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Introduction and Notes for a Complete Translation of the *Chuang Tzu*

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Sino-Platonic Papers, 48 (September, 1994)

Preface

My complete translation of the *Chuang Tzu* was published by Bantam Books in the late summer of 1994. Because of the nature of that publication, it was impossible for me to include all of the notes and commentary that I had prepared during the course of my work on the text. As with my edition of the *Tao Te Ching* (Bantam, 1990), however, I promised in the *Chuang Tzu* (p. liv) that I would issue in *Sino-Platonic Papers* a separate set of materials designed for those individuals who would like more detailed information on specific points. That is the genesis of this particular volume.

In the Bantam *Chuang Tzu*, I was not able to give any annotations on textual and other types of philological matters. Here, on the other hand, there are hundreds of notes explaining the basis of my readings of difficult passages. Yet, inasmuch as I had originally designed even these notes for the general reader, they are neither as technical nor as complete as I would have made them if they had been meant from the very beginning for a purely scholarly (viz., sinological) audience.

The contents of this volume are essentially as I drew them up for submission to Bantam. When I did so, I was fully aware that a protracted process of negotiation with my editors there would result in something quite different. Those who have examined the Bantam edition can see for themselves just how dissimilar that book is from this volume. The only significant changes from the original manuscript that I have made here are in the addition of page numbers and key words to the annotations. It should be mentioned that I had originally designated the various sections of the chapters by letters (A, B, C..., etc.), but my editors at Bantam insisted that these be changed to numbers. Therefore, what I had once referred to as 24K, for example, has now become 24.11. Finally, I had originally designed the book to have numbered footnotes at the bottom of the page. The footnote numbers still exist at the beginning of each note herein, but I have had to add identifying tags in bold, e.g., **K'un (3)**, where the number in parentheses is the page number of the translation published by Bantam. The tag words in bold usually constitute the items that are being explicated, but sometimes they serve merely to locate the section of the text that is relevant to a more general note.

The *Chuang Tzu* is far and away my favorite Chinese book. Although this fascinating collection of essays, tales, and anecdotes presents many difficult problems of interpretation, for two decades it has been the work that I wanted more than any other to

render into English. To prepare myself for the task, I gathered together scores of traditional commentaries and modern exegeses. Although I have consulted them closely and carefully during the course of my research, I seldom refer to them directly in the notes to the translation. The main reason for this is that I view the *Chuang Tzu* primarily as a work of literature rather than as a work of philosophy and wish to present it to the reading public unencumbered by technical arcana that would distract from the pleasure of encountering one of the most playful and witty books in the world.

There have been a few previous translations of the *Chuang Tzu* into English, French, German, Mandarin, Japanese, and other languages (including several complete ones) although nothing like the hundreds that have been done for the *Tao Te Ching*, that other well-known Taoist classic. Some of these renditions are quite competent, but I believe that none of them has succeeded in capturing the quintessential spirit of the book. Both the style and the thought of the *Chuang Tzu* are extraordinary. If we try to approach them by conventional means, we will surely fail. Therefore, in making my translation, I have not been afraid to experiment with new modes of expression to simulate the odd quality of writing in the *Chuang Tzu*. If my rendering has any other aim than philological accuracy, it is to present Chuang Tzu as a preeminent literary stylist and to rescue him from the clutches of those who would make of him no more than a waffling philosoph or a maudlin minister of the Taoist faith.

Before proceeding further, I should be kind enough to explain what the name of the book means and how it should be pronounced. "Chuang" is the surname of the supposed author of this marvelous work and "Tzu" simply implies "master" in the sense of the leader of a given school of thought in ancient China. Hence, we may render "Chuang Tzu" as "Master Chuang." While the pronunciation of the title is not such an easy matter as its meaning, I would console my poor reader who is afraid to attempt it by saying that speakers of Sinitic languages themselves have pronounced (and still do pronounce) the two sinographs used to write it in widely varying ways. For example, a Cantonese would read them, more or less, as *tshuhng tzyy* and a resident of the Chinese capital 2,600 years ago would have pronounced them roughly as *tsyang tsyehg* or *tsryangh tsyehgh*. Therefore, it does not really matter that much how each of us says the title of the book in his or her own idiolect. For those who are fastidious, however, the "correct" pronunciation in Modern Standard Mandarin may be approximated as follows. The "Chu" part of Chuang sounds like the "ju" of juice or jute, except that the "u" functions as a glide to the succeeding vowel and thus comes out as a "w"; the "a" must be long, as in Ma and Pa; the "ng" is the same as in English. Perhaps the best way to approximate Tzu is to lop off the initial part of words

such as adze, fads, and so forth, striving to enunciate only the "d" and the voiced sibilant that comes after it. To end this little lesson in Mandarin phonology, then, we may transcribe Chuang Tzu phonetically as *jwawng dz* or *jwahng dzuh*. For the meaning and pronunciation of crucial technical terms such as Tao (the Way or the Track) and *ch'i* ("vital breath") that recur in the *Chuang Tzu*, see the Afterword to my translation of the *Tao Te Ching*, pp. 130-140.

Ideally, all proper nouns should be given in the reconstructed form that is appropriate for the time when and place where they were current. Unfortunately, our reconstructions of ancient and archaic Sinitic languages, topolects, and dialects are still grossly inadequate and so we must resort to the makeshift of citing them in Modern Standard Mandarin. This is often deceiving, especially when the phonetic quality of a word is operative in what an author is trying to express. In my translation, I have regularly given the archaic pronunciation of the names of two southern states to indicate that they were originally inhabited by speakers of non-Sinitic languages.

For the information of sinologists and other scholars who may need to know, the basic text that I have relied upon in making my translation is that of CH'EN Kuying, although I do not always follow his recommendations for emendations and excisions. Therefore, those who may wish to compare my translation with the original Chinese should also consult the standard edition as presented in the first section of the Harvard-Yenching *Concordance*. The latter, incidentally, has been my most important tool in producing my rendition. When deciding upon the best English equivalent of a given word or expression in the *Chuang Tzu*, I have constantly checked its occurrences elsewhere in the text. Without the *Concordance*, this would have been a maddening, virtually impossible, task.

The next most important research work that I have relied upon are the splendid scholarly tomes in Japanese by AKATSUKA Kiyoshi. There are two primary reasons for this. First, Akatsuka points out those portions of the *Chuang Tzu* which are in verse. This is not evident from the format of the original, since ancient Chinese texts consisted wholly of unpunctuated strings of sinographs. To determine whether or not a given passage is in verse, one must analyze the rhymes at the ends of clauses and sentences. Because the phonology of archaic Sinitic and Modern Standard Mandarin is so very different, this is no mean task. The second great contribution of Akatsuka lies in interpreting the semantic content of the names of the fictional figures who people the pages of the *Chuang Tzu*. This, too, requires formidable learning because many of the names are disguised by the device of employing homophonous sinographs to write them. Few commentators, interpreters, and translators pay any attention to these two tremendously vital aspects of the

Chuang Tzu. Consequently, in my estimation, they do not succeed in conveying to their readers the unique literary qualities of the work. Both in identifying portions of the text that were originally composed in verse and in construing the names of characters who appear in it, I have gone beyond Akatsuka, but his superb contributions in these areas have lightened my burden considerably. His generous accounts of the historical background for events and persons mentioned in the *Chuang Tzu* have also been highly appreciated. Michael Carr has written two articles (see bibliography) which came into my hands after my book was already in press. In them, he studies the meanings of the names in certain stories of the *Chuang Tzu*, suggesting plausibly that some of them are transcriptions of Austro-Tai words.

Among the dozens of other commentaries that I have examined during the course of my translation and annotation, the most useful are listed in the bibliography. All of them suggest various revisions. I have tried to make the best of the text as it stands, resorting to only the most limited changes, in spite of the fact that it is obviously corrupt in some places. My aim throughout has been to duplicate as closely as possible in English the experience that a trained student of Classical Chinese would have when he or she reads the *Chuang Tzu*. I should mention that an obscure, ancient work such as the *Chuang Tzu* has always been inaccessible to all but a minute percentage of the Chinese population who possessed special preparation in grappling with its enormously refractory and artificial language. It is "artificial" in the sense that it is book language only, a dead language that may never have lived or lived only partially in the mouths of priest, seers, and bards, and that for more than two thousand years has not been capable of being understood when read aloud unless the auditor had previously memorized the passage in question. The monumentally difficult nature of Classical Chinese has become even more accentuated in this century with the demise of the imperial institutions that fostered and sustained this "unspeakable" language as a mechanism of control through the powerful literati-officials who had spent decades in mastering it. Today, speakers of modern Sinitic languages are at least as far removed from the language of the *Chuang Tzu* as modern speakers of English are from *Beowulf*, or as modern speakers of Greek are from Plato's *Republic* -- in my estimation, they are actually much further removed because of the extremely abbreviated, partially code-like quality of Classical Chinese.

Classical Chinese (also sometimes referred to as Literary Sinitic) is by its very nature problematic in that it has been dramatically divorced from spoken language for no less than two millennia and may always have been so because of the fact that it was written in a script that was only partially phonetic. The language of the *Chuang Tzu* is even more

peculiar in that it purposely distorts and impishly tampers with the conventions of Classical Chinese itself. To render faithfully such an unusual text as this into a living language like English or Mandarin requires a stupendous act of transformation, not merely a mechanical translation. Against this need for a creative response to the *Chuang Tzu*'s linguistic mischief is the duty of the conscientious philologist to be as consistent and accurate as possible. The *Chuang Tzu*, to say the least, is full of exciting challenges!

So as not to interfere with the reader's appreciation of this inimitable work itself, I have refrained from excessive annotation and commentary. In general, I have provided only those notes which I felt were essential for comprehending unfamiliar material and for bringing to the attention of readers interesting parallels with other texts and traditions. Upon occasion, I have mentioned in the notes instances of the types of problems that constantly arise in dealing with the text and have shown how it is necessary to add many syntactic elements in English that are simply ignored in Chinese. Classical Chinese is extremely terse and highly eliptic, forcing the translator to supply grammatical or morphemic components that are required in English. The notes offer only illustrative examples of the types of additions that are necessary to make sense in English. They should by no means be considered to constitute an exhaustive listing of such additions. The reader may be assured that I have throughout endeavored to the utmost of my ability to keep these augmentations as few as possible. I have not pointed them out in every case because such repetitive annotations would soon become tedious and annoying, and because I wished to avoid unwelcome padding of an already large volume. Likewise, the Introduction is intentionally brief. There I offer only minimal historical data relating to the *Chuang Tzu* and a glance at some of the interpretive schemes that have been applied to it.

I have found it convenient to invent one new word to match an ubiquitous Chinese technical term, namely, "tricent" (three hundred [paces]) for *li* (one third of a mile), on the model of the word "mile" which literally means "a thousand [paces]" (see also chapter 1, note 1). This was necessary to avoid confusion because the syllable *li* may also be employed to indicate so many other important concepts in Chinese (e.g., "principle," "ritual / ceremony / etiquette," "benefit / profit / gain," "one third of a millimeter," etc.) which are also often cited by sinologists in their romanized form.

It has been my practice to translate (rather than simply to transcribe) the names of characters who appear to be fundamentally the product of the author's (or, more precisely, the authors' [as we shall see in the Introduction]) imagination. Often these names constitute puns or are otherwise intimately operative in the unfolding of a given tale; to ignore them would be to eviscerate a key feature of the diction. Soubriquets and other

types of pseudonyms are also often translated if their meaning is sufficiently transparent, even for historical figures, since they were often chosen by individuals to express an aspect of their personality that they wished to emphasize.

A substantial proportion of this work was completed during the year (1991-1992) when I was a fellow at the National Humanities Center. The entire staff of the Center was unfailingly helpful to me in facilitating the research that went into the making of this book. I wish particularly to express my gratitude to Karen Carroll and Linda Morgan for typing the entire manuscript from a messy handwritten first draft. Linda Morgan also went far beyond the call of duty to prepare the final typed version of these notes two years after I departed from the National Humanities Center. I am enormously thankful to her for this extra assistance. Leave at the National Humanities Center was supported by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and by the Mellon Foundation. I am grateful to both of these organizations for their generous assistance.

I also wish to express my appreciation to Denis Mair and Jing Wang for reading over the complete translation against the original Chinese text to ensure that nothing was inadvertently omitted. In the complicated process of repeated electronic editing that is now an essential part of American book publishing, it is easy for words, lines, and even whole paragraphs to become deleted or changed in bizarre ways. Thus, while electronic text processing makes publishing easier for typesetters, editors, and even authors (in some ways), it also requires constant checking of entire drafts to prevent things from disappearing or being transformed beyond recognition. I can only hope that such has not been the case with my translation of the *Chuang Tzu* and these notes!

ERROR
p. 371, l.7 p.480 → p. 52

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Introduction

The Historical Context

The core of the *Chuang Tzu* was probably originally composed in the latter half of the fourth century B.C.E., but the text as a whole was not completed until toward the end of the second century B.C.E. To understand the nature of its compilation, we need to become familiar with the historical background and intellectual currents of the time during which the book came into being.

The Chou dynasty (circa 1111-255 B.C.E.) was founded on feudalist principles that worked fairly well for a little over four centuries. During the Spring and Autumn period (771-476 B.C.E.), however, the authority of the Chou kings began to be undermined. While the Chou dynasty may not yet have broken up entirely, it was divided into spheres of influence controlled by a dozen or so small feudal duchies. Indeed, some historians maintain that after 771 there was no longer an effective Chou dynasty of which to speak. Late in this period, the *shih* ("retainer; knight") arose as an important new intellectual force in China. Gradually, they evolved from being a warrior class to an influential group of scholars and political theorists who actively sought to alter the policies of the various dukes. Confucius is a good example of one such knight-scholar. Many of China's most prominent early thinkers came from this class, one of the four main classes of Chinese society during the latter half of the Chou, the other three being farmers, artisans, and merchants.

The Spring and Autumn period was followed by the Warring States period, also called the period of the Contending Kingdoms (475-221 B.C.E.). The deterioration of the Chou dynasty continued apace with the imperial house being reduced to one of mere symbolic status. Real power was vested in the hands of the kings of the increasingly independent states who vied for hegemony. The number of significant states during this period was reduced to only half a dozen (see map on p. lv of *Wandering on the Way*). Among themselves, they continually struggled for supremacy. Out of this constant conflict, two of the warring kingdoms, Ch'in in the far northwest and Ch'u in the south, finally emerged as the key powers. In 223 B.C.E., Ch'in defeated Ch'u and captured the heartland of China. A couple of years after that, Ch'in (whence the name China) established the first unified Chinese empire, the basic bureaucratic structure of which lasted until 1911, though undergoing countless rebellions and dynastic changes throughout

history. To be brief, we may say that the Warring States period witnessed the demise of the old feudal regimes and their replacement by a centralized monarchy.

In spite of the political disruption and the social chaos of the Warring States period, this was by far the most exciting and lively intellectual era in the whole of Chinese history. Peripatetic philosophers wandered through the length and the breadth of the land trying to get the attention of any ruler who might be willing to put their ideas into practice. The Warring States period offers many interesting parallels with developments in Greek philosophy that were going on at the same time. We shall touch upon some of them here and in the notes, but others deserve separate, intensive investigation for comparative purposes. Suffice it for the moment to say that the majority of China's seminal thinkers lived during this period and that it corresponds to the classical period of Greek philosophy.

Confucianism and Mohism

To understand the *Chuang Tzu*, it is necessary to realize that virtually all of the philosophical schools of the Warring States period were in dialogue with each other and, furthermore, that their vigorous debates are reflected in the pages of this book. Consequently, we would do well to make a survey of the most important thinkers of the age, especially those to whom the *Chuang Tzu* reacts most strongly.

The first intellectual tradition to coalesce as an identifiable school was that of the Confucianists. They were under the leadership of their namesake, the renowned early Chinese thinker, Confucius (551-479 B.C.E.). Confucius was active at the very end of the Spring and Autumn period, just before the outbreak of the Warring States period. Appearing during a time of sociopolitical upheaval, Confucius strove to restore order by propagating his doctrines.

Confucius was a man of great stature, both physically and in terms of his reputation. A profoundly conservative moralist who hearkened back to an imagined golden age at the beginning of the Chou dynasty, it was he who set the tone of reversion instead of progress that characterized the mainstream of Chinese social and political thought until this century and still has a profound influence on traditional Chinese intellectuals. His rationale for glorifying the past was based on the firm belief that the legendary sage-kings of antiquity could provide a model for good government in his own chaotic times.

Confucius' teachings are preserved in the *Analects* which consists largely of conversations between him and his disciples. In the *Analects*, Confucius asserts that a king

should rule through virtuous suasion rather than through sheer power. His ideal leader was the superior man (*chüntzu*), a person who was guided by the highest principles of conduct. Confucius and his followers were very much concerned with issues of benefit and harm, right and wrong, good and bad. The Confucians were moral absolutists, stressing *yi* ("duty; righteousness; justice") and *jen* ("humaneness; benevolence"). At the same time, they were very much status-oriented in their approach to social relationships, insisting that there was an unalterably fixed pattern of domination and subservience between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother.

For Chuang Tzu (Master Chuang), the Confucianists were much too stiff and stuffy, too hidebound and hierarchical. Master Chuang took great delight in making fun of Confucius and his disciples. So formidable were Master Chuang's indictments of the Confucianists that the syncretists who were somewhat sympathetic to them tried to co-opt him by writing several sections subtly espousing their cause and sneaking them into his book. These are pointed out below ("Structure and Composition of the Text") and in the appropriate chapter introductions.

The Mohists, who were active during the fourth and third centuries, were the first to challenge the heritage of Confucius. Their founder, Mo Ti, lived during the second half of the fifth century, having been born a few years after Confucius's death. It is significant that Master Mo was almost an exact contemporary of Socrates and that there are so many analogies between the system of thought that he propounded and various schools of Greek philosophy from the same period, but especially the Stoics. Tradition holds that Master Mo was originally a follower of Confucianism until he realized that it overemphasized rituals at the expense of ethics, so he parted company and founded his own school.

Master Mo was a skillful military engineer but devoted his talents solely to defensive works. In this sense, he might best be characterized as a militant pacifist. From the titles of ten important chapters of his works, we can gain an idea of the sorts of issues that occupied him and his followers: religion ("The Will of Heaven" and "Elucidating the Spirits"), philosophy ("Rejecting Destiny" and "Universal Love"), politics ("Elevating the Worthy", "Conformity with Superiors," and "Rejecting Aggression"), morals ("Economy in Funerals," "Economy in Expenditures," and "Rejecting Music"). Master Mo was associated with workers, craftsmen, and tradesmen, quite unlike Confucius and his followers who were aristocratic in their orientation. The Mohists were fiercely egalitarian and tested all dogmas by whether or not they benefitted the people. For Mo Tzu, everything was measured in terms of social utility. He criticized the Confucians for their

skepticism of heaven and spiritual beings as well as for their fatalism. Consequently, a debate of huge proportions ensued between the Confucians and the Mohists. The Mohist style of argumentation was dry and wooden. This is one of the reasons why their teachings virtually disappeared after the third century B.C.E. and have only been brought to light again in this century. Because of the ostensible similarity in their doctrines, Christians have been especially interested in the Mohists.

The Mohists were scientifically minded. Their works include estimable treatises on optics and other technical subjects. So practically oriented were they that they even adopted the use of some simplified sinographs in an attempt to ease the burden of a difficult writing system. The Mohists subscribed to an ascetic discipline and behaved as religious fundamentalists. After the death of the founder, Mohism was organized into a church headed by a succession of Elder Masters which lasted for several centuries. As a man, Master Mo was admired by all, but his teachings are considered by most Chinese to have been far too demanding. In a nutshell, we may describe Master Mo as a spartan, populist activist and theoretician of rather dour disposition who advocated universal love, inveighed against excess and luxury, and believed that the only justifiable war was a defensive one -- not at all to be scoffed at but, by the same token, not at all to the lighthearted taste of Master Chuang either. He considered the Mohists to be far too preachy and pragmatic, too mechanical and maudlin. Consequently, we encounter much wry ridicule of them in the pages of the *Chuang Tzu*.

Other Dominant Philosophies

Chinese historians speak of the Hundred Schools of Thought that flourished during the Warring States period. While this is simply a round number to indicate the many competing schools, it was indeed the most vital period in the development of Chinese thought. All of these schools came forth in response to the burning realities of the day and suggested a broad spectrum of solutions to cure the ills of the body politic. The leading thinkers were often government officials themselves or they were itinerant scholars who travelled from one feudal state to another promoting their programs for social and political reform, trying to find a sympathetic ruler who would put them into action. The thought of these Hundred Schools is preserved in the conversations between their masters and disciples, in memorials and other types of documents, and in treatises of varying lengths. The chief concepts that all of the schools debated over included the following:

Tao (pronounced *dow*) -- the Way, or to be more etymologically precise, the Track.
Te (pronounced *duh*) -- integrity or virtue; etymologically rendered as "doughtiness."
Jen (pronounced *ren*) -- benevolence; etymologically equivalent to "humaneness."
Yi (pronounced *yee*) -- righteousness; etymologically rendered as "justice."
T'ien (pronounced *teeyan*) -- heaven; etymologically equivalent to "divinity."

Each school had its own particular Way or Track. The Confucians, for example, promoted the Way of man, and the Taoists advocated the Way of the Way (cosmos or a universalized concept of nature). The *Chuang Tzu* responded to nearly all the other schools of thought during the middle and late Warring States period. Since Master Chuang reacted to these schools, elements from a wide variety of sources are operative in his book. To understand the *Chuang Tzu*, then, it is necessary to have some sense of the competing schools of thought that were present during the Warring States period beyond just the Confucians and the Mohists.

During the fourth century, a new figure enters the fray. This is the individualist, Yang Chu. Most of what we know about Yang Chu may be found in the seventh chapter of the *Lieh Tzu* which bears his name. It shows him as an unorthodox personage but not as someone who was truly licentious. His enemies called him an egoist and it was unfairly said of him (by a prominent Confucian) that he would not sacrifice a hair to benefit all under heaven. (What he actually said was "If nobody would sacrifice a hair, if nobody would try to benefit the world, then the world would become orderly." In other words, we should live and let live, not imposing ourselves on others nor letting others impose themselves on us. The Confucian distortion is both obvious and self-serving.) This was in direct contrast to Master Mo who was renowned as an extremely hard worker for the good. The Yangists were intent upon protecting themselves from the dangers of involvement in political strife. Yang Chu held that man must nourish his Heaven-endowed nature by keeping it intact and striving for happiness. We may characterize his philosphy as a brand of moderate epicureanism or hedonism.

It was in this context, then -- after Confucius, Mo Tzu, and Yang Chu -- that Master Chuang appeared upon the scene. It is not surprising that these three thinkers loom so large in his book because they had set the terms of the Warring States period intellectual debates. But Master Chuang does something very unusual. Instead of joining them in a debate, he deflates them by undermining both their basic premises and the methods by which they argued them. Over and over again, Master Chuang demonstrates the futility of

debate. Simultaneously with his attacks on disputation, however, a new group materialized who espoused argument as a legitimate professional pursuit in its own right.

Appearing in the late fourth century, at about the same time as Master Chuang, were the Sophists or Logicians. Perhaps it would be more accurate to refer to them by the literal translation of their designation in Chinese, the School of Names (i.e., Terms) or School of Names and Debate because they did not actually develop any syllogistic reasoning nor discover any laws of thought. In diverse ways, this new school affected all the other schools that were active during the fourth century. The leaders of the Sophists were Hui Shih and Kungsun Lung. Like the Mohist school, from which they derived, they were in favor of universal love and opposed to offensive war, but they differed from their predecessors in practicing disputation for its own sake. It was the Sophists who devised a whole set of celebrated paradoxes, such as Kungsun Lung's famous "A white horse is not a horse." Many of these paradoxical statements are preserved in the *Chuang Tzu*, but they are included there almost as a sort of joke. Master Chuang was actually a close friend of Hui Shih's. He mischievously debated with him and poked fun at his logic-chopping.

It is worth noting that the author of the final chapter of the *Chuang Tzu* gives great prominence to Hui Shih, not only by placing him in the culminating position, but simply by devoting so much space to this otherwise largely neglected philosopher. There is, in fact, some evidence that this section of chapter 33 may originally have been part of a separate chapter devoted to Hui Shih. Like Master Mo, he truly deserves to be called a philosopher in contrast to the vast majority of other early Chinese thinkers who dealt primarily with social and political problems rather than logic, ontology, epistemology, and so forth. Master Mo, interestingly enough, is similarly highlighted in this survey by being placed first and by being awarded generous coverage.

Another major personality who appeared on the scene about the same time as Master Chuang was Mencius (circa 372-289 B.C.E.). Whereas Master Chuang satirized Confucius, Mo Tzu, and Yang Chu, Mencius ardently defended Confucius and criticized the other two. For his advocacy of collectivism based on universal love, Mencius singled out Mo Tzu as Confucius's most dangerous rival. His focus was on human nature, a subject that had actually been brought to the fore by Yang Chu. Still, Mencius criticized Yang Chu sharply for his assertion of the primacy of the self over society. Mencius emphasized that human nature is basically good and that all men could become sages by fulfilling their inherent potential. He tempered the aristocratic side of Confucianism by being a champion of the common people and speaking out for humane government. This he did by stressing the role of the scholar-official in inculcating moral values in the ruler

who, as a result, would be encouraged to treat his subjects more kindly. Of all the early Confucian thinkers, Mencius was the most concerned with individual human development, but always within the context of creating a good society. During the third century, Master Hsün, another Confucian thinker who was influenced by several other schools, declared human nature to be fundamentally bad and that it could only be kept in check by education and strict moral inculcation. Given these presuppositions, it is not surprising that he believed in authoritarian principles of government.

The most radical of all schools that appeared during the Warring States period was that of the Legalists. They dismissed outright the moral standards of Confucius and the religious sanctions of the Mohists. Instead, they demanded firm political and military control of the state and its population through harsh laws. For the Legalists, all that mattered was power. In this respect, they remind us of the great Italian political theorist, Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527). For the Legalists, the ruler was the sole authority; it was his prerogative to use rewards and punishments to maintain control. The past was of no consideration; the statesman's concern was with the here and now. The Legalists were objective realists who were interested merely in results and were against vague platitudes. Moralism was not part of their discourse. The roots of Legalism can be traced to Kuan Chung (died 645 B.C.E.) who served as the prime minister of the state of Ch'i. The work that bears his name (*Master Kuan*), but which was manifestly compiled centuries later, is highly eclectic, including even a few proto-Taoist chapters. Master Kuan may also be viewed as the first economist in China, for it is he who began there the discussion of matters of finance and production.

