take change to be a great ironsmith, where could I go that would be inadmissible! I tranquilly and unconstrainedly go to sleep, and will abruptly and amicably awake.

EXEGESIS:

1. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p44) comments that the Ts'ui Chuan text had the cognate expression *chui chui* ("anxiously") for
ch'uan ch'uan "wheezing and panting").

2. The Ho Pi Shih Lei, Tao Tsang and Chung Tu Ssu Tzu texts (and most popular texts) omit the character tzu in the proper name tzu li. As Wang Shu-min (1/56a) observes, the Ch'u Po-hsiu text in the Tao Tsang and the Ku I Ts'ung Shu text have this character.

3. Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 111) takes issue with the traditional interpretation of ch'ih and yi as two short statements, the first being an expletive and the second a command to go away. Rather, he suggests that the position of ch'ih and yi be reversed, and that ch'ih be read adverbially as "scoldingly (scoldingly said=reviled)." We have followed Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien here.

4. For the character ta ("impede"), the Ts'ui Chuan (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p44) has the cognate ta ("soft leather"), which makes little sense here.

5. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p44) observes that the Ts'ui Chuan text and others have ch'ang ("intestines") rather than pi ("arm"). Wen I-to (p. 269) points out that this variant would make this phrase more parallel with the one which precedes it, since "liver" and "intestines" are both entrails.

Lin Yün-ming (CTCCV18p147) notes that according to the Tzu P'ing Y'Man Hai rats do not have a liver (in
fact, they do). Also, in the Tzu Hui it reports that insects with legs are called ch'ung, while those without legs are called ch'ih. In neither case do they have arms (pi). He interprets these two examples as suggesting that change can transform man into a "none-thing (wu wu物)" and hurdle him into total oblivion.

While Lin Yün-ming's interpretation is certainly possible, we would tend to agree with Ch'u Po-hsiu (Tao Tsang 17/16a) who suggests that a "rat's liver" and an "insect's arm" are examples of very insignificant things. The thought propounded here is that regardless of what he becomes, he remains an integral and inseparable aspect of the cosmic totality. If, in fact, he is relegated to oblivion, this would not illustrate a willing compliance with the vicissitudes of change, nor would it characterize him as a continuing aspect of the tao.

6. According to Liu Feng-pao (CTCCV24p262), Wen I-to (p. 269) and Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 112), the sentence structure in this phrase and the one which precedes it is inverted. The text, if interpreted literally, states "the relationship of the parents to the children" and "the relationship of the yin and yang vapours to man." This interpretation obviously does violence to the point being made here, since it is the children who must obey the parents and man who must accept the changing conditions of the yin and yang vapours, and not vice versa. Hence, we have followed these commentators in our translation.
7. The character 超 GSR864 ʂiêng/ʂiêng-chh" ("no less than") is a loan for its homophone 遠 GSR877 ʂiêng/ʂiêng-shih". The Ch'eng Hsûan-ying commentary (CTCCV3p315) uses the character shih 遠 in its explanation.

Ma Hû-lun comments that the Chuang Tzu I Lin (CTCCV5p7) and TPYL 738 quote this passage with wei 為 rather than yâl於 in the expression ch'ih yâl於. The Chuang Tzu I Lin also has the final particle yeh 也 following mu'母.

8. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p44) notes the variant 据 捷 for its cognate and homophone 捷 ("violent"). Among those texts with this variant, Wang Shu-min lists the Tao Tsang editions of the Ch'eng Hsûan-ying text, the Lin Hsi-i text, the Ch'u Po-hsiu text, the Ch'en Ching-yûan text and the Ku I Ts'ung Shu text.

9. This passage is first seen in Text 9 above (see notes 17-21).

10. Some texts have the character chih 遠 following chin 今 ("now") (e.g. Ku I Ts'ung Shu), while most are without it (e.g. Ho Pi Shih Lei text and the Tao Tsang edition of the Lin Hsi-i text.)

11. Allusions to the legend of this famous sword, Mo Yeh 露, appear throughout the early texts. According to the Wu Yeh Ch'un Ch'iu SPTK 4/20a-b, Kan Chiang 千特 was commissioned by
King Ho Lü of Wu 吳闔閭王 to forge two swords. Mo Yeh (莫邪 or 錘錘) was the name of Kan Chiang's wife. When he attempted to cast the swords, the gold and iron would not fuse. Thereupon, Mo Yeh cut her hair and clipped her nails, and threw them into the furnace. The metals then commingled, and he fashioned swords out of it. The yang sword he called Kan Chiang and the yin sword he called Mo Yeh. Kan Chiang then hid the Kan Chiang sword and presented the Mo Yeh sword to King Ho Lü.

This legend occurs with considerable variance in the (4th C. A.D.) Sou Shen Chi HWTS 11/1b-2b. Kan Chiang is commissioned to forge two swords for the King of Ch'u. Anticipating that he has incurred the King's wrath, Kan Chiang hides the male sword (Kan Chiang) for his as-yet-unborn son to use in avenging his death. When the son comes of age and hears of his father's execution by the King of Ch'u, he vows revenge. The King hears of this, and places a price on his head. The son cuts his own throat after making an arrangement with a stranger that this stranger present his head to the King of Ch'u to collect the reward, and at that time avenge Kan Chiang. On bringing the head to the King, the stranger suggests that the King make a broth from it (this being the custom in dealing with a worthy enemy). The King boils the head for three days and nights, and it not only fails to disintegrate, but further bobs around in the broth with an enraged stare. The stranger calls the King over to witness this unusual affair on the pretext that it can be reduced by
a regal glance. At this point, the stranger dispatches the
King with the sword and then decapitates himself, managing to
add both of their heads to the boiling cauldron. The three
heads disintegrate and blend to the extent that they cannot
be distinguished, and are consequently buried together in
what is called the "Tomb of the Three Kings."

In light of these two related legends, there is perhaps
some significance to the metal's wanting to be forged into a
Mo Yeh sword. Not only does it want to be made into a weapon,
which is itself an inauspicious instrument, but further wants
to be made into the yin sword which is the inauspicious of
the inauspicious. The female sword is presented to the king,
and in his hands it is abused. The male sword, on the other
hand, is instrumental in settling the smith's vendetta. (Cf.
Hightower, HSWC pl22n8).

12. Wang Shu-min (1/56b) feels that we should precede this
sentence with the particle fu 夫 on the basis of a variant
passage found in CTYH 1 and 2, and the fact that the passage
which follows and is parallel to this sentence has this
character as an introductory particle. He also observes
that the TPYL 810 has wu  вещ  ("thing") rather than chin  金
("metal").

13. See Text 10 note 14 above for a discussion of this character
fan 銓 ("cast").
14. Ma Hsü-lun (p. 209) notes that the Shih Te T'ang text is without the two characters wu hu 想乎 ("where"), but since this omission leaves the sentence incomplete, it would seem to be in error.

15. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p44) indicates that the character ch'eng 恭 in the expression ch'eng jan 成然 ("tranquilly and unconstrainingly") has several variants. One text has shu 成 ("to guard"), which the Chien Wen 翁文 commentary says is an error for mieh 滄 ("to destroy"). Another text has hsi 目成 which means "to look at with a startled air." One edition also has q 俄 ("in a moment"). Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26pp182-3) points out some variants to these variants. We follow Ch'eng Hsüan-ying's (CTCCV3p317) interpretation of this expression.

16. The Ts'ui Chuan text (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p44) had chu 据 ("grasp") for ch't'ü 蘇 ("abruptly and amicably"). Again, we follow Ch'eng Hsüan-ying's (CTCCV3p317) interpretation of this expression.

17. According to Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p44), the Hsiang Hsü and Ts'ui Chuan texts continued this sentence with the four characters: fa jan han ch'u 霖然汗出 ("Having been liberated, the sweat flows.") The Hsiang Hsü text comments that if one is without bonds, then the saliva flows freely. Ts'ui Chuan remarks that when the vapours of the blood are harmonious and free-flowing, one does not consider change to be something to
fear.

Ma Hsü-lun (p. 209) notes that in the commentary to the Wen Hsüan SPTK 34/643b, the character tz'u "to sweat" appears in place of fa in this sentence.

18. TEXT

The three persons—Tzu Sang Hu, Meng Tzu Fan, and Tzu Ch'in Chang—were mutual friends. One said to the others: "Who is able to associate in 'non-association'? Who is able to co-operate in 'non-co-operation'? Who is able to ascend to the heavens and wander about in the mists, prancing and gamboling in the interminable, forgetting each other in fostering that which is without end or exhaustion. The three men eyed each other and laughed. None controverted the general mind, and as a consequence they associated as friends.

EXEGESIS

1. Tzu Sang Hu 乔 乔 appears again in 53/20/37ff. as Tzu Sang Hu 乔. According to Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p108), 乔 is pronounced 乔. In this passage, he is portrayed instructing Confucius in the essentials of true affection, which in certain respects appears to be an interpretation of our Text 18. Having spoken with Tzu Sang Hu, Confucius bandons his studies and dispenses with his books. Although his disciples no longer bow and scrape before him, their affection for him seems to be stronger than ever previous.
On another day, Tzu Sang Hu instructs Confucius on physical and emotional compliance:

When one complies, there will be no divergence; when one accords, there will be no exhaustion. With neither divergence nor exhaustion, you will not need to seek refinements in dealing with your physical person. In not seeking refinements in dealing with your physical person, you will certainly not be dependent upon (external) phenomena. (53/20/44ff.)

This passage is important in that it provides a real link between the Tzu Sang Hu of the *Chuang Tzu* and variations on this name which occur in other texts.

In the *Ch'u Tzu* SPTK 4/69b, it states that:

Chieh Yü (see Text 5 note 17 above) shaved his head; Sang Hu 桑扈 ran around naked.

The Hung Hsing-tsu 洪興祖 commentary identifies this variant with the Tzu Sang Hu in the *Chuang Tzu*. Again, as Wang Shu-min (1/57a) and Ma Hsü-lun (p. 210) note, the TPYL 409 and PKLT 10 and the Kuang Yün 上声3 have hu扈 rather than hu扈. In the Feng Su T'ung I SPTK 5/36a it states:

(Sang) Hu (桑扈) travelled naked and on foot.

Chu Hsi and other commentators on the *Lun Yu* 9/6/2 identify Tzu Sang Po Tzu 桑伯子 with Tzu Sang Hu. He is portrayed as a man who prefers simplicity to pomp and refinement, and although he is considered admissible by Confucius, he is less than enthusiastic.

The Shuo Yüan SPTK 19/92a interprets and amplifies this rather obscure *Lun Yu* passage:

Confucius said: "Simplicity is permissible."
Simplicity means easy and leisurely. Easy and Leisurely means being without the refinements of ceremony. Confucius had an interview with Tzu Sang Po Tzu. In
meeting with him, Tzu Sang Po Tzu neglected to wear his cap. The disciples enquired: "Why does the Master see this man?"

Confucius replied: "His substance is very worthwhile, but he is without refinement. I wanted to persuade and refine him."

When Confucius had departed, the followers of Tzu Sang Po Tzu were not convinced, and asked: "Why did you see Confucius?"

He replied: "His substance is very worthwhile, but his refinements are cumbrous. I wanted to persuade him to discard his refinements."

Therefore, it is said: Those who cultivate both refinement and substance are called superior men (chün tzu), while those who have substance but lack refinement are known as easy and leisurely. Tzu Sang Po Tzu was easy and leisurely, wanting to make the way of man the same as that of cows and horses. Thus, Chung-kung 仲弓 (a disciple of Confucius) said that he (Tzu Sang Po Tzu) was "excessively simplistic."

In the Chuang Tzu passages, Tzu Sang Hu is characterized by 1) a deep and abiding understanding of friendship, 2) a preference for simplicity and independence, and 3) an acquaintance with Confucius. This preference for simplicity and his relationship with Confucius are certainly apparent in the Lun Yü and Shuo Yüan passages, and might be considered an indication that Tzu Sang Hu and Tzu Sang Po Tzu are one and the same person.

Finally, Yü Yeh (I:pp8a-b) adds yet another bit of information. In the Ch'ien Han Shu SPTK PNP 20/37a, it lists a certain Tzu Sang Tzu 子桑子, but he is placed in a Warring States period time-frame. Again, there is a Ts'ai Sang Yü 采桑羽 listed in the Ch'ien Han Shu SPTK PNP 20/33a-b who is placed in a Ch'un Ch'iu period time-frame contemporaneous with Meng Chih Fan 盧之反. Since the characters 子 GSR964 tsi'ag/ tsi: / tsi' and采 GSR942 tsi'ag/ tsi: / tsi'ai/ tsi'ai constitute a perfect rhyme and are phonetically so close, and the characters 子 GSR53 g'ō/ g'uo:/ hu and采 GSR98 j'uo/ j'mi/ yu
are the same, it is quite possible that Ts'ai Sang Yu is yet another variant for Tzu Sang Hu.

2. This is the only reference to Meng Tzu Fan \(\text{孟子反}\) in the early texts. There is a person Meng Chih Fan \(\text{孟之反}\) who appears in the Lun Yu 10/6/15 and who commentators (e.g. Chu Hsi) associate with the Meng Tzu Fan of the Chuang Tzu. This identification is re-enforced by Meng Tzu Fan's association with Tzu Sang Hu (see note 1 above) in this passage, who in turn is both contemporary with and portrayed in conversation with Confucius. Again, the two characters \(\text{孟子反}\) and \(\text{孟之反}\) are phonetically close, although they are in different tones. This Meng Chih Fan appears again in the Ch'ien Han Shu SPTK PNP 20/33a in a Ch'un Ch'iu period time-frame.

In the Tso Chuan 481/11/1, there is a passage which states:

When the Right-flank Army was in retreat, the men of Ch'i pursued it. Ch'en Kuan and Ch'en Chuang forded the Ssu River (giving chase), and Meng Chih Ts'e was the last to enter (the safety of the battlements). When it was considered that he was forming a rear-guard, he drew an arrow and whipped his horse with it, saying: "It is that my horse will not go!"

This same event is repeated in the Lun Yu 10/6/15, emphasizing Meng Chih Fan's spirit of modesty. From this passage, we learn that his personal name was Ts'e and that he was an official of Lu.

Ma Hsü-lun (p. 210) identifies the person Mu P'i mentioned in the Meng Tzu 58/7B/37 with Meng Tzu Fan. This
Mencius replied: "Those like Ch'in Chang and Mu P'i are what Confucius called mad."

Ma Hsü-lun makes this identification on the basis of 1) the association of Mu P'i with Ch'in Chang, 2) a rather wishful phonetic similarity between the two characters măng/meng and P'i/p'í, and 3) the graphic similarity between p'i and fan. This identification is at best tenuous.

3. This person Tzu Ch'in Chang is identified with the Ch'in Chang mentioned in the Meng Tzu passage mentioned in note 2 above. The Chu Hsi commentary on this passage states that Ch'in Chang's personal name (ming) was lao, and his style-name (tzu) was tzu chang. Chu Hsi's association of Ch'in Chang with the personal name lao may have several sources. First, in the Lun Yu it states that a person named Lao said:

The Master has said: "I was not being engaged, and thus focused on literary achievements."

The Cheng Hsüan commentary on this passage identified this man Lao as a disciple of Confucius, Tzu Lao. Tzu Lao appears again in Chuang Tzu addressed in such a way as to imply that he is employed in the government. Ssu-ma Piao (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p143) states that this Tzu Lao is Ch'in Lao, the disciple of Confucius. Ch'in Lao also occurs as a disciple of Confucius in K'ung Tzu..."
Chia Yü SPTK 10/119b, where Confucius dissuades him from going to mourn a friend who has been killed amid intrigue. This K'ung Tzu Chia Yü passage is, however, simply the repetition of an occurrence reported in the Tso Chuan 401/20/3 with the important alteration of the name Ch'in Chang 長 in the Tso Chuan account to Ch'in Lao 琴牢 in the K'ung Tzu Chia Yü version.

What might have occurred here is that the author of the K'ung Tzu Chia Yü (generally considered to be the 3rd C. A.D. Wang Su) has followed the Ch'ien Han Shu SPTK PNP 20/29a which has Ch'in Lao listed as a fourth grade individual in close proximity to several of Confucius' most well-known disciples, and which does not mention Ch'in Chang at all. At any rate, it would appear that the identification of Ch'in Chang with the personal name Lao had occurred at a very early date. (Cf. R.P. Kramers (trans.), K'ung Tzu Chia Yü (Leiden: 1950), pp. 93-94n309).

The association of Ch'in Chang with the style-name Tzu Chang 張 is also of very early date. First, the (Han) Chia K'uei 賈逵 and Cheng Chung 鄭眾 commentaries to the Tso Chuan 401/20/3 (in the 葛 Han Shan Fang Chi I Shu 王國房輯佚書 Vol. II 下/18a) identify Ch'in Chang as Chuan-sun Shih 弦孫師 (tzu: Tzu Chang 張—Shih Chi SPTK PNP 67/13b). The (Han) Chao Ch'i 趙岐 commentary to Meng Tzu 58/7B/37 in Meng Tzu SPTK 14/122b states that Ch'in Chang's tzu was Tzu Chang, and that he derived the name "Ch'in 琴" because of his ability to play the seven-string zither.
Ch'ien Mu in his *Hsien Ch'in Chu Tzu Hsi Nien* p. 74 disagrees with the identification of Tzu Chang (Chuan-sun Shih) with Ch'in Chang on the basis of chronology. According to traditional dating, Tzu Chang is more than 40 years younger than Confucius (*Shih Chi* SPTK PNP 67/13b says 48 years). He is thus of the same generation as Tseng Ts'an (Shih Chi SPTK PNP 67/14b says 46 years younger than Confucius). Again, according to K'ung An-kuo (*Shih Chi* SPTK 67/17a), Tseng Ts'an is the son of Tseng Hsi who is listed following Ch'in Chang in the *Meng Tzu* 58/7B/37 passage. According to Ch'ien Mu, it is not likely that a man of a younger generation would be listed before and grouped with his senior. Again, as unlikely as it is that Mencius would suggest that Confucius looked upon one of his most well-known disciples, Tzu Chang (listed in the third grade in the *Ch'ien Han Shu* SPTK PNP 20/28a), as being mad, Tseng Hsi is also listed in the *Ch'ien Han Shu* SPTK PNP 20/28a in the third grade immediately following Tzu Chang!

