CONTENTS

Explanatory Note xxi Preface xxiii Chronology xxvii

The Chinese Tradition in Antiquity 1

1. The Oracle-Bone Inscriptions of the Late Shang Dynasty 3
DAVID N. KEIGHTLEY

The Shang Dynasty 3
The Oracle Bone Inscriptions 5
Shang Conceptions of Time 6
Divination and Administration 7
The Power of the Dead 8
The High God (Di) and Other Powers 10
Regularity of the Ancestral Cult 14
Divination and the Ancestors 15
Divination and Legitimation 16

The Origins of Historical Rectitude: Fallibility and Accuracy in the Shang Divination Records 17

Divinatory "Failure" and the Origins of History 19

The Role of the King 20

The Evolution of Shang Divination 20

The Legacy of Shang 21

2. Classical Sources of Chinese Tradition 24
BURTON WATSON, DAVID S. NIVISON, IRENE BLOOM

The Classic of Documents 29

The "Canon of Yao" and the "Canon of Shun" 29

The Grand Model 31

The Metal-Bound Coffer 32

Shao Announcement 35

The Classic of Odes 37

From the Greater Odes and Sacrificial Odes of Zhou 37

Airs from the States 39

3. Confucius and the Analects 41 IRENE BLOOM

Selections from the Analects 44

4. Mozi: Utility, Uniformity, and Universal Love 64
BURTON WATSON

Selections from the Mozi 66

Section 9: "Honoring the Worthy" (Part 2) 66

Section 11: "Identifying with the Superior" (Part 1) 68

Section 16: "Universal Love" (Part 3) 69

Section 26: "The Will of Heaven" (Part 1) 72

Section 27: "The Will of Heaven" (Part 2) 74

Section 39: "Against Confucians" (Part 2) 75

5. The Way of Laozi and Zhuangzi 77

Metaphysics and Government in the Laozi (I. BLOOM) 77

From the Daodejing 79

Transformation and Transcendence in the Zhuangzi
(B. WATSON, A. C. GRAHAM) 95

From Chapter 1, "Free and Easy Wandering" (BW) 96

From Chapter 2, "The Sorting Which Evens Things Out" (ACG, IB) 99
From Chapter 3, "The Secret of Caring for Life" (BW) 103
From Chapter 4, "In the World of Men" (BW) 105
From Chapter 5, "The Sign of Virtue Complete" (BW) 107
From Chapter 6, "The Great and Venerable Teacher" (BW) 108
From Chapter 7, "Fit for Emperors and Kings" (W. T. de Bary) 111

6. The Evolution of the Confucian Tradition in Antiquity 112

Mencius (I. BLOOM) 114

Selections from the Mencius 116

The Duty of Ministers to Reprove a Ruler 124

The Well-Field System of Landholding 129

Mencius' Arguments with Yang Zhu and Mozi 134

Xunzi (1B) 159

Selections from the Xunzi 161

Chapter 1: "Encouraging Learning" 161

Chapter 2: "Cultivating Oneself" 164

Chapter 9: "The Regulations of the King" 166

Chapter 17: "A Discussion of Heaven" 170

Chapter 19: "A Discussion of Rites" 174

Chapter 21: "Dispelling Obscuration" 177

Chapter 23: "Human Nature Is Evil" 179

The Zuozhuan (B. WATSON) 183

Selections from the Zuozhuan 184

7. Legalists and Militarists 190

The Guanzi (W. Allyn Rickett) 192
The Book of Lord Shang (J. J. L. Duyvendak) 193
The Han Feizi (B. Watson) 199