The most important Legalist thinkers all lived around the same time as Chuang Chou. Politically, the most significant of these was Shang Yang (Kungsun Yang) or Lord Shang (died 338 B.C.E.), the prime minister of Ch'in who was instrumental in making that state so powerful. Lord Shang stressed the key role of law over all else in administering a state. The *Book of Lord Shang* is attributed to him. Shen Puhai (died 337 B.C.E.) was the prime minister of the state of Han. His forte was the employment of refined statecraft which he referred to as "techniques" or "methods" of government. The last important Legalist theoretician was Shen Tao or Master Shen (350-275 B.C.E.) who paid particular attention to the analysis of circumstances, tendencies, and configurations of power. Master Han Fei (died 233 B.C.E.) synthesized law, statecraft, and the analysis of the configuration of power. His book, which is entitled by his name (the *Master Han Fei*) also includes Taoist elements such as the injunction to follow nature and the concept of nonaction, i.e., the idea that good government works by itself without the direct

participation of the monarch. In general, we may say that the Legalists represented the most totalitarian strain within Chinese social and political thought. It was they who provided the ideological foundations for the establishment of the Ch'in dynasty (221-207 B.C.E.) and hence set the pattern for Chinese governmental institutions for the next two millennia and more.

By the end of the fourth century, all but the Confucians had recognized that the authority of the ancient sages could no longer be depended upon as an adequate guide to the contemporary world that had changed so tremendously. Master Chuang was among those who denied the relevance of the ancient sages for the contemporary world. Furthermore, while Confucian humanism definitely put man at the center of things, Master Chuang thought of man as but one among the myriad things.

Wing-tsit Chan (*Source Book*, p. 178) has pointed out that the Confucians have by and large been critical of Master Chuang. Hsün Tzu (Master Hsün, flourished 298-238 B.C.E.) said that he was "prejudiced in favor of nature and does not know man." Chu Hsi (1130-1200), the preeminent Neo-Confucian, complained, "Lao Tzu at least wanted to do something, but Master Chuang did not want to do anything at all. He even said that he knew what to do but just did not want to do it."

This antagonism to Master Chuang on the part of the Confucians is understandable, of course, because Master Chuang himself was so critical of them. Master Chuang often plays tricks on us by sometimes having Confucius speak like a Taoist and sometimes like himself. We can never be sure which is which unless we pay very close attention to the drift of an entire tale. The multiplicity of ambiguous personae in the *Chuang Tzu* is part of the exhilarating reading experience that it presents. Sometimes even Master Chuang himself is made to appear antithetical to what we would expect of Master Chuang by sounding Confucian, pedantic, or technical.

To summarize this survey of Chinese thought during the Warring States period, we may say that the Confucians were primarily interested in family relationships as the model for organizing good government, the Mohists were preoccupied by societal obligations, the Yangists were concerned with the preservation and enhancement of the individual, the Sophists were consumed by questions of logic, and the Legalists were focused wholly on the advancement of the ruler and his state. In opposition to all of these were the Taoists who viewed human society and politics as inevitably corrupting and sought to merge with the Way by returning to nature as contemplative quietists and hermits.

Perhaps the best and most authoritative introduction to Warring States philosophy is the concluding chapter of the *Chuang Tzu* itself. A systematic account of the outstanding

thinkers of the age, this chapter presents -- in tightly argued, analytical fashion -- many of the themes and figures that appear in narrative form elsewhere in the book. From a strictly scholarly point of view, therefore, it may well be the most valuable chapter of the *Chuang Tzu*, even though it was clearly not written by Master Chuang himself, but probably by the editor(s) of the book who brought together the disparate materials that go to make it up. "All under Heaven" amounts to a critical review of the major (and some minor) thinkers of the pre-Ch'in period. Considering the unprecedented nature of its accomplishment, the last chapter of the *Chuang Tzu* is a most remarkable document, a veritable intellectual tour-de-force.

Relationship to the *Tao Te Ching*

Of all the philosphers who were active during the Warring States period, Master Chuang's closest affinities are naturally with the Old Masters (Lao Tzu). Like the Old Masters, Master Chuang held that what can be said of the Way is not really the Way, and there are many other points of similarity between them. The Old Masters were the originators of the sayings that were compiled as the *Tao Te Ching* around the end of the third century B.C.E. Master Chuang quotes from *Tao Te Ching* repeatedly; dozens of examples could be cited. Those who are well acquainted with the *Tao Te Ching* will notice frequent echoes of that text in the pages of the *Chuang Tzu.* What is intriguing, however, is that they usually are not exact quotations. In other instances, sayings attributed to the Old Master are not to be found in the standard edition of the *Tao Te Ching*. This indicates that the *Tao Te Ching* was still probably circulating as oral tradition at the time of Chuang Chou and had not yet coalesced as a written text, certainly not the text that we know today.

The *Tao Te Ching* is extremely terse and open to many different interpretations. The *Chuang Tzu*, on the other hand, is more definitive and comprehensive as a repository of early Taoist thought. The *Tao Te Ching* was addressed to the sage-king; it is basically a handbook for rulers. The *Chuang Tzu*, in contrast, is the earliest surviving Chinese text to present a philosophy for the individual. The authors of the *Tao Te Ching* were interested in establishing some sort of Taoist rule, while the authors of the *Chuang Tzu* opted out of society, or at least out of power relationships within society. Master Chuang obviously wanted no part of the machinery of government. He compared the state bureaucrat to a splendidly decorated ox being led to sacrifice, while he preferred to think of himself as an unconstrained piglet playing in the mud. The *Tao Te Ching* offers the Way as a guide for

life and it propounds nonaction as a means to achieve one's purpose in the workaday world. Master Chuang believed that the Way had supreme value in itself and consequently did not occupy himself with its mundane applications. Rather than paying attention to the governance of human society (the fundamental concern of most early Chinese thinkers), he stressed the need for transcendence and the freedom of the individual from such worldly concerns. In spite of all the differences, however, Master Chuang was clearly attracted by the doctrines of the Old Masters and many of his writings may be thought of as expanded metaphors or meditations on the brief sayings of those early Taoist luminaries whose ideas have been enshrined in the *Tao Te Ching*.

There is no text listed in the earliest authoritative catalogue of Chinese books as having been written by the Old Masters (Lao Tzu), nor is there a *Tao Te Ching* in 5,000 sinographs (its legendary length) or in 81 chapters (the number in the received version) that can be dated to the pre-Ch'in period. This fits with my contention that a single Old Master never existed, that the text associated with the Old Masters is a Ch'in period (or from a time shortly before then, i.e., the latter half of the third century B.C.E.) compilation of adages and wise sayings attributed to a type of sage of whom there were many active during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods (i.e., from 722 to 221 B.C.E.), and that the text in question only came to be called the *Tao Te Ching* several centuries later under the impact of the rise of religious Taoism (which itself came into being as a result of the massive influence of Buddhism upon Chinese society and thought around that time). The questions of the dating and authorship of the *Chuang Tzu* are no less complicated than those for the *Tao Te Ching*. We shall devote a special section to them below.

Although the problems surrounding the authorship of the *Tao Te Ching* and the *Chuang Tzu* may be dissimilar, their respective literary forms can give us some insight into their composition. The *Tao Te Ching* is written entirely in verse, snatches of which are also to be found in other texts dating to about the same period in which it took shape. One of the functions of gnomic verse, especially when it is rhymed, is that it is easily memorized. Indeed, one may say that, in traditional societies where the technology of writing is not widespread, the regular structure of verse itself is a sort of mnemonic device. In contrast, unrhymed prose with its varying cadences is much harder to commit to memory and is a sign of the emergence of cultures premised upon the written word as the primary technology for preserving and transmitting information.

The *Tao Te Ching* is renowned for its density and brevity. The *Chuang Tzu*, on the other hand, is best characterized as being written in a "rambling" mode. This expansive style reflects the freedom of life advocated by Master Chuang. The very first parable in the

book, about the inability of little fowl to comprehend the stupendousness of the giant P'eng-bird, is typical of the relaxed quality of the book as a whole.

The shape of the *Tao Te Ching* is exactly what we would expect of a body of sagely wisdom that was normally conveyed orally -- it was poetic and communal in the sense that its authorship was shared (i.e., it cannot readily be attributed to a single, easily identifiable creator). The *Chuang Tzu* evinces a stage when writing was just starting to free itself from the exclusive control of priests and diviners (i.e., esoteric specialists in sacred lore and ritual), and authorship by identifiable intellectuals was beginning to take on a more definite role in Chinese society. Therefore, the *Chuang Tzu* is fundamentally a work of prose, but it still includes sizable chunks of verse having a pre-grammatological heritage, some of it gnomic as with the *Tao Te Ching*, some of it epic (though severely fragmented, as was all early Chinese myth that encountered the stridently anti-mystical strains of Confucianism), and some of it oracular (notably the stunning series of cosmic riddles that opens chapter 14). I consider the verse portions of the *Chuang Tzu* as being oral wisdom embedded in the prose matrix of a single thinker and his followers and redactors. The transitional nature of the *Chuang Tzu* is further evident in the fact that much of its prose is highly rhythmic and antithetical, partaking of certain qualities of verse. It might have been possible to set off more passages as verse or semiverse, but I have resisted the temptation to do so on the grounds that the *Chuang Tzu*, in the final analysis, is a work of prose. We must remember, however, that the Warring States philosophers, of whom Master Chuang was one, were mostly peripatetic persuaders who went about trying to convince the rulers of the contending kingdoms to adopt their policies and, through them, to bring peace to the empire. The word for persuasion in Classical Chinese is *shui*, which is cognate with *shuo* ("to say, speak"). Hence, even though the *Chuang Tzu* represents one of the earliest attempts in China to write discursive prose, it is still imbued with the oral tradition out of which it grew.

The third major Taoist text, the *Lieh Tzu*, is of questionable authenticity. Most scholars would agree that it was forged during the third century C.E. and that it was much colored by Buddhist sources. Nonetheless, the *Lieh Tzu* does contain some passages that undoubtedly are based upon pre-Ch'in lore. Master Lieh figures prominently in the *Chuang Tzu* and was even awarded his own chapter (32). The fourth major Taoist collection is the *Huainan Tzu* which dates to around 130 B.C.E. It is a highly eclectic (selecting elements from a variety of sources) work.

The Question of Authorship

The *Chuang Tzu* in its present form was certainly not written by Chuang Chou, the putative author. Before explaining how we know this to be the case, let us examine what facts may be gleaned about the life of our supposed author. Born around the year 369 B.C.E., Chuang Chou was from Meng, a district of the northern state of Sung (it lay south of the Yellow River near the border between the modern provinces of Shantung and Honan). Though Sung was considered to be a northern state, Meng was very close to the border with the powerful southern state of Ch'u and consequently strongly influenced by southern culture. It is not surprising that later the *Chuang Tzu* was awarded by an imperial proclamation in the year 742 the honorific title *True Scripture of the Southern Florescence (Nanhua chen ching).*

Next to nothing is known of Chuang Chou's life except that he seems to have spent some time in Ch'u and in the Ch'i (a northern state) capital of Lintzu where he must have associated with scholars from the celebrated Chihsia "academy" that was located there. Chuang Chou probably died in about 286 B.C.E. In fact, the evidence for the existence of a historical Chuang Tzu (Master Chuang) is only slightly greater than that for a historical Lao Tzu (Old Master), the alleged author of the *Tao Te Ching*, which is virtually nil. In fact, as we have seen, the Old Master was most likely not a single historical personage at all but a congeries of ancient sages. Nonetheless, the great historian, Ssuma Ch'ien, managed circa 104 B.C.E. to devise a sort of "biography" for Chuang Chou in scroll 63 of his celebrated *The Grand Scribe's Records (Shih chi).* Ever since that time, devotees have believed that Chuang Chou really did exist and that it was he who wrote the *Chuang Tzu.*

Here is what Ssuma Ch'ien actually had to say about Master Chuang:

> Master Chuang was a man of Meng and his given name was Chou. Chou once served as a minor functionary at Lacquer Garden and was a contemporary of King Hui of Liang and King Hsüan of Ch'i. There was nothing upon which his learning did not touch, but its essentials derived from the words of the Old Masters. Therefore, his writings, consisting of over a hundred thousand words, for the most part were allegories. He wrote "An Old Fisherman," "Robber Footpad," and "Ransacking Coffers" to criticize the followers of Confucius and to illustrate the arts of the Old Masters. Chapters such as "The Wilderness of Jagged" and "Master K'angsang" were all empty talk without any substance. Yet his style and

diction were skillful and he used allusions and analogies to excoriate the Confucians and the Mohists. Even the most profound scholars of the age could not defend themselves. His words billowed without restraint to please himself. Therefore, from kings and dukes on down, great men could not put him to use.

King Wei of Ch'u heard that Chuang Chou was a worthy man. He sent a messenger with bountiful gifts to induce him to come and promised to make him a minister. Chuang Chou laughed and said to the messenger of Ch'u, "A thousand gold pieces is great profit and the position of minister is a respectful one, but haven't you seen the sacrificial ox used in the suburban sacrifices? After being fed for several years, it is garbed in patterned embroidery so that it may be led into the great temple. At this point, though it might wish to be a solitary piglet, how could that be? Go away quickly, sir, do not pollute me! I'd rather enjoy myself playing around in a fetid ditch than be held in bondage by the ruler of a kingdom. I will never take office for as long as I live, for that is what pleases my fancy."

Judging from the dates of King Hui of Liang (reigned 370-355 B.C.E.), King Hsüan of Ch'i (reigned 319-301 B.C.E.), and King Wei of Ch'u (reigned 339-329 B.C.E.) who are mentioned in this account, Chuang Chou was roughly a contemporary of Mencius (372-289 B.C.E.), the eminent thinker known as the Second Sage of the Confucian tradition. Ssuma Ch'ien states that Chuang Chou was born in Meng, located just north of Shang Hill City (Shangch'iu shih) in eastern Honan province. The location of the Lacquer Garden, where he is supposed to have held a minor position, is not certain. In fact, Lacquer Garden may not even be a place name at all but only a general designation for a plantation. Some scholars hold that it was located about 50 miles northeast of the modern city of Kaifeng (also in Honan province). It is noteworthy that none of the five chapters from the *Chuang Tzu* cited by Ssuma Ch'ien occur among the "Inner," supposedly more authentic, chapters of the book.

We must remember that this skimpy biographical sketch was written more than two centuries after the time of Chuang Chou and that, during the intervening period, there were no other works which provided any useful information about his life. Furthermore, most of Ssuma Ch'ien's brief portrait of Chuang Chou is drawn from anecdotes in the *Chuang Tzu* itself. Since the *Chuang Tzu* is full of hyperbolic invention, this means that they have no necessary basis in fact. Aside from those recounted by Ssuma Ch'ien, there are a

number of other memorable anecdotes about Chuang Chou in the later chapters of the *Chuang Tzu*, but these are largely apocryphal. According to these anecdotes and to the hagiographical legends that have grown up around him, it would appear that Chuang Chou was a highly unconventional person who paid no attention to physical comfort or social status. He is said to have worn raggedy clothing and tied his shoes on with string to prevent them from falling apart. Although he was poor, Chuang Chou by no means thought of himself as unfortunate or miserable.

There are a number of tales in the *Chuang Tzu* which indicate that Chuang Chou did not consider death as something to be feared. For example, when his philosopher-friend Hui Shih came to console him upon the death of his wife, he found Master Chuang sitting sprawled out on the floor beating on a basin and singing:

> "When she first died, how could I of all people not be melancholy? But I reflected on her beginning and realized that she originally was unborn. Not only was she unborn, she originally had no form. Not only did she have no form, she originally had no vital breath. Intermingling with nebulousness and blurriness, a transformation occurred and there was vital breath; the vital breath was transformed and there was form; the form was transformed and there was birth; now there has been another transformation and she is dead. This is like the progression of the four seasons -- from spring to autumn, from winter to summer. There she sleeps blissfully in an enormous chamber. If I were to have followed her weeping and wailing, I thought that it would have been out of keeping with destiny, so I stopped." (18B)

When Master Chuang himself was about to die, his disciples planned an elaborate burial, but he protested saying that all he wanted was for heaven and earth to be his inner and outer coffins, the sun and moon to be his paired jades, the stars and constellations to be his pearls, and all natural phenomena to be his mortuary gifts. Apparently, Master Chuang viewed death as a natural process or transformation. Death to him was but the giving up of one form of existence and the assuming of another. Master Chuang believed that the wise man or woman accepts death with equanimity and thereby achieves absolute happiness.

Occasionally, the names of ancient Chinese philosophers afford a clue to their affiliations or intentions (e.g., Master Mo ["Ink" -- as used by carpenters in drawing a straight line], Master Kuan ["Tube" -- purpose unknown], Old Master [i.e., a hoary sage],

Lieh Yük'ou ["Resist Tyranny"], and so forth). Chuang Chou's surname and name, which ostensibly mean "Solemn Round," do not help us much in this regard because he was anything but sedate, though he may well be thought of as slipperily circular.

The connection between Chuang Chou and the *Chuang Tzu*, though less tenuous than that between Lao Tzu and the *Tao Te Ching*, still presents obstacles of its own. As a historical personage, Chuang Chou remains an enigma. Inasmuch as there are almost no hard facts available about Chuang Chou the man, we are forced to rely on information that may be gleaned from the *Chuang Tzu* itself in an attempt to figure out what sort of person he was. As we have seen, however, this is not a very reliable procedure either, given the playful propensities of the author(s) of the text. Even the synoptic chapter 33, "All under Heaven," gives only an enigmatic, though endearing, account of Chuang Chou the individual.

Whether or not there ever was a Chuang Chou (there probably was), of one thing we can be sure: he did not write all of the *Chuang Tzu*. The sheer amount of blatantly contradictory ideological materials that occur in the various chapters alone is proof enough of that. The literary quality of the chapters is also tremendously uneven, some of them being among the finest masterpieces of Chinese writing, brilliantly conceived and expressed, while others are tritely composed and sloppily executed. The Sophist, Kungsun Lung, is mentioned three times in the *Chuang Tzu*. Since he was active after Chuang Chou, this indicates that the *Chuang Tzu* was compiled after the time of the master himself. In the survey of schools of thought that constitutes chapter 33 and elsewhere in the text, Chuang Chou is discussed from a historical viewpoint. This is further evidence that the *Chuang Tzu* was put together by someone other than Chuang Chou. In order to find out who that might have been, we need to discuss in more detail the separate strands and layers of the book.

Structure and Composition of the Text

Since the middle of the third century C.E., scholars have regarded the *Chuang Tzu* as a composite text. The current edition (standard from the fourth century C.E.) has 33 chapters, but there is good evidence that a 52-chapter edition of the *Chuang Tzu* existed as late as the first century B.C.E. Kuo Hsiang (died 312 C.E.), basing his work on that of a previous commentator named Hsiang Hsiu, wrote the first extant and what many consider to be the best commentary on the *Chuang Tzu*. By doing so, he secured its position as the

primary source for early Taoist thought. Kuo Hsiang was undoubtedly also the compiler of the *Chuang Tzu* in its present form.

The *Chuang Tzu* as we now have it is divided into three parts: the Inner Chapters (1-7), the Outer Chapters (8-22), and the Miscellaneous Chapters (23-33). The first seven chapters, the Inner Chapters, are considered by the majority of scholars to reflect best the thought of Master Chuang himself. Of the three sections, they are the most often translated and are widely considered to be the most authentic. This is not to assert, however, that they are the only excellent parts of the book. Many connoisseurs of the *Chuang Tzu*, for example, would claim that the most beautiful chapter is number 17, which includes the magnificent dialogue between the Earl of the Yellow River and the Overlord of the North Sea. And chapter 29, which contains the long, bizarre conversation between Robber Footpad and Confucius, is held by many devotees of the book to be the most humorous.

The great discrepancies among the contents of the various chapters is due to a number of factors. First are the doctrinal differences among the Taoist factions who came after Master Chuang and were identified with him. Some of these were undoubtedly affected to one degree or another by other schools and hence would have brought in material from them. Next are the non-Taoist thinkers who recognized the enormous appeal of Master Chuang and wanted to appropriate part of his popularity to advance their own programs. The incorporation of sections by such thinkers in the *Chuang Tzu* further complicated the text. The *Chuang Tzu* is thus a very heterogeneous work that does not speak with a single voice. The number of ways of looking at the *Chuang Tzu* are as plentiful as the disparate facets of the text itself.

No one has yet discovered a trustworthy method for firmly attributing even the Inner Chapters to Chuang Chou, although a growing consensus tends to do so. Beyond the first seven Inner Chapters, some scholars see a number of other identifiable strands operative. Chapters 8-10 and parts of 11 reflect a primitive, naturalist cast associated with the followers of the Old Masters (Lao Tzu). Chapters 12-16 and perhaps 33 are said to belong to the Syncretists who probably edited the book as a whole. Their role will be further examined in the following paragraph. Chapters 16-27 are thought to represent the ideas of later members of Master Chuang's own school. Finally, there are the individualists of a somewhat Yangist disposition who seem to be responsible for chapters 28-31. This breakdown by no means exhausts the complexity of the *Chuang Tzu*, but it does give some notion of the difficulties inherent in dealing with early Chinese texts.

The precise responsibility for the composition of the separate portions of the *Chuang Tzu* is shrouded in mystery. Nor are we on much firmer ground when it comes to

determining who first collected them into a single volume. Several critical scholars now believe that the *Chuang Tzu* was compiled by Liu An (died 122 B.C.E.), the Han dynasty Prince of Huainan, with the assistance of attendants at his court. The lavish, un-Chuang Tzu-ish praise of the sovereign in some of the Outer Chapters and Miscellaneous Chapters does seem to represent a kind of sycophancy that might be expected of the court literati who danced attendance upon Liu An. Liu An and his circle of scholars did espouse a brand of philosophical syncretism (aimed at reconciling differing schools of thought into a single system) that seems to be compatible with the overall composition of the *Chuang Tzu* and especially the signature-like final chapter. Still, we lack hard data to ascribe with confidence the initial editing of the *Chuang Tzu* to anyone in particular.

Kuo Hsiang's standard edition of the *Chuang Tzu* that has been transmitted down to us contains many commentaries that appear to have worked their way into the text. In my translation, I have removed some of the more egregious instances (they have been transferred to the section at the back entitled Deleted Passages; my original intention was to keep them in the text but mark them as extraneous, defective, or commentarial). All 33 chapters of the Kuo Hsiang edition of the *Chuang Tzu* have titles, but they do not derive from the period of the initial composition of the text and thus are not to be taken overly seriously.

The original heart of the *Chuang Tzu* probably consisted of relatively short, vivid parables and fables such as the opening paragraphs of the book. Another good example is the first paragraph of 5E. The ensuing paragraphs beginning "Thus" and "Therefore" may be later explanatory additions. This pattern is frequently repeated elsewhere in the book: a short, graphic tale or parable followed by more abstract expositions of the point that it makes (e.g., 24J). The two types of materials frequently clash in mood and in style. Naturally, it is the concrete narratives that are more memorable than the abstract expositions.

In short, Chuang Chou did not write the *Chuang Tzu*. For the sake of convenience, however, we may collectively refer to the nominal author(s) of the core passages of the *Chuang Tzu* as Master Chuang (Chuang Tzu), which is to say that we associate the text with the school of thought that was grouped around that shadowy name.

Importance of the *Chuang Tzu*

After the Old Masters, the fathers of the Taoist church have always looked upon Master Chuang as the most important fountainhead of their tradition, but one wonders how much of Taoist religion the wag would have been able to stomach. A wide spectrum of Chinese thinkers has similarly tried to pre-empt Master Chuang, or parts of him, for their own. But this is perhaps the most serious mistake in dealing with the protean Master Chuang, namely, to treat him as a systematic philosopher. Master Chuang's game is to put dents in, if not annihilate altogether, human thought processes. Rather than rationality, it is intuition that he favors. Such a figure can scarcely be taken as a model upon which to build a system of thought. The importance of the *Master Chuang* lies far more in its function as a literary repository than as a philosphical disquisition.

There are scores of famous passages from the *Chuang Tzu* that are among the most memorable in all of Chinese literature. Here I shall cite only two:

> The emperor of the Southern Sea was Lickety, the emperor of the Northern Sea was Split, and the emperor of the Center was Wonton. Lickety and Split often met each other in the land of Wonton, and Wonton treated them very well. Wanting to repay Wonton's kindness, Lickety and Split said, "All people have seven holes for seeing, hearing, eating, and breathing. Wonton alone lacks them. Let's try boring some holes for him." So every day they bored one hole, and on the seventh day Wonton died.
>
> (7G)

This demonstrates graphically the disastrous consequences of going against nature. What makes us remember the lesson is not so much the contents of the doctrine espoused but the inimitable manner in which it is expressed.

> Once upon a time Chuang Chou dreamed that he was a butterfly, a butterfly flitting about happily enjoying himself. He didn't know that he was Chou. Suddenly he awoke and was palpably Chou. He did not know whether he were Chou who had dreamed of being a butterfly or a butterfly who was dreaming that he was Chou. Now, there must be a difference between Chou and the butterfly. This is called the transformation of things.
>
> (2N)

Here Master Chuang is playing on the theme of transformation. So striking is the imagery that whole dramas have been written on this theme. If Master Chuang had been merely a pedestrian, prosaic philospher, no one would pay any particular attention to his claim about the "transformation of things."

Conveyed by the literary grandness of Master Chuang is a grandness of soul. Through it, we are led to liberation. In the very first chapter, Master Chuang tells us that there are varying degrees of happiness. The greatest happiness is achieved through a higher understanding of the nature of things. For the full development of oneself, one needs to express one's innate ability. This is *te* whose basic meaning for Master Chuang, as for the Old Masters, is integrity or character. *Te* is the manifestation in the individual of the universal Way/Track or Tao. The Tao is thus immanent in all creatures and things, even in excrement (22F).

That which belongs to beings and objects by nature is intrinsic or internal; that which is imposed upon them by man is extrinsic or external. All the myriad things in the world are different by nature and they have different innate abilities, but they are equal (each in their own way, of course) when they freely exercise their innate abilities. In other words, for Master Chuang equality exists only in the universal Way that both permeates and embraces the enormous variety of the myriad things. Yet, instead of letting a duck keep its short legs and the crane its long legs (8A), man intervenes and tries to impose an artifical equality (that is, uniformity) by making them have legs of the same length. This runs counter to the nature of both the duck and the crane. Artificiality forcibly attempts to change things according to its own conceptions and enforces uniformity (not equality). This is the purpose of all morals, laws, institutions, and governments, namely, to promote sameness and to eradicate difference.

The motivation of those who promote uniformity may be entirely laudable. For example, if they believe that something is good for themselves, they may wish to see others enjoy it too. In the process, however, they are more than likely to demean, if not destroy, those whom they intend to help because they oppose their individual natures. We may say, then, that Master Chuang was the first great proponent of true diversity and that he had the good sense to recognize that it could not be achieved through government fiat.

Master Chuang strenuously opposed the formal mechanisms of government. In his view, the best way to govern is through no government at all. In this, he agreed with the Old Masters, but for different reasons. The Old Masters were deeply concerned with governance, but advocated a minimalist policy simply because they felt that the more government there was the less effective it would be. For Master Chuang, however, the

whole notion of government was problematic because of the opposition between man and nature. Better to let things take their own course, he would say, and not govern them at all, not even minimally. Lest he be misinterpreted, it is questionable whether Master Chuang's position is tantamount to anarchy, and he was by no means in favor of violence. It was not Master Chuang's business to describe what sort of governing apparatus there should be; his purpose was to tell us what government should not do.