Amid the confusion which has grown up around this particular reference, we can only be sure that 1) he was a contemporary of Confucius, and 2) he is identified by the Confucius of the Taoist tradition as being a Sublimated Man. It is also probable that he is the same person referred to in the *Tso Chuan* 401/20/3 and *Meng Tzu* 58/7B/37. Beyond this, any further identification is only rather confusing speculation (Cf. Ma Hsü-lun p. 689; Ch'ien Mu's *Hsien Ch'in Chu Tzu Hsi Nien* pp. 73-4).
Ma Hsu-lun (p. 210) and Wang Shu-min (1/57a) cite the PTSC 106 and the TPYL 571 which have the homophone ch'in 聲 for ch'in 参.

4. Wang Shu-min (1/57a) cites the TPYL 409 which quotes this passage with the character wei 為 preceding yu 友. Since similar phrases in 17/6/47 and 18/6/62 have this character, it would appear to have been omitted here. More probable than this, however, is that as Wu Ju-lun (CTCCV26p48) suggests, yu 友 should be read as yu 譁("...were all engaged in conversation"), making this passage perfectly parallel with a corresponding passage in 17/6/45.

5. Ma Hsu-lun (p. 210) notes that the Shih Te T'ang text has nao t'ao 棨桃 rather than nao t'ao 擠桃. In Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p44) it states that t'ao 擠 also occurs as chao 桃.

6. Most texts do not have the character wei 為 in this phrase. Ku I Ts'ung Shu and PKLT 10 both cite this passage with wei 為 (Wang Shu-min 1/57a). In the parallel passage in 17/6/47, this phrase has wei 為, and it is probable that it has been erroneously omitted here.

19. TEXT

Suddenly shortly thereafter, Tzu Sang Hu died but had not as yet been buried. Confucius heard (of his passing), and
dispatched Tzu Kung\(^2\) to go and assist\(^3\) in the arrangements. One of those\(^4\) attending was composing songs\(^5\) while the other was strumming on his zither. Raising their voices in harmony, they sang:

\[
\text{Distressing, Sang Hu!} \\
\text{Distressing, Sang Hu!}\(^6\) \\
\text{You}\(^7\) have already returned\(^8\) to the sublime,\(^9\) \\
\text{While we still}\(^10\) remain as men.\(^11\)
\]

Tzu Kung hastened forward and remonstrated: "I beg your pardon, but in wailing for the corpse\(^12\) you sing—is this (in accordance with) the code of propriety?"

The two men looked at each other and burst into laughter, saying: "How could this man know what the significance of propriety is!"\(^13\)

**EXEGESIS**

1. There is some variance in the punctuation of this phrase. Ma Ch'i-ch'ang (2/23b) points out that the PTSC punctuates the preceding sentence after \(\text{mo jan}\) 莫然. The Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p319) commentary is also worded in such a way as to imply that the expression \(\text{mo jan}\) belongs to the preceding sentence. He states that these three men were fond of each other, and were quietly intimate without speaking (\(\text{mo jan}\)). Wu Ju-lun (CTCCV26p48) states outright that \(\text{mo jan}\) belongs to the preceding sentence.

The preceding phrase has a parallel in 17/6/47, and to append the expression \(\text{mo jan}\) to the end of this phrase would
spoil this parallelism. We follow Lin Yün-ming (CTCCV18p49) in interpreting mo jan as hu jan "suddenly".

Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p45) observes that one text has wei chien rather than yu chien. Meng Tzu uses the expression wei chien to indicate a brief passage of time (e.g. 22/3A/5; 58/7B/21).

2. The following highlights are primarily from the characterization of Tzu Kung in the Shih Chi.

His proper name was Tuan-mu Hsi, a man of the state of Wei. He was 31 years Confucius' junior, and because of his eloquence and glibness, his arguments were often dismissed by the Master. He received official employment in both Lu and Wei, and was instrumental in fomenting a tremendous political upheaval in the central states. Once having thrown his hat into the ring, he insured the preservation of Lu, set Ch'i into turmoil, destroyed Wu, strengthened Chin and made Yueh a protectorate over former Wu territory.

Tzu Kung was materially the most well-to-do of Confucius' disciples. Where he was fond of acclaiming the good points of others, he was unable to repress their weaknesses. Perhaps the most telling assessment of Tzu Kung's person is recorded in the Lun Yu 8/5/9:

The Master asked Tzu Kung: "Who excels who between yourself and Hui?"
He replied: "How could I hold a candle to Hui! With Hui, if he hears one facet, he will grasp an entire situation. Myself--if I hear one aspect I'll (maybe) grasp a second."
The Master responded: "You are not as good as him! That I will give you; you are not as good as him!"
According to Ch'ien Mu's chronology, Tzu Kung died in c. 450 B.C. in the state of Ch'i. (See Ch'ien Mu's Hsien Ch'in Chu Tzu Hsi Nien pp. 70-1 for a detailed chronology of Tzu Kung's life).

The most relevant aspect of Tzu Kung's character with respect to this Chuang Tzu passage is that it was him above any of Confucius' disciples who was known for his punctiliousness—his public display of a scrupulous attention to all details of behaviour.

3. Wang Shu-min (1/57a) observes that the Ku I Ts'ung Shu has the character shih ("to wait upon") for tai ("to assist"). The Wen Hsüan commentary SPTK 47/897b has the same variant. The graphic similarity and closeness in meaning seem to be the obvious source of this textual ambiguity.

4. As Kao T'ang (CTCCV23p60) indicates, the two instances of the character huo in this passage are probably references to the two friends of the deceased, Meng Tzu Fan and Tzu Ch'in Chang. It is, however, conceivable that huo should be rendered: "Some of those..."

5. There is some debate among commentators as to the significance of the expression pien ch'd" (trans. "weaving a pannier"). One position is represented by Li I (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p45) who suggests that this expression means
"weaving silkworm trays." There is a potential pun which might recommend such a seemingly blind interpretation. On a passage in the Li Shih Ch'un Ch'iu SPTK 3/18a, the Kao Yu commentary also interprets ch't'ü as a "silkworm tray"—a tray on which the mulberry (sang) leaves are spread to feed the worms. Kao Yu states that it is "a container to receive the mulberry (leaves) (shou sang ch'i)." Hence there is conceivably a pun on the idea of the pannier being woven to receive Sang Hu the person rather than his namesake, the mulberry leaves. The fact that the corpse is referred to as a shih (which according to the Li Chi SPTK 1/17b (Legge I:117) refers to the deceased laid out on a couch) rather than as a chiu (the deceased housed in a coffin) might re-enforce the notion that the friends were preparing a basket to contain the corpse for burial. Whereas the pun on sang (mulberry leaves/Sang Hu) is very remote and contrived, the notion of weaving a burial mat or other articles to be used in the services for the deceased is supported by the commentary of Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p319-20) and Wang K'ai-yüan (in Hu Yüan-chün, p. 58).

Other commentators (e.g. Ch'en Ching-yüan CTCCV5p54; Kuo Liang-han CTCCV13p365) suggest that this expression pien ch't'ü refers to the composition of songs to accompany the strumming of the zither. In our translation we have followed this interpretation. First, from context it would imply that those attending the corpse are engaged in some kind of unusual activity. Whereas weaving a pannier for the corpse or mats
for the service would not likely offend Tzu Kung, composing songs in the presence of the corpse might ruffle his sense of propriety. Again, immediately following this passage, the two friends of the deceased are portrayed as harmonizing their voices in song over the body of Sang Hu.

6. The phrase ch'ıeh lai sang hu hu 動來桑戶呼 gives rise to several possible interpretations:

1) Liu Feng-pao (CTCCV24p268) suggests that this is an expression of summoning the spirit of the deceased. As an important part of the Chinese death observance, someone would take the robes of the deceased to a specific place (depending on the rank of the person involved) and call out for the spirit of the deceased to return. According to Confucius in the Li Chi SPTK 7/69a (Legge I:368-9), this custom originated in the Hsia dynasty when a member of the family would climb to the top of the house and call for the spirit to return. See Li Chi SPTK 1/15b (Legge I:108); 1/16b (Legge I:112); 2/21a (Legge I:129); 2/27a (Legge I:157); 3/29b (Legge I:167); 6/63a (Legge I:340); 7/69a (Legge I:368-9); 12/119b (Legge II:132); 12/120b (Legge II:136); and 13/129b (Legge II:174-5).

2) Yang Shu-ta (CTCCV30p8) and Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30 pl53) suggest that the word lai 来 here is being used as a grammatical particle, as it is used in 9/4/15 and 10/4/39.

3) Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26pl85) associates the expression ch'ıeh lai 動來 with its usage in the Li Chi SPTK 3/35b (Legge I:194-5).
There was a great famine in Ch'i, and Ch'ien Ao made food available on the roads in order to attend to the starving and feed them. There was one victim of starvation who, covering himself with his sleeve and scuffling his feet, came staggering along. With his left hand Ch'ien Ao offered him some food and with his right he grasped a drink, saying to him: "How distressing (chüeh lai)! Eat!"

Raising his eyes, the stranger looked at him, and said: "It is simply because I will not eat food offered without proper courtesy (lit. "how distressing (chüeh lai) food) that I have fallen into these dire straits." (Ch'ien Ao) followed after him begging his pardon, but he would not eat and in the end, died.

Whether or not the use of the expression chüeh lai here is a direct allusion to this Li Chi passage is a question, but the Li Chi usage at least makes it very clear that this expression is somewhat removed from the prescribed courteous modes of address.

7. Wang Hsien-ch'ien (CTCCV26p89) comments that the particle erh here is used as the pronoun jo ("you"). Prof. Graham (AM 8/2 (Sept. 1961), 155) points out that the Chuang Tzu is one of the few texts that regularly use the particle erh in this pronominal sense.

8. The character fan is used here as a loan for its cognate fan ("to return").

9. An amplification of this notion of "returning to the sublime" is provided in 44/17/51ff.:

Jo of the North Sea stated: "Cows and horses having four feet is called natural, while the bridling of a horse and the boring of the nose of a cow are called artificial. Therefore it is said that one should not destroy the natural with the artificial, one should not destroy the
destined with the intentioned, and one should not pursue reputation for gain. Cautiously retaining without losing—this is what is called returning to the sublime.

It is significant to note that the notion of "returning" is only valid at the level of the phenomenal world, and cannot be meaningfully applied to the level of the tao, since the level of tao precludes all change. It is in this knowledge that the two friends can identify life and death, discard grief and pleasure and can sit singing beside the corpse of their deceased companion.

10. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p45) comments that the Ts'ui Chuan text had tsu騷("alone") rather than yu騷("still")—this has probably arisen because of the graphic similarity of the two characters.

11. In 18/6/67 there is the phrase: "They are going to be on an equal footing with (wei jen為人) change." If we were to follow the Yu Hsing-wu (CTCCV30pp10-12) and the Wang Nien-sun (in Wu Jo-lun CTCCV26p48) interpretations of wei jen為人, this phrase would be rendered: "...while we still remain on an equal footing." See Text 20 note 5 below. This interpretation, however, would conflict with the mood set by the expression chüeh lai啾來("distressing"). It would seem that the author is accosting his reader's conventional prejudices here—where one would expect the two friends to be afflicted at the loss of their friend, they are contrarily afflicted by their own endurance!

This passage which is sung by the two companions is rhymed: the first two lines are a simple repetition, while
the second two lines rhyme \text{GSR375}^\text{ti}^\text{en}/\text{tsi}^\text{en}^\text{chun} and \text{GSR388}^\text{ni}^\text{en}/\text{ni}^\text{en}^\text{jen}.

12. The expression \text{lin shih}^\text{en}^\text{shi}^\text{en}^\text{h}^\text{en} ("wailing for the corpse") can have two interpretations:

1) it can be taken as "approaching, looking down on" the corpse.

2) when read as \text{lin}^\text{en}^\text{shi}^\text{en}^\text{h}, it can mean "ceremonial wailing" for the benefit of the corpse.

The sharpness of this passage lies in this contrast--where they should be wailing over the corpse, they are in fact singing!

13. Wang Shu-min (1/57b) notes several variants in the last portion of this section. The TPYL 571 has \text{tzu} \text{en} for \text{jen}^\text{en}^\text{sh}. The PTSC 106 has \text{ku} \text{en} for \text{shih}^\text{en}^\text{h}. The commentary on the \text{Wen Hsuan} SPTK 4/897 has the particle \text{hu} \text{en} after \text{wu} \text{en}, while the PTSC 106 and the PKLT 10 both have the particle \text{hu} \text{en}, and also have the particle \text{yeh} \text{en} after \text{i} \text{en}. The TPYL 571 erroneously quotes it with the particle \text{hu} \text{en} after \text{chih} \text{en}, and also has the particle \text{yeh} \text{en} after \text{e} \text{en}.

20. TEXT

Tzu Kung returned to relate his experience to Confucius. He said: "What manner of men are these! They do not pay any attention to the cultivation of conduct, and are unconcerned about their physical forms. In wailing for the corpse they sing, and their composure does not change. There is no name
for them! What manner of men are these?"

Confucius replied: "They are travellers in the realm beyond, whereas I am an itinerant of this world. The realm beyond and this world are not contiguous, and yet I sent you to go and console them! How narrow of me! They are going to be on an equal footing with change and ramble in the organic totality of the cosmos. They consider life to be an extraneous excrescence, a foreign growth, and consider death to be the lancing of an abscess, the bursting of an ulcer. Again, how can men like these pay any mind to the succession of life and death? They avail of different things and dwell in the same entity. Forgetting their liver and gall and dismissing their ears and eyes, they turn beginning and end upside down so that there can be not terminal or extremity. They soar, unconstrained, beyond the mundane world and wander freely in the activity of non-action. How then can they be expected, with great mental trepidation to themselves, to undertake the conventional observances of propriety to make a display of them to the eyes and ears of the common lot!

EXEGESIS

1. Ts'ui Chuan and Li I (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p45) state that ming (commonly rendered "fate") is being used as a loan character for ming ("name").

2. The character fang used in this sentence as "realm" is perhaps a good example of the semantic devilry with which Chuang Tzu
outrages his reader. Within the space of the following dozen lines of text (Harvard-Yenching text), he uses it twice more as "realm" (18/6/67--1st occurrence; 18/6/71), as "method" (18/6/72) and three times as "just, then (indicating future action)" (18/6/67; 18/6/78 twice). Whereas some of these occurrences leave little doubt as to which meaning of fang is implied, some are also rather enigmatic. Ssu-ma Piao (in Huang Shih CTCCV23pp50-1), for example, contends that this instance of fang means in fact "ordinary, commonplace (ch'ang 常)," and that the passage in its entirety means that these men journey their minds beyond commonplace teachings. Again, Ma Hsü-lun (p. 212) insists that fang here is a loan character for fa 法 ("method").

3. Wang Shu-min (1/57b-58a) notes that the commentary on the Wen Hsüan SPTK 47/897 cites this passage with the particle yeh 也 following the character ch'iu 初.

4. Ma Hsü-lun comments that GSR94 為/為 is used as a loan for its cognate and homophone GSR94 為/為.

5. There is some discussion among commentators as to the meaning of the expression wei jen 為人.

Yu Hsing-wu (CTCCV30pp10-12) suggests that this expression came into being through the following steps:

1) the two characters jen 人 (oracle bones: 亜; bronzes: 亜)
and shih (oracle bones: 鼎; bronzes: 鼎) were almost identical in the archaic script, and thus jen is a misreading of shih.

2) the character GSR561 sìr/sì/ shū is used as a loan for GSR551 dior/ i/ yi which not only constitutes a perfect rhyme, but further has an overlapping meaning in the sense of "being on an equal footing with."

Wang Nien-sun (in Wu Jo-lun CTCCV26p48) takes a different approach, but arrives at the same conclusion. First, the Cheng Hsüan commentary to the Chung Yung interprets the character jen 人 as "companion." Again, he cites the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 11/78a passage which parallels the expressions wei yu 為友 ("were friends with") and wei jen 為人 ("were on an equal footing with").

There are parallel usages of this expression wei jen in 20/7/9 and 40/14/81 in the Chuang Tzu, as well as Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 11/78a and 1/4b.

For a discussion of the term tsao wu che 創物者, see Text 16 note 4 above.

6. By "organic" here we mean the structural and constitutional totality—the i ch'i 一氣 ("organic totality") is at once the singleness and the totality of all existence.

There is an amplification of this expression i ch'i in the Chuang Tzu 58/22/12ff.: Therefore, the myriad things are in fact one. It is that which man considers beautiful that he takes as spiritual and exceptional, and that which he dislikes that he takes as putrid and rotten. But the putrid and rotten are again transformed into the spiritual
and exceptional, while the spiritual and exceptional are again transformed into the putrid and rotten. Thus it is said that one should only identify with the organic totality (i ch'i) of the cosmos.

7. The (T'ang) Yang Ching commentary to the Hsün Tzu 103/28/32 has yu 胞 for yu 疽, hsüan 瘡 for hsüan 瘡, and has the character 貌 GSR1000 b'c'wu/b'c'wu/fu in place of 貌 GSR136 b'c'wu/b'c'wu/fu. Yu 胞 is a simple variant of yu 疽 with the same pronunciation and meaning, and hsüan 瘡 is a popular form of its cognate and homophone hsüan 瘡.

Wang Shu-min (1/58a) observes that the TPYL 740 and the Chan Jan Fu Hsing Chi 2 湛然輔行記 also have hsüan 瘡 for hsüan 瘡. The character fu 貌 is both phonetically (T'ang pronunciation) and semantically close to the character fu 貌.

This phrase is repeated in 21/3/1.

8. This metaphor is somewhat ambiguous, and as a consequence, commenters have a tendency to misinterpret it. The point being made here is a repetition of the notion previously expressed in Text 4:

The Sublimated Man of antiquity did not know pleasure for life nor displeasure for death. (15/6/8)

From the wording of this passage, one may mistakenly infer that Chuang Tzu considered life a "bad", and considered death, in being a reprieve from this punishment, to be a "good". Contrarily, the analogy of life being a sore or excrescence makes the point that life is not to be coveted or desired. Death being analogous to the lancing of the sore
means that death is not to be feared or disliked. This interpretation is borne out by the sentence which follows this:

Again, how can men like these pay any mind to the succession of life and death?