Li Si: Legalist Theories in Practice (BW) 206

Memorial on Annexation of Feudal States 208

Memorial on the Abolition of the Enfeoffment System 209

Memorial on the Burning of Books 209

Memorial on Exercising Heavy Censure 210

The Military Texts: The Sunzi (KIDDER SMITH) 213

Selections from the Sunzi 216

PART TWO The Making of a Classical Culture 225

8. The Han Reaction to Qin Absolutism 227

Jia Yi: "The Faults of Qin" (Daniel W. Y. Kwok) 228

The Rebellion of Chen She and Wu Guang (B. Watson) 231

The Rise of Liu Bang, Founder of the Han (BW) 232

Liu Bang Becomes the First Emperor of the Han Dynasty (BW) 233

9. Syncretic Visions of State, Society, and Cosmos 235
HAROLD ROTH, SARAH QUEEN, NATHAN SIVIN

The Theoretical Basis of the Imperial Institution 236

The Springs and Autumns of Mr. Lü (Lüshi chunqiu) (NS) 236

The Round Way 238

The Huang-Lao Silk Manuscripts (Huang-Lao boshu) (HR and SQ) 241

Book 1: Normative Standards (Jingfa), Part 1 242
Normative Standards (Jingfa), Part 5 247
Normative Standards (Jingfa), Part 8 250
Book 4: The Source That Is the Way (Daoyuan) 252
The Guanzi 256

Techniques of the Mind, I (Xinshu, shang) (HR) 256

The Syncretist Chapters of the Zhuangzi (A. C. Graham and B. Watson) 263

The Way of Heaven (Tiandao) (A. C. Graham)

The World of Thought (Tianxia) (BW) 264

The Huainanzi on Rulership (HR) 268

Huainanzi 9, "The Techniques of Rulership" ("Zhushu") 269

Huainanzi 1, "The Original Way" ("Yuandao") 270

Huainanzi 14, "Inquiring Words" ("Quanyan") 271

The Medical Microcosm (NS) 273

The Divine Pivot 275

A Syncretist Perspective on the Six Schools 278

"On the Six Lineages of Thought," by Sima Tan (HR and SQ) 278

10. The Imperial Order and Han Syntheses 283

Guidelines for Han Rulers (D. W. Y. KWOK) 284

Lu Jia: The Natural Order and the Human Order 285

Jia Yi: The Primacy of the People (Minben) 290 Dong Zhongshu 292

Luxuriant Gems of the Spring and Autumn Annals (Chunqiu fanlu)
(S. Queen)

Deriving Political Norms from Microcosmic and Macrocosmic Models 295

"The Conduct of Heaven and Earth" 295

"Comprehending the State as the Body" 297

The Responsibilities of Rulership 298

"Establishing the Primal Numen" 298

"The Way of the King Penetrates Three" 300

Defining Human Nature 302

"An In-Depth Examination of Names and Designations" 302

Interpreting Omens 305

"Humaneness Must Precede Wisdom" 305

Self-Cultivation 306

"Standards of Humaneness and Rightness" 307

The Issue of Moral Autonomy 309

Deciding Court Cases According to the Spring and Autumn Annals 310

The Codifying of the Confucian Canon (B. WATSON) 311

State Orthodoxy 311

State University 312

Civil Service 312

The Rivalry Between Legalism and Confucianism 313

The Confucian Canon 314

The Establishment of Confucianism 317

The Formation of the Classic of Changes (Yijing)
(RICHARD JOHN LYNN) 318

The Commentary on the Appended Phrases, Part 1 319

The Commentary on the Appended Phrases, Part 2 323

Heaven, Earth, and the Human in the Classic of Filiality (Xiaojing)

(WM. THEODORE DE BARY) 325

The Classic of Filiality (Xiaojing) 326

The Record of Rites (Liji) and the Ritual Tradition 329

The Great Learning (Daxue) (I. Bloom) 330

The Mean (Zhongyong) (IB) 333

"The Meaning of Sacrifices" ("Jiyi") (IB) 339

The "Evolution of Rites" ("Liyun") (BW) 342

The "Record of Music" ("Yueji") (IB) 343

Zhiyi: The Great Calming and Contemplation (LH) 460 Zhiyi: The Lotus Samādhi Rite of Repentance (DS) 462 Zhiyi on the Concept of Ritual Repentance (DS) 467 The Flower Garland (Huayan) School (GT) 471 The Flower Garden Sūtra 472

Buddhism's Assimilation to Tang Political Culture (C. ORZECH) 476

The Humane King as Protector of Buddhism 477

17. Schools of Buddhist Practice 481
LEON HURVITZ, DANIEL STEVENSON, PHILIP B. YAMPOLSKY,
CHÜN-FANG YÜ

The Pure Land School 481

Tanluan: Commentary to Vasubandhu's Essay on Rebirth (LH) 483

Daochuo: Compendium on the Happy Land (DS, LH) 485

Shandao: "The Parable of the White Path" (W. T. de Bary) 489

The Meditation School 491

The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch (PBY) 494
Linji Yixuan: "Seeing Into One's Own Nature" (PBY) 504
Anecdotes of Master Caoshan (PBY) 509
Yuanwu: Blue Cliff Records (PBY) 514