According to Master Chuang, every person can achieve happiness for himself or herself. Just let them be. Master Chuang's social and political philosophy is quite different from every other thinker in early China in that it was directed toward the private person rather than to groups. He encouraged individuals to seek inner happiness rather than trying to enforce happiness through government policy. To him this was a contradiction in terms. As soon as government intervenes in natural affairs, it destroys all possibility of genuine happiness.

Another lesson taught by Master Chuang through his parables is that of the humble artisans whose perfect mastery of their craft reveals a mastery of life itself. Butchers, wheelwrights, bell-stand makers, and others are shown to possess a superior wisdom that cannot be expressed in words and can only be acquired through experience and practice.

Modern critics often assert that Master Chuang was an anti-rationalist. The situation, however, is not quite so straightforward as that. While he is dubious about the efficacy of reason to solve all human problems, he does not assert its utter futility. To come to grips with Master Chuang's ambivalent attitude toward human rationality, we must explore the sources of his discontent with it. Master Chuang's animus toward rationality stems from historical circumstance. It was the Mohist plodding predilection for logic that left Master Chuang so disenchanted with this dull species of rationality. Master Mo's doctrines were so unusual in the context of Chinese thought that they had to be defended in open debate. As a result, he and his followers were the first thinkers in China regularly to engage in formal disputation. Honing their elocutionary expertise in this fashion, the Mohists came the closest of all schools in ancient China to constructing a coherent system of logic. Their initial success with this new technique of persuasion encouraged other schools to follow suit in developing the techniques of debate they had introduced. Consequently, philosophical disputation became endemic to the period. More than ever before, debaters paid attention to defining their terms, structuring their arguments, and seizing upon the fallacies of their opponents. Ultimately, as with Hui Shih and Kungsun Lung, logic became a pursuit for its own sake. Master Chuang was a younger friend and perhaps even initially a disciple of Hui Shih. His intimate familiarity with paradox and

sophistry indicate that he must have dabbled with logical subtleties himself when he was young, but he obviously outgrew them. Master Chuang's fascination with Hui Shih's brand of rationality stemmed from a desire to probe the limits of reason, not to deny its validity altogether. Master Chuang uses reason to put reason in proper perspective.

The late Mohist *Canons* (circa 300 B.C.E.) contain the most logically sophisticated texts from early China. In them, we see clearly the resort to reason as the arbiter of conflicting viewpoints. This approach, which had already become the hallmark of Greek philosophy and subsequently characterized the whole of the Western philosophical tradition, in the end was decisively rejected by later Chinese thinkers who preferred to rely more on moral persuasion and intuition. Master Chuang played a vital role in the emergence of Chinese skepticism toward rationality, turning it on its head and satirizing it trenchantly. In the *Chuang Tzu*, arguments that seem to have the appearance of reason are ironically designed to discredit it. Master Chuang was also very much interested in the intricate relationship of language and thought. His work is full of intentional non sequiturs and absurdities because he uses these devices to explore the inadequacies of language itself, an approach similar to that later taken by Zen masters with their koans. Again, we find Master Chuang ironically using a device to cast doubt upon the infallibility of that same device. This proves that he abandoned neither language nor reason; he only wished to point out that overdependence on them could limit the flexibility of thought.

Another key theme in the *Chuang Tzu* is that of relativity. A person who understands that big and little, soft and hard, good and bad are not absolutely counterposed transcends the ordinary distinctions among things and the distinction between self and other. In this way, he or she identifies with Unity and essentially becomes immortal.

Above all, Master Chuang emphasized spontaneity. He was a mystic who recommended freedom from the world and its conventions. Most philosophers of ancient China addressed their ideas to a political or intellectual elite, but Master Chuang focused on those who were striving for spiritual achievements.

The *Chuang Tzu* was involved in a vibrant interaction with Buddhism as this originally Indian religion developed in China. Chinese Buddhists received more inspiration from the *Chuang Tzu* than from any other early Chinese text. This is especially true of members of the Zen (Ch'an) school. We may, therefore, say that one of the major contributions of the *Chuang Tzu* to Chinese culture was the role that it played in the evolution of Zen, which has now become a world religion, particularly in its Japanese guise. But this is a phenomenon that occurred long after the composition of the original text. There is, however, evidence of Indian influence in the very formation of the *Chuang*

Tzu, some of which has been pointed out in the notes to the translation (see, for example, chapter 6 note 2 and chapter 7 note 12 on "breathing ...from the heels" and chapter 15 note 3 on "bear strides and bird stretches"). We should also pay attention to the ancient Iranian elements in the *Chuang Tzu*. To give only one instance, the story of Chi Hsien and Master Hu (7E) is about a contest of spiritual powers between an Iranian-style mage and an Indian-style sage. The mage, Chi Hsien, also appears in 14A playing the role of dispenser of cosmic wisdom who can answer riddles that would stump even an ancient Chinese sage. The puzzles that he solves have an even broader, trans-Eurasian compass since they take the form of an extended series of riddles uncannily like those posed by early Indo-European seers and priests. Also awaiting further investigation is the striking resemblance of the colloquy on the joy of fishes between Master Chuang and Master Hui (17G) to many philosphical dialogues found in the works of Plato. Master Chuang was not an isolated Chinese thinker, but the impressive product of a long process of national and international cross-fertilization.

Master Chuang is claimed by both religionists and philosophers, but I think of him more as a fabulist, that is, as a composer of fables and apologues. It is as a literary stylist that Master Chuang had his greatest impact on culture for, probably more than any other single Chinese author, succeeding generations of writers have turned to him for allusions, themes, turns of phrase, and modes of expression. Painters likewise found abundant stimulation in the tales of Master Chuang.

The *Chuang Tzu* is, first and foremost, a literary text and consequently should not be subjected to excessive philosophical analysis. Unfortunately, this is practically the only way that scholars have viewed the text during this century. In my estimation, this distorts its true value. What is more, the *Chuang Tzu* is not merely a literary text; it is actually an anthology or compilation of literary texts. Hence it is even less susceptible to systematic philosophical analysis. This is by no means to say that the *Chuang Tzu* is devoid of importance for the history of Chinese philosophy. To be sure, it contains much valuable information that documents intellectual trends during the Warring States period, but these must be sorted out very carefully. Because of the heterogeneous nature of the text, it is extremely difficult, if not altogether possible, to determine a system of thought to which Chuang Chou subscribed. The *Chuang Tzu* is a variegated monument of Chinese literature; it is in this light that we should read and interpret it.

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This is by no means an exhaustive listing of works relating to the *Chuang Tzu*. Much airy, lepidopterous nonsense has been written about this text in recent years, particularly in Western languages, although there have lately also been some interesting and useful studies issued. In principle, I would prefer to let Master Chuang speak for himself. The works listed here are thus restricted to those which are referred to in the Preface, Introduction, and Notes or which have immediate relevance for those who might wish to pursue questions raised by this book and the translation.

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Chapter 1

1. **K'un (3).** The K'un has often been likened to Leviathan.

2. **tricents (3).** A tricent is three hundred paces, exactly equivalent to an ancient Chinese li (roughly one third of a mile ["a thousand paces"]). Throughout the translation, li is consistently rendered by "tricent."

3. **P'eng (3).** The P'eng has been compared to the roc of Western mythology and the garuḍa of Indian mythology.

4. **Progenitor P'eng (4).** The Chinese Methuselah who lived in prehistoric times.

5. **virtue (5).** In Confucian or conventional contexts, te is translated as "virtue." In Taoistic or unconventional contexts, it is translated as "integrity." The most etymologically precise equivalent in English is the archaic word "dough[tiness]."

6. **Sung Jung (5).** The same philosopher as Sung Chien who is named in the final chapter of this book.

7. **Master Lieh (5).** Lieh Tzu, the best-known philosopher of early Taoism after Lao Tzu ("Old Master") and Chuang Tzu ("Master Chuang"). See chapter 32.

8. **Yao (6).** A sage-king of high antiquity.

9. **all under heaven (6).** A traditional expression referring to the Chinese empire (literally "heaven/sky-below") that occurs hundreds of times in the Chuang Tzu. In this translation, when considered collectively as "the world" or "the empire," it is grammatically treated as a singular noun phrase (as though it might be written "all-under-heaven"). When considered as the constituent elements, things, or men that go to make up the world or the empire, it is grammatically treated as a plural noun phrase.

10. **Hsü Yu (6).** A legendary hermit. His name might be interpreted as meaning "Promise Allow."

11. **impersonator of the dead (6).** See chapter 14, note 25.

12. **Chien Wu, Lien Shu (6).** Two fictitious practitioners of the Way.

13. **Chieh Yü (6).** A legendary hermit of the state of Ch'u.

14. **myriad things (7).** This is a very important expression in early Chinese philosophy. "Myriad things" refers to all phenomenal existence. More literally, we might render wanwu as "the ten thousand entities." We should note that while wu is normally translated as "thing" for consistency's sake, it also includes both the notion of "creature" and of "object."

15. **Shun (7).** Another sage-king of high antiquity.

16. **Sung (7).** In the central part of north China.

17. **Viet (7).** In the south of China. During Chuang Tzu's time, the people living here were not yet Sinicized.

18. **Fen River (7).** In Shansi province.

19. **Master Hui (7).** A friend and favorite philosophical sparring partner of Chuang Tzu, Hui Tzu was an important figure in the School of Names.

20. **Viet, Ngwa (8).** In Modern Standard Mandarin, Ngwa is pronounced Wu and Viet is pronounced Yüeh.

21. **defeated them (8).** Because his men used the ointment to protect their hands from getting chapped in the cold, wet weather.

Chapter 2

1. **Sir Motley (10).** His name may alternatively indicate that he has a sternly disciplined personality.

2. **mind (10).** The word hsin means both "heart" and "mind." We may think of it as the heart-mind.

3. **Yen (10).** Yen was apparently the disciple's real name, Sir Wanderer his sobriquet.

4. **something else (12).** Heaven is not an external agency. Rather, it is innate within everything.

5. **Her (13).** The Chinese pronoun lacks gender.

6. **Holy Yü (14).** The third sage-king of high antiquity.

7. **Way (15).** Tao. The most etymologically precise equivalent in English is "track."

8. **Confucians and Mohists (15).** Two schools of philosophy from the Warring States period when Chuang Tzu lived. These are meant to stand for the whole gamut of contesting schools at that time.

9. **nature (15).** The word for "nature" in Chinese, in the sense of the natural world, is derived from that for "sky" or "heaven" (t'ien). Thus we could also say that the sage sees things in the light of heaven. In this translation "nature" is also sometimes used for the Chinese word hsing, meaning the character, personality, or disposition of an individual.

10. **nonhorseness of a horse (16).** These two paradoxes both derive from and are a critique of Master Kungsun Lung, who belonged to the School of Logicians. As originally formulated by the latter, they read as follows: "There is nothing that is not an index [of something else], but an index is not an index [of something else]" and "A white horse is not a horse." The word for "index" in the first paradox quite literally means "finger," as does the Latin root of the English word. As a verb, the same Chinese word means "to indicate" or "to point out." Thus the philosophical sense of "fingerness" in this passage is "indexicality."

11. **Hsi Shih (16).** A fabled beauty of old.

12. **commonality (16).** The following two sentences appear somewhat garbled because they almost certainly are an old commentary that has crept into the text.

13. **clansman Chao (17).** Chao Wen, the most famous lutanist of antiquity.

14. **Maestro K'uang (17).** A famous music teacher of old.

15. **parasol tree (17).** More specifically, the Chinese parasol tree (Firmiana simplex) or wut'ung. It has close associations with lute playing in China. See Mair, "Seven Stimuli", pp. 32-39.

16. **"hard" and "white" (18).** Referring to the sophistries of Master Hui, who claimed that hardness and whiteness could not coexist in the same entity.

17. **Progenitor P'eng (18).** See chapter 1, note 4.

18. **mathematician (19).** More literally, "calendrical specialist."

19. **inhumane (19).** That is, it is not purposely benevolent toward a specific recipient of its attention while ignoring others. Cf. Tao Te Ching, ch. 5.

20. **immodest (19).** It is not intentionally modest.

21. **Tsung, etc. (20).** Three small states (probably imaginary).

22. **ten suns (20).** This is from a myth supposedly dating to the time of Yao himself. Actually, the simultaneous appearance of ten suns was a disaster because it scorched the crops. Yao had to call upon the mighty archer Yi, a hero of Tai-speaking peoples to the south, to shoot down nine of the suns.

23. **loach (20).** A small eel, only three to four inches long, that lives in the mud of ponds and lakes.

24. **gibbon (20).** An arboreal ape with long arms and a slender body.

25. **giant centipedes (21).** Tropical centipedes, up to 11 inches in length, can inflict severe bites with their jawlike, venomous claws.

26. **Mao Ch'iang (21).** Another fabled beauty of old.

27. **Hillock (22).** Ch'iu, Confucius' personal name, possibly referring to the philosopher's high, knobby forehead or to his presumably illegitimate birth in the countryside. Confucius is the Latinization of K'ung Futzu ("Master K'ung").

28. **greatly awakened (22).** Tachüeh, the expression employed here, was also used later in Buddhist Hybrid Chinese as a translation of Sanskrit mahābodhi and referred to supreme enlightenment or the great intelligence of a Buddha.

29. **(ventral) scales, forewings (24).** For movement.

30. **Chuang Chou (24).** Master Chuang (Chuang Tzu). The surname Chuang means "solemn" and Chou, his personal name, signifies "[all] round" or "whole."

Chapter 3

1. **punishment (25).** Both clauses of this sentence contain a graph that normally functions as a negative. Here, however, a better reading is obtained if we understand the graph as a modal particle, a not uncommon function for it in early texts, especially when appearing in paired clauses. An alternative translation might be: "Intentionally doing good earns one fame; intentionally doing bad earns one punishment."

2. **conduit (25).** "Artery" and "conduit," through which one's vital force (ch'i) flows, are technical terms from traditional Chinese medicine. They are here being used in a partially metaphorical sense.

3. **viscera (26).** The usual interpretation of this clause is "nourish your parents," but that is a gross Confucian distortion and completely out of place in the present context. The correct interpretation hinges on how one interprets ch'in ("parents, intimates"). I base my rendering on ch'in as it occurs near the beginning of the previous chapter in reference to the viscera.

4. **"The Mulberry Grove," "The Managing Chief" (26).** The names of two ancient airs.

5. **not man (27).** That is, his ghastly appearance is not due to a disfiguring punishment or other human interference with his natural form.

6. **Old Longears (28).** This is surely meant to be a reference to Lao Tzu, the reputed author of the Tao Te Ching. For a discussion of his big ears, see Mair, "File," p. 42, note 1.

7. **Idle Intruder (28).** Ch'in Yi, probably a fictional character, the meaning of whose name is not entirely clear.

8. **emancipation (28).** This is virtually identical to the Indian concept of mokṣa.

Chapter 4

1. **Yen Hui (29).** Confucius' favorite pupil (also called Yen Yüan). Master Chuang is playing tricks here by having Confucius speak like a Taoist.

2. **fame (30).** A more literal translation would be "name."

3. **Kuan Lungp'ang (31).** A worthy minister. Ditto for Pikan.

4. **Chieh (31).** A tyrant of high antiquity. Ditto for Chon.

5. **Ts'ungchih, etc. (31).** Small countries.

6. **son of heaven (31).** The ruler.

7. **emptiness (32).** This is reminiscent of the Indian concept of śūnya or śūnyatā, which is the void or nothingness conceived as a symbol of brahman (the divine reality of the universe). In Buddhist Hybrid Chinese, the same word used by Chuang Tzu here for "emptiness" (hsü) is used to translate Sanskrit śūnyatā.

8. **'galloping while sitting' (33).** The mind runs wild even though the physical body may be seated.

9. **Fuhsi and Chich'ü (33).** Two mythical culture heroes.

10. **Sir High (33).** She Kung Tzukao, a minister of the southern kingdom of Ch'u.

11. **Ch'i (33).** A powerful northern kingdom.

12. **dislocation of yin and yang (33).** Even the successful emissary will become ill through anxiety or elation.

13. **precepts (34).** This is reminiscent of Sanskrit śīla ("restraint, discipline, precept") which was translated in Buddhist Hybrid Chinese by the same word used here, chieh.

14. **destiny (34).** This could also be rendered as "fate."

15. **duty (34).** Usually translated elsewhere in this book as "righteousness."

16. **Legal Counsels (35).** Could this be an oblique reference to one of the many dharmaśāstra, such as the codes of Manu and Yājñavalkya? These ancient Indian lawbooks share many of the same concerns expressed by Chuang Tzu at various places in his book. The closest parallels with this extended passage featuring pseudo-Confucius, however, are with the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.

17. **Yen Ho (36).** A worthy scholar of the state of Lu in the employ of the state of Wey.

18. **Ch'ü Poyü (36).** A wise minister of the state of Wey.

19. **disposition (36).** Te, usually translated in this book as "integrity." But see also chapter 1, note 5.

20. **urine in clam shells (37).** Probably for the purpose of keeping their stables clean.

21. **snipefly (37).** An insect in south China that stings horses and cows so fiercely and in such great numbers that the animals sometimes collapse from the pain and loss of blood.

22. **Sir Motley (38).** Nanpo Tzuch'i, perhaps the same imaginary person as Sir Motley of Southurb (Nankuo Tzuch'i) who appears at the beginning of the second chapter and Sir Sunflower of Southunc (Nanpo Tzuk'uei), who is featured in the sixth chapter.

23. **Hillock of Shang (38).** A place in Honan.

24. **timber (38).** Ts'ai means "timber" and "ability," "talent," or "worth," sometimes "genius."

25. **worthless (39).** The expression pu ts'ai, which I have translated here and in the story about the chestnut-leaved oak just above as "worthless" more literally means "[has] no timber/ability."

26. **worth (39).** Once again, ts'ai ("ability," "talent," "timber," etc.).

27. **dorsal inductories (39).** A technical term in traditional Chinese medicine. See Porkert, pp. 335-37.

Chapter 5

1. **wanderings (42).** Like many of the ancient Greek philosophers, most of the Chinese thinkers of the Warring States period, which roughly coincides with the classical period of Greek philosophy, were peripatetics.

2. **Ch'ang Chi (42).** Supposedly a disciple of Confucius, his name may be interpreted as meaning "Constant Season."

3. **'doctrine without words' (42).** See Tao Te Ching, chapter 43.

4. **destiny (43).** Here ming might well also be translated as "mandate."

5. **Shent'u Chia (44).** Presumably a wise man of the state of Cheng, his given name means "excellent."

6. **Kungsun Sir Ch'an (44).** A noted prime minister of the state of Cheng.

7. **a bit much (44).** Kuo means both "overdo" and "[commit] a fault/error."

8. **like this (44).** Mutilated, that is, the source of Sir Ch'an's discomfiture over being seen together with Shent'u Chia.

9. **struck (45).** I have omitted the name of the archer (see chapter 2, note 22) and a short interpolated commentary ("'The center' means the middle place, but it is only destiny that prevents one from being struck.").

10. **wandering inside (45).** Here and in the previous sentence, wandering refers to studying. "Wandering inside the physical body" means that they are supposed to be studying the mind, integrity, and so forth.

11. **Old Longears (46).** See chapter 3, note 6.

12. **official duties (47).** Although the text is garbled at this point, the reference is almost certainly to a rule from the Record of Ritual (Lichi) which excuses newlyweds from their official duties. To make any sense at all of this passage, I have had to expand the translation slightly in the following sentence.

13. **their source (47).** Compare at chapter 21, note 9. The word "knowledge" has been added to the translation for the sake of clarity.

14. **numinous treasury (48).** The heart/mind, that is.

15. **Master Min (48).** A disciple of Confucius.

16. **ruled . . . all under heaven (48).** Duke Ai is indulging in a bit of grandiloquence since he was not the emperor but a ruler of one of the feudal states during the Eastern Chou period. Nonetheless, he, like Chinese authorities at all levels of government, sat facing toward the south when holding court.

17. **person exist (49).** In other words, how can he sustain himself?

18. **study table (50).** See chapter 2, note 15. The low table was supposedly made of the wood of a Chinese parasol tree (firmiana).

19. **'hard' and 'white' (50).** See chapter 2, notes 16 and 10. The issue has to do with the mutual exclusion of hardness and whiteness in logical discussions concerning the nature of qualities inherent in an object.

Chapter 6

1. **Great Ancestral Teacher (51).** The irony of this title, which actually refers to the Way, is that many of the tales in this chapter feature a pseudo-Confucius who speaks like a would-be Taoist sage.

2. **from his throat (52).** Another reminder of the affinities between the Taoist sages and the ancient Indian holy men. Yogic breath control and āsanas (postures) were common to both traditions, as we shall see later in more detail (chapter 15, note 3). Even today, introductory yoga instructors tell us to breathe from our heels, although this is a gross simplification of what really goes on in prāṇāyāma (yogic breath control).

3. **forgetful (52).** "Forgetting" is an important word in the Chuang Tzu that became a technical term in later Taoism, especially for those schools that emphasized meditation. It signifies the emptying of the mind that brings utter calm and peace.

4. **knew his limits (52).** Here follows a paragraph that is clearly out of place:

> Therefore the sage, in his conduct of war, might forfeit his state, but would not lose the hearts of his people. His benefits might extend for ten thousand generations, but it would not be for love of man. Therefore, he who delights in linking up with things is not a sage. He who is partial is not humane. He who is negligent of the seasons is not worthy. He who cannot perceive the linkage between benefit and harm is not a gentleman. He who loses himself through pursuit of fame is not a nobleman. He who destroys himself through untruthfulness is not a freeman. Men such as Hu Puhsieh, Wu Kuang, Poyi, Shuch'i, Master Chi, Hsü Yü, Chi T'o, and Shent'u Ti were all servants of freemen. They strove to delight others, but did nothing to delight themselves.

All of these individuals were unbending moralists who were executed or ended up committing suicide or went mad. The characterization of these men as "servants of freemen" might more literally be rendered as "servants of servants." But they are also "freemen" in the sense that they are not slaves, i.e., chattel of another person.

5. **what to say (53).** Here follows a grossly inappropriate legalist intrusion:

> He took punishments as the main body, etiquette as the wings, knowledge as timeliness, and virtue as acceptance. Because he took punishments as the main body, he was lenient in his killing. Because he took etiquette as the wings, he was able to effectuate his policies in the world. Because he took knowledge as timeliness, he handled affairs only when compelled to do so. Because he took virtue as acceptance, it means that he climbed to the tops of hills together with those who had to go by foot, and people truly thought that he had to walk with effort.

6. **"one" (53).** Recognition of the unity of heaven and man.

7. **assimilate their ways (53).** Here follows a passage consisting of two sentences on the Great Clod (i.e., the universe) which has been displaced from the comments of Sir Come later in this chapter. The scribal error was probably due to misarrangement of the bamboo strips upon which the text was originally written. Many of the textual problems inherent in the Chuang Tzu and other early Chinese works are due to the difficulty of keeping numerous narrow bamboo strips in the correct order. To give only a single other example, the identical passage (first three sentences of the present paragraph) about springs drying up and fish keeping each other moist also shows up incongruously in chapter 14 (see note 38), where I have omitted it. Judging from the number of graphs in this brief passage, the paragraph would also have fit neatly on one bamboo strip and hence could have been easily displaced.

8. **hill (53).** Most scholars emend "hill" to "fishnet" (two different sinographs both pronounced shan), but this is wrong on at least three counts: (1) it ignores the confirmation of the text as given in the Huainan Tzu; (2) it overlooks the many stories in ancient Chinese literature of hills being carried off by men of Herculean strength or other kinds of forces; (3) it misses the whole point of the passage.

9. **take on human form (55).** This is consonant with the Indian doctrine of reincarnation (saṁsāra, "transmigration").

10. **depends (55).** Namely, the Way (Tao). Here, and frequently elsewhere in the Chuang Tzu, the author avoids mentioning the Way directly because of its essential ineffability. The next sentence begins with an initial particle of accentuation that is left untranslated, but the force of which is something like "as for," "when it comes to," or "if we must talk about." This is the first direct discussion of the Way in a chapter which is all about the Way.

11. **not old (55).** The following is a concise excursion through ancient Chinese mythology. Though probably a late intrusion and full of obscurities, it may be retained for its own encapsulated charm. Several of the mythical and legendary figures mentioned are known primarily from this passage.

12. **Yellow Emperor (56).** This is Huang Ti, whose title might also be rendered as "Yellow Deus."

13. **Lotbridge Learner (56).** Puliang Yi or Pu Liangyi. His name might also be interpreted as meaning "Lotmeasure Extraordinary."

14. **all under heaven (57).** Political concerns, the affairs of the world, and so forth.

15. **'emancipation' (58).** See chapter 3, note 8.

16. **Excalibur (59).** The text has Moyeh, name of a famous ancient Chinese sword.

17. **Great Smelter (59).** It might have been possible arbitrarily to assign feminine gender to the Transforming Creator in the previous paragraph, since the concept is not gender specific. However, it is natural to think of the Great Smelter, who is here identified with the Transforming Creator, as male.

18. **Tzukung (60).** One of Confucius' disciples. His cognomen may be interpreted to mean "Sir Tribute."

19. **elements (61).** More literally, "things."

20. **seamless cycle (61).** This reminds us of the Hindu wheel of saṁsāra (see note 9 above).

21. **karma (61).** Since karma has long since become a legitimate English word, we may use it here as a precise rendering of yeh. Indeed, yeh is the standard Buddhist Hybrid Chinese translation of Sanskrit karma. Cf. the following note.

22. **nonaction (61).** On nonaction in the Bhagavad Gītā and its parallels with wuwei in the Tao Te Ching, see the Afterword to my translation of the latter, pp. 141-42.

23. **realm (61).** The sinograph for fang, translated here as "realm," has many different meanings: square (including both the English word's geometric denotation and moral connotation), direction, place, region, plan, method, device, a euphemism for Tao/tao, just then/now, prescription, recipe, secret, compare, side by side, center or focus, etc. At the beginning of the previous paragraph it is translated as "spatial world," and in Tzukung's next question as "secret." A "realm" may be thought of as a "method," because dwelling therein one adopts a holistic approach to life. It is "secret" if it is an esoteric realm or method not shared by others.

24. **Mengsun Ts'ai (61).** A wise man of the state of Lu.

25. **name (61).** As mentioned in chapter 4, note 2, the word for "name" and "fame" is the same in ancient Chinese (both are ming). It should further be pointed out here that an important problem in classical Chinese philosophy was the relationship between name and reality.

26. **simplify (61).** Interpretations of this sentence vary wildly. So far, no one seems to have pointed out that the need for the simplification of funerals (reducing the length of mourning, cutting down on expenditures, etc.) was an issue addressed by a number of Warring States philosophers, but especially by Mo Tzu. The concerns appear to be the necessary background for understanding this otherwise baffling sentence.