Rather than accepting the conventional preference for life over death, Chuang Tzu chooses to equate the two:

Assuredly, any reasons that I have for approving of my life are the very reasons why I should approve of my death. (Text 9; 16/6/24)

Since the Sublimated Man is at one with the organic totality, all relative concepts are meaningless. He has repudiated all traces of a subjective identity, and has attained a level of mind which takes him beyond "change" of any description. He no longer owns an identity which is subject to life, death or the aberrations of time.

9. Wang Shu-min (1/58a) notes that the TPYL 740 has the final particle yeh (欺) following tsai (欺).

10. The "liver and gall" here represent the physical form and its functions, while "ears and eyes" are representative of sense perceptions. A repudiation of the physical and of the intellectual are necessary conditions for the experience of Sublime Knowledge—i.e. the experience of the tao.

The Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 7/46b has a related passage which states that "men like these rectify their liver and gall and dismiss their ears and eyes." Ma Hsü-lun (p. 213) suggests that the character cheng (欺) ("rectify") in the Huai Nan Tzu passage is an error for wang (欺) ("destroy"). He further suggests that wang (欺) ("forget") in this passage is also an
error for wang 亡 ("destroy"). The fact, however, that this passage is repeated verbatim in 50/19/66 and Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/11b would tend to support the wang 忘 ("forget") reading.

It is perhaps significant to note that in 50/19/66 in which this passage is repeated, we find similar phraseology used in a description of the Sublimated Man.

11. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p45) comments that the character ni 偎 ("extremity") also occurs as yai 涼, which has the same purport.

12. The Ts'ui Chuan text (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p45) had the variant feng kou 坟均 for ch'en kou 庵垢 ("mundane world"—literally, "dust and filth"). Feng 坟 is used interchangeably with feng 詠, which is defined in the Chi Yin 集韻 as ch'en 庵. The character kou 坟 is simply a variant form of kou 庵.

Wang Shu-min (1/58b) observes that the SWLC 51 has ai 埃 for kou 庵. Similarly phrased passages in Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/13a and 19/147a also have the character ai 埃, while the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 7/46b has kou 庵.

13. The related passage in 50/19/66, and those in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/13a and 7/46b all have wu shih 無事 ("uninhibited") rather than the wu wei 無為 ("non-action") here.

Wang Shu-min (1/58b) suggests that the CTYH 51 which quotes this passage with the character piao 表 in place of yeh 表 is in error.
Tzu Kung inquired: "If this is the case, then which of these realms are you aligned with?"

Confucius responded: "I am one of Heaven's casualties. Nonetheless, you and I should seek it (i.e. the realm beyond) together."

"May I inquire" said Tzu Kung, "about a method?"

"Fish flourish in water, while human beings flourish in the tao," said Confucius. "For those things which flourish in water, sink a pond for them and their nourishment will be sufficient. For those things which flourish in the tao, if they are uninhibited then their life will be stable. Therefore, it is said that fishes forget in the rivers and lakes and human beings forget in the concourse of the tao."

Tzu Kung asked: "May I enquire about these exceptional men?"

He replied: "These exceptional men are exceptional in terms of man, but are on a common plane with nature. Hence it is said that the mean man of nature is the superior man among men, while the superior man of nature is the mean man among men."

EXEGESIS

1. Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p154) inserts the two characters k'ung tzu ("Confucius") into the text on the basis of the Ku I Ts'ung Shu text.
2. In 38/14/54 the expression "Heaven's casualties" is repeated in reference to those people who are unable to extricate themselves from conventional values such as fame and fortune. In identifying himself as "one of Heaven's casualties," it would appear that Confucius is cognizant of his complicity in defining and perpetuating popular social values.

Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (CTCCV3p326) explains this reference by a passage in 13/5/29ff. in which Wu Chih (lit. "Without Feet") and Lao Tan are discussing the fact that Confucius is oblivious to the awareness of the Sublimated Man. Wu Chih finally concludes:

Since Heaven is punishing him, how can I liberate him?

3. There are several variant interpretations of this phrase. Kao T'ang (CTCCV23p61) suggests that although Confucius acknowledges that he is a true citizen of the mundane world, he does not want to conceal from Tzu Kung that understanding which he has acquired. Wu Shih-hsiang (CTCCV22p126) interprets this as meaning that Confucius would rather roam with Tzu Kung in the mundane realm, since this is in keeping with their natures. In our interpretation, we follow Shih Te-ming (p. 49) and Kuan Feng (p. 226) in taking "the realm beyond" as the antecedent of the pronoun chih 之. Tzu Kung's question following this statement--his inquiry about a method of attaining the sublimated level--lends credence to this interpretation.
4. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p45) comments that there are versions of the text (including Ts'ui Chuan) which have ti地(“the ground”) rather than ch'iih池(“a pond”). Ti is an obvious graphic error.

5. Ma Ch'i-ch'ang (2/24b) and Hu Yüan-chün (p. 59) suggest that sheng生(“life”) be read as hsing性(“nature”).

6. Yu Yüeh (p. 198) considers ting定(“stable”) to be an error for the graphically similar tsu足(“content”). This would make this sentence parallel in style to the one which precedes it.

Chang Mo-sheng (p. 184) would insert the 38 characters from Text 9 which read:

When a spring runs dry...and be transformed in the tao. (16/6/22-4)

following this sentence.

7. Most commentators interpret the expression hsiang wang相忘 as “forget each other.” We would suggest that hsiang相 as used here is “one-directional.” It should be remembered that the word wang忘(“forget”) has a special if not almost technical sense in the Chuang Tzu. It means not only “forgetting” as such, but further connotes a repudiation of the subjective self, and a rejection of all attachments which have been formed between the subjective self and the differentiated phenomenal world. Ultimately, it designates the experience of the cosmic totality when used in expressions like tso wang坐忘. It would seem
that the meaning implied in this passage is that the fishes
of the seas are able to achieve fulfilment only in an environ-
ment conducive to that natural chain of circumstances. Similarly,
man can only attain enlightenment in the experience of the tao.

8. If translated literally, the expression tao shu ("in
the concourse of the tao") should be rendered "on the roads
and concourses," standing parallel to the expression chiang hu
江湖 ("in the rivers and lakes") in the phrase which precedes
it. If translated literally, however, we lose the more subtle
and broader dimensions of the word tao.

This sentence is repeated in Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/11a, and
again in the Kao Yu commentary to Ld Shih Ch'un Ch'iu SPTK 2/13a.

Wang Shu-min (1/58b-59a) observes that the I Wen Lei Chü 21,
PKLT 10, Chuang Tzu I Lin and the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/11a have
the character yü in place of hu. The TPYL 60 has the
first hu as yü. The I Ch'ieh Ching Yin I 29 cites the
second wang hu as chih yü. The PKLT 10 also quotes
the second wang as chih yü.

9. The expression chi jen ("exceptional men") is remin-
iscent of Lao Tzu 20 in which he states:

I alone am different from others,
And value drinking of the mother's milk.

It is probably a reference back to Meng Tzu Fan and Tzu Ch'in
Chang who are contrasted with the chung jen ("common lot")
in Text 20 above.
10. We have altered this last sentence, which, if translated literally from the modern text, would read:

Hence it is said that the mean man of nature is the superior man among men, while the superior man among men is the mean man of nature.

As it stands, it is a simple repetition of the same thought. The fact that the Ch'eng Hsûan-ying commentary (CTCCV3p329) refers to Meng Tzu Fan and Tzu Ch'in Chang as being examples of "superior men of nature" would tend to indicate that his text originally contained this phrase. Wang Shu-min (1/59a) supports this amendment by citing the Tun Huang fragments of this text as having the amended version of this sentence:

"...while the superior man of nature is the mean man among men."

As Wang Hsien-ch'ien (CTCCV6p91) observes, the "superior man among men" is one who conducts himself according to an artificial code of social propriety (li), while the "superior man of nature" is one who rather conducts himself in complete harmony with his natural course of development, being ultimately aware of the common identity of all things in the tao.

22. TEXT

Yen Hui inquired of Confucius: "When Meng Sun-ts'ai's mother passed away, he wailed and wept without tears. In his heart he was not anxious, and in the mourning observances he was not grief-stricken. He was remissful in these three (aspects of the proper mourning observances) and yet he is considered to be a very able person in attending to mourning."
Now, the state of Lu certainly does have one who has acquired a reputation while being without the substance to justify it, doesn't it? I consider this very strange."

EXEGESIS

1. The following summary account is based primarily on the characterization of Yen Hui in the Shih Chi, which is derived almost entirely from the Lun Yu.

His ztu was Tzu Yulan, and he was a native of Lu. According to Ch'ien Mu's chronology in his Hsien Ch'in Chu Tzu Hsi Nien p. 67 and pp. 51-3, his dates were 521-481 B.C., dying in his 41st year. He was 30 years younger than Confucius. It would appear from existing accounts that Yen Hui was Confucius' favorite disciple, and the highest approbation comes from his mouth (Lun Yu 10/6/11):

Worthy indeed is Hui! Leading a simple life (lit. "eating one basket of rice and having one gourd of drink") and living in a lowly alley, others would be unable to endure his hardships, but Hui does not change his happy countenance.

Again, Confucius says (Lun Yu 12/7/11):

Employed we carry (our principles) into practice; spurned we store and preserve them (in ourselves)—it is only you (Yen Hui) and I who have this capacity!

When Yen Hui had reached 29 years old, his hair had become completely white. When he died prematurely, Confucius wept for him bitterly, saying:

From the time that I acquired Yen Hui, my followers have become increasingly close.
Duke Ai of Lu asked which of Confucius' disciples was fond of study. Confucius replied (Lun Yu 10/6/3):

There is Yen Hui who was fond of study. He would not transmit his anger to others nor repeat a mistake. Unfortunately, he was destined to die young. Now there is none.

The most telling passages regarding the intimate relationship between Confucius and Yen Hui are contained in the Lun Yu, and relate Confucius' reaction to the death of his closest student:

Yen Hui died, and the Master lamented: "Ah! Heaven would destroy me! Heaven would destroy me!" (20/11/9)

The Master said: "Hui looked on me as a father, but I was not able to look upon him as a son." (20/11/11)

Ch'ien Mu (p. 136) suggests that relative to the I Ching and the Chuang Tzu, Yen Hui was the Confucian representative portrayed as most akin in spirit to Taoist thought.

2. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p45) dates Meng Sun-ts'ai as later than the san huang, the three high ministers under Duke Huan of Lu. They were all sons of Duke Huan of Lu, and their eldest brother was Duke Chuang. These three high ministers were originally:

1) Chung Sun Shih (a clan-name established by Prince Ch'ing Fu).
2) Shu Sun Shih (a clan-name established by Prince Shu Ya).
3) Chi Sun Shih (a clan-name established by Prince Chi Yu).
The clan which was established as Chung Sun Shih was later changed to Meng Sun Shih. By the time of Duke Ai of Lu (r. 494-68), these clans had faded from sight. See the K'ung An-kuo commentary to the Lun Yu 33/16/3 in the Lun Yu SPTK 8/76a.

The Meng Sun-ts'ai referred to in this passage was probably a member of the Meng Sun Shih clan which flourished during the Ch'un Ch'iu period. According to Ts'ui Chuan (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p45), some texts have niu rather than ts'ai; this confusion probably arises from the graphic similarity between these two characters.

Yü Yueh (I: p. 8b) points out the Meng Sun-yang who appears as a disciple of Yang Chu in the "Yang Chu" chapter of Lieh Tzu SPTK 7/26a-b. He is not sure that this is the same person, and there is really nothing other than the clan-name and time-frame to connect them.

3. Three characters are used here to describe the sounds of grief: k'u means the loud, vocal wailing; ch'i means sobbing, shedding tears without making any sound; t'i means the shedding of tears. These terms overlap in meaning, and cannot be taken too strictly.

The gist of this sentence seems to be that Meng Sun-ts'ai went through the motions of grief, but did not shed any tears—i.e., his grief was insincere.
4. Ma Hsü-lun (1/59a) notes that the Ku I Ts'ung Shu text, the Tao Tsang edition of the Ch'u Po-hsiu text (470) and the Tao Tsang edition of the Wu Ch'eng text (497) all have ch'i for ch'i. Ch'i is being used as a loan for ch'i.

5. There is a parallel phrase to chü sang pu ai 居喪不哀 ("in the mourning observances he was not grief-stricken") which occurs in the Tso Chuan 334/31/4 (Legge: 563) as a criticism of Prince Ch'ou, a grand-nephew of the founder of the Chung Sun Shih clan, the name of which was changed to the Meng Sun Shih clan. From the wording of the Tso Chuan passage and the family connection, there seems little doubt that this anecdote in the Chuang Tzu is a reference to an occurrence of this period, although we do not have any details beyond the Chuang Tzu source.

6. Ma Hsü-lun (p. 216) notes that the Shih Te T'ang text is without the character ch'u 處 ("attending to"). The other early texts, however, all have this character.

7. There is some question as to how this sentence should be punctuated. Whereas the Kuo Hsiang, Lu Te-ming and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying texts all punctuate this sentence after the character sang 蔭 ("mourning"), Li Chen (in Wang Hsien-ch'ien CTCCV26p91) and Yen Fu (2/25a) punctuate this sentence after the character kuo 國("state"), including the three characters kai lu kuo 蓋魯國 as part of this sentence. According to
Li Chen's commentary, this sentence would be translated as "...and yet he is considered all over the state of Lu to be a very able person in attending to mourning."

Our primary objection to Li Chen's interpretation is that it requires a rather unusual while not altogether impossible rendering of the word kai as "cover over." This character is also used with a similar meaning in 20/7/14:

   Lao Tan said: "The accomplishments of the government of an enlightened king cover (kai) the whole world..."

Again, and perhaps more significantly, Li Chen's interpretation does not give full value to the word 有 ("have") in the second sentence, whereas the traditional interpretation provides it with a subject.

8. The word very is an emphatic marker in this sentence. Liu Peng-pao (CTCCV24p276) defines it as "truly"; Wang Yin-chih (in Ts'ao Shou-k'un CTCCV30p156) likens it to "very".

23. TEXT

Confucius replied: "Now, Meng Sun has wholly grasped it, going beyond (mere) knowledge. Where others would seek unsuccessfully to lessen their grief, he already has those aspects which he has moderated. Meng Sun does not know the reasons why there is life, nor the reasons why there is death; he does not know which precedes which. He complies with change in becoming one thing, only to await (future) changes..."
which he cannot foresee. Moreover, just as he is in a state of change, how can he know that he is not remaining the same! And just as he is continuing unchanged, how can he know that he is not already in a state of change! The trouble is that you and I have simply not yet begun to be aroused from the dream (of change). Further, there are the alterations associated with physical being, but they do not inhibit his mind; there is the grief associated with the lodging (of the body), but there is no real death. Meng Sun alone is awake, but others wail, so he also wails. This then is the reason why he is like this.

In addition to this, we cause each other to assume the 'I' designation, but how can I know that what I designate as 'I' is not in fact 'not-I'? Now, you dream that you are a bird and wing about in the heavens; you dream that you are a fish and dive to the depths. I do not know whether the person who presently relates this to me is in fact a waking or dreaming phenomenon! Doing what is appropriate cannot be compared with (real) laughter; contrived laughter cannot be compared with that which is open. According with that which is open while rejecting change, one can then enter into the placid Heavenly One.

EXEGESIS

1. There are almost as many explanations of this sentence as there are commentators--the fact is that at best it is enigmatic, and at worst it is corrupt, as might well be the case
with other portions of this section.

Yao Nai (in Yen Fu 2/25a) states that the ordinary man is bound up in the circumstances of life and death—this is what is meant by wanting to lessen the grief and pain, but being unsuccessful. They do not know that this has already been effected in the genuineness of our natures. That is, if we can extricate ourselves from our attachment to the notions of life and death, we will find that the awareness of the identity of life and death which arises from our original nature functions as a tonic in reducing the pain and grief of bereavement. Hsüan Ying (in Wang Hsien-ch'ien CTCCV26p91) offers a very similar interpretation.

2. Lin Yun-ming (CTCCV18p152), Hu Yüan-ch'un (p. 60), and Wen I-to (p. 269) change the two occurrences of chiu  (“to reach”) to the graphically similar shu (“which”). In both cases, the gist of the sentence is the same. Wen I-to correctly associates the idea presented here with the description of the two enlightened companions in Text 20 (18/6/68):

Again, how can men like these pay any mind to the succession of life and death?

3. Here we follow the Kuo Hsiang commentary in reading as a loan for shun (“to comply with”).

4. The obscurity of this sentence is borne out by the fact that the parallel passage in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 7/47a has been considerably revised:
As such, it might be looked upon as the earliest commentary on this rather difficult passage.

We reject a literal interpretation of the word hsiēh ("to alarm, to startle") in the *Chuang Tzu* text for several reasons:

1) The fact that there is some question about the appropriateness of this word is indicated by the Ts'ui Chuan (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p46) variant, hai("infant-like smile"), although this variant itself makes little sense. Again, the parallel passage in the *Huai Nan Tzu* has chieh ("to be prepared for"), with the variant ko ("to change"). Kao Yu interprets this passage as meaning that the human form (through change) approaches completion.

2) The character 改 GSR 936 kēj /kēi/-/kai/ constitutes a perfect rhyme with 菜 GSR937 gēg/yâi/-/hie. Again, the character 菜 GSR931 kek/-/ko constitutes a perfect rhyme with the Ts'ui Chuan variant 菜 GSR937 gēg/yâi/-/hai. The character 菜 GSR990 kej/-/kie belongs to the same *Shih Ching* rhyme category as these others, but it has a different tone. The phonetic relationship of these variants suggests a phonetic error in transmission.

3) The person being described here is representative of the state of sublimation, and it would thus be semantically incongruous to accept hsiēh in its literal sense as "to startle, to alarm." In the context of *Chuang Tzu*'s thought,
it would be impossible for this person to entertain "fear" or any other such emotion.

Yet another alternative suggested by P'an Chi-ch'ing (CTCCV12p393) and Lin Yün-ming (CTCCV18p153) is that the expression *hsieh hsing* refers to the physical appearance of a person in mourning—an unshaven, ungroomed and generally unkempt condition. We can find no independent textual support, however, for such an interpretation.