The Legend of Baizhang, "Founder" of Chan Monastic Discipline
(T. G. Foulk) 517

Regulations of the Chan School (Chanmen guishi) (TGF) 519

Zongze: Principles of Seated Meditation (Zuochan) (C. Bielefeldt) 522

The Chanyuan Monastic Code (Chün-fang Yü) 525

Buddhist Rituals and Devotional Practices (CFY) 529

Zhongfang Mingben: Admonition on Filiality 529

Miracles of Guanyin 531

The Real Presence 531

Guanyin and Cutting One's Body (Gegu) 532

Miracles About White-Robed Guanyin as Giver of Children 534

The Southern Mount Wutai as a Pilgrimage Center 535

PART FOUR
The Confucian Revival and Neo-Confucianism 537

18. Social Life and Political Culture in the Tang 539

The Role of Confucianism in the Tang 540

House Instructions of Mr. Yan (Yanshi jiaxun) (A. Dien) 541

The Great Tang Code (WALLACE JOHNSON) 546
Zhangsun Wuji: The Tang Code 547

Debates on Taxes and Enfeoffment in the Tang 554

Yang Yan: Memorial Proposing the Twice-a-Year Tax (W. T. de Bary) 554

Lu Zhi: Against the Twice-a-Year Tax (WTdB) 556

Liu Zongyuan: "Essay on Enfeoffment" (J. Mason Gentaler) 559

Li Bo and Du Fu: Two Tang Poets in a Troubled World 564

Li Bo: "Fighting South of the Ramparts" (A. Waley) 565

Du Fu: "A Song of My Cares When Going from the Capital to Fengxian"

(Stephen Owen) 566

Han Yu and the Confucian "Way" (CHARLES HARTMAN) 568

"Essentials of the Moral Way" (CH) 569

"Poem on the Sagacious Virtue of Primal Harmony" (CH) 574

"Discourse on Teachers" (Shishuo) (B. Watson) 582

Memorial on the Bone of Buddha (BW) 583

Emperor Wuzong's Edict on the Suppression of Buddhism

19. The Confucian Revival in the Song 587 WM. THEODORE DE BARY

(BW) 585

Institutional, Educational, and Moral Reform in the Song 590

Ouyang Xiu: "Essay on Fundamentals" ("Benlun") 590

On Parties 595

The Confucian Program of Reform 596
The Way as the Basis for Government Policy 598

Cheng Yi: Memorial to Emperor Renzong 598
Cheng Hao: Ten Matters Calling for Reform 601
Zhang Zai: Land Equalization and the Enfeoffment System 605
Su Xun: The Land System — A Dissenting View 606
The New Laws of Wang Anshi 609

Wang Anshi: Memorial to Emperor Renzong (1058) 612

Memorial on the Crop Loans Measure 616

Cheng Hao: Remonstrance Against the New Laws 618

Wang Anshi: In Defense of Five Major Policies 619

Opposition to the New Laws of Wang Anshi 621

Su Shi: Memorial to Emperor Shenzong 621

Sima Guang: A Petition to Do Away with the Most Harmful of the New Laws 625 Zhu Xi: Wang Anshi in Retrospect 626

The Learning of the Emperors and the Classics Mat 628

Fan Zuyu: The Learning of the Emperors (Marie Guarino) 629 Cheng Yi: Letter to the Empress Dowager Concerning the Classics Mat (MG) 634

Cheng Yi: Memorials to the Throne on the Classics Mat (MG) 636

Registering Public Opinion in the Song 639

Su Shi on Public Discourse (Charles Hartman) 639
Political Activities of Song University Students 641

Chen Dong: Memorial to Emperor Qinzong Declining Official Appointment (Thomas H. C. Lee) 641

Historical Reflections on Government (HOYT TILLMAN) 644

Chen Liang on Utility 644

"The Way of Order and the Way of Institutions, Past and Present" 645
"On People and Laws" 647