27. **essence (62).** This sentence is impossible to understand without reference to the parallel passage in Huainan Tzu. The idea being expressed here is that the physical deterioration of the "house" in which one's spirit/essence dwells normally implies a concomitant deterioration of the spirit/essence--except for enlightened individuals.

28. **awakened (62).** Enlightened, that is.

29. **tattoo, lop off (62-63).** Tattooing and cutting off of the nose were typical corporeal punishments in ancient China.

30. **Unadorned, et al. (63).** Three figures (the first two imaginary, the third mythical) who gave up their distinguishing abilities after hearing the Way.

31. **oh my teacher (63).** Probably referring to the Way. Here I give the teacher feminine gender, whereas in chapter 13 at notes 4-8, I am compelled to use masculine gender because the teacher is there identified with the sage (see Tao Te Ching, p. xvi). This results in a neuter balance for the Way, which is as it should be.

32. **sit and forget (64).** Tsowang ("sit-forget") is the technical term in early Taoism for meditation. It corresponds roughly to Buddhist ch'an (i.e., Zen, from Sanskrit dhyāna) but more specifically to samādhi ("conjoining"), a trance state in which the mind loses itself in the object of contemplation. This may be thought of as complete obliviousness. There are numerous precise stages and states in Indian meditation. In general, they may be described, in Patañjali's term, as various types of citta-vṛtti-nirodha ("mental-action-control"). The highest levels are the various types of trance (śamana, "calming, pacification") in which the yogi becomes one with the universe and in which all trace of mental activity ceases. Similar trance states are described in the Chuang Tzu, although here the emphasis is less on the voiding (śūnyatā) of the mind than it is on "bodilessness" (videha) or exteriorization.

33. **Transformational (64).** The standard text has "Great" instead of "Transformational," but a careful study of early commentaries and parallel texts reveals that the latter is the correct reading. It also fits better with Confucius' reply just below.

34. **constants (64).** Moral norms.

35. **piece of cloth (64).** As the Japanese still commonly do with furoshiki.

36. **Earth (64).** The text reads "Man?" but in order to fit with what follows, this must be emended.

Chapter 7

1. **clansman (66).** The clansman of the freehold at Yü is the mythical emperor Shun and the clansman T'ai is supposedly the mythical first man Fuhsi. T'ai merely means "supreme," however, so the reference is not very clear. Some commentators would assert that here it refers to Princely Scion. "Freehold at Yü" might also be written as a hyphenated surname, "Have-Yü," or "Possess-Yü," which is similar to French surnames beginning with De and German surnames beginning with Von. It specifies the original place of enfeoffment of an aristocratic line.

2. **Sir Sunny Dweller (68).** Yang Tzuchü. This is probably Chuang Tzu's caricature of the hedonist philosopher, Yang Chu, whose pseudonym was Yang Tzuchü. This sounds exactly like the Modern Standard Mandarin pronunciation of the three sinographs for Sir Sunny Dweller, although the first one is written slightly differently than the surname of the famous philosopher. We may think of Sir Sunny Dweller as a sort of anti-Yang Chu, just as Chuang Tzu's Confucius often acts more like an anti-Confucius or, as we have styled him, a pseudo-Confucius.

3. **Old Longears (68).** See chapter 3, note 6.

4. **Chi Hsien (68).** According to the Lieh Tzu, where this story also appears, Chi Hsien was said to be from the state of Ch'i, but it is likely that his fundamental associations were Iranian (see note 17 below).

5. **week (68).** Consisting of ten days (a decade) in ancient times.

6. **Master Hu (69).** Master Hu (Hu Tzu or Master Pot) was Master Lieh's teacher. In the Lieh Tzu and the early texts, he is identified as Master Huch'iu (Huch'iu Tzu or Master Potmound). Huch'iu is a bisyllabic surname that derives from a toponym.

7. **surface (69).** Some commentators interpret "surface" as "scripture, literature, texts," and the like, but this is a serious distortion of the nature of the essentially oral transmission of early Taoism (i.e., before the Chuang Tzu came to be written down). The sinograph in question, pronounced wen in Modern Standard Mandarin, has as its primary signification such meanings as "stripes, lines, streaks, features," in other words, the patterns on the surface of an object. That this interpretation is the correct one in the present context is assured by the contrasting parallel with "substance" in the following sentence. The same contrast is expressed by the term wenchih ("shadow and substance; ornamental and real"). Wen as "literature" or "text" is a secondary or derived meaning. Cf. Chapter 16, note 7.

8. **see through you (69).** More literally, "physiognomize you."

9. **patterns (69).** For a discussion of the signification of wen, see note 7 above.

10. **integrity (69).** "Integrity" here implies "life."

11. **substance (69).** See chapter 18, note 17.

12. **from my heels (69).** See chapter 6, note 2.

13. **unstable (70).** Some commentators interpret this as "does not fast." The fallacy of this reading is evident when we consider that fasting in this story is obviously not a precondition for being physiognomized.

14. **read his features (70).** To physiognomize, i.e., judge a person's character from an examination of his or her facial features. Cf. note 8 above where a different translation of the same term (hsiang) is offered in the text.

15. **abyss (70).** For the important place in early human consciousness of whirlpools and water depths, see chapters 14 and 15 of Hamlet's Mill by Giorgio de Santillana and Hertha von Dechend. This is an exemplary work of exacting research that knows no bounds and one of the most important works of humanistic scholarship published in this century. Its basic premise is that myth was a preliterate form of science. The data upon which the book is based are drawn from an astonishing variety of sources. The scope of the authors' vision is, in a word, worldwide.

16. **ancestry (70).** As in chapter 6, that which is ancestral refers to the Way.

17. **fled (70).** This story of Chi Hsien and Master Hu is basically about a contest of spiritual powers between an Iranian-style mage and an Indian-style sage. Chi Hsien also appears in chapter 14 (just after note 2) playing the very important role of dispenser of cosmic wisdom who can answer riddles that would stump even a sage. Another mage is mentioned in chapter 4 (in the penultimate sentence of the section in which note 26 occurs), though in a less flattering light. On the Iranian antecedents of mages in China, see Mair, "Old Sinitic *m^{y}ag."

The Indian impact upon ancient China is slowly becoming recognized (see, for example, the Introduction and many of the notes to this book, also Victor H. Mair, Tao Te Ching [Preface, Notes and Commentary, Afterword, and Appendix] and "File"), but the Iranian associations--which were probably earlier, more pervasive, and of fundamental importance in the formation of Chinese civilization--are scarcely known at all. In fact, many influences formerly attributed to India might more accurately be ascribed to Iran. For example, the P'eng bird, which is featured in the opening story of the Chuang Tzu, is often compared to the Indian garuda. But it may be more to the point to connect it with the Avestan word vārəngan (the ancient reconstruction of Modern Standard Mandarin p'eng is roughly *bwəng), the name of a bird that brings glory. In the same story, the P'eng is said to metamorphose from the K'un (<kuən<*kaōr) which may be linked with kara, a gigantic fish mentioned in the Avesta.

In "Reading Notes on Chuang Tzu" (pp. 334-361 of his Liang Chou wenshih lun ts'ung), the pioneering Chinese scholar, Ts'en Chungmien, discusses these and approximately a dozen other items in the Chuang Tzu that seem to indicate Iranian influence. In my opinion, it will be extremely difficult to sort out what is Indian and what is Iranian in these early stages of the formation of Chinese civilization because the Iranian and Indian civilizations themselves are but two branches of a single linguistic group. And, if we go

further back in time, they join with the Indo-European family which, it now appears from archeological and linguistic evidence, was also in communication with speakers of Sinitic languages at a very early stage. In the accurate analysis of cultural intercourse, so much depends upon the time-depth when it occurred. Before that is ascertained, we can only strive to clarify similarities and correspondences, but cannot yet hope for complete explanations of how they came about.

18. **unhewn log (70).** For the symbolism of the unhewn log, see Mair, Tao Te Ching, p. 139.

19. **clod-like (70).** The Great Clod, as we have already seen in chapters 2 and 6, is a symbol for the universe.

20. **corpse (70).** More specifically, "corpse" here means one who impersonates the dead at a sacrifice.

21. **triumph over things (71).** That is, he can cope or deal with them successfully.

22. **Wonton (71).** The undifferentiated soup of primordial chaos. As it begins to differentiate, dumpling-blobs of matter coalesce. On the connection between wonton soup and cosmic chaos, see Eugene Anderson, The Food of China, p. 191 and Norman Girardot's book-length meditation on the theme of chaos in early Taoism (Myth and Meaning), esp. pp. 29-38, citing Wolfram Eberhard, the great authority on the local cultures of China. Wonton soup probably came first as a type of simple early fare. With the evolution of human consciousness and reflectiveness, the soup would have been adopted as a suitable metaphor for chaos.

Chapter 8

1. **five viscera (75).** Heart, liver, spleen, lungs, and kidneys. These were not, of course, considered to be mere physical organs but were also considered to be the seats of the emotions and of thought.

2. **five colors (75).** Cyan, yellow, red, white, and black--the primary colors plus black and white.

3. **Spidersight (76).** Lichu, a legendary figure of phenomenal eyesight who supposedly could see the tip of a feather or of a needle at a hundred paces. In other early Chinese texts, the name is also written as Lilou, Chulou, etc., and seems to be derived from a word meaning "spider," the assumption being that spiders have extraordinarily keen vision.

4. **five sounds (76).** The five notes of the ancient Chinese pentatonic scale.

5. **six pitch-pipes (76).** These determined the modes of ancient Chinese music.

6. **metal, etc. (76).** Bells, chimes, lutes, and flutes.

7. **Yellow Bell, Great Tube (76).** The names of two of the six pitch-pipes.

8. **Maestro K'uang (76).** See chapter 2, note 14.

9. **Tseng Shen and Shih Ch'iu (76).** A disciple of Confucius and a wise minister of the state of Wey. The first was a paragon of filial devotion and the second, also named Shih Yü, an exemplar of rectitude--both very much in the Confucian mold.

10. **"hard" and "white," etc. (76).** See chapter 2, note 16 and chapter 5, note 19.

11. **Yang Chu and Mo Ti (76).** Two Warring States philosophers, one a hedonist and the other an advocate of universal love, who were renowned for their rhetorical flair.

12. **Three Dynasties (77).** The Hsia, Shang, and Chou. The latter two dynasties have been archeologically and historically verified, while the first remains largely legendary. Chuang Tzu lived during the final, strife-ridden collapse of the Chou dynasty known as the Warring States period.

13. **ruler (77).** The text actually has "[carpenter's] string."

14. **nature (77).** The Chinese word hsing may also be translated as "personality."

15. **clansman (77).** See chapter 7, note 1. It is clear that Chuang Tzu wishes to call into question even the mythological basis of Confucianism.

16. **Poyi (78).** See chapter 6, note 4.

17. **Shouyang (78).** The name of a mountain in Shansi.

18. **Robber Footpad (78).** Chapter 29 is devoted to this very interesting character.

19. **Tungling (78).** "The Eastern Mound," i.e., the famous Mt. T'ai in Shantung.

20. **"superior men" (78).** Chüntzu, the ideal person of Confucius; elsewhere also translated as "gentleman."

21. **Tseng Shen and Shih Ch'iu (78).** See note 9 of this chapter.

22. **five flavors (78).** Acrid, sour, sweet, bitter, salty.

23. **Shu'erh (78).** The legendary Brillat-Savarin of ancient China.

24. **Maestro K'uang (78).** See chapter 2, note 14.

25. **Spidersight (78).** See note 3 above in this chapter.

26. **nature and destiny (79).** This passage is hopelessly corrupt. The present sentence should be discussing the flavors (taste), but it has repeated--in a jumbled fashion--the comments of the previous sentence on humaneness and righteousness. Furthermore, the word I have translated as "good" and "expert" is rather unusual in the contexts where it is here used. Nor is there any distinction made between its application to humaneness and righteousness, on the one hand, and to the five flavors on the other.

27. **delight himself (79).** This is the same awkward sentence as the last one of the passage cited in chapter 6, note 4. More literally, "He delights in what others delight in, but he himself does not delight in what delights him."

Chapter 9

1. **Poleh (80).** According to legend, Poleh was the finest judge of horses in antiquity.

2. **Music (82).** The most elevated of the Confucian arts.

3. **six pitch-pipes (82).** See chapter 8, note 5.

4. **Hohsü (82).** A mythical ruler. Ts'en Chungmien, Liang Chou, pp. 343-344, equates him with the Zoroastrian deity aša-vahišta ("best truth," or perhaps even "the superlative cosmic order"). Compare chapter 7, note 17.

5. **bellies (82).** This reminds us of chapter 3 of the Tao Te Ching where it is said that the wise ruler "stuffs the stomachs" of the people, but causes them always "to be without knowledge and desire."

Chapter 10

1. **coffers (84).** A ch'ieh is a wicker or bamboo basket that may be closed with a cover made of the same material. It is smaller than a hsiang, which is also made of wicker or bamboo.

2. **chickens and dogs (84-85).** This is almost an exact quotation from the celebrated eightieth chapter of the Tao Te Ching.

3. **Viscount Fieldborn (85).** A grandee of Ch'i, his real name was Ch'en Heng. This event took place in 481 B.C.E., but the state of Ch'i lingered on under its original ruling family for almost another century.

4. **Lungp'ang, Pikan (85).** See chapter 4, note 3.

5. **Ch'ang Hung (85).** A worthy official of King Ching of the Chou dynasty who was executed by the sovereign over a difference of opinion concerning strategy.

6. **Tzuhsü (85).** A loyal adviser to kings of the state of Ngwa (Wu) who was forced to commit suicide because of a difference of opinion concerning relationships with the state of Viet (Yüeh). His body was sewn in a sack made of horse leather and thrown into the Yangtze river.

7. **have a way? (85).** This question is all the more memorable because "waylayer[s]" or "robber[s]" (tao) and "way" (tao) are homophones.

8. **siege of Hantan (86).** There are two main versions of the story that presumably lies behind this saying, both of them complicated and neither of them very reliable. Suffice it to say that, like the other two sayings quoted here, this saying is meant to illustrate cause-effect relationships.

9. **shown to the people (87).** Also quoted in the Tao Te Ching, chapter 36.

10. **abandon wisdom (87).** Cf. Tao Te Ching, chapter 19.

11. **pitch-pipes (87).** See chapter 8, note 5.

12. **Maestro K'uang (87).** See chapter 2, note 14.

13. **Spidersight (87).** See chapter 8, note 3.

14. **Ch'ui (87).** A famous artisan who supposedly lived during the time of Yao and was said to be the deviser of the compass and L-square. His name may be cognate with words for "mallet," "hammer," "to beat," etc.

15. **cleverness (87).** The following misplaced sentence from chapter 45 of the Tao Te Ching has crept into the text at this point: "Therefore, it is said, 'Great cleverness seems clumsy.'"

16. **Tseng Shen, Shih Ch'iu (87).** For these two representatives of Confucian ideals, see chapter 8, note 9.

17. **Yang Chu, Mo Ti (87).** For these two Warring States philosophers, see chapter 8, note 11.

18. **mysterious identity (87).** See the Tao Te Ching, chapter 56. The words "to display its" have been added to the translation.

19. **useless to the law (88).** The interpretation of the final clause is open to question. In any event, the entire last sentence seems to be an obtuse commentary that has crept into the text.

20. **Jungch'eng, et al. (88).** All twelve of these individuals were mythical emperors and kings or legendary founders of Chinese civilization. Only a few of them are even mentioned in the early histories. It is likely that over half of them were invented by the author of this chapter. Most of their names have a fairly transparent meaning that reflects their supposed role in the invention of civilization, such as "appearance completed," "great hall," "elder/earl/uncle resplendent," "center," "grain ripe," "black/pair of domestic animals," "carriage," "awe-inspiring crab" (but see chapter 9, note 4), "venerable stove," "invoke fusing," "the first man," and "the divine farmer."

21. **died of old age (88).** This passage corresponds very closely with the second half of chapter 80 of the Tao Te Ching.

22. **"hard" and "white," etc. (88).** See chapter 2, note 16.

23. **Three Dynasties (89).** See chapter 8, note 12.

Chapter 11

1. **Robber Footpad (91).** See chapter 29.

2. **Tseng Shen, Shih Ch'iu (91).** See chapter 8, note 9.

3. **color (91).** In Chinese, the word for color may also mean "sex."

4. **fast (92).** That is, they abstain from meat, wine, and other proscribed foods as though they were preparing to offer sacrifices to the gods or ancestral spirits. Other purifying rituals of abstinence may also be observed.

5. **delivered to him (92).** The quotation is equivalent to the last stanza of the Tao Te Ching, ch. 13.

6. **thunderous voice (92).** Compare the Zen saying, "Although he speaks not, his voice is like thunder."

7. **Ts'ui Chü (92).** A fictional character.

8. **minds (92).** We might also translate hsin here as "hearts."

9. **Huan Tou, et al. (93).** Although all three of these individuals are mentioned in the Classic of Documents (Shu ching, supposedly China's earliest book of history but of mixed date and reliability), they are mythological in nature. Several of the names have fairly transparent meanings, e.g., Sanwei ("Triply Dangerous"), Kungkung ("Superintendent of Works"), Yutu ("Secluded Capital"), etc.

10. **hundred clans (94).** Literally, "the hundred surnames." This is generally understood to mean "the people," but the lowest classes in ancient China did not have surnames.

11. **masses (94).** The following words have been added to the English sentence for clarity: "the bodies of," "those who are forced," "on the roads," "in the markets," and "masses."

12. **well governed (94).** This is close to the opening line of chapter 19 of the Tao Te Ching.

13. **august (96).** The epithet "august" is customarily applied to the mythical sovereigns or to heaven itself.

14. **return to the soil (96).** Anyone who reads this will surely recognize a strong biblical echo: "For dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return." (Genesis 3:19) The Hebrew word for the "dust" of the King James translation is 'āphār ("[powdered or gray] dust," hence "clay, earth, mud," etc. The equivalent Chinese word in this passage is t'u ("earth, land, soil, ground" and, in combination with various other words "ashen, dusty," and so forth).

15. **whirlwind (97).** This whirlwind has the same name, fuyao, as that on which the great P'eng bird rises to a height of ninety thousand tricents in the second paragraph of this book. Because of the word "offshoot," usually translated as "branch," most commentators believe fuyao must be an error for fusang, the nesting tree of the sun, or another name for the same tree.

16. **playing (97).** The word yu, translated here as "playing" and just above as "enjoying himself," is very important in the Chuang Tzu. Normally, it is rendered in this book as "wander(ing)" and, since no other Chinese word is so rendered, it should be fairly easy for the reader to spot even in English. For in-depth studies of yu in the Chuang Tzu, see Victor H. Mair's "Chuang-tzu and Erasmus: Kindred Wits" and Michael Mark Crandell's "On Walking without Touching the Ground: 'Play' in the Inner Chapters of the Chuang-tzu," both in Mair, ed., Experimental Essays.

17. **transformation (97).** The word "transformation" has been added to the translation on the basis of the usage of the expression "six vital breaths" elsewhere in the Chuang Tzu and to distinguish these vital breaths from those of heaven and earth.

18. **insects (99).** Although the rhyme of the last couplet is imperfect, its structure and sentiment indicate that it should be included as part of the verse section.

19. **intelligence (99).** The word for "intelligence," ts'ungming, which is still the same in Modern Standard Mandarin, is written with the sinographs for "keen hearing" and "keen eyesight."

20. **roots (99).** Cf. Tao Te Ching, chapter 16.

21. **as a whole (100).** It would appear that this sentence is defective. Indeed, the entire passage is almost impossible to construe in a way that makes sense.

22. **six reaches (101).** North, south, east, west, up (heaven), down (earth).

23. **nine regions (101).** The ancient Chinese divided the whole world into nine regions (like a tick-tack-toe diagram).

24. **heaven and earth (101).** Here follows a lengthy passage that stylistically and philosophically is quite out of character, not only with the rest of chapter 11, but with the Chuang Tzu book as a whole. Consequently it may be relegated to this note:

> That which is lowly, yet must be employed--things. That which is humble, yet must be depended upon--the people. That which is minor, yet must be done--affairs. That which is coarse, yet must be set forth--laws. That which is distant, yet must be indwelling--righteousness. That which is intimate, yet must be broad--humaneness. That which is restrained, yet must be amassed--rites. That which is central, yet must be elevated--virtue. That which is unitary, yet must undergo change--the Way. That which is divine, yet must be exercised--heaven.

> Therefore the sages contemplated heaven but did not assist it. They found their completion in virtue but were not encumbered by it. They proceeded according to the Way, but made no schemes. They formed their associations in humaneness, but did not rely on it. They clove to righteousness but did not amass it. They responded to the rites and did not conceal them. They engaged in affairs and did not reject them. They applied the laws equally and did not cause disorder. They relied on the people and did not despise them. They depended upon things and did not discard them. Among things, none are adequate for use, yet they must be used.
>
> Those who do not understand heaven are not pure in virtue. Those who do not comprehend the Way will have no point of departure from which they can proceed. How sad are those who do not understand the Way!
>
> What do we mean by the Way? There is the Way of heaven, and there are the ways of men. To remain in nonaction and yet be honored, that is the Way of heaven. To be involved in action and thereby encumbered, such are the ways of men. The ruler is the Way of heaven; his subjects are the ways of men. The Way of heaven and the ways of men are far apart. This is something that must be critically examined.

The inferior quality of this passage may be seen in the fact that it is difficult to comprehend several of the sentences, while others are simplistic or tautological. The passage proceeds either in a wooden, mechanical fashion or by sudden jumps that amount to non sequiturs. This is a good example of the adulterated, composite virtue of the Chuang Tzu text as it has come down to us through the centuries. The following three catch-all "heaven" chapters are also indicative of this quality, although parts of them preserve important material.

Chapter 12

1. **one (102).** "One" has been added to the translation.

2. **virtue (102).** Since this and the following two chapters show a strong Confucian coloring, te is translated in them as "virtue" rather than "integrity." See chapter 1, note 5.

3. **heaven (103).** The placement of heaven (t'ien) at the top of this progression, above the Way (Tao), is another clear indication of the Confucian bias in these chapters. The previous sentence is obviously corrupt and there are many variants in the different editions of the text.

4. **record (103).** The precise source of the following quotation has not been identified, but there are several passages in the Master Kuan (Kuan Tzu), another book of Warring States philosophy, that it resembles somewhat.

5. **master (103).** Attempts have been made to identify this master as Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu, and even Confucius, but there is no convincing evidence in favor of any of these individuals.

6. **spirits, Therefore (104).** "Therefore" (ku) is probably a homophonous error for "firmly" (ku).

7. **metal and stone (104).** Signifying ancient bells and drums.

8. **diligence (105).** In Kuo Hsiang's edition of the Chuang Tzu, this paragraph is followed by six sinographs ("large, small; long, short; near, far") that appear to have crept into the text from the editor's commentary.

9. **Redwater (105).** We should note that red is the color of the south.

10. **K'unlun (105).** The K'unlun mountains are the seat of the Queen Mother of the West (Hsiwangmu). For their mythology, see Girardot, pp. 173-75 and passim.

11. **south (105).** Since Chinese emperors have always faced south when holding court, this orientation signifies that the Yellow Emperor assumed the throne.

12. **Wearcoat (105).** This is undoubtedly the same imaginary figure as Master Rushcoat who appears at the beginning of chapter 7.

13. **companion of heaven (105).** That is, the son of heaven or the emperor.

14. **Hua (106).** This may refer to the area around Mt. T'aihua in the province of Shensi.

15. **immortals (107).** A technically more precise translation of hsien would be "transcendents."

16. **tribulations (107).** Since the border warden at this point in his disquisition is still in the midst of explaining why the true sage experiences no disgrace, "the three tribulations" mentioned here cannot refer back to the fears, affairs, and disgraces Yao was concerned about just above. The most likely candidates for "the three tribulations" are sickness, old age, and death, but there is no sure way to prove that this is indeed what the author of this passage had in mind.

17. **Sir High (107).** An imaginary figure. The word translated here and elsewhere in this text as "Uncle" is the same as the title of nobility which is usually rendered as "Earl."

18. **downwind (107).** Which means that he put himself in a position of inferiority.

19. **no names (108).** That is, there were no entities that could be designated by names. For the concept of "name" as one of the central problems in ancient Chinese philosophy, see chapter 6, note 25.

20. **virtue (108).** This section has both a primitivist and a syncretist cast (to use the terms of A. C. Graham), so it is very difficult to determine whether to translate te here as "virtue" or "integrity." In the final analysis, I have opted for "virtue" because the chapter as a whole is basically syncretist (see notes 2 and 3 above, as well as note 24 of the previous chapter). It is probably best to think of "virtue" in passages like this one as signifying the sense of a distinguishing quality. Except where they lapse into talk of "cultivation," a strictly Confucian moral interpretation of te in such syncretist-primitivist passages is inappropriate.

21. **divided (108).** Into yin and yang.

22. **no separation (108).** Yin and yang were still in flux.

23. **movement (108).** This may also be interpreted as "through flowing movement" alone.

24. **nature (109).** This is hsing, as described in the latter part of note 9 to chapter 2.

25. **chirping of birds (109).** Many commentators interpret this as meaning "chirping with the beak closed." But this is to ignore the intentional repetition of the verb "join" through three sentences.

26. **confluence (109).** Drawing on the last stanza of the Tao Te Ching, chapter 65.

27. **master (109).** This is certainly Confucius.

28. **"hard" and "white" (109).** See chapter 2, note 16.

29. **vexing his mind (109).** The same sentence occurs in the fourth tale of chapter 7, where it is much more appropriate.

30. **forests (109).** This sentence also occurs in the fourth tale of chapter 7. It is corrupt in both places, although more seriously deficient and difficult to read here. My interpretation

relies on grammatical parallelism and punning in an attempt to make some sense of its two clauses. I also emend kou ("dog", Mathews 3413) to chü ("catch," Mathews 1542).

...illock (109). Ch'iu, the personal name of Confucius.

32. **Chi Ch'e, Chianglü Mien (110).** The identity of these two men is not otherwise known than in this passage.

33. **observatories (110).** Some scholars translate this word as "belvederes."

34. **Tzukung (111).** See chapter 6, note 18.

35. **enlightened man (112).** This refers to Confucius ("enlightened" has been added to the translation).

36. **false (112).** Because of ambiguity surrounding the word that I have translated as "false" (that is its literal meaning), this entire passage may be read as expressing admiration for the gardener and the arts of clansman Wonton. The presence of the particle of futurity or subjunctivity ("would") below, however, seems to demand a contrastive interpretation. The conjunction which begins the final sentence also seems to call for such an interpretation.

37. **understands . . . plainness, etc. (112).** This is the genuine syncretist position which tries to blend the Taoist ideals of plainness and simplicity with the Confucian commitment to the world. In the original, the exclamation occurs in the form of a rhetorical question.