In accepting the hypothesis that *hsieh* should be interpreted as meaning "to change, to alter," we are supported by the commentaries of Lin Hsi-i (CTCCV7p293), Yang Shu-ta (CTCCV30p9) and Ts'ao Shou-k'ung (CTCCV30p156).

5. This sentence is again very obscure, but fortunately we have the *Huai Nan Tzu* SPTK 7/47a parallel passage which we can use as early commentary:

*Chuang*: 有年宅而無情死。

*Huai*: 有緯宅而無耗精。

In our interpretation of this sentence, we diverge from the traditional text in only one respect. We accept the variant *ta* ("grieved") for *tan* ("dawn");

1) The parallel passage in the *Huai Nan Tzu* has the character *cho* ("continue"). This character *cho* would appear to be a loan for its cognate and homophone *cho* ("grieved"). This character GSR295 tiwàt / tìnà / cho / not only constitutes a perfect rhyme with *ta* GSR149 tát / tà / ta, but is also synonymous with it.
2) This variant 转 occurs in the Li I text (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p46). The Ts'ui Chuan text has the variant 轉, which Lu Te-ming suggests is the same as 轉.

This amendment is advocated by Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p188) and Yü Hsing-wu (CTCCV30pp12-3).

Another plausible alternative is suggested by Chang Ping-lin (p. 19) who reads the character 轉 GSR149 轉/轉/轉 as a loan for 轉 GSR147 轉/轉/轉 (or shan), with which it constitutes a perfect rhyme. The character shan in meaning "to change, relinquish" would be parallel to hsiēh 轉 ("to change") in the preceding sentence. The Wang Mu-yeh (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p46) commentary also concurs with this interpretation, "to change."

With respect to the expression wu ch'ing szu 無情死 ("without any real death"), Yü Hsing-wu (CTCCV30pp12-3) presents a very attractive hypothesis. He suggests that we reverse the positions of the two characters ch'ing 情 and szu 死. This would:

1) make it parallel to the expression wu sun shin 無損心 ("do not inhibit his mind") in the preceding sentence.

2) make it parallel to the Huai Nan Tzu phrase wu hao ching 無耗精 ("without diminishing his essence"). If we reverse the two characters in the Chuang Tzu passage, then ssu 死 ("to die") corresponds to hao 耗 ("to diminish"), while ch'ing 情 ("proper nature") corresponds to its cognate ching 精 ("essence").

The reversal of these two characters is an attractive
amendment, but we cannot accept it because it demands that ssu 死 ("to die") be used as a transitive verb, and we cannot find any independent evidence for such usage.

We interpret ch'ing 情 as "really" here, in keeping with this reoccurring usage in this chapter (see Text 9 note 5 above).

6. According to Chang Mo-sheng (p. 188), this sentence should not be punctuated after chüeh 觉 ("awake, to feel"), but rather should read as one sentence: "Meng Sun alone feels that if others wail, he should also wail." We follow Su Yu (in Ch'ien Mu p. 58) who states that the first sentence ends with chüeh 觉 ("awake") and that "this means that while you and I (i.e. Confucius and Yen Hui) are both dreaming, Meng Sun alone is awake."

7. This passage presents some difficulty, and it is quite possible that it is corrupt. As it stands, we have basically four divergent interpretations:

1) Ma Ch'i-ch'ang (2/25b) accepts Yao Nai's suggestion that this passage of 14 characters stand as one uninterrupted sentence. He then points out that Wang Fu-chih (CTCCV19p174) interprets this as meaning that people identify with their own lives, and themselves designate it as "I". Ma Ch'i-ch'ang expands upon this, taking the two characters nai ch'ieh 乃且 as a loan for jeng ts'ō 菲ţ (lit. "wild herbs and hemp"), which he in turn equates with expressions like ts'ao chieh 草芥 ("trifles"). He observes that people have their "sublimated" or "true" selves, and in contrast have their physical form
which is nothing more than a "trifle" of which we make use.

2) In the Tao Tsang version of the Ch'eng Hsüan-ying text, the character nai 及 is written as i 宜. The Ku I Ts'ung Shu text also has this variant, as does the Kuo Hsiang commentary. Chang Mo-sheng (p. 189) would combine nai ch'ieh 及且 as i 宜, interpreting this sentence as "This is what he considers to be appropriate."

3) Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p189) interprets nai 及 as a graphic error for 及, which is equivalent to ku 姑 ("temporarily"). This passage means that Meng Sun was originally without the "I/others" distinction, but in order to comply with popular convention and avoid offending his society, he temporarily and expediently allows himself the "I/other" distinction in associating with others.

Wen I-to (p. 270) offers a similar yet expanded version:

This is his subjectifying that which is called his "I" in order to temporarily associate with other "I"'s.

Kuan Feng (pp. 232-3) is understandably critical of this interpretation, suggesting that both Chu Kuei-yao and Wen I-to leave us with incoherent emendations.

4) In our rendering of this sentence, we have followed many commentators, including Chang Ping-lin (pp. 19-20), Kuo Liang-han (CTCCV13p373), and Wu Jo-lun (CTCCV26p50) in treating the character nai 及 as jan 然 ("thus") or ju tz'u 且此 ("like this"), giving us: "This then is the reason why he is like this." The character nai 及 also has this same usage in 13/5/24.
Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p46) notes that the Ts'ui Chuan text had \textit{wu} for \textit{nai}，but this variant makes little sense.

8. This sentence appears to be corrupt. Commentators speculate on various methods of amending this passage to make it congruent with its context:

1) Chang Ping-lin (pp. 19-20) reads the character \textit{nglo/ngiowo/yi} as a loan for \textit{ngiowo/ngiow/yi} which in the modern vernacular is the homophone \textit{yi}，meaning "funeral dirges" or "burial songs." This alternative is rather difficult to reconcile with the context.

2) Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p154) follows Wang Mou-hung in omitting the two characters \textit{ch'ieh yeh} as erroneous interpolation. He then follows Hsi T'ung in reading \textit{ngho/nghuo/wu} as its cognate \textit{ngho/nghuo/wu} -- "to wake, awake." Hsi T'ung also suggests that the two characters \textit{fei meng} be inserted after the character \textit{chih} in order to complete the sense of this sentence. This would give us the reading:

\begin{quote}
This is simply rousing each other. But how do I know that what I call "awake" is not in fact dreaming?
\end{quote}

3) Chu Kuei-yao (CTCCV26p190) and Wang Shu-min (1/60a) suggest that the two characters \textit{fei wu} be inserted after \textit{chih}. This reconstructed text would translate:

\begin{quote}
How can I know that what I designate as "I" is in fact not "I"?
\end{quote}

This, however, would seem to make a point opposite to that which is intended here.
Wen I-to (p. 270) is aware of the inadequacy of the fei wu insertion advocated by Chu Kuei-yao and Wang Shu-min, and adds in 14 characters in an effort to make this semantically complete:

How can I know that what I designate as "I" is in fact "I"? And how can I know that what I designate as "I" is in fact not "I"?

As a middle road between the inadequate reconstruction of Chu Kuei-yao and Wang Shu-min on the one hand, and the too drastic emendation of Wen I-to on the other, we follow the sentence structure which occurs earlier in 6/2/66:

How can I know that what I designate as "knowing" is not in fact "not-knowing"?

in inserting the three characters fei pu wu 不,不. This would translate as:

How can I know that what I designate as "I" is not in fact "not-I" (i.e. something other than "I")?

This is also in keeping with the phraseology of the passage in 15/6/3:

How do we know that which we call "nature" is not in fact "man"...? (Text 2)

if we understand jen人 ("man") in the sense of pu t'ien 不天 ("not-nature").

9. Wu Shih-shang (CTCCV22pl27) and many other commentators suggest that the character 属 GSR340 [liad]/[lāi] - [li] (trans. as "wing about") be read as a loan for 属 GSR532 [liad]/[liei] - [li] which has at least some phonetic kinship, although they belong to different Shih Ching rhyme categories.
It is significant to note here that this Chuang Tzu passage is probably based on a parallel Shih Ching passage 60/239/3 in which the expression *li t'ien* 天 is used:

The kites fly about in the heavens; the fishes jump in the depths.

In addition to the Shih Ching source on which this Chuang Tzu passage is probably based, there is a parallel passage in Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 2/10b which in turn seems to have been based on the Chuang Tzu source:

Suppose for example that one dreamed he was a bird and flew about in the heavens, or dreamed he was a fish and dove to the depths. While dreaming, he would not be aware that it was a dream—only on awaking would this become apparent. Then having a great awakening from his present state, he would then become aware that this present state was in fact a great dream.

The parallel Huai Nan Tzu passage reiterates the same basic tenet contained in our Chuang Tzu text—we have no criteria for distinguishing between consciousness and dreaming which are beyond suspicion, since they are all relative to the condition of the determining mind.

10. This sentence is the subject of a great deal of controversy, and ultimately, any translation is only speculative.
In our interpretation, we follow Ch'en Ching-yüan (CTCCV5p55) in reading tsao告 as tso作 ("to do"). We accept Chu Kuei-yao's (CTCCV26p190) understanding of the expression pu chi不及 as similar to pu ju不如 ("cannot be compared with") on the basis of usage in the text (e.g. 1/1/10). We follow Wang Yüan-tse (CTCCV6p211) in interpreting hsien hsiao笑 as "laughing when one is not pleased," i.e. "contrived laughter." Again, we take p'ai排 to mean "open" as an extension of the meaning "to spread out," "to arrange," "to expose."

Assuming that this passage is a comment on Meng Sun-ts'ai, it portrays him as choosing the spontaneous over the conventional and the natural over the contrived. While on the level of the phenomenal world, he conforms to natural course of things, in his sublimated posture he is totally aware of the illusory nature of change.

Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p46) notes that the Ts'ui Chuan text differs radically from our popular version to the extent of being totally incoherent:

**Popular:**

造適不及笑、獻笑不及排。

安排而造化，及入於宣天一。

**Ts'ui:**

造適不及笑、獻笑不及排。安排而造化，及入於宣天一。

造適不及笑，獻笑不及排。安排而造化，及入於宣天一。 雄漂流，反

In that part of the Ts'ui text which parallels the popular version, the five variant characters would appear to be the result of graphic error, which might indicate copying
from an illegible text.

### POPULAR TS'UI

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11. This character **liào** ("placid") has the three-fold meaning of 1) empty—this level precludes division and hence contains nothing other than itself; 2) tranquil—in its oneness it allows of no relativities and thus, no change; and 3) vastness—in that it embraces all that is. This character is similarly used in the **Lao Tzu** 25 to describe the **tao**:

> Soundless, formless (**liào**),
> It stands solitary and does not change.

12. Wang Mou-hung (CTCCV20p15) suggests that this entire passage from "In addition to this..." on down is not only impenetrable as it stands, but further that it is not at all continuous with that which precedes it, and appears to be erroneous interpolation.

24. **TEXT**

I Erh Tzu¹ had an interview with Hsü Yu.² Hsü Yu stated:

"What did Yao³ impart to you?"
I Erh Tzu replied: "Yao told me that I must personally apply (the precepts of) benevolence and righteousness, and speak lucidly on (the principles of) right and wrong."

"Why then do you bother to come here?" 4 responded Hsû Yu. "Since Yao has already black-branded your face with his 'benevolence' and 'righteousness' and disfigured your face with 'right' and 'wrong,' 5 how then are you going to journey along a course of free and easy ambling, unconstrained freedom and aimless wandering?"

I Erh Tzu replied: "Even though you are right, I long to journey in its outer fringes." 6

"This cannot be!" Hsû Yu retorted, "Those who are sightless 7 are without the means to appreciate the fairness of facial features and complexion; those who are blind are without the means to appreciate the sight of colours and embroidery of ceremonial robes." 8

I Erh Tzu said: "Wu Chuang 9 losing her beauty, Chu Liang 10 losing his strength and Huang Ti 11 forgetting 12 his knowledge are all things which occurred in the process of kiln and sledgehammer. 13 How do you know that change will not remove my brand and remedy my disfigurement, restoring me to wholeness in order to follow you, Master?"

Hsû Yu exclaimed: "My goodness! 14 This is something we 15 cannot know. Let me give you a general sketch of this. My teacher! My teacher! 16 He harmonizes 17 the myriad things, yet he does not consider it righteous. 18 His favours reach ten thousand ages yet he does not consider it benevolent. He
covers a longer time-span than high antiquity yet he does not consider himself old. He envelops and carries the cosmos, and etches out and engraves the multifarious forms, and yet does not consider himself dexterous. This alone is where I would journey."

EXEGESIS

1. This is the only reference to this man, I Erh Tzu in the pre-Ch'in texts. Wang Mou-hung (CTCCV20p15) suggests that he is a fictitious person created by Chuang Tzu to fit a given role.

Homophonous to i erh is the expression i erh which means the "swallow" bird. This bird is mentioned in 53/20/58:

There is no bird which is more intelligent than the swallow (i erh). This bird is considered intelligent by Confucius because it is cautious, selective and yet not covetous. These qualities enable it to survive in the human environment, which is basically hostile to it. The same passage is quoted in the Sung encyclopaedic work, the P'i Ya 堤雅 as i erh rather than i erh 翔鴹.

The Hsüan Hsü Tzu (see Morohashi 4-10921-66 where he cites 虛子, 仙志. This is not, however, a reference to the Ming Chen Chi 鳴真集 (一卷) of Hsüan Hsü Tzu 虛子 contained in the Tao Tsang 787, nor is it a reference to Hsüan Ch'üan Tzu 金子 or Hsüan Chen Tzu 傳子. ) also connects these two names. Chou Mu Wang 周穆王 invited
I Erh Tzu would exact information from him about the ultimate tao. He then wanted to make him Grand Tutor (ssu tu司徒), but I Erh Tzu became anxiously displeased at this. He transformed himself into a dark bird and flew up into the clouds. Thus, later generations have called this bird the i erh 意而 bird (i.e. the swallow).

2. Hsü Yu is a popular figure in the pre-Ch'in philosophical texts, and anecdotes concerning him have particular currency in the Chuang Tzu. These passages are dominated by the theme of Yao relinquishing the throne and offering it to Hsü Yu.

In 2/1/22, Yao wants to cede the throne to Hsü Yu on the grounds that Yao is but a torch while Hsü Yu is the sun and the moon. Hsü Yu declines this offer because he feels that the rulership is something which is within the scope of Yao's nature while it is foreign to his own. There is a parallel passage to this in the Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu SPTK 22/163a, adding that after this encounter, Hsü Yu withdrew to the foot of Chi Mountain on the north side of the Ying River and took up farming as his livelihood. The Shih Chi SPTK PNP 61/6a identifies Chi Mountain as the probable site of Hsü Yu's grave.

In 29/12/20, Hsü Yu is identified specifically as the teacher of Yao. He is portrayed in 68/24/84 as fleeing from Yao because of the latter's insistence upon benevolence and
righteousness. Hsü Yu feels that these "virtues" are the scourge of the earth, and bring only destruction and degeneration in their wake. This again is the main theme of the 29/12/20 passage and the one with which we are concerned here.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien (Shih Chi SPTK PNF 61/6b) infers that the reason that Hsü Yu does not appear in any of the Confucian classics is because his character would illustrate and emphasize the faults of others. The 84/29/90 passage, however, suggests that the world praises Hsü Yu as a worthy, but this is not because of any altruistic attitude of self-sacrifice on his part. On the contrary, he declined the throne in his own best interests.

The Han Fei Tzu SPTK 8/39b adds yet another anecdote about Hsü Yu who took up residence with a commoner after fleeing from Yao. The commoner hides his leather cap, presumably fearing that Hsü Yu will make off with it. The point of this passage is to contrast the fact that while Hsü Yu has rejected the entire empire, the commoner, totally unable to appreciate the presence of greatness, is afraid of losing his cap.

The various aspects of Hsü Yu related in the passages above are collected in the Kao Shih Chuan SPTK 2b-3a account, and necessary details are filled in. Hsü Yu's tzu was Wu Chung 武仲. Yao heard of him, and ceded the empire to him. But he withdrew and fled to the Chung Yüeh 山 on the north side of the Ying River 獨水, and at the foot of the Chi Mountain, he hid himself.

Yao again summoned him to become Governor of the Nine
Regions, but Hsü Yu did not want to hear this, and washed his ears out on the bank of the Ying River. At that time there was one Ch'ao Fu who leading a calf wanted to water him there. He saw Hsü Yu washing out his ears, and asked him why he was doing this. Hsü Yu replied that Yao wants to summon him to become the Governor of the Nine Regions, and that he dislikes hearing these words. This then is the reason for the ear washing.

Ch'ao Fu comments that if Hsü Yu were to dwell on a high river bank or in a deep valley, the human path would not reach him, and who would be able to see him? He accuses Hsü Yu of roaming about wanting to hear such things in an effort to acquire fame and reputation, and as a consequence, effectively dirtying the mouth of his calf! He then leads his calf upstream and waters him there.

3. For Yao, see Text 9 note 14 above.

4. The character chih in this sentence is a final particle which is used with some frequency in the Shih Ching and Tso Chuan. It is used to conclude every line in the "Ta Chao" chapter of the Ch'u Tz'u. See Ed. Erkes, "The Ta-Chao: Text, Translation and Notes," Asia Major Intro. Vol. 1923:69nl.

5. The two punishments cited here are quite specific. Ch'ing, according to the Shuo Wen, refers to "a branding punishment on the face," while i means "to cut away the nose."
These punishments, as violations of the natural condition of the human form, are analogous to contrived moral principles and subjective value judgements, which are themselves violations of the natural condition of human society.

The Tao Tsang edition of the Wang Yulan-tse text has chüan ("stream") for jü ("disfigure your face"), which would appear to be in error.

6. The character 蕃 GSR195piwan/piwan/fan is used here in much the same way that the rhyme character 槛 GSR263biwan/biwan/fan is used in the similar passages in 9/4/29:

You can enter and journey within its outer fringes (fan), but do not be moved by reputation.

and in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 7/46b:

Wholly conscious of ultimate simplicity, he is non-active and restores pristine genuineness. He embodies the root and embraces the spiritual to journey in the outer fringes (fan) of the cosmos.

This character 蕃 GSR195piwan/piwan/fan also constitutes a perfect rhyme with the preceding 槛 GSR217/tien/jan.