The Writing of History (CONRAD SCHIROKAUER) 652 Liu Zhiji (CS) 654

Du You: Preface to the section on "Food and Goods" of the Comprehensive Institutions (THCL) 655

Sima Guang: History as Mirror (CS) 656

Su Che: The Authority of the Historian (CS) 658

Lü Zuqian: How to Study History (Burton Watson) 659

The Cheng Brothers: Cyclical and Linear Change (CS) 660

Zhu Xi: History and Philosophy in Tandem (BW) 661

Zheng Qiao: History as a Continuous Stream (BW) 663

Ma Duanlin: Institutional History (Hok-lam Chan) 664

20. Neo-Confucianism: The Philosophy of Human Nature and the Way of the Sage 667

Zhou Dunyi: The Metaphysics and Practice of Sagehood (JOSEPH ADLER) 669

"Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity" ("Taijitu shuo") 672

Penetrating the Classic of Changes (Tongshu) 676

The Numerically Patterned Universe in the Philosophy of Shao Yong (ANNE BIRDWHISTELL) 678

On the Categories and Images of the Universe 680 On Human Experience 680 On Becoming a Sage 681

Zhang Zai and the Unity of All Creation (W. T. CHAN) 682

The "Western Inscription" ("Ximing") 683

Correcting Youthful Ignorance 684

The Cheng Brothers: Principle, Human Nature, and the Learning of the Way (WTC) 689

Principle and the Universe 690

Human Nature 691

Cheng Hao's Reply to Zhang Zai's Letter on the Stabilizing of Human Nature 692

Reverent Seriousness and Humanity 693

On Understanding the Nature of Humanity 694

The Synthesis of Song Neo-Confucianism in Zhu Xi

(WTC, W. T. DE BARY) 697

Principle and Material-Force 699

The Supreme Ultimate (Polarity) 701

Heaven-and-Earth 702

Spiritual Beings 703

Human Nature, the Nature of Things, and Their Destiny 704

The Nature as Principle 704

Human Nature and the Nature of Things Compared 706

The Psycho-Physical Nature 707

The Mind-and-Heart 708

The Mind, the Nature, and the Feelings 710

Humaneness 711

Buddhism 713

The Universal Mind in Lu Jiuyuan (LIU SHU-HSIEN) 714

Mind Is Principle 715

Methods of Cultivation 717

Differences Between Lu Jiuyuan and Zhu Xi (WTC) 719

21. Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucian Program 720 WM. THEODORE DE BARY

Preface to the Great Learning by Chapter and Phrase 721

The Great Learning by Chapter and Phrase, Chapter 1 725

Preface to the Mean by Chapter and Phrase 731

The Mean by Chapter and Phrase (Zhongyong Zhangiu), Chapter 1 734

"Personal Proposals for Schools and Official Recruitment"

(Ron Guey Chu) 737

"Articles of the White Deer Grotto Academy" 742
Preface to the Family Rituals (Patricia Ebrey) 744

"Proposal for Community Granaries" (Thomas H. C. Lee) 746

"Proclamation of Instructions" (R. G. Chu) 748

"The Lü Family Community Compact, Amended and Emended"

(John Meskill) 751

22. Ideological Foundations of Late Imperial China 755 WM. THEODORE DE BARY, EDWARD FARMER, JOHN DARDESS

Zhen Dexiu's Advice to the Emperor (WTdB) 755

Preface to the Extended Meaning of the Great Learning 757

The Classic of the Mind-and-Heart 760

Xu Heng and Khubilai Khan (WTdB) 764

Five Measures Required by the Times 765

On Elementary Learning and Great Learning 767

Straight Talk on the Essentials of the Great Learning (Zhishuo Daxue yaolüe) 770

The Examination Debate Under Khubilai 774
Sage King and Sage Minister: Ouyang Xuan on Khubilai and Xu Heng 778
Ming Foundations of Late Imperial China 779

Ming Taizu: August Ming Ancestral Instruction (Edward Farmer) 780

The Ming Code and Commandments (EF) 783

Education and Examinations (John Dardess) 786

The Horizontal Stele (Disciplinary Rules for Students) 787

Ming Taizu: Placard for the Instruction of the People (EF) 788

Ming Taizu: Discussion of the Three Teachings (JD) 791

Fang Xiaoru: "Final Essay on the Legitimate Succession of Dynasties"