38. **learn (113).** If meant as praise for the arts of clansman Wonton, the final clause would be rendered as ". . . how are you and I worthy to learn them?"

39. **level-eyed (113).** This unusual expression functions exactly like a Homeric epithet.

40. **King Wu (114).** The first ruler of the Chou dynasty.

41. **clansman (114).** Shun (see chapter 7, note 1).

42. **not exalted (114).** See Tao Te Ching, chapter 3.

43. **robes hang down (115).** Said of the Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun in section 2, chapter 2 of the "Great Appendix" to the Classic of Changes (Yi ching) where it signifies government of little interference by the monarch.

44. **"Breaking the Willow," "The Bright Flowers" (116).** Two supposedly vulgar songs.

45. **not be achieved (116).** The valiant and varied efforts of the commentators to make sense of the text at this point have failed. My interpretation attempts to follow the original texts as closely as possible. The jugs can refer to primitive earthenware musical instruments (like the ocarina or the jugs in a jugband) and they can also punningly (metonymically in the English translation) indicate alcohol.

46. **five odors (117).** Rank, fragrant, aromatic, fishy, rotten.

47. **Yang Chu, Mo Ti (117).** See chapter 8, note 11.

Chapter 13

1. **six directions (119).** See chapter 11, note 22.

2. **plain kings (120).** That is, those of high moral fiber who do not actually occupy the throne--the uncrowned kings, as it were.

3. **Master Chuang (121).** It is obvious from this identification of the speaker that someone other than Chuang Chou was the compiler or creator of the following section. The derivative nature of the passage is also born out by the fact that it borrows heavily and clumsily from chapter 6.

4. **oh my teacher (121).** See chapter 6, note 31 where the quotation is virtually identical up to the word "skillful," except that here "righteous" has been emended from "cruel."

5. **same current as yang (121).** The above quotation also appears at chapter 15 in the paragraph following note 4.

6. **rectified (121).** This sentence and others in the following section are resonant with numerous passages from the Kuan Tzu.

7. **animus, anima (121).** In ancient Chinese psychocosmology, each individual is thought to be possessed of both a male and a female soul.

8. **rears all under heaven (121).** The following long section of six paragraphs is so antithetical to the spirit of Master Chuang as it is expressed in the Inner Chapters that many scholars have recommended that it be dropped from the text. I have retained it, however, as a good example of the syncretic proclivities that were clearly at work during at least one stage in the editorial history of the Chuang Tzu. Here we find an odd mixture of the thought of Huang-Lao (Yellow Emperor and Lao Tzu), the Legalists, the School of Names, and other assorted groups, including a bit of late, distorted Confucianism. Even more offensive than the strange mishmash of philosophies, however, is the poor quality of the writing. By the time we reach the paragraph in which notes 14 and 15 occur, the style has become so atrociously mechanical and boring that it is difficult to read.

9. **three armies (122).** This is the number of armies permitted to the lords of the large feudal states during the Eastern Chou period. The Chou ruler himself maintained six armies.

10. **five . . . weapons (122).** There are various enumerations (e.g., spear, lance, halberd, shield, and bow). The expression "five [categories of] weapons" signifies all types of weapons.

11. **five . . . punishment[s] (122).** Another loose figure signifying all kinds of physical mutilation and corporal punishment (e.g., tattooing, cutting off the nose, cutting off the feet, castration, and death).

12. **banners (122).** The latter were decorated with animal fur. The connection with music is that such props were employed in the formal dances that accompanied ritualized music.

13. **wife follows (122).** There is no evidence in any of the authentic portions of the Chuang Tzu that Chuang Chou subscribed to such a rigidly hierarchical Confucian scheme.

14. **first . . . Heaven (123).** This blatant attempt to put heaven above the Way is a gross Confucian distortion of all that Chuang Tzu stands for.

15. **rewards and penalties (123).** By now we have travelled so far from the Inner Chapters that it almost seems as though someone set out to write an intentional parody of Chuang Tzu. What follows is even more of a travesty.

16. **the book (124).** In the Kuan Tzu, "Arts of the Mind (Hsinshu)," part A, there is a passage similar to this.

17. **rear inferiors (124).** Here ends the long eclectic passage that is so terribly out of place in the Chuang Tzu. It was probably interpolated during the process of redaction during the Ch'in or Western Han period (i.e., sometime during the first two centuries B.C.E. or just before).

18. **majestic and grand (125).** The usual understanding of this sentence is "How much hustle and bustle!" But that is completely inappropriate to the drift of the conversation. The two reduplicative binoms and the modal particle that make up the sentence are susceptible of a variety of interpretations.

19. **went west (125).** The Chou capital was west of Confucius' home state of Lu on the Shantung peninsula.

20. **Tzulu (125).** A disciple of Confucius. His name might be rendered as "Sir Road."

21. **superior man (125).** The "superior man" (chüntzu) is Confucius' ideal person. The term is also often rendered in English as "gentleman."

22. **universal love (126).** The doctrine of universal love was first propounded by Mo Tzu (ca.470-ca.391 B.C.E.), but was later partially absorbed into one branch of Confucianism by Hsün Tzu (298-238 B.C.E.). Confucius himself was born around 551 B.C.E. and died in about 479 B.C.E., whereas the dates of Old Longears are completely impossible to ascertain.

23. **Fancypants Scholar (126).** Shih Ch'engch'i (literally, "Scholar [also a surname] Complete[ly]--Variegated Silk/Elegant Clothes"). With a name like this, it is not likely that we can expect to learn more about him from other, more historically reliable, sources.

24. **Old Master (126).** Lao Tzu, probably meant to indicate Old Longears (Lao Tan) who appears in the previous section and so frequently elsewhere in the Chuang Tzu.

25. **stages (126).** A stage was approximately thirty to thirty-five tricents (presumably the length of a day's journey).

26. **"throw . . . away" (126).** There have been many different interpretations of the graph for this word which seems literally to mean "[younger] sister" (mei). I read it as a near-homophone for Mathews 7098a, "to throw away; to slough off" (wei), which reinforces the roughly synonymous meaning of the previous graph in the text.

27. **does not know (128).** This aphorism has also been quoted in the Tao Te Ching, chapter 56.

28. **Duke Huan (128).** Of the state of Ch'i.

29. **reading (128).** The word tushu is the same as that used to signify "read[ing]" in Modern Standard Mandarin. Unless specified to be silent, in old texts it usually indicates reading aloud.

Chapter 14

1. **lusty joy (131).** "Clouds and rain" are a favorite Chinese metaphor for sexual activity.

2. **reasons for all this (131).** The opening of this chapter takes the form of an extended series of riddles much like those posed by the ancient Indo-European seers and sages. Compare the introductory remarks to Victor H. Mair, tr., "Heavenly Questions" (T'ien wen) in the Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature (1994). The asker of this barrage of big questions is not identified. Perhaps it is Master Chuang himself. The words "for all this" have been added to the translation.

3. **six poles (131).** North, south, east, west, up, and down.

4. **five constants (131).** This probably refers to the five phasal elements: wood, fire, earth, metal, water. Since the theory of the elements did not take hold in China till the latter part of the Warring States period, it would seem that their mention here marks this section as a relatively late portion of the Chuang Tzu.

5. **nine regions (131).** See chapter 11, note 23. Many commentators attempt to interpret this as referring to the nine divisions of the "Great Plan" for government presented in the Classic of Documents. This, however, would almost certainly be an anachronistic reference because the "Great Plan" did not come to be identified with the key term lo (as the name of the river whence the plan was supposed to have emerged on the back of a turtle) until the middle of the Han period. I interpret lo here as meaning "areas, regions." The words "tending to" have been added to the translation for the sake of clarity.

6. **Shang (131).** This signifies the state of Sung where the descendants of the Shang dynasty were settled during the Chou dynasty.

7. **impartial (132).** Compare Tao Te Ching, chapter 79.

8. **filialness (132).** Hsiao ("filiality" or "filialness," usually translated as "filial piety," "filial duty," or "filial devotion") is a cornerstone of Confucian ideology. Both the subject and the style of this long paragraph are singularly uninspired. Although placed in the mouth of a pseudo Master Chuang, the sentiments and the clumsy manner in which they are expressed are quite out of character with the authentic portions of the book.

9. **Ying (132).** The capital of the state of Ch'u, which constituted the southernmost reaches of the Chinese orbit in Chuang Chou's time.

10. **Dark Mountain (132).** An imaginary place in the distant north.

11. **Pond of Totality (132-133).** Hsiench'ih, supposedly the place whence the sun arises. It may also refer to the "shaman-ancestor" Hsien.

12. **cavernous (133).** Tungt'ing, translated here as "cavernous," is also the name of a famous lake in Hunan province. Although the name may have been operative in the author's choice of language, its location puts it out of reach for this story about the mythical Yellow Emperor who was allegedly active in north China.

13. **great purity (133).** Here follow 35 extraneous sinographs that are probably an old commentary by Kuo Hsiang, the editor of the current standard text. They may be translated as follows:

> "Ultimate music first corresponds to human affairs, conforms to heavenly principles, is carried out through the five virtues, and corresponds to Nature. Only then will the four seasons be adjusted and great harmony prevail among the myriad things."

14. **It showed (133).** These two words have been added by the translator to resume the flow of the text after the removal of the old commentary.

15. **civil and military (133).** Chinese music has long been divided into these two basic types. The author has the Yellow Emperor combine them.

16. **parasol tree (134).** For the close association between the parasol tree and music in Chinese tradition, see chapter 2, note 15.

17. **follows destiny (135).** The last clause reads like a definitional annotation that has worked its way into the text.

18. **heavenly mechanism (135).** The heart.

19. **five regulators (135).** The senses; some commentators say this refers to the five viscera.

20. **clansman . . . Yen (135).** This is supposedly the name of the Divine Farmer (Shennung), for whom see chapter 16, note 5. On the form of the aristocratic surname, see chapter 7, note 1.

21. **six poles (136).** See note 3 above. The words "of the universe" have been added to the translation for clarity.

22. **Yen Yüan (136).** The same favorite disciple as Yen Hui whom we first met at the beginning of chapter 4.

23. **Maestro Chin (136).** Apparently a music teacher from the state of Lu, he is known only from this passage.

24. **straw dogs (136).** These were placed before the gods during sacrifices to ward off evil spirits. Afterwards, they were destroyed. They are also mentioned in chapter 5 of the Tao Te Ching. The words "at a sacrifice" have been added to the translation for clarity.

25. **impersonator of the dead (136).** Usually rendered as "sacrificial officiant," the two graphs literally mean "corpse invoker." See also at chapter 1, note 11.

26. **tree . . . chopped down (137).** The story goes that, on a tour of the state of Sung, Confucius and his disciples stopped to rest under a large tree. The master instructed his disciples to practice their ritual and etiquette. Just at that moment, Huan T'ai, the Minister of War for Sung, commanded that the tree be cut down and was about to have Confucius murdered when the latter fled. Huan T'ai's enmity for Confucius is said to have stemmed from the master's criticism of his cruelty and excess in the construction of his own tomb.

27. **traces obliterated (137).** The Duke of Wey permitted Confucius and his followers to enter his state, but he kept such a close watch on them that they decided to leave. As they were departing, the people of a border town, mistaking them for a band of robbers who had raided the area not long before, surrounded Confucius and his disciples. Only after five days did a local strongman release them, warning Confucius never to come back to the state of Wey.

28. **Shang duchy (137).** The state of Sung, that is. See note 6 above.

29. **Chou kingdom (137).** The specific stories behind these two allusions are not known, except to say that neither the Sung nor the Chou ruler heeded Confucius' counsel. As such, they were probably unwilling to foot the bill for Confucius and his entourage.

30. **without cooked food (137).** This famous incident, in which Confucius nearly lost his life, is recorded in many ancient works (Records of the Grand Historian, Analects, Mencius, Mo Tzu, and Hsün Tzu). It apparently took place after the debacle in Sung described in note 26 above. The rulers of Ch'en and Ts'ai, afraid that Confucius would travel to help their powerful southern neighbor, the state of Ch'u, surrounded him when he passed through their states. He is said to have been released only through the intervention of Ch'u. For a fuller account of the incident, see below in the text at chapter 28, note 54 where it is said that Confucious survived on chenopod soup for a week. "Chenopod" is the Latinate equivalent of "goosefoot." The Chenopodiaceae family includes pigweed, lamb's quarters, beets, spinach, the broom plant, and many common weeds. In old China, chenopods were associated with famine and poverty.

31. **five emperors (137).** Although this expression recurs several times later in the book, it is impossible to determine exactly to whom the author is referring. He probably means by it no more than "the sage rulers of high antiquity."

32. **Hsi Shih (138).** See chapter 2, note 11.

33. **fifty-first year (138).** The irony of this story is enhanced by Confucius' famous statement to the effect that, at age fifty, he understood the mandate of heaven. Like all early Chinese thinkers, Confucius accepted the importance of the Tao (Way). He and his followers, however, gave greater emphasis to T'ien (heaven), while the Taoists, as their name indicates, put Tao in the highest position.

34. **P'ei (138).** In the modern district of the same name in Kiangsu province.

35. **Old Longears (138).** We have encountered this character many times before and will run into him again later in the book. Supposedly, this is Lao Tzu (the Old Master), but we should not ascribe any historicity whatsoever to this meeting between him and Confucius.

36. **Old Master (138).** At this point, the text refers to Lao Tan "Old Longears" as Lao Tzu ("Old Master").

37. **one night (139).** This sentence is followed by what seems to be a brief editorial comment that has worked its way into the text: "If, perchance, one does so, he will receive much recrimination."

38. **bragging about (140).** In the standard edition of the Chuang Tzu, an irrelevant paragraph from chapter 6 has been repeated in the text at this point. See note 7 to that chapter which justifies omission of the paragraph here.

39. **admonish him (140).** An alternative interpretation of the graphs for "how did you admonish him" is "what estimation did you make of him." The subtly complex grammar of this sentence (which accounts for its final clause), and Confucius' rhetorical question at the end of this paragraph, however, where the same problematic graph ("admonish/estimate") appears, would seem to rule out such an interpretation, attractive though it may be. After all, Confucius did form a dragonish estimation of Old Longears. The latter's question at the end of his next speech also indicates that he suspects Confucius may have intended to reprove him.

40. **thunderous voice (140).** See chapter 11, note 6.

41. **T'ang (141).** The legendary first emperor of the Shang dynasty.

42. **King Wen (141).** The king of Chou before it defeated the Shang and took over the empire.

43. **Chow (141).** The last ruler of the Shang dynasty.

44. **King Wu (141).** The first king of the Chou dynasty after it controlled the whole empire.

45. **still (141).** The word "still" has been added to the translation for clarification.

46. **sting, bite (142).** In the Chinese text, "sting" and "bite" are literally "tail" and "head" (shou, miswritten as the homophone "beast").

47. **pit viper (142).** The identification of this animal is uncertain.

48. **shameful (142).** The Chinese text more literally reads, "Was not their shamelessness shameful?"

49. **seventy-two (142).** An obvious exaggeration, but 72 is a convenient mystical number (tied to astronomy and the calendar) that was broadly current throughout Europe and Asia in ancient times.

50. **villainous (142).** This is what the text seems to say, although many commentators strive to interpret it as meaning "sought [employment] with seventy-two rulers."

51. **Chou and Shao (142).** Both of whom assisted King Wu in establishing the Chou dynasty.

52. **hermaphrodite (142).** The Chinese text has the word lei which now means "class, kind, species," but is used in the Classic of Mountains and Seas to designate a fabulous type of bird and animal that are hermaphroditic.

53. **milt (142).** The text just says "attach froth."

54. **transmutes (143).** The ancient Chinese observed that the solitary wasp (Ammophila infesta), which they also called the "earth wasp," "narrow-waisted wasp," and other names, carried other insects into its own nest and sealed them there. When baby wasps emerged, it was believed that the wasp (which was always and only a male, there being no females) had succeeded in transmuting the other insects into its own offspring. Little did those ancient observers realize that the other insects were deposited as food for the wasp's pupae.

55. **teat (143).** I have had to expand the final clause greatly to bring out the intended meaning. The original says only "when there is a younger brother, then the older brother cries." In the context of the preceding three clauses, it is clear that this is meant to stand for mammalian birth. Confucius' insight has a very curious and very close resemblance to ancient Indian classification schemes for different types of reproduction. As a matter of fact, it exactly coincides with the Buddhist catur-yoni (four forms of birth"). These are jarāyuja ("viviparous," e.g., mammals), aṇḍaja ("oviparous," e.g., birds), saṁsvedaja ("aquiparous," e.g. worms and fish), and aupapāḍuka ("metamorphic," e.g. moths).

56. **Hillock (143).** Ch'iu ("Hillock") was Confucius' personal name.

Chapter 15

1. . . . **trustworthiness (144).** A typically Mencian constellation of concerns.

2. . . . **yielding (144).** A similar list of desiderata may be found in the Analects of Confucius.

3. **Progenitor P'eng (145).** See chapter 1, note 4. Readers familiar with Yoga will immediately recognize the regimen described in this sentence as a close Chinese adaptation of that ancient Indian discipline. See Mair, Tao Te Ching, pp. 159-60 and Mair, "File," pp. 35-37.

4. **virtue (145).** This quotation and those in the next paragraph may also be found in chapter 13, though not all exactly as they appear here.

5. **dazzling (146).** This clause is also to be found in the Tao Te Ching, chapter 58. It is clear that the forte of the author of this chapter is putting together a pastiche of words, phrases, and sentences that must have been widely current in certain schools of late Warring States thought. I shall not attempt to identify all of them.

6. **exhausted (146).** At the end of this sentence are three extraneous graphs ("toiled then exhausted"), probably from some old commentary.

7. **southeast (146).** The southeast coastal states of Ngwa (Wu) and Viet (Yüeh) were famous for their excellent swords produced from local iron ore.

8. **sage values essence (147).** We should bear in mind that the word for "essence" in Old Sinitic also means "semen." Because of this identification, the Taoist adept was always very careful not to spill his semen thoughtlessly since that constituted a loss of spiritual essence. This helps to account for the elaborate regimes of sexual hygiene that were practiced in several branches of Taoism.

Chapter 16

1. **disorder (149).** This paragraph seems to have been written by some latter-day Confucian who was familiar with the thought of the Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, but who wished to subvert it for his own purposes. Furthermore, the following defective paragraph appears to follow from the previous paragraph, which is all the more indication of an intrusion into the original text.

2. **persisted (149).** The first three words of this paragraph have been added by the translator for syntactic continuity.

3. **Torchman (149).** The mythical inventor of fire.

4. **Fuhsi (149).** The First Man; see chapter 4, note 9 and chapter 10, note 20.

5. **Divine Farmer (149).** The mythical emperor who was the supposed inventor of agriculture.

6. **T'ang and Yü (149).** The mythical rulers, Yao and Shun, that is, here named after the principalities which they inherited.

7. **culture (149).** In a narrower and more specific sense, the same sinograph (wen) signifies "writing." In a broader and more basic sense, it signifies "elegant pattern." Cf. chapter 7, note 7.

8. **erudition (149).** More literally, "breadth," in conjunction with wen usually understood as referring to learning.

9. **hidden (150).** Here follows a short note that seems to have been incorporated into the text: "Hidden, but decidedly not hidden by his own volition."

10. **harms the Way (150).** This paragraph is followed by a sentence that is totally out of place and seems to be a stray annotation that has become attached to the text: "Therefore, it is said, 'Rectify yourself and that is all.'"

Chapter 17

1. **[illegible] the River (152).** The god of the Yellow River.

2. **overload (152).** Whose name was Jo.

3. **gate (153).** To learn from you instead of from the Confucians.

4. **in danger (153).** Of continuing in my delusion.

5. **great method (153).** The Way (Tao) that is.

6. **drain (153).** More literally, "tail-confluence (Weilü)," a hole with a gigantic stone plug at the bottom of the sea whence its waters are removed.

7. **Middle Kingdom (153).** To this day, this is still China's name for itself.

8. **mustard seed (153).** The Chinese text has a bisyllabic term meaning "tares" or "panic grass."

9. **nine regions (153).** See chapter 11, note 23.

10. **minuteness and coarseness (155).** The following lengthy paragraph has been inappropriately inserted at this point:

> "Therefore the conduct of the great man is not aimed at hurting others, and he does not make much of his humaneness and kindness. When he moves, it is not for profit, but he does not despise the porter[a] at the gate. He does not wrangle over goods and property, yet he does not make much of his declining and yielding. In his affairs, he does not rely upon others and does not make much of utilizing his own strength, but he does not despise those who are avaricious and corrupt. His conduct may differ from that of the common lot, but he does not make much of his eccentricity. His behavior may follow that of the crowd, but he does not despise the glib flatterer. All the titles and salaries[b] in the world are not enough to encourage him, nor are penalties and shame enough to disgrace him. He knows that right and wrong are indivisible, that miniscule and large are undemarcatable. I have heard it said, 'The Man of the Way is not celebrated; the man of ultimate virtue is not successful; the great man has no self.' This is the pinnacle of restraint."

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[a]Who is always looking out for a tip or a bribe.

[b]The standard English translation of this word (lu) used to be "emoluments," but that is now considered to be unfamiliar to the general reader. In other contexts, it might also be rendered as "allowances," "stipend," "earnings," etc.

11. **Tzu Chih (156).** In the year 316 B.C.E., King K'uai of Yen yielded his throne to his

minister, Tzu Chih, in conscious imitation of Yao handing over his throne to Shun. This led to three years of internal strife and the invasion of Yen by the state of Ch'i.

12. **destroyed (156).** T'ang and Wu were the founding kings of the Shang and Chou dynasties respectively. The duke of Po was the grandson of King P'ing of Ch'u. His father, the crown prince, was demoted when the king became infatuated with a woman from the state of Ch'in and fled to Cheng where he married a woman who gave birth to the duke of Po. When the latter grew up, he returned to Ch'u and raised an armed insurrection in 479 B.C.E. to take revenge for his father, but was defeated and eventually committed suicide.

13. **Ch'ichi, Hualiu (156).** The Chinese counterparts of Bucephalus and Pegasus.

14. **small and large (156).** The words "gate" and "practitioners" here are resonant with their occurrence in the Earl of the Yellow River's first speech at the beginning of the chapter.

15. **universality (157).** More literally, the text has "non-locality."

16. **purport (158).** It would be totally out of keeping with this magnificent dialogue between the Overlord of the North Sea and the Earl of Yellow River to translate yi here in its restricted Confucian sense of "righteousness."

17. **attainments (159).** Most commentators interpret the last clause as meaning "do not sacrifice yourself for the sake of fame," but this totally ignores both the syntax and the diction of the sentence. The problem with the present interpretation is that we would not expect the Overlord of the North Sea to care the slightest about name or fame. One suspects, therefore, a lapse on the part of the author.

18. **local militia (160).** The Chinese text has "people of Sung" instead of "local militia," but this incident actually occurred in the state of Wey, just across the border from Sung. K'uang was the name of a place in the state of Wey.

19. **layers deep (160).** See chapter 14, note 26 for a fuller account of this remarkable incident.

20. **Tiger Yang (161).** A notorious marauder whose forces had raided the area not long before.

21. **Kungsun Lung (161).** See chapter 2, note 10.

22. **unaffirmable (161).** These are all references to Kungsun Lung's celebrated sophistries.

23. **Yellow Springs (163).** The Chinese equivalent of Hades.

24. **Shouling (163).** A place in the state of Yen.

25. **Hantan (163).** The capital of the state of Chao. The people there were said to have a stylishly distinctive strut.

26. **P'u River (164).** In Shantung.

27. **Yellow Phoenix (164).** No one is sure of the precise meaning of the name yüanch'u, although the second graph seems to indicate that the bird in question was young.

28. **bamboo seeds (165).** Since bamboo flowers (and hence produces seeds) only rarely, some species as seldom as once a century, the implication of this is that the Yellow Phoenix (which itself only appears at great intervals) is very particular about its food. See Farrelly, The Book of Bamboo, p. 44. Another interpretation of the sinographs in question yields "fruits of the Melia azedarach," which were said to be favored by the phoenix and the unicorn, but shunned by the dragon. Common names for this plant are pride of India, pride of China, and chinaberry.

29. **Hao River (165).** In Anhwei.

30. **minnows (165).** Small fish found in rivers and lakes. They are only a few inches long with thin, flat bodies that, according to old Chinese texts, are "shaped like a willow leaf." We may think of them as minnows. The Latin name adopted for the translation here is generally considered by ichthyological authorities to be the most accurate scientific identification. It literally means "half-blade" which gives a picturesque image of their appearance.

The accurate identification of the t'iao-fish is actually a very difficult problem in Chinese philology. Metaphorically, we might wish to call it the "happyfish" or "frolicfish" because it is frequently used in early Chinese texts to symbolize free-spirited joy. A customary etymology for the t'iao is "twigfish" or "stripfish," ostensibly from its long, thin shape, but this may only be a false or folk etymology based on the usual meaning of the phonetic component of the sinograph used to write the word when that component is considered in isolation. Judging from its reconstructed Old Sinitic phonology and early definitions of the word, t'iao may instead be a near homonym of and cognate with the word for "wander, roam, play, swim, disport" (yu) itself which is so important in this very dialogue between Master Chuang and Master Hui as well as elsewhere in the Chuang Tzu. For a thorough study of the t'iao-fish, see Michael Carr, "Tiao-Fish through Chinese Dictionaries," Sino-Platonic Papers, 40 (September, 1933).

31. **swimming (165).** It is essential to note that this is a rendering of the same graph that is translated in the previous sentence as "strolling" and elsewhere in this book as "wandering" and occasionally "travelling." "Strolling" in the last sentence of this chapter has been added for the sake of clarity. See chapter 11, note 16.

32. **started (165).** More literally, "to the root [of the problem/ argument]."

33. **I know it (165).** Although not so protracted and elaborate, the entire style of argumentation in this famous passage bears an uncanny resemblance to many philosophical arguments found in the works of Plato.

Chapter 18

1. **Ultimate Joy (166).** This is an unusual example of a reasonable succession of chapters in the Chuang Tzu.

2. **sights (166).** The graph for "sight" might also mean "sex/women" or, more literally, "colors."

3. **bodies (167).** The word for "body" here and in the next few paragraphs is normally translated elsewhere in this text as "[physical] form."

4. **Tzuhsü's (167).** See chapter 10, note 6.

5. **tranquil (168).** This approximates the sentiments of the opening verses of Tao Te Ching, ch. 39. Several other lines in this passage of the Chuang Tzu echo various verses in the Tao Te Ching.

6. **evolve (168).** Some early texts add "[and are] born."

7. **undone (168).** This is said of the Way (Tao) in chapter 37 of the Tao Te Ching; see also chapter 48.

8. **she is dead (169).** The author recapitulates the formation of the universe in this description of the evolution of Master Chuang's wife.

9. **K'unlun (169).** See chapter 12, note 10.

10. **Yen Yüan (171).** See chapter 4, note 1.

11. **deep well (171).** This sentence is not to be found in the extant compilation known as the Kuan Tzu. The second half of it, however, is found in the works of the late Warring States thinker, Master Hsün.