Ts'ui Chuan (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p46) interprets this character 蕃 as 蕃域 ("region, realm"), but both the bulk of commentary and the independent textual evidence would support the "outer fringe" interpretation.

7. According to Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p46), one version of the text has miao ("weak-sighted") rather than mang ("sightless"). The Ts'ui Chuan text has mu, which is almost certainly a
corruption of miao 盲, or possibly mang 盲. Ts'ui Chuan further comments that there are texts which have hsing 刑 ("punishment"), but this is inconsistent with the context. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p8) observes that the Ts'ui Chuan, Hsiang Hsiu and Ssu-ma Piao texts all have a parallel phrase to this one in 2/1/31 which has the variant miao 盲 rather than mang 盲, and which is otherwise almost verbatim. This would lend support to the miao 盲 variant. Again, the TPYL 740 cites this passage with miao.

The Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 20/157a explains mang 盲 ("sightless") as the condition of one whose eyes retain their proper form, but who is unable to see with them. Again, SPTK 19/147a states that this word refers to one who is not able to distinguish night and day or differentiate white from black. This is to be distinguished from the word ku 盲 ("blind") in the next sentence which refers to definite and visible optic deformity.

The expression ching huang 青黄 (trans. "colours"—lit. "azure and yellow") represents all colours, just as the expression mei mu 眉目 (trans. "facial features"—lit. "eyebrows and eyes") refers to physical characteristics in general.

Fu fu 富纹 ("embroidery of ceremonial robes") refers specifically to the embroidery on the emperor's robes. The 富 is a design woven on the lower garment in the shape of an axe in black and white thread, while the 富纹 is a design woven in black and azure. That this 富纹 symbol had some significance as an amulet to ward off harm is suggested by
the cognates 愚蔽 ("exorcise, ablution") and 禮數 ("a sacrifice made to the gods of the road on going out"). For a more complete discussion, see B. Schindler, "The Development of the Chinese Conception of Supreme Beings," Asia Major Intro. Vol. 1923: p327n2; B. Karlgren, "Glosses on the Book of Documents," BMFEA 20:121-5.

9. There are basically three interpretations for this expression, 无莊:

1) it can be conceivably but not probably be interpreted literally, as Li I (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p47) does: "not wearing ornaments."

2) it can be interpreted as a person of antiquity named "Wu Chuang" about whom we know nothing at all. The use of this kind of fictitious name is very common in the Chuang Tzu text; e.g. Wu Wei 无為 59/22/57; Wu Tsu 无足 83/29/76; Wu Yu 无有 60/22/65; Wu Ming Jen 无名人 20/7/8-10; Wu Shih 无始 60/22/59-63. From context, it is usually inferred that she was a beauty of some reknown. This is the course of most commentators.

3) Ma Hst-lun (p. 221) suggests that this 无莊 may in fact be a misreading of the two characters 毛數. The character 无 GSR106 miwo/min/wu has the same initial and the same tone as the character 毛 GSR1137 mog/mâu/mao, while the character 數 GSR727 dijiang/diâng/tsiâng constitutes a perfect rhyme with its cognate 无 GSR727 tsiâng/chiang.
Again, Mao Ch'iang fits very well in this context, also being mentioned in 6/2/69 as a proverbially exquisite woman. Mao Ch'iang is usually coupled with Hsi Shih, and appears frequently throughout the early philosophical texts as a paragon of physical comeliness: e.g. Kuan Tzu SPTK 11/68b; Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 7/46b, 8/51b, 11/79b, 19/149b; Han Fei Tzu SPTK 19/100a.

Ssu-ma Piao (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p18) quotes one source as identifying Mao Ch'iang as a fine woman of the King of Yüeh's, but we have neither the source nor the origin. Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p62) cites Chu I-ch'in who links Mao Ch'iang with the Tso Chuan 311/26/6 passage:

In the beginning, the Grand Tutor Jui of Sung begot a daughter who was all red and hairy (mao 毛), so he abandoned her below a dyke. A concubine of Kung Chi's household found her and took her into the royal residences, calling her Ch'i." (Abandoned). When she came of age, she was beautiful. Duke P'ing (Kung Chi's son) paid a call to wish his mother good evening, and she had some food brought for him. The Duke saw Ch'i, and stared at her intently. His mother then introduced her into his royal harem where she became a favorite and bore him Tso (later to become Duke Yuan of Sung). There are three points which recommend the association of Mao Ch'iang with the Tso Chuan passage: 1) the "hairiness (mao 毛)" of the infant; 2) the fact that the baby is abandoned below a dyke (t'ī 堤), when variant forms of ch'iang 墻 are its homophones ch'iang 墻 ("wall"), and ch'iang 墻 ("wall"). Some versions of the Han Fei Tzu SPTK 19/100a text have ch'iang 墻 (and 墻), while the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 7/46b and 19/149b both have ch'iang 墻; and 3) the fact that the Tso Chuan girl is a striking beauty.
While it is difficult to prove conclusively that Wu Chuang is a misreading of Mao Ch'iang, this is certainly an attractive alternative to an otherwise obscure reference.

10. There are three interpretations for the expression chü liang 據梁:

1) it can conceivably but improbably be interpreted as "a person who relies on force." Li I (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p47) equates it to ch'iang liang 強梁 ("those who are violent") -- this expression occurs in the Lao Tzu 42:

Those who are violent (ch'iang liang che 強梁者) will not meet a natural death.

2) it can be interpreted as a person of antiquity named Chü Liang about whom we know nothing. From context, it is usually inferred that he was a man of some physical prowess. This is the choice of the majority of commentators.

3) Ma Hsd-lun (pp. 221-2) suggests that this chü liang 據梁 may be a misrendering of the two characters ch'i liang 杵梁. The character 杵 GSR953 K'i jì/k'ji:/k'i has the same initial (although asperated) and the same final as 據 GSR803 kiwg/kiwo-/kii.

Ch'i Liang (Ch'i Chih 杵殖) was a charioteer under Duke Chuang of Ch'i in the Ch'un Ch'iu period, and was killed in battle while fighting against Chü. According to the Shuo Ydan SPTK 4/17b-c account, his concern in going into battle was to serve righteously and attain fame. Ch'i Liang attracts the attention of Duke Chuang because of his aggressiveness and effectiveness while engaged in the fray,
and inspires the Duke to offer him a generous reward. He replies that to enter deep into the battle and slay many of the foe is the affair of a subject, and that the profits of Ch'i are of no concern to him. Returning to the quick of the battle, he succeeds in breaking the enemy's lines and shattering their formations. Retreating to their walled fortress, the men of Chă spread the ground with coals to retard Ch'i's advance. Crossing over the coals on armaments prostrated on the ground, Ch'i Liang makes his way into the Chă camp. He rejects Chă bribery with the words:

One who abandons his nation and goes over to the enemy is not a loyal subject; abandoning one's superiors and receiving bribes is not upright conduct. Moreover, having an appointed task when the cock crows but forgetting it in the mid-day is not integrity. Entering deep into battle and slaying many of the foe is the affair of a subject—the profits of Chă are of no concern to me.

Advancing into the fray, he (together with his partner in bravery, Hua Chou ) slay 27 more men before being dispatched themselves.

While Ch'i Liang becomes reknown for his bravery in battle, his wife, entirely without relatives other than her husband, outdoes him by becoming a paragon of marital devotion. After properly declining the Duke's personal condolences, she wails for her dead husband so long and so loud that she causes the corners of the city wall to collapse and the wall itself to crumble. For parallel accounts of Ch'i Liang's wife's reaction to his death, see the Tso Chuan 30/23/13 (Legge:499ff.); Li Chi SPTK 3/34a (Legge I:188); Meng Tzu 48/6B/6; Han Shih Wai Chuan SPTK
11. For Huang Ti see Text 12 note 17.

12. Ma Hsü-lun (p. 223) notes that the commentary to the Wen Hsüan SPTK 55/1016b cites this passage with wang ("to forget") for wang ("to destroy"). Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien (p. 120) suggests that the character wang ("to destroy") is being used here as a loan for wang ("to forget"), and in our translation we concur with this interpretation.

13. According to Ma Hsü-lun (p. 223), the Han Fen Lou and Shih Te T'ang texts have ch'ui ("to hammer, to beat"), while Wang Shu-min (1/60b) observes that the Tao Tsang texts of Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, Lin Hsi-i, Ch'u Po-hsiu, Ch'en Ching-yüan, the Chao Chien I and the Ku I Ts'ung Shu texts all have chui ("sledge-hammer"). Ma Hsü-lun also notes that the Ch'ung Te Shu Yüan text has the character ch'ui ("pot, jar") as yet another variant. Again, the Ts'ui Chuan commentary (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p47) has lu ("food vessel") for lu ("kiln").

The "kiln and sledge-hammer" here is a metaphor for the processes of change, the point being that just as these people were stripped of their conventional consequence through the processes of change, so it is possible that he may also undergo significant alterations in the course of time. From
the association of Wu Chuang's physical beauty and Chü Liang's physical strength with Huang Ti's knowledge, we can infer that these are all equally negative attributes of which they were divested in the process of change. Huang Ti's knowledge, perhaps the most difficult characteristic to reconcile with this interpretation, may be explained as a kindred notion to Lao Tzu 19:

Spurn sagacity and repudiate erudition (ch'í chīh),
And the benefit to the people will be a hundredfold...

From context we might infer that the three people mentioned here were at one point preoccupied with an aspect of themselves which was lauded by their respective societies. This is analogous to the brand of "benevolence and righteousness" and the disfigurement of "right and wrong" which have been inflicted on I Erh Tzu by Yao, and which are highly esteemed by conventional society. I Erh Tzu's point is that just as these three people—Wu Chuang, Chü Liang and Huang Ti—were extricated from the socially meritorious and yet personally inhibiting characteristics by change, so he too may be freed from the constraining values imparted to him by Yao.

14. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p47) points out that there is the variant i 意 for the expletive i 呸("my goodness!").

15. According to the Tun Huang fragments held at Paris University (Wang Chung-min, p. 79), the character i 意.
is replaced by erh 而 ("you"), giving us "This is something you cannot know." for this passage.

16. According to Wang Shu-min (1/61a), one text has the variant ye for hu as the final particle in the expression wu shih hu 吾師乎 ("my teacher!").

17. The ambiguity surrounding the word chi for 可 can be illustrated by looking at the discrepancy in the four most popular English translations of this passage:

   Giles (p. 88): "The Master I serve succours all things..."
   Legge (p. 256): "He gives to all things their blended qualities..."
   Fung (p. 127): "He tears all things to pieces..."
   Watson (p. 90): "...he passes judgement on the ten thousand things..."

   not to mention the graphic variants (Morohashi):

   |  |  |  |  |
   ---|---|---|---|
   43255 43253 43256 43256 |
   43249 43252 43248 43254 43247 |

   Yu Yueh (p. 198) takes other passages in the text which use chi to demonstrate that each of the three most popular renderings all have about equal credibility. These three renderings are 1) luan 亂 ("to set in disorder"); 2) tsa 雜 ("variegate"); and 3) ho 和 ("harmonize"). We have chosen the third alternative because the verbs in the sentences
which follow this one and which are parallel to it are all positive. This is again re-enforced by the contrast between the action represented by this verb, and the fact that contrary to expectation, it is not considered "righteous."

18. There is a parallel to this passage in 34/13/12, with the exception that instead of pu wei i 不為義 ("does not consider it righteous"), it has pu wei li 不為戾 ("does not consider it perverse"). Yang Shu-ta (CTCCV30p9), Ma Hst-lun (pp. 223-4), and Kuan Feng (p. 233n10) all alter the text and follow the pu wei li 不為戾 variant. We would, however, accept the text as it stands because it makes good sense without altering it, and the sentence which follows this one has the character jen 仁 ("benevolent") in the corresponding position to this character i 義 ("righteous"). To change this character to li 截 ("perverse") would effectively destroy the parallel structure of this passage.

19. As well as being repeated in a parallel passage in 34/13/12ff. (with shou 壽 ("long-lived") in place of lao 老 ("old")), this sentence also appears in 16/6/31 (Text 11) above.

20. Wang Shu-min (1/61b) observes that some texts have the graphic variant tiao 雕 for tiao 塞 -- these two forms are used interchangeably.
21. A second divergence in the parallel 34/13/12ff. passage occurs with the last sentence, which reads: "This is what is called Heavenly happiness!" It should also be noted that while the "Ta Tsung Shih" passage is attributed to Hsü Yu, the parallel "T'ien Tao" passage is spoken by Chuang Tzu himself. It would also appear that the changes in the "T'ien Tao" passage are the result of a conscious effort to clarify the "Ta Tsung Shih" original. For example, the change from 義 ("righteous") to 歪 ("perverse") would arise out of a differing interpretation of the character 勤 (trans. "harmonize").

25. TEXT

Yen Hui said: "I have made progress."
Confucius asked: "What do you mean?"
He replied: "I have forgotten the code of proprieties and music."  
"You are on the right track," said Confucius, "but you are still not there."

On another day, Yen Hui again had an interview, and said: "I have made progress."
Confucius asked: "What do you mean?"
He replied: "I have forgotten benevolence and righteousness."
"You are on the right track," said Confucius, "but you are still not there."

On another day, Yen Hui again had an interview, and said: "I have made progress."
Confucius asked: "What do you mean?"

He replied: "I have knelt and forgotten."

Confucius, noticeably flustered, inquired: "What do you mean by 'kneeling and forgetting'?"

"I have demolished my appendages and body, expurgated my perceptiveness and perspicacity, abandoned my physical form and repudiated wisdom to identify with the Great All." said Yen Hui. "This I call 'kneeling and forgetting.'"

Confucius said: "In identifying you are without predilection; in transforming you are without that which remains constant. You are indeed more worthy than I. I would ask to follow behind you."

EXEGESIS

1. For Yen Hui, see Text 22 note 1 above.

2. We have reversed the position of jen i 仁義("benevolence and righteousness") and li ydeh 禮樂("the code of proprieties and music") in accordance with the parallel passage in Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 12/88a-b (cf. Evan Morgan, Tao: The Great Luminant, pp. 128-9) and Taoist convention, not to mention the recommendation of Wang Shu-min (1/61b-62a), Ts'ao Shou-k'un (CTCCV30p159), Liu Wen-tien (CTCCV28p293) and Chang Mo-sheng (p. 195).

To illustrate the suggestion that, according to Taoist convention, the repudiation of benevolence and righteousness must follow the repudiation of the code of proprieties and music on the ladder of Taoist sublimation, there are the
following:

1) Lao Tzu 38 (repeated in Chuang Tzu 57/22/8):

Therefore, when we neglect the tao,
Then virtus arises;
When we neglect virtus,
Then benevolence arises;
When we neglect benevolence,
Then righteousness arises;
When we neglect righteousness,
Then the code of proprieties arises.
The code of proprieties
Marks a deficiency in loyalty and faithfulness,
And is the first step towards chaos.

2) Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 8/51b-52a:

Therefore, when virtus was in decline, benevolence was born. When conduct failed, righteousness was established. When harmony was lost, then notes were regulated. When propriety became licentiousness, then we came to adorn ourselves with ornamentations. Hence, if we attain spiritual perspicacity, we will then know that morality is not worth acting on. If we know morality, then we will know that benevolence and righteousness are not worth disseminating. If we know benevolence and righteousness, then we will know that the code of proprieties and music are not worth cultivating.

3. For the expression t'o jih它(他)日 ("on another day"), the Ts'ui Chuan text (in Lu Te-ming CTCCV2p47) has i jih異日 ("on a different day"). This is true of both occurrences of this expression in the passage.

4. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, in his Liang Jen Kung Hs'teh Shu Yen Chiang Chi I:20, claims that the binomial expression jen i 仁義 ("benevolence and righteousness") was initiated by Mencius, which, if true, might indicate a later date on this passage. Hu Shih (HJAS 2(1937):386) however, points out that these words are used together as early as the Tso Chuan 67/14/22/3; 107/14/14. Hu Shih, however, is being somewhat devious.
Since Liang Ch'i-ch'ao is referring to usage as a compound expression, the examples which Hu Shih offers from the Tso Chuan which are parallel rather than compound are hardly appropriate. Again, it might be mentioned that the compound expression jen i 仁義 occurs no less than 26 times in the Mo Tzu.

5. In the Jih Chih Lu by Ku Yen-wu, it comments on the word tso, saying that in this action of the ancients, in all cases they would touch the mat with both knees. If there was some object of veneration, they would draw themselves up and stand up, and then make a long bow. It would appear from this description that the tso action would be kneeling with the thighs resting of the calves rather than "sitting" on the buttocks. P'an Chi-ch'ing (CTCCV12p407) associates this with the Ch'an mien pi 面壁 (lit. "facing the wall") meditation posture. Again, from the below description of this state of abstraction, it would be very similar to the attainment of sang wo 夭 (3/2/3).

Maspero in Le Taoisme p. 142 and Les Religions Chinoises p. 54 speculates that this term tso wang 作 was not originally Taoist, but was rather a term taken from those who dabbled in witchcraft.

6. The parallel passage in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 12/88a-b has tsao jan 忍然 ("startled") in place of tsu jan 喘然 ("noticeably flustered").
7. Wang Shu-min (1/62a-b) notes that the Tao Tsang version of Ch'eng Hsüan-ying and the Ku I Ts'ung Shu text have the cognate hui 隕 ("destroy") for hui 堰 ("demolish"). The Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 6/43b and 12/88b, and the Wen Tzu SPPY 1/39b also have this variant, as do the Chuang Tzu I Lin (CTCCV5p7) and TPYL 490.

The Lu Tien 隕 們 commentary to the Ho Kuan Tzu SPTK 15/40b has the character ch'i 隕 其 following hui 堤 and ch'ü 隕 矗.

The Tao Tsang version of the Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, Ch'u Pohsiu, Lo Mien and Wu Ch'eng texts, and the Ku I Ts'ung Shu text all have the correct cognate chih 艀 ("appendage") for chih 橝 ("branch"). The Chuang Tzu I Lin (CTCCV5p7) and several of the later encyclopaedic works (see Wang Shu-min) also have this variant. Again, the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 12/88b has chih 橝 ("branch") as does the TPYL 490 and the Wen Hsüan commentary SPTK 13/257b.

The Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 6/43b has the cognate chu 雤 ("bend") as a loan for ch'ü 爨 ("expurgated").

Chang Mo-sheng (p. 195) suggests that the notion of "demolishing his appendages" is parallel to the description of the Sublimated Man having "a form like a withered tree (3/2/2; 55/21/25; 63/23/41)," while the notion of "expurgating his perceptiveness and perspicacity" corresponds to the description of "his mind is like dead ashes (3/2/2; 58/22/24; 63/23/41)--i.e. one action refers to the physical while the second refers to the intellectual aspect of the subjective individual."
8. For t'ung ("identify") the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 12/88b passage has tung ("to flow rapidly"), and for ta ("Great") it has hua ("transform"). Hsi T'ung (in Ts'ao Shou-k'un CTCCV30p159) thinks that ta is a misrendering of hua, since the sentence which follows would seem to restate the notions of t'ung ("identifying") and hua ("transforming"):

In identifying (t'ung) you are without predilection; in transforming (hua) you are without that which remains constant.

Although the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 12/88b passage has the expression hua t'ung , the related passage in 6/43b states:

Dissolve erudition and ability, cultivate the Ultimate Constant, demolish the appendages and body, and expurgate perceptiveness and perspicacity. The Great All (ta t'ung) is turbid and dark.

Again, the expression ta t'ung ("Great All") is repeated in 45/17/78, and seems to indicate the sublime level of having attained the tao.

Wang Shu-min (1/62b) observes that the Wen Hsüan commentary SPTK 13/257b and the TPYL 490 have ta tao ("Great tao") for ta t'ung ("Great All") (Wang Shu-min is in error here—the Wen Hsüan commentary has ta t'ung), and suggests that this is a graphic error.

9. Wang Shu-min (1/63a) notes that the YCCC 94 cites this passage with shih in place of tz'u. The Chuang Tzu I Lin (CTCCV5p7) has the character chih following wei.
10. The parallel passage in Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 12/88b has "tung 頭 ("to flow rapidly") for t'ung 丁 ("identify"), and has shan 嶂 ("to approve") in place of hao 息 ("predilection").

11. Most texts punctuate this as:

You are indeed a worthy person! I am one who would ask to follow behind you....

reading hu 跟 as an emphatic final particle rather than as a particle of comparison (like 理). Here we follow Wen I-to (p. 271). The corresponding passage in the Huai Nan Tzu SPTK 12/88b is somewhat altered:

You, Sir, are first to have become a worthy. I would ask to follow behind you.

The Tun Huang fragment retained at Paris University has omitted the particle yeh 亡 at the very end of this passage (Wang Chung-min, p. 79).

26. TEXT

Tzu Yu¹ and Tzu Sang² were friends.³ After it had poured⁴ for ten days, Tzu Yu thought: "Tzu Sang might be ill." He wrapped up some food and took it for him to eat. On arriving at Tzu Sang's gate, (he heard Tzu Sang) half-singing half-wailing, strumming on his zither and crowing:

"Was it my father or mother?
Was it nature or my fellow man?"

There was an inability to sustain his voice, and he hastened to chant his ode.
Tzu Yü entered and asked: "Why is the ode which you are chanting like this?"

He replied: "I was cogitating on what had pushed me to this extremity, but I could not resolve it. How could my mother and father wish such poverty on me? And the firmament envelops without personal considerations, as does the earth support. How could the cosmos take a personal interest in impoverishing me? Hence, my reaching this extremity must be my destiny.

EXEGESIS

1. See Text 15 note 2 above.

2. Tzu Sang 子桑 may well be an abbreviated form of Tzu Sang Hu whom we have encountered in 17/6/60 above (see Text 18 note 1).

Again, Tzu Sang is the zu of Kung Sun Chih of Ch'in 公孫枝 who served as minister to Duke Mu of Ch'in 秦穆公 during the Ch'un Ch'iu period. He offers counsel to Duke Mu on the stabilization of the state through moderation in Tso Chuan 102/15/14, and advises him to restore the defeated Duke Hui of Chin 晉惠公 in Tso Chuan 109/15/14 (Legge:168-9). As his descendants took Tzu Sang as their clan-name, this is possibly a reference to one of them.

3. Wang Shu-min (1/63b) notes that there are several encyclopaedic works which quote this passage with the character
Wei preceding 友 ("friends"). This would be grammatically more complete, as is evidenced by the fact that similar phrases in 17/6/47 and 18/6/62 also have wei in this one chapter alone.

4. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p47) comments that there is a version of this text which has the cognate lin ("to pour") for lin ("a long rain"). Wang Shu-min (l/63b) comments that the Tao Tsang version of the Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, Lin Hsi-i, Ch'u Po-hsiu, Lo Mien and Ch'en Ching-yüan texts, as well as the Chao Chien I and Tun Huang texts all have this lin variant.

5. We have followed Wen I-to (p. 271) in omitting the phrase:

   (I) have tried to search out its promoter but have been unsuccessful.

which seems to be Kuo Hsiang commentary erroneously interpolated into the original text. The Kuo Hsiang commentary (CTCCV1p163) states:

   This says that things are all spontaneous ("self-so"),
   and are without something which promotes them.

Its wording as well as its redundancy indicate that it is a later addition.
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APPENDIX I
An Introduction to Selected Commentaries

In this appendix we have included those commentaries quoted in the notes on the text, and have further included a few commentaries which might also be deemed important, but which are not available to us at the time of writing. The commentaries considered most noteworthy are discussed briefly and the most salient characteristics are remarked upon. Where we have a specific date as indicated by the preface, we provide it. In many cases, however, it is difficult if not impossible to ascertain the date of compilation. In these cases, we follow Yen Ling-feng's *Lao Lieh Chuang San Tzu Chih Chien Shu Mu* in taking the last year of the author's life as the latest possible date of composition. We indicate this by preceding the date with "before."

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<td>Chuang Tzu Hsin Shih</td>
<td>1971</td>
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<tr>
<td>張默生</td>
<td>莊子新釋</td>
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Comments:
---Taipei: Lo T'ien Ch'u Pan She, 1971
---text based on popular Kuo Hsiang ed., *nei p'ien only*
---contains 1) preface, 2) introduction to text, 3) introduction to study of *Chuang Tzu* in dialogue form, 4) introduction to biographical information and general survey of central concepts
---provides 1) general explanation of chapter immediately following chapter title, 2) sectioned text with Western
punctuation, 3) notes on difficult terms and passages,
4) free translation-interpretation

Chang Ping-lin (1868-1936) Chuang Tzu Chieh Ku 1909 1
(Chiang Lin 1936) 莊子解故
Comments:
--contained in the Chang Shih Ts'ung Shu
--provides commentary on selected problem passages,
relying on contemporary scholars such as Wang Nien-sun
王念孫, Tai Chen, Sun I-jang Sun 聖, and Yü
--at times, his interpretations tend to be rather forced,
unduly complex and very speculative
--see Hummel, p. 769

Ch'en Ch'i-t'ien Chuang Tzu Ch'ien Shuo 1971
(Ch'en Ching-yüan) 莊子淺談
Comments:
--Taipei: Chung Hua Shu Chi
--contains nei p'ien text only
--original and clearly expressed explanations of difficult
passages in footnote form
--appends a section in which he provides an explanation
for what he considers to be the 31 most difficult
passages in the wai- TSA chapters

Ch'en Ching-yüan Chuang Tzu Ch'ueh Wu before 1084 1
(T: 墨虚) 莊子關譯
Comments:
--CTCCV5: photolithographic copy of Tao Tsang text
--contained as an appendix to Chiao Hung's Chuang Tzu I
--provides commentary on what he considers to be corruptions
in the text, covering a total of 349 words
--based on a collation of nine texts, listed on p. 26
Ch'en Ching-yüan  (I) Nan Hua Chang  before 1084 14

Comments:
--CTCCV5: photolithographic copy of "Chih Hai" text of Ch'ien Hsi-tso printed during the tao kuang reign period (1821-50)
--divides the total 33 chapters into 255 sections, assigning them appropriate titles
--lists individual words, expressions and phrases, and provides pronunciation gloss and definitions, occasionally referring to parallel passages in other texts (similar format to Lu Te-ming's Shih Wen)

Ch'en Shen  Chuang Tzu P'in Chieh  1591

Comments:
--CTCCV7: photolithographic copy of 1591 text
--contained as the second chuan in his Chu Tzu P'in Chieh (1591)
--contains 29 chapters, omitting "Jang Wang," "Tao Chih," "Shuo Chien," and "Yü Fu"
--punctuated text with emphasis marks, chapters divided into sections
--his own contribution is contained in brief topical notes in the top margin of the page, miscellaneous notes beside important passages, and commentary following after the text
--cites other commentaries quite extensively (esp. Lin Hsi-i), but fails to acknowledge his debt specifically on many occasions

Ch'eng Chao-hsiung  Chuang Tzu Chiang I  1961

Comments:
--Hong Kong, Teng Ching Po School
--contains nei chapters only, with Western punctuation
--concentrates on philosophical content, not concerning himself with textual problems
--does not cite other commentators, but relies on his own insights

Ch'eng Hsüan-yüng  Nan Hua Chen Ching Chu  before 10
Comments:
--CTCCV3-4: photolithographic copy of Ku I Ts'ung Shu
--based on the Kuo Hsiang commentary, and tends to be a simple amplification of his ideas using the same phraseology
--occasionally uses basic Buddhist terms and Occultist ideas

Chia Shan-hsiang  Nan Hua Chen Ching Chih  1086  1
Comments:
--CTCCV5: photolithographic copy of Tao Tsang text
--pronunciation gloss on difficult words; no explanation of meanings
--table of contents covers 33 chapters, but extant version concludes after Chapter 14--the remaining 19 chapters have been lost

Chiao Hung (1541-1620)  Chuang Tzu I  1588  8
Comments:
--follows his Lao Tzu I format
--relies quite heavily on Ch'ü Po-hsiu's Nan Hua Chen Ching I Hai Tsuan Wei (1268) and Fang Yang's Chuang I Yao Shan (before 1581) in selecting commentary
--appends Ch'en Ching-yüan's Chuang Tzu Ch'üeh Wu and a "Miscellaneous Discussions" section
--unpunctuated text and commentary
--commentary contains selections from 48 different commentators, as well as Chiao Hung's own insights under the heading pi ch'eng 笔乘 which are at times both original and instructive

--as compared with the Nan Hua Chen Ching I Hai Tsuan Wei (1268) anthology by Ch'u Po-hsiu, it contains 1) a more comprehensive list of commentators for the same period, 2) a broader base of commentaries, and yet a more selective and discriminating use of them, and certainly ranks as one of the most important commentaries of the Sung-Ming era

--see Hummel, pp. 145-6

Ch'ien Mu 錢穆
Chuang Tzu Tsuan Chien 庄子纂纂
1951

Comments:
--contains a briefly annotated bibliography at the beginning
--critical selection of commentary from as early as Kuo Hsiang and as late as the Republican period, representing a very wide basis of information
--criticizes what he considers to be unwarrented textual complication, not being overly sympathetic to the Ch'ing contributions in the areas of textual criticism

Chou Kung-ch'en 周拱辰 (T.孟侯)
Nan Hua Chen Ching Ying 南華真經影史
1757 9

Comments:
--CTCCV22: photolithographic copy of 1847 ed.
--contains the seven nei chapters plus "Ch'iu Shui" and "Chih Lo"
--relies quite heavily on T'an Yüan-ch'un's P'ing Yüeh Chuang Tzu (1635) 评閱莊子
--punctuated text with emphasis marks
--chapters divided into sections with commentary following each section; brief and occasional annotation in top margin; appends a brief chapter summary at the end of each chapter

--in his introduction he quotes Chu Hsi who says of Chuang Tzu that he was very close to Ch'an Buddhism in his ideas; often interprets text in Buddhist terms

Chu Kuei-yao

Comments:
--CTCCV26: photolithographic copy of 1935 ed.
--selects the important and often enigmatic phrases and supplies detailed commentary on them, inclining towards textual criticism
--very solid and well-documented explanations, frequently using parallel phrases in other early texts
--perhaps at times a little over-zealous, but definitely one of the most worthwhile contributions of its kind

Ch'u Po-hsiu

Comments:
--contained in Tao Tsang 467-487 ts'ê
--selected anthology of earlier commentary, including as most important Kuo Hsiang, Lü Hui-ch'ing, Ch'en Ching-yüan, Wang Yüan-tse, Lin Hsi-i and Fan Ying-yüan, as well as his own ideas under the heading of kuan chien
--uses Lu Te-ming and Wen Ju-hai for textual problems
--primarily relies on Taoist thought to explain the philosophy

Ch'ü Fu

Comments:
—CTCCV21: photolithographic copy of 1836 ed.
contains phrase by phrase commentary, and at the end
of each section has a summary, concluding with a brief
synopsis of the chapter
—covers only the nei chapters, unpunctuated text
—interprets Chuang Tzu according to the Confucian
classics and the tenets of the Neo-Confucian Ch'eng-
Chu School, identifying concepts like hsin 心, hsing 性,
and tao 道 as one reality
—relies also on Kuo Hsiang
—uses Chuang Tzu to criticize the Occultist and Buddhist
traditions

Fang I-chih (1611-71) Yao Ti Pao Chuang c. 1644
方以智 (T. 密之) 藥地包莊

Comments:
--CTCCV17: photolithographic copy of 1932 ed.
--selected commentaries, relying primarily on the Chiao
Hung and Ch' u Po-hsiu anthologies
--Yen Ling-feng (Bibliography p. 139) suggests that it
was completed in the last years of the Ming or early
Ch'ing (about 1644) since the commentaries cited are
primarily late Ming
--punctuated text with occasional pronunciation gloss
--occasionally uses Buddhist notions to illustrate
Chuang Tzu's thought (Fang I-chih became a Buddhist
monk following the fall of Ming)
--see Hummel, pp. 232-3

Ho Ching-ch'üan Chuang Tzu I Shih 1971
何敬羣 荘子義繹

Comments:
--Taipei: Cheng Sheng Shu Chü
--focuses on interpretation of philosophical content
rather than textual problems, covering the entire text
--section by section, discussion, no text
--originally published in Jen Sheng Tsa Chih, Hong Kong

Hsi T'ung  
Comments: 
--not available

Chuang Tzu Pu Chu 
1916 4

Hsiang Hsiu (ca. 221-
ca. 300)  
Comments: 
--no longer extant except as fragments in other texts 
--according to Lu Te-ming's Shih Wen, it covered 26 chapters (one version says 27, another says 28)--the full text was probably 28 chapters, but those who say 27 do not count the preface, and those who say 26 do not count the two unfinished chapters, "Ch'iu Shui" and "Chih Lo"
--preserved only as fragments contained primarily in the Ching Tien Shih Wen and the Chang Chan commentary to the Lieh Tzu
--the (Liang) Liu Hsiao-piao commentary to the Shih Shuo Hsin Yu SPTK /34b suggests that Hsiang Hsiu did not in fact write an independent commentary, but rather revised the Ts'ui Chuan notes. Chiang Poch'ien in his Chu Tzu T'ung K'ao p. 402 suggests that perhaps it was because the Hsiang commentary was an amplification of the Ts'ui Chuan text and superceded it that the Ts'ui Chuan commentary subsequently fell out of sight and was lost
--Hsiang Hsiu's biography is contained in the Chin Shu 49

Hsiao Ch'un-po  
Comments: 
--Taipei: Shang Wu Yin Shu Kuan 
--divides nei chapters and the "T'ien Hsia" chapter into
sections, providing brief textual notes (usually based on traditional commentaries) and an independent and original analysis of each section

--occasionally compares the ideas contained in the *Chuang Tzu* with Buddhist concepts.

### Hstl T'ing-huai

**Nan Hua Chien Ch'ao**

1741 4

**Comments:**

--CTCCV20: photolithographic copy of 1741 ed.
--covers 29 chapters, omitting "Jang Wang," "Tao Chih," "Shuo Chien" and "Yü Fu", dividing them into sections and punctuating them (also with emphasis marks)
--frequently cites Ch' u Po-hsiu's *Nan Hua Chen Ching I Hai Tsuan Wei* (1268), Li T'eng-fang's *Shuo Chuang* (ca. 1600) 謂莊, and Chiang Chin-shih's *Chuang Tzu O Shuo* (before 1741) 草子關說, and occasionally other commentaries
--very limited commentary in terms of quantity, but often contains original insights
--appends a section on a reconstruction of lost passages as found in encyclopaedic works and early commentaries

### Hstlan Ying

**Nan Hua Ching Chieh**

1721 25

**Comments:**

--punctuated text, placing "Jang Wang," "Tao Chih;" "Shuo Chien" and "Yü Fu" at the end of the text without commentary
--rejects the method of extracting a meaning on the basis of the reconstruction of individual words or phrases, advocating an overall approach which focuses on philosophical content
Hu Wen-ying  
胡文英 (T.繆嵐)  
Chuang Tzu Tu Chien  
莊子獨見  

Comments:  
---CTCCV21: photolithographic copy of 1751 ed.  
---contains 1) preface, 2) introduction, 3) an appendix on "A Summary of Chuang Tzu" in 10 articles, 4) "A Standard for Reading the Chuang Tzu"  
---discusses Chuang Tzu primarily in terms of use of words, grammar, sentence construction, with rather superficial semantic commentary  
---provides 1) topical notes in top margin, 2) phrase by phrase commentary, 3) section by section discussion, 4) chapter summary

Hu Yüan-ch'un  
胡遠濤  
Chuang Tzu Ch'üan Ku  
莊子詮詁  

Comments:  
---Taipei: Shang Wu Yin Shu Kuan, 1931 (rep. 1967).  
---punctuates text  
---follows the Kuo Hsiang text, selecting the comments and criticisms of various commentators and appending his own insights

Huang Shih  
黃爽 (T.右原)  
Ssu-ma Piao Chuang Tzu Chu  
司馬彪莊子注  
before 1  
1850

Comments:  
---CTCCV23: photolithographic copy of 1934 ed.  
---a collation of existing fragments of the Ssu-ma Piao commentary  
---after Lu Te-ming in his Ching Tien Shih Wen quoted extensively from Ssu-ma Piao's commentary, the commentary was lost except for fragments contained in various encyclopaedic works and other commentaries. Sun Feng-i attempted to establish a second source for this commentary, and so without relying on Lu Te-ming's fragments, he collected and collated the Ssu-ma Piao commentary from other sources, including the Wen Hsun commen-
The preface to his compilation dates it as 1799. In 1834, Mao P'an-lin compiled his *Chuang Tzu Ssu-ma Piao Chu*, combining Sun Feng-i's contribution, the *Shih Wen* passages and other additional sources, being more comprehensive than its predecessor. The text of Huang Shih is almost exactly the same as Mao P'an-lin.