Liu Zongzhou: On Fang Xiaoru (Julia Ching) 796 Hu Guang: Memorial on the *Great Compendia* (JD) 797

(JD) 793

23. Neo-Confucian Education 800 WM. THEODORE DE BARY

Zhu Xi: Preface to the Elementary Learning 803
Wang Yinglin: The Three Character Classic (Sanzi Jing) 804
The Standard School Curriculum 807
"School Code of Masters Cheng and Dong"

("Cheng-Dong er xiansheng xuece") (John Meskill) 808

Zhen Dexiu: "Instructions for Children" (R. G. Chu) 811

Zhu Xi's Reading Method 812

Cheng Duanmeng: "A Primer of Human Nature and Principle" 814
Cheng Duanli: "Daily Schedule of Study in the Cheng Family School, Graded
According to Age"

("Chengshi jiashu dushu fennian richeng") (JM) 816

Women's Education (THERESA KELLEHER) 819

Ban Zhao: Admonitions for Women (Nüjie) (Nancy Lee Swann) 821

Madam Cheng: Classic of Filiality for Women (Nü xiaojing) (TK) 824

Song Ruozhao: Analects for Women (TK) 827

Empress Xu: Instructions for the Inner Quarters (Neixun) (TK) 831

Zhu Xi: Funerary Inscription for Madam You, Lady of Jia'nan (Bettine Birge) 837

24. Self and Society in the Ming 841
Wang Yangming 842

Wang Yangming's New Learning of the Mind-and-Heart 842 Memoir on the Reconstruction of Shanyin Prefectural School (W. T. de Bary) 843

"Questions on the Great Learning" (W. T. Chan) 844
Preface to the Collected Writings of Lu Xiangshan
(WTdB) 847

The Identification of Mind and Principle 849

The Unity of Knowing and Acting 849

The Colloquy at the Tianquan Bridge 850

Social and Political Measures of Wang Yangming 851

Fundamental Ideas on Elementary Education (WTC) 852

The Community Compact for Southern Ganzhou (WTC) 853

The Wang Yangming School 855

Wang Ji and the Freedom of Innate Knowing (WTdB) 857

Wang Gen: The Common Man as Sage (WTdB) 859

The Huainan Investigation of Things 860

"Clear Wisdom and Self-Preservation" 861

"The Enjoyment of Learning" 863

The Taizhou School as a Popular Movement 864

Li Zhi: Arch-Individualist (WTdB) 865

The Childlike Mind-and-Heart 867

Phony Sages 868

Pursuing Zhu Xi's "Learning for One's Self" 870

The Legitimacy of Being Self-Interested 871

Luo Qinshun and the Philosophy of Qi (I. BLOOM) 874

Monism of Qi 875

Human Nature 877

Desires and Feelings 879

The Nature of Knowledge 880

Chen Jian and His Thorough Critique (WTdB) 884

Diagram of the Mind 886

The Practical Learning of Lü Kun (JOANNA HANDLIN SMITH) 887

Restoration of Community Schools 888

Frugality and Famine Relief 892

Music in the Home 895

Education for Women 896

Morality Books (R. G. CHU, WTdB) 899

The Treatise of the Most Exalted One on Moral Retribution (WTC) 899

The Silent Way of Recompense (Yinzhiwen) (WTC) 902

Ledgers of Merit and Demerit 904

The Ledger of Merit and Demerit of the Taiwei Immortal (R. G. Chu) 905

Yuan Huang's Ledger (RGC) 906

Morality Books and Social Change 908

A Synthetic Compilation of Ledgers of Merit and Demerit (Sakai Tadao) 909

Meritorious Deeds at No Cost 911

The Donglin Academy (HEINRICH BUSCH, WTdB) 916

Gu Xiancheng: Compact for Meetings of the Donglin Academy 919

Liu Zongzhou on Life and Death (TU WEIMING) 923

"Teaching on Life and Death" ("Shengsi shuo") 923

Glossary of Key Terms 925 Bibliography 929 Pinyin to Wade-Giles Romanization Chart 941 Index 943