12. **Torchman (171).** See chapter 16, note 3.

13. **Divine Farmer (171).** See chapter 16, note 5.

14. **Ninefold Splendors (171).** The regal court music of Shun

15. **loaches (171).** See chapter 2, note 23.

16. **minnows (171).** See chapter 17, note 30.

17. **reality (172).** The relationship between name and reality or substance and the consequent attention to "the rectification of names" were important concerns in several schools of ancient Chinese thought.

18. **usages (172).** The same sinograph for "usages" is normally rendered as "righteousness" elsewhere in this book, but it has an even wider range of meanings ("right conduct," "morality," "duty to one's neighbor," "purport" [see chapter 17, note 16], "public-spirited," "charitable," etc.).

19. **algae (172).** The Chinese expression may be rendered more literally as "clothing of frogs and oysters."

20. **crow's foot (172).** This is a literal translation of the two sinographs forming the name. The plant in question is commonly called blackberry lily in English.

21. **dried surplus bones (172).** The precise identification of this and several of the following terms is impossible because they are colloquial names that have been lost to the tradition of classical explication.

22. **wellsprings (173).** The sinograph for "wellsprings [of nature]" includes within it the graph for "germs" which occurs at the beginning of this bizarre romp through evolution. There is little doubt that the two words are etymologically related in Sinitic. This has prompted many scholars to equate the two as they occur in the passage.

Chapter 19

1. **born again with that (175).** There are countless speculations about the meaning of "that" (e.g., the creator, physical form, nature, God [Deus], etc.). I prefer to leave it as ambiguous as its Indic cognate tat in the well-known formulation tat tvam asi ("that thou art") from the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (6.8,6) where tat ("that") represents the universal principle (brahman), tvam ("thou") the individual soul (ātman), and asi is the verbal identification of the two.

2. **close to it (175).** Presumably to the Way, according to most commentators.

3. **Yin (175).** According to Taoist legend, this is the individual for whom Lao Tzu was said to have written down the Tao Te Ching before he went out through the pass and ultimately to India.

4. **without fear (175).** The Taoist adept is once again portrayed with the same superhuman abilities that we have encountered him with in chapters 2 and 6. They are identical to the supernatural powers cultivated by some Indian yogis and fakirs.

5. **purity of his vital breath (175).** Just as the primary concern of the yogin is the preservation of his prāṇa ("vital breath").

6. **harm him (176).** Director Yin's discourse stops at this point but is followed in the standard text by the following extraneous passage:

> "He who seeks revenge does not break the sword of his enemy and even an irascible person does not bear a grudge against a tile that falls on him. By this means, all under heaven might attain equilibrium. Thus, by following this way, there would be no disorder caused by attacks and battles, no punishments of death and slaughter.
>
> Do not develop what is natural to man,
> But develop what is natural to heaven.
> By developing what pertains to heaven,
> virtue is produced;
> By developing what pertains to man,
> thievery is produced.
> By not wearying of heaven
> And not overlooking man,
> The people will be brought close to the truth."

7. **competes (177).** The vast majority of commentators interpret this word in the restricted sense of shooting in an archery contest, but an examination of variants in parallel passages from other early texts (Lüshi ch'unch'iu, Huainan Tzu) indicates that it simply means "to wager, place a bet." This is one of the most common meanings of the graph in question.

The skill that is displayed may be of any sort that is suitable to place a wager upon, including archery.

8. **T'ien K'aichih (177).** Virtually nothing is known about T'ien K'aichih than what we read here. Duke Wei was the son of Duke Huan, the younger brother of King K'ao (r. 440-426 B.C.E.).

9. **Worthy Invoker (177).** The standard text has Chu Shen ("invoke-kidney"), but there are variants. I follow that which has Chu Hsien ("invoke worthy"). There is little doubt that the author of this passage intended Chu to be understood as a surname derived from the sacrificial post held by the individual in question. There are other examples in early Chinese texts of individuals surnamed Chu ("supplicant" or "invoker").

10. **wandered (177).** Since many early Chinese thinkers were peripatetics (like many ancient Greek philosophers), "to wander with" a certain master means "to study with" him. Because of the extraordinary importance of the term "wander" in the Chuang Tzu (see chapter 11, note 16), I have retained the more literal interpretation.

11. **broom (177).** This reminds us of the importance of sweeping as a practical, yet symbolic, act in some schools of Zen.

12. **Solitary (179).** The graph for this word is interpreted by all the commentors as Shan, a surname. According to this interpretation, "Solitary Leopard" should be read as Shan Pao.

13. **ate him (179).** This recalls one of the best-known stories from the Jātakas (tales of the Buddha in former incarnations).

14. **outer person (179).** "Being" and "person" have been added to the translation for the sake of clarity.

15. **Confucius said (179).** Confucius' sudden appearance at the very end of this dialogue is suspect and leads me to believe that the following paragraph was added later. Even this paragraph itself is of dubious coherence and would seem to consist of at least two parts that may have been added to the text separately.

16. **Duke Huan (180).** Of the state of Ch'i, the first of the five hegemons who imposed their will on the other feudal states.

17. **Kuan Chung (180).** Prime minister of Duke Huan and the ostensible author of the book entitled Master Kuan (Kuan Tzu).

18. **Father (180).** A term of address used to show respect.

19. **for the king (181).** In the corresponding story in the Lieh Tzu, the king is identified as Hsüan (r. 827-782 B.C.E.) of the Chou dynasty.

20. **Spinebridge (182).** Although various versions of this story are found in a number of ancient texts, it is impossible to determine where this place (pronounced Lüliang in Modern Standard Mandarin) is located.

21. **enjoying (182).** This is a translation of the same sinograph that above is rendered as "swimming" and elsewhere usually as "wandering." See chapter 11, note 16 for a discussion of the importance of this graph for the Chuang Tzu. It usually occurs written with the semantic classifier for "walking," but is also sometimes found as a variant with the semantic classifier for "water."

22. **Woodworker (182).** The name indicates particularly a worker in catalpa (some say rottlera) wood.

23. **Duke Chuang (183).** Of the state of Lu.

24. **draftsman (183).** One text (The Spring and Autumn Annals of the Clansman Lü [Lü shih ch'unch'iu]) cites this passage with Tsaofu, one of the most famous charioteers of antiquity, instead of the problematic term wen ("graph, pattern") that is here rendered as "draftsman."

25. **Yen Ho (183).** See chapter 4, note 17.

26. **Ch'ui (184).** See chapter 10, note 14.

27. **numinous terrace (184).** Compare chapter 5, note 14.

28. **about what fits (184).** Chapter 19 on "Understanding Life" properly ends at this point. There follows a long passage featuring a Master Pien ("Flat") (Sir Ch'ing ["Felicity"]) that is largely a pastiche drawn together from other chapters of the Chuang Tzu:

> There was a certain Sun Hsiu who paid a call at the gate of Master Pien Sir Ch'ing and complained to him saying, "When I lived in my village, I was never said to lack cultivation, and when I faced difficulties, I was never said to lack courage. Nevertheless, though I worked in my fields I never met with a good harvest, and though I served my lord I never met with worldly success. I am treated as an outcast in the villages and am driven out of the townships. But what crime have I committed against heaven that I should meet with such a destiny?"
>
> "Haven't you heard how the ultimate man conducts himself?" asked Master Pien. "He forgets his inner organs and is oblivious of his senses. Faraway he is, roaming beyond the dust and dirt of the mundane world, carefree in the enterprise of having no affairs. This is called 'acting without presumption, nurturing without control.' But now you ornament your knowledge to alarm those who are ignorant and you cultivate your person to highlight those who are vile. You are as ostentatious as if you were walking along holding the sun and moon above you. You are fortunate that you have a physical body that is whole and is possessed of all of its nine orifices, that you have not been afflicted midway through life by deafness, blindness, or

lameness but can still be compared to the lot of other men. What leisure do you have for complaining against heaven? Begone, sir!"

After Master Sun left, Master Pien went inside. He sat down for a while, then looked up to heaven and sighed. "Why are you sighing, master?" one of his disciples asked him.

"Just now Hsiu came," said Master Pien, "and I told him about the integrity of the ultimate man. I'm afraid that he will be alarmed and may end up in bewilderment."

"Not so," said the disciple. "If what Master Sun said was right and what you said was wrong, the wrong will surely not be able to bewilder the right. And if what Master Sun said was wrong and what you said was right, then he surely must have come because he was already bewildered. In that case, what mistake did you commit?"

"Not so," said Master Pien. "Of old, there was a bird that alighted in the suburbs of Lu. The marquis of Lu was pleased with it and offered it beef, mutton, and pork for nourishment. For music, he had 'The Ninefold Splendors' performed, but the bird's eyes began to glaze over with sadness and it was unwilling to eat or drink. This is called nourishing a bird as one would nourish oneself. If, however, we are to nourish birds as birds should be nourished, we ought to let them perch in the deep forests, float on rivers and lakes, feed on loaches and hemiculturs, and dwell in self-contentment, then they will feel safe on level, dry ground, and that is all. Now, Hsiu is a person of slim wit and slight learning. My telling him about the integrity of the ultimate man is like using a carriage and horses to transport a mouse or drums and bells to delight a bull-headed shrike. How could he not be alarmed?"

Chapter 20

1. **worthless (185).** See chapter 4, note 25 for an explanation of the concept of worthlessness in the Chuang Tzu.

2. **freely (187).** "Freely" has been extrapolated from the idea of drifting and wandering.

3. **Yiliao of Southmarket (188).** In the Chronicle of Tso (Tso chuan), under the year 479 B.C.E. (the sixteenth year of the reign of Duke Ai of Lu), there is mentioned a Hsiung ("Bear") Yiliao ("Suitable Officer") who lived south of the market. The bear was the totem of the Ch'u royal clan.

4. **determination (188).** This is actually a fairly straightforward sentence, but the commentators have interpreted it in wildly different ways.

5. **Namviet (188).** South (nam) of the state of Yüeh (viet). This being unfamiliar territory to the Chinese during Chuang Tzu's time, its use here is to indicate a place that is remote.

6. **few desires (189).** Echoing the Tao Te Ching, chapters 57 and 19.

7. **great method (189).** See chapter 17, note 5.

8. **Prodigal Northpalace (190).** His name would be pronounced Peikung She in Modern Standard Mandarin. Since nothing else is known of him than what we read here, he may be a purely imaginary character.

9. **Prince Ch'ingchi (190).** The son of King Liao of the state of Wu, he fled to the state of Wey when his father was assassinated.

10. **for seven days (191).** See chapter 14, note 30.

11. **Jen (191).** An apparently imaginary figure.

12. **man of great accomplishment (191).** Presumably referring to Lao Tzu.

13. **will decline (192).** The first clause is from Tao Te Ching, chapter 24; the second resembles a line in chapter 2; and the third resembles a line in chapter 9.

14. **Sir Mulberry Thunderclap (192).** This is undoubtedly meant to be the same imaginary personage as the Sir Mulberry Door whom we encountered in chapter 6. There is, however, a tremendous amount of confusion in the various editions of the text about how to write the second syllable of his name. Both syllables taken together are pronounced Sanghu in Modern Standard Mandarin, but the characters used to write -hu mean "door" in one case and "thunderclap" in the other. Sanghu may actually be a phonetic transcription of a word with still another meaning, although "mulberry" does seem to have been intended by the sang-syllable.

15. **Lu (192).** Lu was Confucius' own home state. He held several posts in the administration of Lu, the highest being Minister of Justice, but he could not keep them for long because his puritanical activism and grandiloquent plans for good government often brought him into conflict with the ruler. Once, for example, during the reign of Duke Ting, the state of Ch'i purposely sowed seeds of discord between Confucius and his ruler by presenting the latter with 80 beautiful women and 124 fine horses. Confucius was unhappy about this, of course, because it diverted the ruler's attention from the all-important (to Confucius) business of governing the state well, so he felt that he had no choice but to leave Lu and attempt to persuade some other ruler to adopt his policies.

16. **Ch'en and Ts'ai (192).** See chapter 14, notes 26-30.

17. **Chia (193).** The character for Chia is probably a miswriting of the graphically similar character for Yin (i.e., the Shang dynasty), by which is intended its successor duchy, Sung, which was permitted to survive under the Chou dynasty as a haven for the remnants of the Yin aristocracy.

18. **camphor (194).** These are all tall, straight trees.

19. **Yi and P'engmeng (194).** Yi may be the famous archer mentioned in chapter 2, note 22 or another skillful bowman who bore the same name. P'engmeng was his disciple.

20. **matrimony vine (194).** These are all short, shrubby bushes with thorns.

21. **Pikan (194).** See chapter 4, note 3 and at chapter 10, note 4.

22. **clansman Piao (195).** This is said to refer to the Divine Farmer, but the old texts and commentaries are greatly at odds over the correct reading and interpretation of the name.

23. **love of himself (195).** Most commentators interpret this as referring to Yen Hui's attitude about Confucius, i.e., "was afraid that Yen Hui would form too high an estimation of his teacher and would be sorrowful out of love for his teacher." There are other, more forced interpretations, all of which serve to show how ambiguous the Chinese text is. Grammatically, it should be rendered roughly as given above in the translation. Considering Yen Hui's extreme devotion to Confucius, however, this does not necessarily make the best sense, unless we understand "himself" in both cases as referring to Confucius. Suffice it to say that this is one of the most disjointed and poorly written passages in the Chuang Tzu. It is also very uninteresting and altogether too prosaic to deserve inclusion. Only the description of the swallow (see below in the text at notes 25 and 26) saves it from complete failure.

24. **style 'externals' (195).** The widely differing interpretations of this sentence are almost as numerous as the commentators who have attempted to explain it.

25. **berry (195).** Virtually all of the commentators explain this word as meaning food but give no philological grounds for such an explanation.

26. **builds an altar there (196).** The commentators consider this sentence to be exceedingly obscure and consequently it is interpreted in many different ways. Actually, the information given here accords closely with beliefs and customs concerning the swallow in a number of societies. The Taiwanese and the Nepalese, for example, do not consider a newly constructed house to be blessed until a swallow builds its nest under the eaves. It is the sacred quality of the mud-daubed nest that undoubtedly led the author of this passage to refer to it here as an "altar of the soil and grain." Even more remarkable is a personal observation I made during an extended trip to the People's Republic of China. After three weeks of travel across the length and breadth of the land, one of my companions who happened to be a birdwatcher exclaimed with chagrin, "Oh, heaven! Victor, there are no birds in China!" And, indeed, except for a solitary kite that we had seen flying high in the sky above the remote upper reaches of the Yellow River, we had not seen or heard a single bird for three weeks. When I asked the Chinese guides how this could be so, they explained that massive extermination campaigns had reduced the bird population to almost nil ("because birds compete with human beings for grain"). There were also the local "bird-killing kings" who shot or netted as many as a hundred animals a day for sport or food. Four years later, in 1987, the Chinese authorities began to realize what an ecological disaster these misguided policies had spawned--millions of trees were dying from insect infestation, to name only one problem--and gradually began to attempt to control the wanton slaughter. But, to return to the conclusion of my 1983 trip, after nearly a month in China, as we reached Canton and were preparing to leave the country, we were overjoyed to behold scattered groups of swallows flying exuberantly in the vicinity of the Canton Historical Museum (formerly a temple that was originally built in 1380 on a commanding height overlooking the city). I was so startled by their existence that I could not help but ask my Chinese hosts why they, too, had not been killed. "In the first place," he said, "their flight is too fast and jittery for anyone to shoot them easily. Secondly, they help us to kill insects which rob us of grain. And finally," he admitted, "they bring good luck." Hence, even in godless communist China, an ancient tradition about the swallow had been preserved--after a fashion.

27. **Eagle Mound (196).** Pronounced Tiaoling in Modern Standard Mandarin. An alternative, but less likely, translation of the name might be "Carved Mound."

28. **forelegs (196).** The text has "feather screen," probably to indicate the swaying motion of the mantis's forelegs.

29. **Lin Chü (196).** Apparently a disciple of Master Chuang.

30. **my master (196).** All attempts to identify the master of Chuang Chou here referred to are futile.

31. **rules of that place (197).** The sentiments are exactly the same as those expressed by St. Ambrose in his advice to St. Augustine: "When in Rome do as the Romans do."

32. **poacher (197).** Other interpretations of this word are "disgraceful," "culpable," "reproachable," "punishable," "a trespasser," etc.

Chapter 21

1. **Sir Square Field (198).** T'ien Tzufang. Mentioned in many ancient texts, he was supposedly a close adviser of Marquis Wen, an enlightened ruler who occupied the throne of Wei from 446-397 B.C.E.

2. **Gorge Worker (198).** Ch'ikung. A variant reads Chikung ("Chicken Worker").

3. **Sir Accord (198).** Shuntzu. His cognomen indicates that he is a master at following along with things.

4. **Middle Kingdom (199).** "Central kingdom" or "middle kingdom" is the current official self-designation of China. It derives from the usage here which originally meant "kingdom of the central plains." Uncle Warmsnow came from the south which was still considered to be a cultural backwater in comparison with the central plains where Chinese civilization first developed.

5. **without partiality (200).** Based on a sentence in the chapter on government from the Confucian Analects.

6. **implements of state (200).** Compare Tao Te Ching, chapter 36.

7. **gathering wisps (201).** There are at least a dozen radically different interpretations of the word hsün.

8. **destiny (201).** Confucius was fond of saying that he knew destiny.

9. **antecedents (201).** This passage clearly echoes that at chapter 5, note 13.

10. **absorbed (201).** I follow most authorities who interpret this word as meaning "motionless," "hibernating," or the like. This fits reasonably well with what Confucius says just below, but there are no firm philological grounds for such an interpretation (all the annotations which give such an explanation are based on this very passage). A more literal, alternative translation might be "awesome." We should note that the text stresses that Old Longears was just at that moment preparing to dishevel his hair. The use of the bisyllabic grammatical particle fangchiang makes unmistakably clear that the action of disheveling was incipient or in progress and should not be ignored. My alternative rendering is based on the earliest lexicographical gloss of the graph in question (100 C.E. in the Shuowen).

11. **from heaven (202).** The text has the positions of heaven and earth reversed, but surely Old Longears must have known that yin is associated with earth and yang with heaven. Therefore, we are justified in correcting the error of the author or copyist as given in the translation. Even the verbs ("comes forth" and "issues") would seem to support this emendation since heaven and earth fit more naturally with them in their corrected positions.

12. **in this realm (202).** The translation has been amplified by the addition of "let your mind" and "in this realm."

13. **had an interview with Duke Ai (203).** This is completely impossible, of course, since Duke Ai lived more than a century before Master Chuang.

14. **literati (203).** The term used to signify "literati" in Sinitic, ju, is usually taken to refer to Confucianists. Its etymology is uncertain, but it is glossed as meaning "one who is conversant with the things of heaven, earth, and man."

15. **forms of earth (203).** The Chinese have a saying that "heaven is round and earth is square."

16. **ties (203).** The commentators offer a variety of interpretations for this word, including "broad silk cord" and "cord woven of five differently colored threads." The latter is a particularly attractive explanation in light of the fact that the brahman wears such a cord over his shoulder (see Mair, Tao Te Ching, p. 114, note 56.1). Unfortunately, there are no firm philological grounds for such an explanation, in spite of the fact that it may represent an accurate historical truth.

17. **slotted ring (203).** The Sinitic term for "slotted ring" belongs to a whole series of etymologically related words (mostly pronounced chüeh in Modern Standard Mandarin) including that for "to decide." The basic meaning of the root is "to divide, make a clean break." The relatedness of these words is reinforced by the fact that the sinographs used to write them all include the same phonophore (sound-bearing component).

18. **particular way (203).** Here and in the remainder of this paragraph, "way" implies "a doctrine, body of knowledge, or skill."

19. **exhaust his knowledge (204).** "The duke" and "his knowledge" have been added to the translation for the sake of clarity.

20. **Poli Hsi (204).** A famous statesman of the seventh century B.C.E. who rose from a lowly station to be the chief minister of Duke Mu of the state of Ch'in. He is featured in the Mencius and other early Chinese texts.

21. **clansman . . . Yü (204).** I.e., the legendary emperor Shun (see chapter 7, note 1). It is somewhat strange that the author would bring Poli Hsi and Shun together in this exceedingly short passage. There is a possible connection, however, and that is the fact that Poli Hsi originally hailed from the state of Yü which was destroyed by the state of Ch'in, forcing him to flee in bondage to the state of Ch'in. Perhaps the author thought of Poli Hsi and Shun together because they were both associated with Yü, albeit at widely separated times.

22. **move others (204).** Shun's own father and stepmother repeatedly tried to kill him when he was a child, but his extreme filial piety finally won them over.

23. **Lord Yüan (204).** Duke Yüan, who ruled from 531 to 517 B.C.E. He is featured at greater length in chapter 26.

24. **charts (204).** The word in the text may also be interpreted as map, diagram, design, drawing, etc., but less likely as portrait or picture, and still less likely as painting.

25. **bowing (204).** I follow the traditional, more literal, interpretation of this problematic phrase. Recently, several scholars have begun to interpret the phrase to mean "received their drawing boards," but this requires a rather radical emendation. I am also somewhat dubious that professional clerks would have to be issued drawing boards.

26. **King Wen (205).** This probably refers to the founder of the Chou dynasty.

27. **Tsang (205).** Said to be on the Wei River in the vicinity of modern Sian, but the place is most likely imaginary. The name Tsang could be interpreted in a number of different ways ("goodness," "generosity," "storehouse," etc.).

28. **eternal fishing (205).** This passage is extremely difficult to translate felicitously. The word tiao occurs six times and has a range of the following possible meanings: to fish, to fish with hook and line, a fish-hook. The easiest solution would be to render tiao as "fishing" in each of its occurrences, but that would make little sense in English. I believe that the author is here subtly echoing the famous first chapter of the Tao Te Ching ("The ways that can be walked are not the eternal Way . . ." [tao k'o tao fei ch'ang Tao]).

29. **divine (205).** The specific type of divination employed would have been to read the cracks on a scorched tortoise shell or ox scapula. This was considered to be a particularly effective method for consulting one's deceased ancestors.

30. **measurements (205).** The standardization of measures was a serious problem in feudal society, one not effectively solved for China until much later than King Wen's time under the first emperor of the Ch'in dynasty.

31. **Facing north (206).** I.e., in the position of a subject. It is the king's prerogative to face south. See, for example, chapter 5, note 16.

32. **Lieh Yük'ou (206).** Yük'ou ("Resist Tyranny") was Master Lieh's personal name. Chapter 32 is entitled after him.

33. **like a statue (206).** This may give us some insight into the relationship between Zen and the art of archery.

34. **Yellow Springs (206).** See chapter 17, note 23.

35. **state of being (208).** For "inner state of being," the text simply has "in the center" which may possibly have some overtones of hitting the center in archery.

36. **Chien Wu (208).** See chapter 1, note 12.

37. **Sun Shu'ao (208).** A famous statesman who engineered King Chuang (r. 613-591 B.C.E.) of Ch'u's rise to the position of hegemon.

38. **more he had for himself (208).** Resonant with Tao Te Ching, chapter 81.

39. **Fan (209).** Since the historicity of this place is dubious for the time period when the incident recorded here is supposed to have occurred (during the reign of King Wen of Ch'u, 689-677 B.C.E.), it is possible that the author chose the name Fan for its meaning ("ordinary").

40. **destroyed (209).** The tense of the verb is not certain, nor is the precise significance of three ("times" [i.e. "repeatedly"], "individuals," etc.).

41. **preserved (209).** Fan was a small estate of waning influence that had originally been set aside for the descendants of the Duke of Chou. Ch'u, on the other hand, was a large state of growing power and influence.

Chapter 22

1. **knowledge (210).** Signifying the discursive, discriminating, rational consciousness of the human mind.

2. **Dark (210).** The word for "dark" here is hsüan. In Taoist thought, it signifies many things, including mystery (cf. Tao Te Ching, chapter 1), concentrated yin, origin, etc., and is associated with the north and water. This is the region where the Way (Tao) is most immanent.

3. **started to speak (211).** This might more literally be rendered as "Inside he wanted to speak, but. . . ."

4. **like he is (211).** Alternatively, this could be interpreted as "Mad Stammerer is next."

5. **does not know (211).** This is the same as the celebrated opening of chapter 56 of the Tao Te Ching.

6. **doctrine without words (211).** See Tao Te Ching, chapters 2 and 43.

7. **ceremony (211).** Also translated as rites, ritual, or etiquette, li is the cornerstone of Confucian civil behavior.

8. **source of disorder (212).** From the thirty-eighth chapter of the Tao Te Ching, with some minor rearrangements near the end.

9. **left undone (212).** From the forty-eighth chapter of the Tao Te Ching, with some minor variations near the beginning.

10. **a thing (212).** That is, an object, creature, or implement that has been fashioned out of primordial stuff.

11. **its roots (212).** The last phrase is also found in chapter 16 of the Tao Te Ching.

12. **disciple of death (212).** See Tao Te Ching, chapters 50 and 76.

13. **pervades all under heaven (212).** One edition of the text has "pervades heaven and earth."

14. **starting to do so (212).** Compare note 3 above.

15. **knew how to speak (212).** The Chinese expression chih yen ("know words") is multivalent. Aside from the meaning given in the translation, it can also imply "wise words," "knowing [the power of] words," and so forth.

16. **their roots (213).** In the spirit of heaven and earth.

17. **cannot get beyond (213).** I have added "of the spirit of heaven and earth" here and in the next sentence, but the author might vaguely have been thinking of "vital breath" (ch'i), the Way (Tao), or some other all-pervading entity (the text merely has "it[s]"). For "cannot get beyond" the text may more literally be rendered "has not yet separated from its inside."

18. **Wearcoat (213).** See chapter 12, note 12.

19. **Rectify (213).** This word has a rather un-Taoistic ring to it, but much of this passage seems inspired by the Kuan Tzu and other Warring States texts, so we cannot gloss over it by interpreting it in a less doctrinaire fashion.

20. **aide (214).** This may be a person's name, in which case we should read it as Ch'eng. Some say that he was Shun's teacher, but that is pure speculation.

21. **harmony (214).** Of yin and yang.

22. **powerful (215).** The surface signification of the two graphs ch'iang and yang used to write this word are "strong yang," but it would be a serious error to translate thus here. Since heaven has a yang quality and earth has a yin quality, we could not possibly ascribe a strong yang force to both of them. It is equally clear from chapter 27 where this same expression occurs three times (see note 22 there) that it is inappropriate to translate it as "strong yang." Without becoming overly technical, it may be pointed out that ch'iangyang belongs to a large class of rhyming bisyllabic words whose meaning is determined more by their sounds than by the superficial signification of their shapes. In this case, we can get an idea of the meaning of the whole word from the first syllable, while the second syllable may be thought of as a sort of phonetic filler.

23. **egg-born (215).** Cf. chapter 14, note 55. This sentence seems to be a stray commentary that has worked its way into the text.