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<td>1788</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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</table>
| | | | Comments:  
| | | --CTCCV23: photolithographic copies of 1788 and 1884 ed.  
| | | --contains punctuated text of selected passages from 15 chapters  
| | | --only very superficial commentary |
| Juan Yü-sung (b. 1870) | *Chuang Tzu Chi Chu* | 1928 | 5 |
| | | | Comments:  
| | | --not available |
| Kao Heng | *Chuang Tzu Chin Chien* | 1932 | 1 |
| | | | Comments:  
| | | --based on the Shih Te T'ang text  
| | | --contains only difficult passages, which he analyzes in depth |
| Kao T'ang | *Chuang Tzu Chi P'ing* | 1788 | 1 |
| | | | Comments:  
| | | --CTCCV23: photolithographic copy of 1788 ed.  
| | | --contained in Kuei Yü Ch'ao 歸餘釁  
| | | --contains selected passages from 26 chapters, omitting
10, 15, 16, 18, 30, 31, and 33.
--punctuated text with emphasis marks, providing 1) phrase by phrase commentary, 2) top margin commentary, 3) passage summary
--contains many original insights

Kuan Feng

Chuang Tzu Nei P'ien

I Chieh Ho P'i P'an

Comments:
--Peking: Chung Hua Shu Ch'ü, 1961.
--contains 1) a critical discussion of Chuang Tzu's thought, 2) a text with Western punctuation divided into sections, 3) a section by section pai hua translation of the text, 4) notes on textual variants, 5) a section by section analysis of these chapters
--appends various essays, including "Regarding the Theory that 'Jen Chien Shih' is not by Chuang Tzu" and "A Preliminary Enquiry into the wai-tsa Chapters of the Chuang Tzu."
--also appends a year by year chronology of the events which were occurring during Chuang Tzu's lifetime
--provides an annotated bibliography

Kuo Hsiang (d. 312)

Chuang Tzu Chu

before 312

Comments:
--CTCCVI: photolithographic copies of the (Sung) Ho Pi Lei Shih text and the Chung Li Ssu Tzu text of Chu Tungkuang (1579)
--the bibliography of the Sui Shu records this commentary as 30 chüan with 1 chüan table of contents; the two bibliographies of the Chiu T'ang Shu and Hsin T'ang Shu record it as 10 chüan
--takes the notion of tzu jan 自然 ("self-so") to be the central theme of the Chuang Tzu, giving little if any weight to any anthropomorphic elements in the text
--Chiang Po-ch'ien (p. 402) suggests that the seven passages of commentary on the "Jang Wang (3);" "Tao Chih (3)," "Yü Fu (1)" and "Shuo Chien (0)" chapters are significantly different from the commentary on other chapters, and that it is quite possible that these seven passages represent a later restoration of lost commentary.

—the true relationship between the Kuo Hsiang and Hsiang Hsiu commentaries is somewhat of an enigma. There are basically two schools of thought:

1) the traditional opinion is that Kuo Hsiang is based on Hsiang Hsiu, augmented again by Ssu-ma Piao. Only the order of the chapters, and some wording in Kuo Hsiang is at variance with the Hsiang Hsiu source. Again, Kuo Hsiang is responsible for commentary on places omitted by Hsiang Hsiu. This reflects the account contained in the Shih Shuo Hsin Yu SPTK J: /34b (cf. R. Mather, JAOS 84 (1964):357) which claims that Kuo Hsiang plagiarized the Hsiang Hsiu commentary with the exception of the "Ch'iu Shui" and "Chih Lo" chapters which he wrote himself, and the "Ma T'i" chapter which he altered. Kuo Hsiang's biography in the Chin Shu SPTK PNP 50/5a-b repeats this account, and it subsequently became the accepted tradition.

In reference to the Hsiang Hsiu commentary, the Ssu K'ü T'i Yao 3039-40 states that a comparison with the Kuo Hsiang would show that they are more or less the same.

2) from the Ch'ing on, various scholars have pointed out inconsistencies in the traditional "Kuo plagiarized Hsiang" explanation:

   a) the Hsiang Hsiu commentary is cited in the Chang Chan commentary to the Lieh Tzu, and is very different from the Kuo Hsiang
   b) the idea that Kuo Hsiang only wrote commentary on three chapters is disproved by the fact that Chang Chan in quoting Kuo Hsiang refers to other chapters as well
   c) according to the Shih Wen preface, Hsiang Hsiu had
26 chapters with no tsa p'ien. Kuo Hsiang has 33 chapters with 11 tsa p'ien.

d) if Kuo Hsiang only wrote two chapters (and revised one), and Hsiang Hsiu contained at most 28 chapters, there is an obvious discrepancy with the 33 chapters presently extant.

Kuo Liang-han

郭良翰

Nan Hua Ching Hui Chieh

南華經會解

Comments:

--CTCCV13-4: photolithographic copy of 1626 ed.

--an anthology of selected commentary by Lu Hui-ch'ing, Ch'en Ching-yuan, Chao I-fu 趙以夫, Fan Ying-yuan 范應元, Ch'u Po-hsiu, Li T'eng-fang 李騰芳, Chiao Hung, Lu Ch'ang-keng and other Sung-Ming commentators (20 in total), as well as his own independent insights

--for the most part follows Ch'u Po-hsiu in his choice of commentary

--text is punctuated, but notes are not

--divides chapters into sections with marginal notes giving the main purport of the passage

--brief pronunciation gloss follows text in bottom margin

--at the end of each section appends his own commentary followed by what he considers to be the most appropriate remarks of earlier commentators

Li I

李頤 (T. 景真)

Chuang Tzu Chi Chu

莊子集注

Comments:

--no longer extant as an independent text, occasionally cited in Lu Te-ming's Shih Wen

--generally follows a tzu jan 自然("self-so") interpretation
Lin Hsi-i  Chuang Tzu K'ou I  1260  32

Comments:
--CTCCV7-8: photolithographic copy of Tao Tsang ed.
--unpunctuated text and commentary
--passage by passage commentary, but in great detail (i.e. word by word), especially the nei p'ien
--uses Buddhist and Confucian ideas to illustrate his interpretations at times
--frequently points out what he considers to be inconsistencies in the style, but does not volunteer any modifications
--predominantly Confucian in his interpretations
--divided into 32 chüan, considering "Ch'i Wu Lun" and "Ta Tsung Shih" as each being two chüan, and combining "P'ien Mu" and "Wa T'i," "K'o I" and "Shan Hsing," "Tao Chih" and "Shuo Chien," and "Yü Fu" and "Lieh Yü K'ou" each as one chüan
--appends a pronunciation gloss
--does not cite other commentaries, but is wholly original

Lin Shu (1852-1924)  Chuang Tzu Ch'ien Shuo  1922  4

Comments:
--CTCCV27: photolithographic copy of original (Shanghai) Shang Wu Yin Shu Kuan ed.
--punctuated text covering only nei p'ien
--divides text into sections, providing word by word analysis and then a substantial section summary
--very little that is original, following the traditional commentaries rather faithfully, but presented in clear language

Lin Yün-ming  Chuang Tzu Yin  1663  6

Comments:
--CTCCV18: photolithographic copy of edition printed
during ch'ien lung reign era (1736-95)
--contains 29 chapters, omitting "Jang Wang," "Tao Chih," "Shuo Chien" and "Yu Fu"
--contains an introduction, a "Collected Discussion (tsung lun 總論)" and "Miscellaneous Discussions" in 26 articles (tsa shuo 雜說)
--text and commentary punctuated
--phrase by phrase commentary; margin pronunciation gloss
--literary interpretation of text with occasional references to Buddhist and Confucian ideas
--does not cite other commentators, wholly original except for textual notes
--chapter summary

Liu Feng-pao 劉鳳苞
Nan Hua Hsüeh Hsin Pien 南華學心編

Comments:
--CTCCV24-5: photolithographic copy of 1897 ed.
--alters the order of the text by placing "Jang Wang," "Tao Chih," "Shuo Chien" and "Yu Fu" after "T'ien Hsia"
--contains 1) top margin commentary, 2) phrase by phrase commentary, and 3) summary following each section
--relies quite heavily on Hsüan Ying and on the Neo-Confucian commentators
--punctuated text and commentary

Liu Shih-p'ei (1884-1919) 劉師培
Chuang Tzu Chiao Pu 莊子斠補

Comments:
--contained as the 26th ts' e of the Liu Shen Shu Hsien Sheng I Shu 劉申叔先生箋書 (pub. 1914)
--selects problem passages and provides original insights; although dealing with only a very small amount of the text, his commentary is usually very sound
--see Hummel, p. 536
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
CTCCV28: contained as the second chüan of San Yu Cha Chi  
Critical analysis of 31 of the most important passages providing his own original insights |
Contains the Kuo Hsiang, Ch'eng Hsüan-ying and Lu Te-ming commentaries, as well as selected commentary from various other texts  
Punctuated text and commentary  
Has a 1939 commentary by Ch'en Yin-k'o  
Comments:  
Critical analysis of 31 of the most important passages providing his own original insights |
| Lu Ch'ang-keng                | Nan Hua Chen Ching P'i Mo    | 1578 | CTCCV28-9: Photolithographic copy of 1939 ed.  
Contains the Fang Hu Wai Shih Ts'ung Shu  
Comments:  
Critical analysis of 31 of the most important passages providing his own original insights |
| Lu Te-ming                    | Chuang Tzu Yin I             | before 636 | CTCCV2: photolithographic copies of the Pao Ching T'ang Ts'ung Shu ed. of Lu Wen-ch'ao  
Contains as 26-28 chüan of his Ching Tien Shih Wen  
Comments:  
Critical analysis of 31 of the most important passages providing his own original insights |
the edition which is popular today is the 1005 revised edition, which differs from the Tun Huang fragments
--quotes many earlier commentaries such as Ts'ui Chuan, Hsiang Hsiu, Ssu-ma Piao, Li I
--primarily a pronunciation gloss and textual variants, occasionally providing interpretations of difficult words and phrases
--this was the first time that the Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu were associated with the Confucian texts as ching tien 经典 ("classics") (Kuan Feng, p. 375)

Lu Wen-ch'ao (1717-96) Chuang Tzu Yin I K'ao Cheng 1791 3

Comments:
--CTCCV23: photolithographic copy of 1791 ed.
--gloss of textual variants and pronunciation compiled as a supplement to Lu Te-ming's Shih Wen, and contained in the Ching Tien Shih Wen Pu Pien 经典释文补编

Lü Hui-ch'ing  茅惠卿 (T. 吉甫) Chuang Tzu I 1084 10

Comments:
--CTCCV5: photolithographic copy of 1934 ed. edited by Ch'en Jen-chung
--the Asian Museum in the U.S.S.R. has a corrupt Sung edition which contains some commentary on "Te Ch'ung Fu," "Ta Tsung Shih," "P'ien Mu," "Ma T'i," "Ch'ü Ch'ieh," "Tsai Yü," "T'ien Ti," "T'ien Tao" and "T'ien Yün" chapters (total of 55 pages)
--prefaces by Huang Fu 黄鄂 (1934), Li I-che 李翊灼 (1933), and Ch'en Jen-chung 陈任中 (1933), as well as a postface by Ch'en Jen-chung commenting on Lü Hui-ch'ing's unfair treatment by his biographers
--unpunctuated text and commentary
--extensive commentary on content more than textual problems
--quoted extensively in Ch'u Po-hsiu's and Chiao Hung's anthologies

Ma Ch'i ch'ang (1855-1929) 莫其超
(1855-1929) 莫其超

Comments:
--in the *Yen Shih P'ing Tien Chuang Tzu Ku* 臘氏評點莊子故
--selects from several tens of commentaries and synthesizes their interpretations, as well as appending his own ideas
--places the four chapters "Jang Wang," "Tao Chih," "Shuo Chien" and "Yü Fu" at the end
--appends a collection of phrases from texts which purport to cite the *Chuang Tzu*, but which are not in the present text
--punctuated text and commentary
--interpretations tend to be clear and helpful

Ma Hsü-lun 萬叙倫

Comments:
--Taipei: Hung Tao Wen Hua Shih Yeh, rep. 1970
--preface dated 1928 gives outline of his primary sources
--sentence by sentence analysis, using freely earlier contributions and augmenting them with his own insights
--very detailed textual criticism and very comprehensive commentary, but frequently tends to be over-zealous in amending a perfectly sensible text
--appends 1) a discussion of Chuang Tzu's dates and chronology, 2) a discussion of whether or not Chuang Tzu was from the state of Sung, 3) reconstructed passages, 4) list of textual variants
Ma Tsung  
Ma 總

Comments:
—CTCCV5: photolithographic copy of the Wu Ying Tien Chü  
Chen Pan Ts'ung Shu 武英殿聚珍版叢書 printed during  
the ch'ien lung reign era (1736-95)  
--cites problematic phrases and provides brief commentary,  
focusing on purport more than textual analysis

P'an Chi-ch'ing  
潘基慶

Comments:
—CTCCV12: photolithographic copy of a Ming dynasty ed.  
--takes the seven nei chapters as its core, treating them  
with 1) marginal notes at the top of the page, 2) exten­  
sive commentary of his own followed by relevant passages  
from the classics, the Buddhist canons and various earlier  
commentaries  
--the chapters other than the nei chapters are appended  
to each of these seven chapters as commentary on the basis  
of content, with the exception of the "T'ien Hsia"  
chapter which is regarded as preface  
--whole text is punctuated with pronunciation gloss and  
emphasis marks  
--prefaced by 1) the Kuo Hsiang preface, 2) Ch'en Chiang­  
tsung's Chou Sung 趙湘, 3) Shih Chi biography, 4) "Collected Discussions," with contributions  
by Juan Ssu-tsung 陳松, Wang Fu-ssu 王敷, Yang  
Sheng-an 楊升庵, and by P'an Chi-ch'ing himself  
--according to his forward, his modus operandi is to  
use the Chuang Tzu to explain the Chuang Tzu  
--very solid commentary, analyzing each passage in terms  
of its central precept
P'u Ch'i-lung (b. 1679) Chuang Tzu Ch'ao 1741

Comments:
--CTCCV20: photolithographic of 1744 ed. as the 16th ch'dan of Ku Wen Mei Ch'dan 古文眉詮
--punctuated text with emphasis marks
--contains selections from 12 chapters: 1-7, 13, 14, 22, 24 and 27
--commentary contained primarily in top margin with emphasis on an explanation of meaning

Shih Te-ch'ing  Chuang Tzu Nei P'ien Chu 1621 7

Comments:
--covers only the nei p'ien with punctuated text and commentary
--expounds the theory of san chiao i chih 三教一致, a synthesis of the three great traditions
--explains Chuang Tzu with Confucian and Buddhist terms, but does not distort the original purport to any degree
--phrase by phrase commentary with expanded explanation at the end of each section discussing general purport
--reflects the commentary of Lin Hsi-i
--offers virtually no textual criticism, but rather accepts the text as it stands and interprets it literally
--although his commentary relies on earlier commentaries, he restates the gleaned information without acknowledging his debt
--very clear and concise language expressing a usually very acceptable interpretation of the text

Ssu-ma Piao (240-305) Chuang Tzu Chu before 305

Comments:
--frequently cited in the commentary to the Wen Hsüan and in Lu Te-ming's Shih Wen, but no longer extant as an inde-
--pendent commentary
--reconstructed from extant fragments by the Ch'ing scholars Sun Feng-i, Mao P'an-lin and Huang Shih (see Huang Shih above)
--according to the Ching Tien Shih Wen preface, this commentary contained 52 chapters (nei p'ien 7; wai p'ien 28; tsa p'ien 14; chieh shuo 謂 "explanatory discussions") 3) plus an appended pronunciation gloss in three chüan
--the current Kuo Hsiang text has 33 chapters which is 19 chapters shorter than the Ssu-ma Piao text. If we eliminate the three chieh shuo (which are thought to have been essays on Chuang Tzu by people like Huai Nan Tzu), there are still 16 chapters unaccounted for. Of these 16, there are 9 titles which are still known:
1) O I
2) I Hsiu
3) Wei Yen
4) Yu Fu
5) Tzu Hst
6) Hui Shih
--according to the preface of Lu Te-ming's Ching Tien Shih Wen
7) Wei Lei Hst
--Shih Chi 63
8) Ma Ch'ui
- --Nan Shih "Wen Hsüeh Chuan"
9) Huai Nan Wang
Chuang Tzu
Lüeh Yao 淮南
王莊子略要
- --Yu Cheng-hsieh's 俞正燮 Kuei Ssu Lei Kao 12 爲已類稿
--the Sui Shu bibliography records this commentary as being in 21 chüan, but as already being in a state of corruption
Sun I-jang (1848-1908)  
Chuang Tzu Cha I  
1894

Comments:
-- contained as the fifth chüan of his Cha I
-- based on the Shih Te T'ang Kuo Hsiaang and a Sung edition of the Ch'eng Hsüan-ying text
-- frequently refers to Wang Nien-sun's Tu Shu Tsa Chih Yu Pien and Yu Yüeh's Chu Tzu P'ing I
tfeld
-- preface by Yü Yüeh dated 1895
-- selects problem passages and comments critically on them, focusing on textual problems
-- see Hummel, pp. 677-9

Ts'ao Shou-k'un  
Chuang Tzu Nei P'ien Chieh  
1948

Comments:
-- CTCCV30: photolithographic copy of 1948 ed.
-- his "Brief Introduction to the First Edition" (1941) covers the publication of his Chuang Tzu Che Hsüeh
while his "Introduction to the Second Edition" (1948) covers both the Chuang Tzu Che Hsüeh and the appended Chuang Tzu Nei P'ien Chieh Shuo
-- prefaces by Yeh Kung-ch'o (1948) and Ch'en Jung (1948)
-- published this and companion volume of Chuang Tzu Che Hsüeh with his own funds in limited quantities
-- influenced by Bergson's intuitionism, and by Western philosophers like Descartes, Russell, etc, using them occasionally to illustrate his interpretation
-- in his textual exegesis portion, he cites some old commentaries, but relies primarily on the modern scholars such as Ma Hsü-lun, Wang Nien-sun, Liu Shih-p'ei and Chu Kuei-yao
-- alters the text considerably, omitting what he feels
is erroneous interpolation, and rearranging the text on
the basis of commentators like Wang Mou-hung
--generally a very worthwhile synthesis of modern scholar-
ship and subjective interpretation

Ts'ui Chuan

Comments:
--no longer extant, but thought to have been the basis
of the Hsiang Hsiu commentary, which in turn is traditionally
regarded as the source of the Kuo Hsiang. The Shih Shuo
Hsin Yü SPTK 上/34b states that the Hsiang Hsiu commentary
is simply a revision of the Ts'ui Chuan commentary. From
this we can infer that the Ts'ui Chuan antedates the Hsiang
Hsiu.

--frequently cited in Lu Te-ming's Shih Wen
--indictive of the era in which it was compiled, it takes
the notion of tzu jan 自然 ("self-so") as its central
theme

--the preface to the Shih Wen describes it as having 27
chapters (7 nei p’ien and 20 wai p’ien) without any tsa
p’ien or chieh shuo

--the bibliography of the Sui Shu does not contain this
text, but the bibliographies to the two T'ang histories
have it, after which it disappears

Wang Fu-chih (1619-92) Chuang Tzu Chieh 1669 33

Comments:
--CTCCV19: photolithographic copy of 1865 Kiang Nan Shu
Chü reprint

--Wang Fu-chih's own preface is not dated by year, but
the second preface by Tung Ssu-ning 董思凝 is dated
1709

--vehemently opposes using Buddhist doctrine to inter-
pret the Chuang Tzu
--divides each chapter into sections and provides a section by section commentary, relying wholly on his own insights
--unpunctuated text and commentary
--discusses problems of textual authenticity
--Wang Fu-chih's commentary is augmented by the "Additional Commentary" of his son, Wang Yu
--tends to be rather repetitive, while his son's additional notes tend to be more original
--see Hummel, pp. 817-9

Wang Hsien-ch'ien (1842-1918)  
Comments:
--CTCCV26: photolithographic copy of 1909 original ed.
--chooses commentary from various earlier works, including Kuo Hsiang, Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, Lu Te-ming and Hsüan Ying, appending his own opinions
--explains Chuang Tzu from a Confucian point of view
--unpunctuated text and commentary, brief and clear
--occasionally uses Buddhist examples to illustrate a point

Wang K'ai-yüan (1833-1916)  
Comments:
--contained in Hsüan Ch'i Lou Ch'üan Shu
--not available

Wang Mou-hung (1668-1741)  
Comments:
--CTCCV20: photolithographic copy of 1872 ed.
--contained as the 11th chüan of the Tu Shu Chi I
--a gloss of various difficult words and phrase and textual variants, similar in format to Lu Te-ming's Shih Wen
--often cites Ts'ui Chuan, Ssu-ma Piao, Kuo Hsiang and Lin Hsi-i, and makes his own judgement as to their correctness
--occasionally offers interesting amendments, but lacks comprehensiveness
--frequently suggests omitting portions of the text and altering others when not really necessary

Wang Mu-yeh

Comments:
--no longer extant, except for fragments in Ch'eng Hsüan-ying and Lu Te-ming (in Shih Wen referred to as Wang Mu ???

Wang Shu-min

Comments:
--Taipei: Academia Sinica, rep. 1972
--based on the reprint of a Sung text in the Hsü Ku I Ts'ung Shu 續古逸叢書
--cites problem phrases and passages, and provides a textual exegesis on the basis of parallel phrases in in other texts and passages cited in encyclopaedic works
--supplemented by his Chu Tzu Chiang Cheng 諸子講證 (Taipei: 1964)

Wang Yüan-tse

Comments:
--CTCCV6: photolithographic copy of Tao Tsang ed.
--complete text with passage by passage and sentence by sentence (at times) commentary
--unpunctuated, but clear and easy-to-read language
--dominantly Confucian in interpretation, seeing Confucius as a Sage in places where it is untenable
--appends a collection of short anecdotes germane to the text in that they elaborate on Taoist principles or further clarify concepts central to the Chuang Tzu philosophical system
--son of Wang An-shih

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<th>Edition</th>
<th>Comments</th>
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| Wen I-to (d. 1946)                        | Chuang Tzu Nei P'ien Chiao 1943 | Comments:  
  --contained in Ku Tien Hsin I 古典新義 (Peking:1956) pp. 264-74  
  --first published as an article in Hsueh Shu Chi K'an (Sept., 1943)  
  --notes based on Kuo Ch'ing-fan's text  
  --selects important and problematical passages from the nei p'ien, and analyzes them in terms of textual corruptions, omissions, etc.  
  --provides Western punctuation on selected phrases  
  --for the most part, original; occasionally over-zealous  

| Wu Ch'eng                                 | Chuang Tzu Nei P'ien Ting before 1331 2 | Comments:  
  --CTCCV10: photolithographic copy of Tao Tsang ed.  
  --contained in Tao Tsang 497 ts'e  
  --unpunctuated text with no annotation  
  --divides entire nei p'ien into 37 sections  

| Wu Ju-lun (1840-1903)                     | Chuang Tzu Tien K'an 1909 10 | Comments:  
  --CTCCV26: photolithographic copy of 1910 ed.  
  --contained in the T'ung Ch'eng Hsien Sheng Tien K'an Chu Tzu Tu Pen 桐城先生點勘諸子讀本  
  --top margin notes often cite people like (Ming) Kuei Yu-
kuang and Shih Te-ch'ing
--his son Wu K'ai-sheng supplemented and revised it with Tseng Kuo-fan's Tsa Ch'ao and Yao Nai's punctuation
--postface by Wu K'ai-sheng dated 1909
--follows in the Wang Nien-sun (father), Wang Yin-chih (son) and Yu Yu tradition of textual critics, often citing these three predecessors
--Ch'ing Shih 清史 ch. 485; Hummel, pp. 870-2

Wu Shih-shang
吳世尚 (T. 六書, H. 羣玉)

Chuang Tzu Chieh
莊子解

1713 12

Comments:
--lengthy preface in four parts dated 1714, with last portion dated 1726
--covers 28 chapters, omitting "Jang Wang," "Tao Chih," "Shuo Chien" and "Yü Fu" and combining "Lieh Yü K'ou" with "Yü Yen"
--has an introduction to the nei p'ien and the Shih Chi biography
--interprets the text according to the Neo-Confucian "Ch'eng-Chu" school
--occasionally cites Confucian texts to illustrate his meaning

Yang Shu-ta
楊樹達

Chuang Tzu Shih I
莊子拾遺

1939 1

Comments:
--CTCCV30: photolithographic copy of 1962 ed.
--notes on reading Kuo Ch'ing-fan's Chuang Tzu Chi Shih 莊子集释
--contained in his Chi Wei Chu Tu Shu Chi 清微居讀書記
--revised by his nephew, Yang Po-ch'un 楊伯俊, when the last 10 pages of the manuscript became corrupt
--selects difficult and questionable passages and offers his own commentary, providing some clarification in the area of textual criticism

Yang Wen-hui (1837-1911)  Nan Hua Ching Fa Yin  1904  1

楊文會 (T. 仁山) 南華經發隱.

Comments:
--CTCCV23: photolithographic copy of 1904 ed.
--contained in the Yang Jen Shan Hsien Sheng I Shu

楊仁山先生遺書

--punctuated with emphasis marks
--selects important passages from the original text, 12 passages in total
--uses Buddhist terminology to explain the Taoist ideas
(in charge of the金陵刻經處 --Buddhist Press in Nanking)

Yao Nai (1732-1815)  Chuang Tzu Chang I  1811  5

姚鼐 (T. 姚鼐) 莊子章義

Comments:
--contained in Hsi Pao Hsuan I Shu 惜抱軒遺書
--not available
--see Hummel, pp. 900-1

Yeh Ping-ching 葉秉敬 (T. 敬君)  莊子壹育

Comments:
--CTCCV16: photolithographic copy of 1614 ed.
--punctuated with emphasis marks
--divides chapters into sections, with occasional terse notes along side the text and marginal notes at the top of the page stating topic and general purport
--although commentary is very spotty and does not attempt to cover individual philological or textual problems, this work does indicate inconsistencies in the system of thought
--frequently uses Buddhist and Neo-Confucian concepts to illustrate his analysis
--language is difficult

Yen Fu (1853-1921) Chuang Tzu P'ing Tien 1916

Yen Ling-feng Tao Chia Ssu Tzu Hsin 1968

Comments:
--Hong Kong: Hua Ch'iang Yin Wu Kung Ssu, 1953.
--based on his notes on reading the Chang Ch'i-ch'ang text
--adds punctuation, emphasis marks and impressions at top of page
--occasionally uses Western philosophical concepts and English in his discussion of the text (studied at Greenwich Naval College, England 1877-9; and translated T. Huxley's Evolution and Ethics (1896), Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations (1901) and Herbert Spencer's Study of Sociology (1903))
--comments demonstrate a thorough familiarity with the text

Comments:
--Taipei: Shang Wu Yin Shu Kuan, 1968.
--contains a revision of the texts of Lao Tzu, Yang Tzu, Lieh Tzu and Chuang Tzu
--based on the Hsü Ku I Ts'ung Shu reprint and the Ho Pi Shih Lei text
--divides the Chuang Tzu into three parts and radically rearranges the text in order to distinguish the authentic from the spurious. He suggests that traditional opinion is wrong in considering the nei p'ien to be wholly authentic and the wai-tsa p'ien to be wholly spurious. In fact, on examining the text, we can see that the wai-tsa p'ien also contain authentic material while the nei p'ien contain several spurious passages. In preparing this text, his intention is to "discard the corrupt and confusing, discuss
the authenticity, arrive at that which can be read, divide it into its proper sections, and append anno-
tation." (p. 458)
--provides each section with 1) textual discussion, 2) interpretation in note form, 3) discussion of authen-
ticity
--combines portions of chapters to constitute new ones, reducing the number from 33 to 15.

Yen Ling-feng (I) Chuang Tzu Hsüan Chu 1968

--text based on the Shih Te T'ang text
--contains biographical summary and a discussion of the philosophical tenets
--contains only selections from the text and very brief notes, inferior to his Tao Chia Ssu Tzu Hsin Pien above in every respect.

Yü Hsing-wu Chuang Tzu Hsin Cheng 1939 2

--contained in his Shuang Chien Ch'ih Chu Tzu Hsin Cheng 雙劍訥諸子新證
--selects 66 phrases from the entire text, and provides critical commentary on them
--very original, basing his conclusions on textual and philological considerations

Yü Yueh (1821-1907) Chu Tzu P'ing I 1870 3

--selects problem passages from text and provides
an explanation based on textual evidence
--although very brief, very informative

Comments:
--contained in his complete collected works, the Ch'\un
Tsai T'ang Ch'dan Shu 芝在堂全書 56 ts'e
--lists most of the people mentioned in the Chuang Tzu,
and provides sketchy annotation; in no way comprehensive
or complete
--tends to base much of its information on the T'ang-
Sung commentators rather than going back to the original
texts and collating the various accounts which are still
extant
APPENDIX II
Extant Texts Referred to in the Annotation

1. The Ch’ung Te Shu Yuan (1578) text 諧德書院 edited by Hsieh Ch’i-sheng 謝其盛 contained in the Erh Shih Chia Tzu 二十家子 presently held by the National Central Library 國立中央圖書館 in Taipei. Text only.

2. The Tun Huang 敦煌 hand-written fragments (T’ang) with portions of chapters 1-4 and 6-15 presently held by the Paris National Museum. Text plus Kuo Hsiang commentary.

3. The Han Ku I Ts’ung Shu (1922) 續古逸叢書 Han Fen Lou 涵芬樓 text edited by Chang Yüan-chi 張元濟 which is a photolithographic copy of 1) a Southern Sung text covering 詐翰 1-6 presently held by Peking Metropolitan Library 北京圖書館, and 2) a Northern Sung text covering 詐翰 7-10 (text plus Kuo Hsiang commentary) reprinted by I Wen Yin Shu Kuan (Taiwan) in 1959.

4. The Chao Chien 趙諫議 Nan Hua Chen Ching text 南華真經 (Southern Sung) previously held by Fu Tseng-hsiang 傅增湘 and presently held in the Academia Sinica (Taipei). Text plus Kuo Hsiang commentary.

5. The Shih Te T’ang (1530) text 世德堂 contained in Liu Tzu 六子 presently held by the National Central Library in Taipei. Text plus Kuo Hsiang commentary. The Ssu Pu Ts’ung K’an text is a photolithographic copy of this text.

6. The Chung Li (or Tu) Ssu Tzu 中立(或都)四子 text (1579) of Chu Tung-kuang 朱東光 presently held in the National Central Library, Taipei. Text plus Kuo Hsiang commentary.

7. The Ku I Ts’ung Shu (1884) text 庶兔叢書 which is a photolithographic copy of a Sung text presently held by the Japanese 賜盧文庫. Text, Kuo Hsiang and Ch’eng Hsüan-ying commentaries.
APPENDIX III
Translation of the "T'ien Hsia" Chapter 93/33/62-69

Serene\(^1\) and tranquil without form; changing and transforming without constancy. Is it dead? Or alive? Is it one with the cosmos, proceeding with spiritual perspicacity? Vast, where does it go? Obscure, what is its destination? They myriad things entirely enmeshed, there is nothing else to which one can revert. The concourse of the \(\text{t}ao\) of antiquity lay in this. Chuang Chou heard of its disposition, and was pleased by it. He used far-out explanations, remote and sweeping language and uncontained expression. Responding spontaneously to the occasion, he was not biased\(^2\) and did not disseminate it from only a single point of view. He saw the world as bewildered\(^3\) and perplexed, and could not communicate his teachings to it. He used an exuberance of words to make it far-reaching, he borrowed the respected words of others to lend it credibility, and used metaphor to give it dimension. He alone came and went with the spirit of the cosmos, but was not arrogant or haughty\(^5\) in his attitude to the myriad things. He did not reproach on the basis of right and wrong, but dwelt amid the worldly and mundane. Although his writings are extraordinary and curious, they explain in a roundabout fashion\(^6\) and are harmless. Although his expositions lack uniformity, still they are scintillating and worth perusing--their content is unstintingly full and rich.

Above he journeyed with change, while below he was companion with those who transcended life and death and who were without beginning or end.

In his explanation of the root (i.e. the \(\text{t}ao\)) he is broad in scope and clear,\(^7\) penetrating and comprehensive. In his explanation of the essence\(^8\) (i.e. the \(\text{t}ao\)) it can be said that he has accommodated\(^9\) himself to it and attained profundity. Even so, in his response to transformation and in his extrication\(^10\) from things, his principles have universal application and his contribution will not be abandoned. Obscure and abstruse, it has never been fully understood.
EXEGESIS

1. According to Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2pp177-8), the "yulan chia 元嘉" text has the variant chi 寂 ("silent") for hu 菽 ("serene"). It is very probable that this "yulan chia" text is the Chuang Tzu I Shu 莊子義疏 (no longer extant) of Wang Mu-yeh 王穆夜 which dates from the yulan chia (424-53) reign period. From other references to this text by the author's name in which Lu Te-ming uses the corrupt form of his name: Wang Mu-?? 王穆□, it is apparent that Lu Te-ming had some difficulty in identifying the source. Thus, it is not surprising that he refers to it by the reign period during which it first appeared.

2. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2pl78) cites this phrase without the negative pu 不 ("not"), apparently interpreting t'ang 偏 literally as "easy-going." Again, Wang Shu-min (5/65) points out that the Chao Chien I text has tang 偏 ("biased") for t'ang 偏. Also, the Ch'eng Hsü-ying commentary (CTCCV4pl303) clearly interprets this as "biased." Ma Hsü-lun (p. 896) notes that the PTSC 30 is without the word erh而.

3. Ma Hsü-lun (p. 896) suggests that ch'en 沈 be used as a loan for its cognate tan 黑 ("dregs, sediment").

4. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2pl78) states that Kuo Hsiang interprets the character chuang 莊 as the man, Chuang Chou. According to our present Kuo Hsiang (CTCCVlp581) commentary, however, he suggests that this means that those who are entangled with form call veracious words "raving," and do not believe them. Thus, he cannot impart his teachings to them. Again, Lu Te-ming observes that one text has the cognate chuang 壯 for chuang 莊 which is interpreted as "veracious."

5. Wang Shu-min (5/65b) points out that the Wen Hsüan commentary SPTK 12/242b, the Chiu Ch'ao Pen 蔣釣本 and the Chiang Wen T'ung Tsa T'i Shih commentary 江又通雜體詩 all have
ao i 傲逸 for ao i 敕倪 (interpreted as "arrogant and haughty"), which would tend to re-enforce our interpretation.

6. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p178) observes that one text has the cognate and homophone pien 扇 ("clap the hands") for pien 筍 ("circuitous"="roundabout fashion").

7. Ma Hstü-lun (p. 897) cites the variants hung 弥 ("vast") for hung 宕 ("broad in scope") and p'ī 開 ("to open") for pī 創 ("clear").

8. Yen Ling-feng (p. 847) alters his text to read: "In his explanation of the incidental (mo 末 )..." on the basis of T'ao Hung-ch'ing's theory that tsung 宗 ("essence") is a graphic error for mo 末 ("incidental"). He bases this hypothesis on two points: 1) frequency of pen 本 ("root") and mo 末 ("incidental") occuranceis in parallel sentences, and 2) a rather dubious graphic similarity between tsung 宗 (small seal: 宗 ) and mo 末 (small seal: 末 ).

9. Lu Te-ming (CTCCV2p178) notes that one version has the variant t'iao 調 ("adjust") for ch'ou 新 (interpreted as a loan for t'iao 調 "accomodated").

10. We follow Wang K'ai-yü (in Ch'ien Mu p. 278) in interpreting chieh 解 as "to extricate." The other perhaps more popular interpretation is "to elucidate."