24. **The Way (215).** The subject of the following lines is not specified in the text, but it is presumably the Way.

25. **Without it (215).** The construction pu te pu ("[If x did] not obtain [the Way, it could] not . . .") should not be confused with the Mandarin construction written with the same three graphs which means "cannot help but . . .". I have extracted pu te [chih] pu from each of the following four lines and represent it in the translation with the single introductory phrase "without it" and the repeated negative adverb "not."

26. **severs himself from them (216).** Echoing chapter 81 and, to a lesser extent, chapter 19 of the Tao Te Ching.

27. **without decreasing (216).** Cf. Tao Te Ching, chapters 4 and 45.

28. **way of the superior man (216).** Espoused by Confucius himself.

29. **Middle Kingdom (216).** See chapter 17, note 7 and chapter 21, note 4. Here, however, the name seems to be employed in more of a metaphorical sense than elsewhere in the text. The author appears to be describing a sort of "middle man," i.e., an average person.

30. **effervescence (216).** It is impossible to determine the precise meaning of this bisyllabic word (yinyi, but there are also numerous other possible pronunciations), although it does seem to have something to do with a process of fermentation and breath.

31. **Yao, Chieh (216).** In the Confucian tradition of didacticism, Yao is the paradigm of a good ruler and Chieh the paradigm of an evil tyrant.

32. **as a companion (216).** This might also be rendered as "on the spur of the moment."

33. **is the Way (216).** As elsewhere in this chapter, the author seems here to be drawing on the type of thought expressed in the Kuan Tzu, especially the chapter on "Arts of the Mind (Hsinshu)."

34. **kings arose (216).** These are the sage kings and emperors of hoary antiquity.

35. **Master Easturb (217).** This may be the same imaginary person who appears near the beginning of chapter 21 (see note 3 there).

36. **piss (217).** The Zen master Yünmen did Master Chuang one better by referring to himself as a shit-stick!

37. **the fatter they are (218).** There is enormous disagreement among the commentators over the meaning of this sentence and the next one.

38. **where we'd stop (218).** The beginnings of both clauses of this sentence are defective. I have removed several extraneous graphs in order to achieve syntactic parallelism.

39. **Divine Farmer (218).** This is probably not intended to represent the mythological figure of the same name whom we have encountered before, but since this Divine Farmer is an entirely fictional character, anything is possible.

40. **he laughed (218).** One commentator proposes emending "laughed" to "cried." The two sinographs actually look very much alike.

41. **Heaven (218).** A highly respectful form of address. In chapter 11, Cloud General also referred to Vast Obscurity as "heaven."

42. **It's all over (218).** There is much disagreement among the commentators about where to break this sentence and how to interpret the following sentence.

43. **great origin (220).** The primal origin that is within each of us, but usually ignored.

44. **K'unlun (220).** The sacred mountain of Taoism that is situated far to the west. See chapter 12, note 10.

45. **couldn't grasp him (220).** Clearly related to the opening section of chapter 14 of the Tao Te Ching.

46. **attain such a state (220).** The text more literally says "arrive [at] this." The word for "arrive" (pronounced chih in Modern Standard Mandarin) is the same as that for "ultimate" in the previous sentence, the idea being that one "reaches" or "arrives" at an end point (or pinnacle, in the popular conception of the word). A favorite translation for chih is "perfect[ion]," but I find that to be less precise, etymologically and otherwise, than "ultimate."

47. **How could one attain such a state (220).** Passages such as this from the Chuang Tzu had a tremendous impact on the development of such influential early Mahāyāna Buddhist thinkers as Sengchao and Huiyüan.

48. **forger of hooks (220).** The commentators are much vexed by whether these hooks were used for fishing, attaching belts, or fighting. Since the forger worked for the minister of war, it would seem reasonable that he made weapons. There are, indeed, other old Chinese texts where "hook" (kou) clearly refers to some sort of sharp, lethal weapon shaped like a sickle.

49. **subject guards (220).** Some commentators wish to emend "guards" to "a way," but as the text reads well enough without such a change, that is unnecessary.

50. **not incompetent (221).** The commentators are completely at odds over how to interpret the last paragraph, especially its penultimate sentence which I have purposely left vague. The literal meaning of the word that I have translated as "competence" is "use, function, employ[ment]."

51. **Jan Ch'iu (221).** An introspective yet capable disciple of Confucius.

52. **generation of descendants (221).** There is a wide diversity of opinion among the commentators about the meaning of this sentence. It seems fairly obvious from the context, however, that the author intends by it to say that before there was heaven and earth, there must have been something anterior which gave birth to them.

53. **is unending (221).** Needless to say, this sentence is utterly baffling to the commentators.

54. **modeled on this (221).** This is a bizarre ending for one of the most recondite passages in the Chuang Tzu. It would seem to have been tacked on by some Confucian peddling humaneness or, less likely, by a Mohist pushing universal love.

55. **what sort of wandering (222).** An alternative rendering would be to emend the text so as to read "the reason" instead of "[what sort of] wandering [this is]." The literary Chinese

words for "wandering" and "reason" are both pronounced yu in Modern Standard Mandarin and also had similar pronunciations in Old Sinitic.

56. **has a unity (222).** Presumably the inner mind. Cf. at chapter 25, note 16.

57. **Secure (222).** Some commentators treat this word (an) as an interrogative particle.

58. **turn away (222).** Adding radical 149 to the graph given in the text (to) to yield ch'ih ("separate or part from"). There are, however, numerous other speculations about the meaning of this word.

59. **chambers of T'ang and Wu (222).** The author has not deigned to provide a predicate for this sentence, and I shall not attempt to second guess him except to point out that there is a progression from larger royal facilities to smaller, and from more open, outwardly directed circumstances to more closed, inwardly centered structures. Perhaps this is meant to reinforce a point the author is making about the relationship between men of accomplishment and things, but we cannot be certain. Indeed, this entire paragraph is so fraught with difficulties that much of it is virtually unsalvageable. For the identification of Hsiwei, see the passage following chapter 6, note 11 above. The other figures have appeared repeatedly at various places in the text.

60. **teachers of the literati (222).** Confucius was himself the chief of the Ju-literati, so it is ironic to put these words in his own mouth! I have added "of antiquity" to contrast this sentence with the next.

61. **do not meet (222).** According to the traditional Chinese ethos, they do not understand when the times are unpropitious.

62. **what they are incapable of (222).** The literal wording of the Chinese text is even more painfully tautological than the translation.

63. **can be understood (222).** The commentators are in despair and disarray over the meaning of this sentence.

Chapter 23

1. **servants (225).** Because it does not fit the image of the Old Master (Lao Tzu) to have servants, many interpreters arbitrarily insist that yi should here be understood as "pupil," "student," or "disciple."

2. **Kengsang Ch'u (225).** His name might well be explicated as Sharp[-witted] Long-lived Mulberry.

3. **partial (225).** This is the most literal interpretation of the word p'ien. Others attempt to ma mean "special," "broadest," and so forth.

4. **impersonator of the dead (226).** See chapter 14, note 25.

5. **facing south (226).** As a ruler or a sage.

6. **treasures (226).** An orthographically similar variant is "grains" or "fruits."

7. **common people (226).** More literally, "The hundred surnames." See chapter 11, note 10.

8. **mud loaches (226).** Interpreting ni ("giant salamander") as the homophonous word ni ("mud"). The mud loach is only three to four inches long, whereas the giant salamander can grow to eight or nine feet in length.

9. **tL wo (227).** Yao and Shun.

10. **the people (227).** The usual interpretation of this sentence is "These various methods are inadequate to liberalize the people." But parallelism with the second sentence above and the context of the sentence before that would seem to require some such understanding as that given to the translation here.

11. **Rufus Southglory (227).** Said to be a disciple of Master Kengsang. A fuller rendition of his given name would be Runrufus. The numerous orthographic variants of the name indicate that he may have been a man of great longevity.

12. **things (228).** Objects, material desires.

13. **bean caterpillar (228).** A large, green insect that feeds on the leaves of bean plants. In Chinese nature lore, an insect called the mud dauber was thought to be capable of transforming mulberry caterpillars into its own offspring. This misconception was most likely due to insufficient observation of the larval birth of the wasps.

14. **Lu chickens (228).** Because these northern Shantung fowl were larger than their southern relatives.

15. **this predicament (229).** "Predicament" has been added to the translation for clarity.

16. **proper (229).** More precisely, "attributive."

17. **school (229).** "[T]he Old Master's school" has been added to the translation.

18. **imitation of the Way (229).** This paragraph is full of difficulties upon which the commentators are in disagreement.

19. **not really sick (229).** Following an edition which lacks the extraneous "although his sickness" at the beginning of the last clause.

20. **guarding life (229).** The expression "to guard life," under Japanese influence, has come to mean "sanitation" or "hygiene" in Modern Standard Mandarin.

21. **time to cease (230).** The last five words of this and the previous line have been added to the translation.

22. **looking for (230).** The translation has been amplified by the words "looking for."

23. **in yourself (230).** This verse is very close to a passage in the Kuan Tzu, "Arts of the Mind," part B. The first half is also echoed in chapter 10 of the Tao Te Ching.

24. **like a child (230).** Similar to a question in chapter 10 of the Tao Te Ching.

25. **the height of harmony (230).** This sentence is nearly identical to a couplet from chapter 55 of the Tao Te Ching. It is obvious from the overlapping congruence of certain portions of the Chuang Tzu with the Tao Te Ching, portions of the Kuan Tzu, and other Warring States texts, that they were all heirs to a common oral tradition of wisdom. The differences among these various texts would have emerged through divergence among regions, schools, and individual thinkers, but particularly during the process of the redaction of the written texts themselves.

The word translated here as "height" for euphonic reasons is normally translated as "ultimate" elsewhere in this book. Other translators often render it as "perfection."

26. **frost (230).** Some editions of the text follow this sentence with the superfluous question, "Can you [do it]?"

27. **dead ashes (231).** The same images of the ascetic sage have already appeared at the beginning of chapter 2 and one quarter of the way through chapter 22.

28. **space (231).** There is much conjecturing about the signification of this word whose literal meaning is "area [beneath the eaves of a house]" and whose extended meaning is "canopy [of heaven]." Most of the commentators assert that it refers to the heart-mind, while others hold that it refers to heavenly antiquity.

29. **potter's wheel (231).** A metaphor for the molding, creative power of nature. Some may wish to see the celestial potter's wheel as a symbol of god the shaper of all things in the universe.

30. **numinous terrace (231).** See chapter 19, note 27 and chapter 5, note 14.

31. **Excalibur (232).** See chapter 6, note 16.

32. **all things become one (232).** This passage is corrupt in most editions but can be reconstructed by reference to an old manuscript preserved in Japan at the Kōzanji temple and by comparison with a parallel passage in chapter 2 (just after note 11).

33. **to be complete (232).** More literally, "that it has completeness."

34. **attained the ultimate (233).** More literally, "The humans of antiquity--their knowledge had that to which it attained [ult ely]." The opening sentences of this paragraph closely follow those of a paragraph in ch er 2 (see p. 16.).

35. **buttocks (233).** Compare ch ter 6 at pp. 57-58.

36. **Ch'u royalty (233).** The last clause had been added by the translator for the sake of clarity. Chao, Ching, and Chia (=Ch'ü, the surname of the famous poet, Ch'ü Yüan) were three of the most prominent surnames in the ancient southern state of Ch'u. The people of this area originally spoke a non-Sinitic language. Consequently, the meanings of their surnames alluded to here have been masked by the irrelevant semantic values of the Chinese characters used to transcribe them and are probably no longer recoverable.

37. **mutable referents (233).** The notion of "mutable referents" is very difficult to grasp. It may more literally be rendered as "change[able] this/right."

38. **winter sacrifice (233).** Held three days after the solstice.

39. **sacrificial animal (233).** This sentence has been amplified by the addition of "be thought of" and "they are really . . . parts of the sacrificial animal."

40. **as a whole (233).** For the sake of clarity, "of the house as a whole" has been added to the translation.

41. **become attached to (234).** More literally "become passengers on." The subject of the sentence, missing in the original, has been provided.

42. **subjective substance (234).** "Subjective" and "substance" are two different, but related, glosses for the same Chinese word.

43. **consequently (234).** The writing of this paragraph is as clumsy as that of the last paragraph is opaque.

44. **being all alike (234).** For the cicada and the dovelet, see the fifth paragraph of chapter 1. "In their attachment to" has been added to the beginning of this sentence.

45. **you do nothing (234).** Because you know that you are already forgiven.

46. **spurns gold (234).** As a token of good faith.

47. **Exterminate the perplexities of the Way (234).** More literally, "[break] through [all] barriers of [i.e., against] the Way."

48. **sideways glance (235).** This image closely echoes an argument about thought and knowledge in the Mo Tzu.

49. **nothing other than (235).** The double negative seems to be a corruption of the text, but there is no compelling reason to change it. This entire passage is wooden and uninspired, quite unlike the best and most authentic portions of the Chuang Tzu.

50. **Yi (235).** There were at least two famous archers in the remote past who bore this name. See chapter 2, note 22, chapter 5, note 9, and chapter 20, note 19.

51. **heaven and humanity! (235).** The commentators are in utter disarray over the interpretation of the final two sentences of this paragraph.

52. **T'ang (235).** T'ang was the founder of the Shang dynasty. Recognizing the culinary and other talents of Yi Yin, he first hired him as a cook and later made him prime minister.

53. **five goatskins (235).** See chapter 21, note 20. The word "ransoming" has been added to the translation.

Chapter 24

1. **Ghostless Hsü (237).** Since the title character Hsü Wukuei of this chapter is wholly imaginary, we might be justified in translating his surname as "dignified" or "slow."

2. **Nü Shang (237).** Presumably a favored minister of marquis Wu, he would appear to be a semi-fictional figure.

3. **Marquis Wu (237).** The founder of the state of Wei when it split off from the state of Chin. His son was the famous King Hui with whom Mencius had so many memorable discussions.

4. **judge (238).** More literally, "physiognomize."

5. **not as good as horses (238).** That is to say, they are not of imperial quality.

6. **persuasions (238).** This is a technical term (shui), comparable to the suasoriae of the classical Greek and Roman orators, that was used during the Warring States period to refer to the counsels of various thinkers who attempted to influence the contending rulers of the day. The graph used to write the word shui occurs six times in this short speech of Nü Shang. Its interpretation here is complicated by the fact that the same graph may represent a number of other completely different words, including shuo ("to say") and yüeh ("to delight").

7. **. . . and Music (238).** In other words, from the Confucian classics.

8. **. . . and Six Bow-cases (238).** These are thought to be works on strategy and tactics.

9. **true man (239).** A Taoist paragon, counterpart of the superior man in the Confucian tradition.

10. **Great Clump (240).** "Great Clump" would appear to be an alternative reference to the Great Clod, which we have encountered earlier as a metaphor for the Way.

11. **Mount Shady (240).** The personal and place names in this passage are extremely difficult to interpret, but given that it is patently allegorical, we are duty bound to do our best.

12. **Hsiangch'eng (241).** There is still a district by this name in Honan province. The name of the place might be interpreted as "Raised City," i.e., a walled town that lies above the surrounding area.

13. **seven sages (241).** The Yellow Emperor and his attendants.

14. **about all under heaven (241).** About the government of the kingdom, that is.

15. **Heavenly Teacher (242).** This later became the title of the line of so-called Taoist popes, beginning with Chang Taoling in the first century and lasting into this century.

16. **examiners (242).** Like the preceding two types of individuals, "examiners" must refer to a type of thinker during the Warring States period.

17. **times and (242).** Emending "not" to "and." The text is almost certainly corrupt at this point.

18. **Yis (243).** There were at least two famous archers in antiquity who bore this name and whom we have already encountered several times in the Chuang Tzu.

19. **Yaos (243).** A mythical sage king.

20. **permissible statement (243).** These two sentences spoken by Master Chuang have required a certain amount of amplification in translation for intelligibility.

21. **Pingists (243).** The Confucians were the literati who professed to follow the teachings of Confucius. The Mohists subscribed to the doctrine of universal love preached by Mo Ti (Master Mo or Mecius). The Yangists followed the hedonist attitudes of Yang Chu. The identity of the fourth philosopher is disputed. Most commentators assert that it is Kungsun Lung. That is unlikely, however, because he was a logician belonging to the same school of thought as Master Hui who is listed in the next sentence as representing a fifth group.

22. **yin with yin (243).** Since yang stands for solar heat and yin for lunar coolness, Hasty Ninny's remark is fairly comprehensible, but the commentators are thoroughly perplexed by the purport of his student's comment which occasioned it.

23. **do, mi (243).** Kung (= do) and chiao (= mi) are the first and third notes of the ancient Chinese pentatonic scale. The word translated twice in this sentence as "resonated" literally means "moved."

24. **all like this? (243).** In maintaining their own views to be right even though there are different, competing views. The words "you thinkers are all" have been added to the translation.

25. **enmity (244).** The number of different interpretations of this extremely difficult paragraph is almost as great as the number of commentators who have attempted to explicate it. Suffice it to say that a certain amount of emendation is necessary to make any sense of it. Master Chuang cites these illustrations, apparently, to warn Master Hui of the consequences when someone always thinks that his own positions are the only correct ones.

26. **Ying (244).** The capital of the southern state of Ch'u.

27. **Shih (244).** Whom we have already encountered in chapter 4, section 4. His surname may be rendered as "Stone."

28. **chopping block (244).** More literally, "material," "witness," or "pledge." But the character used here is probably meant to stand for a homophonous graph that differs only in having an additional semantic classifier for wood and that means "chopping block." This is the source for the translation given.

29. **Duke Huan (244).** Of the state of Ch'i. He was one of the five hegemons during the Warring States period. On the relationship between Kuan Chung and Duke Huan, see at note 17 of chapter 19.

30. **refrain (244).** Normally, it would be considered taboo to discuss a critical illness in polite Chinese society.

31. **great illness (244).** A euphemism for death.

32. **Pao Shuya (245).** An old and close friend of Kuan Chung who was also an early supporter of Duke Huan.

33. **Sir Motley (246).** See chapter 4, note 22.

34. **Master Countenance (246).** Undoubtedly meant to be the same fictional character as Sir Wanderer of Countenance Complete who appears near the beginning of chapter 2.

35. **T'ien Ho (246).** The founding duke of the usurping T'ien lineage in the state of Ch'i. See chapter 10, note 3 for information about the murder of the legitimate ruler of Ch'i, Duke Chien, by T'ien Ch'engtzu (Viscount Fieldborn).

36. **Sun Shu'ao (246).** Minister of King Chuang (d. 591 B.C.E.) of Ch'u.

37. **chalice (246).** Defined as a vessel that has three feet and two ears (handles) and that held roughly a pint of wine.

38. **Yiliao (246).** See chapter 20, note 3. Since he did not serve at the court of Ch'u until after Confucius died and since Sun Shu'ao did so before Confucius was born, the fictionality of this passage is assured.

39. **man of the ancients (247).** By which the speaker of this sentence means someone who possesses the learning of the ancients.

40. **was resolved (247).** In spite of the valiant efforts of the exegetes, it is not known for certain to what specific historical event, if any, the author is referring.

41. **Ying (247).** The capital of Ch'u.

42. **weapons (247).** The historicity of this reference is also questionable.

43. **beak three feet long (247).** Pseudo-Confucius is, of course, being intentionally cryptic. The word that is here translated literally as "beak" elsewhere has the implication of "chirping

of birds" (see chapter 12, note 25). In both cases, it signifies "nonverbal speech," i.e. speech that is preternaturally communicative.

44. **without words (247).** This sentence is a restatement of a question already posed in chapter 2 (pp. 19-20). Its two parts echo famous lines from the Tao Te Ching (chapters 1 and 81). "That" probably stands for Yiliao and Shuao, "this" for Pseudo-Confucius.

45. **Confucians, Mohists (247).** For the Confucian literati and the Mohists, see above at note 21.

46. **ineffaceable (247).** There is much controversy among the commentators over the interpretation of the last word of this sentence. My translation assumes that mo ("to rub," "to scour," "to grope for") is here being used for a close, homonymous cognate that is written with a similar graph and that means "to grind," "to rub," "to obliterate."

47. **Sir Motley (248).** While the precise identification of this fictional figure is not important, he is probably meant to represent the same person referred to in note 33 above.

48. **Nonagon Impediment (248).** Chiufang Yin, an obscure personage mentioned in several early Taoist texts who was supposedly an excellent physiognomist.

49. **clans of his relatives (248).** Those of his father, his mother, and his wife.

50. **southwest corner (248).** Where the household gods used to be placed. Some say that the reference is to a pigpen or a hovel.

51. **northwest corner (248).** Some say that the reference is to the southwest corner or the cellar of the house.

52. **chop off one of his feet (249).** Making it difficult for him to run away. As we have seen before, it was common in ancient China partially to immobilize individuals who were in servile positions. Female footbinding, though it developed erotic overtones, also functioned as a deterrent to free mobility.

53. **palace of Duke K'ang (249).** This clause requires extensive emendation to make sense in the context of the whole passage. I accept those proposed by Sun Yijang.

54. **Hsü Yu (249).** See chapter 1, note 10.

55. **eat each other (249).** Compare p. 227.

56. **spread some grass (250).** When singeing the bristles off a slaughtered pig from which the blood has been allowed to drain, the butcher would put down a layer of grass to keep dirt from getting on the carcass.

57. **Teng (250).** In modern Honan province, near Nanyang.

58. **"true man" (251).** Here follows a defective commentary that has crept into the text: "From ants he [learns how] to abandon knowledge; from fish he [learns] the strategy [of mutual forgetfulness]; from sheep he [learns how] to abandon intellection." For the mutual forgetfulness of fish, see p. 61.

59. **for instance (251).** The rest of this chapter consists of what seems to be a rambling pastiche of leftover notes. In order to connect these fragmented thoughts and illustrations for the modern reader, I have had to make subtle additions (e.g., "Take . . ., for instance").

60. **Kou Chien (251).** Ruler of the state of Viet (Yüeh) which had been defeated by the state of Ngwa (Wu) in 496 B.C.E.

61. **K'uaichi (251).** Southeast of Shaohsing district in Chekiang province.

62. **Chung (251).** Minister of the state of Viet who successfully advised Kou Chien in taking revenge against Ngwa in 473 B.C.E. Chung, however, was forced by Kou Chien to commit suicide after having been slandered by others for disloyalty. His unfortunate fate is the theme of this sentence.

63. **be tragic (251).** Compare p. 76, which is probably the source of the last clause here.

64. **comprehends it (253).** The Way, presumably.

65. **there was that (253).** Compare chapter 19, note 1.

Chapter 25

1. **Sunny (254).** Rendering of Tseyang, the name of this probably imaginary character. In its next two (and only other) occurrences in this section, his name appears as P'eng Yang which may be rendered as "Abundantly Sunny."

2. **traveling (254).** More literally, "wandering."

3. **Even Constant (254).** Yi Chieh, another imaginary figure.

4. **Princely Kernel (254).** Wang Kuo, still another fictitious character. It is possible that Kuo is a near homophone for ho ("harmony").

5. **Ducal Happyrest (254).** Kung Yüehhsiu, also fictitious. Yüeh is written with a sinograph that means "to read," but it is likely being used as a pun for "happy" which is pronounced exactly the same in Chinese. That his name is meant to be construed literally is obvious from the description of his life that follows.

6. **to make (254).** The infinitive clause has been added for clarity's sake.

7. **cold winds (254).** This is an extremely difficult sentence to construe. Its purport seems to be that these are unrealistic expectations, just as it is unrealistic to expect effective assistance from Even Constant.

8. **successful (255).** Success here being measured in terms of his influence at court.

9. **utter impartiality (255).** The preceding two sentences are the despair of commentators. It is particularly difficult to decide where to place the period that divides them (classical Chinese texts lacked all punctuation and consisted wholly of equidistantly spaced sinographs).

10. **style him a sage (255).** The words "a sage" have been added for clarity. Compare just below in the next paragraph where the people are also said to give him a name because of his sagely love for them.

11. **do about it (255).** Another sentence that is difficult to interpret. It has the ring of an interpolated commentary.

12. **give him a name (256).** See note 10 above.

13. **nine-tenths (256).** The words "of the land" have been added to the translation. Rediscovering one's old home country is here being used as a metaphor for rediscovering one's original nature.

14. **Jan Hsiang (256).** Supposedly a sagely king of highest antiquity, but nothing reliable is known of him.

15. **center (256).** Like a pivot. See chapter 2, p. 15 which is probably the source of the imagery used here.

16. **does not transform (256).** Compare at chapter 22, note 56.

17. **T'ang (256).** Founder of the Shang dynasty, the first Chinese dynasty that has been both historically and archeologically verified.

18. **Teng Heng (256).** The interpretation of the name and its attached titles is problematic. We know nothing of Teng Heng other than what we read here.

19. **his name (257).** His fame or reputation that is. This entire paragraph appears to be hopelessly defective and has been interpreted in many different ways by various commentators.

20. **was made a tutor (257).** The relevance and accuracy of this statement cannot be determined.

21. **Jungch'eng (257).** See chapter 10, note 20.

22. **Ying (257).** This is his personal name. His name as king was Hui.

23. **T'ien Mou (257).** Ruled as King Wei of Ch'i from 357-320 B.C.E. The identification of King Hui and King Wei is uncertain because of textual problems. I have added "the king of" and "of Ch'i" to the translation.

24. **minister of war (257).** The title literally means "rhinoceros head." His name was Kungsun Yen.

25. **from his back (257).** Presumably in the form of ulcerous sores.

26. **will flee (257).** An alternative translation would be "He will flee from it in terror. . . ."

27. **Master Chi (257).** The identity of this individual is unclear.

28. **nine-tenths (257).** Emending "ten" to "nine" (the sinographs are similar, as is that for "seven," which is another possible emendation).

29. **bring disorder (257).** Here and in the following sentences, "a person who would bring disorder" may alternatively be interpreted as "someone who would bring disorder to others/people" or "a disorderly/muddled person."

30. **Master Hua (257).** The identity of this individual is also unclear.

31. **Master Hui (258).** Master Chuang's old philosophical sparring partner.

32. **Tai Chinjen (258).** His name may be interpreted as meaning "Truthbearer."

33. **a king (258).** Referring to Ying, King Hui of Wei, the person to whom Tai Chinjen's lesson is addressed.

34. **sauce-maker (259).** The sinograph in question is open to a variety of interpretations ("paste-maker," "clothes-starcher," "congee-seller," "estate," etc.).

35. **climbed up on the roof (259).** The commentators have been utterly baffled by this expression. Some say they were there to gawk at Confucius and his entourage, others say that they wanted to get out of his way, still others that "climb roof" actually should be understood as "harvest crops." The probable key to the correct interpretation, however, is to be found in a famous poem of the Classic of Odes entitled "Seventh Month" which states that, after the harvest is brought in during the tenth month, the people should quickly climb up on the roofs of their houses to mend the thatch.

36. **Tzulu (259).** See chapter 13, note 20.

37. **Yiliao (259).** See chapter 20, note 3.

38. **knows that I (259).** Here and in the rest of his speech, Confucius refers to himself.

39. **summon me (259).** Most commentators interpret this as meaning that Confucius has come to Ch'u to entice the man on the roof out of his eremitism and into the service of the king.

40. **Tall Tree (259).** See p. 21.

41. **Tzulao (259).** A disciple of Confucius, his name might be rendered as "Sir Secure" or, less likely, "Sir Prison."

42. **Rap Rule (260).** Po Chü, said to be a disciple of the Old Master (Lao Tzu, i.e, Old Longears).

43. **physical form (261).** Referring primarily to human beings, it has broader applications as well. There is much disagreement over the interpretation of this sentence, with some commentators interpreting "physical form" as "life," as "punishment," and so forth.

44. **unaware of them (261).** There are numerous possible interpretations of this sentence depending on whose emendations one accepts.

45. **Ch'ü Poyü (261).** See chapter 4, note 18.

46. **could really know (261).** Since "know" and "knowledge" are the same in the Chinese of the Chuang Tzu, the original text is even more difficult to follow than the translation. The word "really" has been added for purposes of clarification.

47. **Big Bowcase, Poch'iang Ch'ien (262).** Nothing reliable is known of either of these first two individuals. Since there was only one person occupying the position of Grand Scribe or Historian at any given moment, this passage is obviously wholly fictional.

48. **Hsiwei (262).** See the text at chapter 6, note 11 for the mythological figure who may have inspired this probably imaginary personality. Hsiwei must be the phonetic transcription of some presently unrecuperable bisyllabic name.

49. **for these reasons (262).** It is ironic that many dissolute rulers in Chinese history were awarded the posthumous epithet "Ling" ("Luminous," "Efficacious," "Ingenious," etc.). The ambivalence of the title is clearly brought out in this section.

50. **Shih Ch'iu (262).** See chapter 8, note 9.

51. **under the arms (262).** There is a vast difference of opinion among the commentators about how to interpret this sentence.

52. **was favorable (262).** Another of the many ironies surrounding duke Ling. Unless it were the only site available, a sandy mound would have been considered a very poor choice for burial, whereas an old family tomb would normally have been considered the most desirable location.

53. **his descendants (262).** Who, under usual circumstances, would have been responsible for preparing their ancestor's coffin and selecting a proper site in which to bury it.

54. **surnames (262).** Clans, that is.

55. **all humanity (263).** For purposes of easy intelligibility in English, "all humanity" and "may be thought of as" (three times) have been added to the translation.

56. **becomes just (263).** It should be noted that the ancient Sinitic word for "just" (kung)--as here and in the name of the speaker of this long monologue--also means "public." The same graph that is used to write "just, public" is used as well to write the homophonous noble title for "duke." It is not uncommon in ancient Chinese texts to pun on these various meanings of the graph in question (e.g., Tao Te Ching, chapter 16).

57. **six reaches (264).** See chapter 11, note 22.

58. **these names (265).** Phenomena.

59. **Chi Ch'en's (265).** Nothing is known of this individual whose name might be translated as "Season True." It is possible that he might be the same person as Master Chi who is mentioned above in this chapter (see note 27).

60. **Master Chieh (265).** This is probably the Master Chieh (Chieh Yü, that is) who was active in the state of Ch'i between roughly 350 and 275 B.C.E. His name might be rendered as Master Connect or Master Sprightly.

61. **can think (266).** About things.

62. **roots for words (267).** This may be restated as "the source of [epistemological] language."

63. **great method (267).** A euphemism for the Way. See chapter 17, note 5.

Chapter 26

1. **Lungp'ang (268).** Kuan Lungfang (another reading of his name), a worthy minister of the Hsia dynasty tyrant Chieh, who was executed by him. See chapter 4, note 3 and chapter 10, note 4. His name might be interpreted as meaning "Master Dustpan" or "Master Winnowing Basket."

2. **Pikan (268).** A relative of the Shang dynasty tyrant Chow who had his heart torn out after he made repeated admonitions. See chapter 4, note 3 and chapter 10, note 4.

3. **Master Chi (268).** Another relative of the tyrant Chow who was also a worthy minister and who feigned madness rather than continue to stay at court and attempt to advise the king. See chapter 6, note 4.

4. **Olai (268).** A deceitful minister of Chow who was put to death together with his ruler by king Wu of the Chou dynasty.

5. **Chieh and Chow (268).** See chapter 4, note 4.

6. **Wu Yüan (268).** Wu Tzuhsü. See chapter 10, note 6.

7. **Ch'ang Hung (268).** See chapter 10, note 5.

8. **Shu (268).** Szechwan.

9. **Filial Self (268).** Son of the famous Shang king, Wu Ting, he was driven out by his stepmother.

10. **Tseng Shen (268).** A beloved disciple of Confucius who, although a paragon of filial piety, was despised by his father. According to one account, his father beat him almost to death for having damaged the roots of some plants when he was weeding a melon patch.

11. **fire (269).** Lightning.

12. **water (269).** The raindrops.

13. **big trees (269).** The text specifies pagoda trees.

14. **pleasure and trouble (269).** There is a wide variety of conflicting opinion among the commentators about the meaning of this clause.

15. **of anxiety (269).** The words "of anxiety within" have been added for clarification.

16. **lunar (269).** There is an old tradition in China of using the moon (yin) as a symbol of the human mind. Naturally, it will be easily consumed by the solar (yang) fires of anxiety. The word "intelligence" has been added to the translation for clarity's sake.

17. **Chuang Chou's (269).** Master Chuang, the putative author of this book.

18. **pieces of gold (269).** An obvious exaggeration.

19. **Well (269).** It is curious that the particle lai literally means "come." Hence, we might also translate it as such with the informal usage it has as an interjection in English.

20. **Ngwa and Viet (269).** Which are noted for their plentiful waterways. Ngwa and Viet are pronounced as Wu and Yüeh in Modern Standard Mandarin. The word "lands," which appears in an early edition, is an emendation for "kings," which is written with a similar graph.

21. **K'uaichi (270).** In Chekiang province.

22. **Chih River (270).** Chekiang.

23. **Ts'angwu (270).** In the far southern province of Kwangsi.

24. **salamanders and carp (270).** Most commentators, quite naturally in order to emphasize the disparity, wish to interpret this as "minnows and fingerlings" (or the like). The text, however, actually reads "(giant) salamanders and (golden) carp."

25. **petty persuasions (270).** The graphs used to write the expression "petty persuasions," which may also be rendered as "small talk," have come to signify "fiction" in Modern Standard Mandarin (probably borrowed back into Chinese from a Japanese calque for the Western literary term). This passage, where the two graphs occur together in combination for the first time, has often been cited as evidence for the existence of fiction during the time of Chuang Chou. This interpretation, however, is both fallacious and anachronistic. It is impossible to demonstrate on the basis of this passage alone or in conjunction with any other contemporary data that the author was even remotely concerned with fiction when he wrote about "petty persuasions." Furthermore, although this tale about the scion of the duke of Jen catching a huge fish is memorable, parts of it are poorly written, which has caused several commentators to remark that it is a rather late interpolation, even in the context of the derivative Miscellaneous Chapters.

The Chuang Tzu itself undoubtedly has the highest degree of fictionality of any literary work before the advent of Buddhism in China (see Victor H. Mair, "The Narrative Revolution"). Even so, this does not qualify the Chuang Tzu to be considered as a conscious or intentional piece of fiction per se.

26. **perceptivity (270).** Enlightenment concerning the Way.

27. **being able (270).** The text actually says "unable," but it would appear that the author has gotten lost in his syntax.

28. **literati (270).** Ju, often translated as "Confucians."

29. **breaking open a grave mound (270).** To put it more bluntly, they were grave robbers.

30. **Odes, Ritual (270).** Two of the basic Confucian classics. This is one of the most bizarre passages in the entire Chuang Tzu. Its evident poetic quality makes it even more enigmatic.

31. **in the Odes (271).** Although this particular poem is not to be found in the Odes as they have come down to us, it would appear to be modeled after several that are included in the classic. Since the poem is so tailor-made to fit the tale, it was probably devised by the author expressly for that purpose.

32. **in his mouth (271).** Placing a pearl or jade in the mouth of a dead person was an ancient Chinese custom that was thought to stave off putrefaction and prolong life in the afterworld.

33. **you should be able (271).** Because of a textual problem concerning the graph for "you," the last two sentences may alternatively be rendered as narrative description: "Grabbing hold of the hair on his temples and pulling down on his beard, the literati were able to open his jaws slowly and without damaging the pearl in his mouth by tapping on his chin with a metal mallet."

34. **Old Master Chenopod (271).** Or "Old Master Goosefoot." This is Lao Lai Tzu, a shadowy Taoistic figure who is sometimes identified with Lao Tzu, the Old Master. There is no historical justification whatsoever for this identification.

35. **who he might be (271).** More literally, "I don't know which clansman's son he is."

36. **in this fashion (272).** There is a large number of unresolvable problems in the interpretation of this and the preceding sentence, so the translation has been left in an intentionally somewhat rough state.

37. **Lord Yüan (272).** See chapter 21, note 23.

38. **clear Yangtze (272).** The epithet is by way of contrast to the perennial muddiness of the Yellow River.

39. **The River (272).** The Yellow River, that is. See chapter 17, note 1.

40. **seventy-two (272).** On the pan-Eurasian significance of the number 72, see chapter 14, note 49.

41. **accurate response (272).** In pyromancy as practiced in ancient China, oval depressions were drilled into the inner surface of turtle plastrons and bovine or ovicaprid scapulae. A hot poker would then be applied to the depressions, causing cracks to form on the outer surface. A diviner would "read" and interpret the patterns of the cracks. If the prophecies they foretold eventually proved true, the divination was said to be efficacious. Large oracle shells like the one in this story were particularly prized because they could be consulted repeatedly. If they were consistently found to be accurate, such shells would be treasured even more highly.

42. **pelicans (274).** The pelicans present a much less formidable danger to the fish than do the nets, which serves as an illustration of misplaced emphasis in matters of human knowledge. This sentence has the ring of a marginal comment that has worked its way into the text.

43. **useless (274).** This might also be interpreted as "Sir, you speak of what is useless." The usefulness of uselessness is, of course, a key concept in the more authentic chapters of the Chuang Tzu.

44. **the earth (274).** The text begins this sentence with "Heaven [and] earth. . . ." This clearly does not make sense in the context of what follows, so the commentators have uniformly ignored the word "heaven." I believe that it is probably an orthographic error for an initial particle (fu) or less likely for the adjective "great" (ta), the graphs for which both closely resemble the graph used to write the word for "heaven."

45. **Yellow Springs (274).** See chapter 17, note 23.

46. **wandering (274).** In the language of the Chuang Tzu, "wandering" (which we have previously encountered on numerous occasions) amounts to a technical term for that transcendental sort of free movement which is the mark of an enlightened being.

47. **escapist will (274).** Refers to the attitude of a hermit.

48. **effacing behavior (274).** Refers to those who wish to obliterate all traces of themselves on earth.

49. **Hsiwei (275).** See chapter 6, note 11 and chapter 25, note 48.

50. **awash (275).** There are numerous speculations about the meaning of the last word of this sentence. I have translated it as close to literally as possible.

51. **dismissive (275).** There are many problems regarding the last sentence of this paragraph which lead to quite different interpretations.

52. **six senses (275).** The text merely says "six [chiseled] holes/openings" and there is a great deal of speculation among the commentators about what this expression refers to. This might well be a hazy reference to some old Indian physiological concept that had reached China by the time of the formation of our text. We may compare it with the Buddhist concept of the "six [organs] of entrance/
admittance" (Sanskrit ṣaḍāyatana). These are the eye, ear, nose, mouth, body, and mind. Compare also the six indriyas or sense organs which is another way of referring to the same group.

53. **vanquish them (275).** There is no agreement among the commentators about the meaning of the last sentence, nor even about whether it belongs with this section or the following one.

54. **Integrity (275).** If we render te in its basic etymological sense as "doughtiness," a word that is perhaps too obscure to use in current American, the logic of this sentence becomes clearer. See Mair, Tao Te Ching, p. 134, and "File," p. 24.

55. **knowledge (275).** The word "knowledge," as used in the Chuang Tzu, is highly multivalent. It ranges all the way from having positive implications of wisdom to expressing pejorative notions of cunning.

56. **to the masses (276).** The commentators are much at odds over how to interpret all four clauses of this sentence, but especially the last.

57. **Yen gate (276).** One of the gates in the wall of the capital of the state of Sung. The words "from the vicinity of" have been added to the translation for the sake of clarity.

58. **emaciating (276).** A type of privation required of sons in mourning according to a strict application of the Confucian doctrine of filial piety.

59. **died (276).** "As a result" and "themselves in emulation of him" have been added to the translation.

60. **Hsü Yu (276).** See chapter 1, notes 8-10. Both here and there, "the rulership of" has been supplied for clarity's sake.

61. **Wu Kuang (276).** See chapter 6, note 4.

62. **heard about it (276).** The reference is not clear, but presumably "it" signifies what happened to Wu Kuang. Perhaps the mere possibility that he would be the next person to whom the throne would be offered caused this extreme reaction in Chi T'o and his disciples. See also chapter 6, note 4.

63. **three years (276).** They must have assumed that his austerities there would soon have resulted in his death.

64. **Shent'u Ti (276).** See again chapter 6, note 4. The surname Shent'u sounds suspiciously like ancient Chinese transcriptions of the old name for India (<Sindhuh [name of a river] <sindhuh ["river"]). Compare also chapter 5, note 5. It should be noted that the Chinese customarily assigned country and regional names as surnames for persons of foreign extraction resident within their territory.

65. **catching (276).** The word "catching" has been added to each of the first three sentences. In the last sentence, "can have a few" has been added for clarity's sake.

Chapter 27

1. **impromptu words (278).** There is an enormous variety of speculative opinion about the meaning of this expression (literally, "goblet words") and indeed about the sentence and even the section as a whole. I understand "goblet words" to be language that pours forth unconsciously and unpremeditatedly. The words "are effective" and "times out of" have been added to the translation. The extreme obscurity and awkward style of this entire passage has necessitated other adjustments in the following sentence.

2. **somebody else's fault (278).** It would seem that the author's intent in this sentence is to illustrate how metaphors work.

3. **live out their years (279).** The text quotes strangely and seemingly inappropriately from chapter 2 (see p. 23). But note that the passage there has to do with disputation and that the overall subject of chapter 2 is equality, which is also the theme of the following sentences. The "they" and "their" in this sentence presumably refer to individuals who are given to impromptu speech.

4. **not affirmable (279).** The previous sentences have been sloppily copied from chapter 2 (see p. 16) with some minor additions.

5. **sixty transformations (280).** Compare the remark made about Ch'ü Poyü at chapter 25, note 45. The whole of Master Chuang's opening speech here is derived from that passage.

6. **restore (280).** This might, however, have been intended for the homophonous "harbor" (Mathews 1994a).

7. **match the laws (280).** This reminds us of Confucius' statement in the Analects that, at the age of seventy, he was able to follow his desires without transgressing the regulations.

8. **in their hearts (280).** How to make men submit in their hearts and not just with their mouths or through coercion is an idea propounded by Mencius.

9. **stabilizes all under heaven (280).** There is no consensus among the commentators about where Confucius' speech ends. Some hold that it is only one sentence while others hold that it stops at the end of the paragraph or at various points in between.

10. **Master Tseng (280).** Tseng Shen, a disciple of Confucius who was noted for his filial piety. See chapter 8, note 9.

11. **pecks (280).** The Chinese measure, a fu, was equal to roughly 12.4 liters. Three fu would be a very small amount for an official and his parents to survive on. The words "although my grain allotment was [only]" have been added to the translation in this and in the next sentence.

12. **bushels (280).** The Chinese measure, a chung, was equal to roughly 124 liters. The total amount of grain in this case was enormous, quite enough to support a very large establishment.

13. **Shen (280).** Shen was Master Tseng's given name (see note 10).

14. **passing before him (280).** This is obviously not the historical Confucius speaking. The irony of having a fictional Confucius speak in this fashion must have been almost palpable for late Warring States rulers.

15. **Sir Wanderer (281).** See the beginning of chapter 2 for this fictional personage whose name is pronounced Yench'eng Tzuyu in Modern Standard Mandarin.

16. **Sir Motley (281).** Tungkuo Tzuch'i, probably the same person as Nankuo Tzuch'i (Sir Variegated of Southurb) who appears together with Sir Wanderer of Countenance Complete at the beginning of chapter 2.

17. **things came to me (281).** The idea that things come/flock to the percipient individual (like virtually all of the other characteristics of the enlightened individual described in this section) may be found in the proto-Taoist chapters of the Kuan Tzu.

18. **for their deaths (281).** Many modern commentators believe that the opening sentences of this section are defective. In any event, they are difficult to construe, as is the entire paragraph.

19. **astronomical (281).** Or calendrical.

20. **how can there be spirits (281).** This is either a rewriting of material in chapter 2 (see pp. 22) or it draws upon the same source as that used by the author of chapter 2. Many of the sections in the Miscellaneous Chapters are similarly derivative in nature, as are some in the Outer Chapters.

21. **upon which to depend (282).** I follow a textual variant with a negative. The standard edition would yield "How much more so is it like this for that upon which I depend." The words "like this" are added to the translation for the sake of intelligibility.

22. **powerful (282).** For an important note on the word for "powerful," see chapter 22, note 22.

23. **Sir Sunny Dweller (282).** Yang Tzuchü, for whom see chapter 7, note 2.

24. **P'ei (282).** Present-day P'ei district in Kiangsu province.

25. **Old Longears (282).** Lao Tan, who is identified in the tale, and frequently elsewhere, with Lao Tzu (the Old Master).

26. **wandering (282).** It is significant that Sir Sunny Dweller (Yang Chu) merely "went" south while Old Longears was doing his transcendental "wandering."

27. **Ch'in (282).** The modern province of Shensi.

28. **Liang (282).** Present-day K'aifeng in Honan province.

29. **seems insufficient (282).** This couplet is almost identical with two lines from chapter 41 of the Tao Te Ching.

30. **The people (283).** The text is unclear whether "people" here and upon its other two occurrences in this paragraph refers to the guests or to the employees of the lodge.

31. **places at the mat (283).** So humble had he now become after receiving the instructions of the Old Master. The words "from his interview with the Old Master" have been added for clarity.

Chapter 28

1. **Hsü Yu (284).** See chapter 1, notes 8-10. The words "his rulership of" have been added to the translation for the sake of clarity in both places.

2. **Sir Township Branch Father (284).** Tzuchouchihfu, a seemingly fictional personage whose name is difficult to construe.

3. **cure (284).** It should be noted that the word for "cure" in this clause is the same as that for "govern" in the next. The concept of governing in ancient China was premised upon the notion that the sage ruler, with the assistance of his worthy advisers, brought order where disorder would otherwise prevail.

4. **harm his life (284).** The words "accept it for fear that" have been added to the translation for purposes of clarity.

5. **Sir Township Branch Uncle (285).** Tzuchouchihpo, who is an even shadowier personage than Tzuchouchihfu. Many commentators believe that they are the same person.

6. **Goodroll (285).** Shan Chüan, still another apparently imaginary hermit type.

7. **Stone Door (285).** Supposedly a place name.

8. **Pater Tan (285).** T'ai Wang Tan Fu. He was also called Old Duke Pater Tan (Ku Kung Tan Fu). The word for father (Fu) in these names has a special tonal reading to indicate respect. The personal name Tan means "sincere, true." Pater Tan was the grandfather of King Wen, founder of the Chou dynasty.

9. **Pin (285).** In modern-day Hsünyi district of Shensi province.

10. **Dik (285).** The so-called "Northern Barbarians." Some authorities have identified them as proto-Turkic and have even gone so far as to equate their name with the ethnonym "Turk."

11. **where you are (286).** In other words, not to go out and fight against the Dik who were encroaching on my territory and who were about to displace Pater Tan from Pin itself. Their aim would not have been to slaughter the inhabitants but to control them and consume the products of their labor.

12. **what he uses for nourishment (286).** The land.

13. **Mount Ch'i (286).** The move is looked upon by historiographers as significant in solidifying the house of Chou. Mt. Ch'i is in the modern-day district of Ch'ishan, Shensi province.

14. **their persons (286).** A difficult sentence to construe. The words "the prospect of" and "a possibility of" have been added to the translation.

15. **Cinnabar Caves (286).** The exact location of the caves is unknown, though the assumption is made that they were "in the south."

16. **Han and Wei (287).** Two of the three new states into which the state of Chin was divided around the beginning of the Warring States period.

17. **Sir Master Hua (287).** Tzu Hua Tzu. The Hua of his name might be rendered as "Florescent." See chapter 25, note 30. He was presumably a wise man of Wei who stressed preservation of life above all else.

18. **Marquis Chaohsi (287).** This is Marquis Hsi (as he is called near the end of the passage) of the state of Han.

19. **supposing, my lord (287).** There is a suspicion among some commentators that the words "all under heaven" have been interpolated in this sentence from their occurrence just below. Without them, we could render this as "Supposing, my lord, that an agreement were to be signed before you. . . ."

20. **Lord of Lu (287).** Duke Ai of Lu.

21. **Yen Ho (287).** See chapter 4, note 17.

22. **gifts (287).** Most likely consisting of silks.

23. **family (288).** The extended family household.

24. **Sui (288).** Sui was located near the P'u River (in the province of Hupeh) which produced fine pearls. A local legend tells how the marquis of Sui once healed a wounded snake and was rewarded by it with a particularly fine specimen that became known as the pearl of Sui.

25. **prime minister (288).** The two words indicating his position have been added to the translation.

26. **Lieh Yük'ou (289).** See chapter 21, note 32 and chapter 32.

27. **your honor's (289).** The text literally has "[the] ruler/lord" here and upon each other occurrence of "[his/your] honor" in this section. Hence, the entire passage could be translated as referring to the attitudes of the ruler. In that case, he would presumably have been consulted by his prime minister, Tzuyang, and would then have authorized him to send the grain. Or it may, indeed, be that Tzuyang had so much power that he was the de facto "ruler" of the state.

28. **actually did riot (289).** Other early texts inform us that this was because of Tzuyang's repressive character.

29. **Happy (289).** T'uyang Yüeh, about whom nothing else is known than what is given in this account.

30. **Ying (290).** The capital of Ch'u, located north of present-day Chiangling in the province of Hupei. The Modern Standard Mandarin pronunciation of Ngwa is Wu.

31. **three banners (290).** In the kingdom of Ch'u, this would mean that he was to be elevated to the status of one of the "three dukes" (the highest ranking members of officialdom).

32. **bushels (290).** See chapter 27, note 12.

33. **the king's rewards (290).** The last three words have been added to the translation.

34. **Yüan Hsien (290).** An eminent disciple of Confucius.

35. **Lu (290).** The home state of Confucius (in modern Shantung).

36. **yards (290).** The unit of measure used supposedly indicates that the house was roughly 2.25 meters per side.

37. **thornwood door (290).** This becomes a standard locution for "poor scholar's house" or "my humble house."

38. **mulberry . . . door-pivot (290).** This too becomes a symbol of poverty. The character in chapter 6 called "Mulberry Door" probably gets his name from this image.

39. **bottomless (290).** This word has been added to the translation.

40. **two rooms were separated (290).** Presumably to divide the space properly between husband and wife. There is much confusion among the commentators about how to parse this sentence, especially what to do with "the two rooms."

41. **Tzukung (290).** Another of Confucius' disciples. See chapter 6, note 18.

42. **white robe (290).** Some commentators insist that this refers to the colors of his carriage canopy. In either case, it signifies luxury, purple being the royal color and white being difficult to keep clean (it also signifies purity).

43. **with string (291).** There are dozens of possible interpretations of the words describing Yüan Hsien's attire.

44. **cliquish friendships (291).** Several of the hypocritical traits criticized in this passage are also disparaged in the Confucian Analects. The supreme irony, however, is that both the critic and the object of the critique are eminent Confucians.

45. **Master Tseng (291).** A disciple of Confucius (see chapter 8, note 9).

46. **swollen (291).** Perhaps because he was in an advanced state of starvation.

47. **"Lauds of Shang" (291).** The earliest Confucians were specialists in the rituals of the old Shang dynasty.

48. **Yen Hui (292).** Another disciple of Confucius (see chapter 4, note 1).

49. **doctrines (292).** Literally, "way."

50. **Hui (292).** Yen Hui's given name may be rendered as "Return."

51. **Chungshan (292).** This is Prince Mou of Wei who has already appeared in chapter 17, section 4. His fiefdom of Chungshan ("Central Mountain") was located in modern Ting district of Hopei province. Prince Mou is here seen trying unsuccessfully to live a hermit's existence.

52. **Master Chan (292).** This is Chan Ho, a Taoistic worthy of Wei whose name appears in several different guises in a number of Warring States and Han period texts.

53. **against the spirit (292).** The text is somewhat garbled at this point.

54. **Ch'en and Ts'ai (293).** See chapter 20 at notes 15 and 16. The same incidents are recounted elsewhere in the Chuang Tzu by different individuals and with varying degrees of elaboration.

55. **embrace the way (293).** In spite of the fact that Confucius is here portrayed as more than a mere doctrinaire Confucian, it is impossible for us (in the overall context of the Chuang Tzu) to capitalize a way that is defined by humaneness and righteousness.

56. **not isolated (293).** Parallel passages in other early texts use instead of "isolated" another word meaning "dissatisfied [with myself regarding]."

57. **my virtue (294).** The ambivalent nature of this Confucius (see note 55) might tempt us to translate te here as "integrity," but he is, finally, more Confucian than Taoist.

58. **great (294).** The text has "heaven's," but we may emend to "great" or "the year's [i.e., winter's]" on the basis of other early parallel texts.

59. **ardently (294).** The text has a graph meaning "pare, scrape" (Mathews 2785). Since this does not make any sense in the present context, the commentators have forced all sorts of fantastic interpretations from it. I suspect that it is an orthographic error for "ardent" (Mathews 3988), which is indeed the corresponding graph in the parallel passage from the Spring and Autumn Annals of Clansmen Lü (Lü shih ch'unch'iu).

60. **attained (294).** The text has the homophonous "virtue/integrity" (te), but parallel passages indicate that the intended meaning is as given in the translation.

61. **Ying River (294).** North of Loyang in Honan. This he did after rejecting the offer of the throne from Yao and becoming a hermit.

62. **Mount Kung (294).** Near present-day Hui district in Honan. The earl of Kung, named Kung Ho, was offered the throne of the Chou dynasty, but preferred to stay at his own fief.

63. **Nonprefer (294).** "Nonprefer" was also the personal name of Sir Square Field (T'ien Tzufang) who was featured in the opening tale of chapter 21, although it did not appear in the translation there because it was rendered by first person pronouns.

64. **Yao (294).** It was Yao who had yielded the throne to Shun. The word "aspired" has been added to the translation for syntactic clarity.

65. **Ch'ingling (294).** Said to be west of Nanyang district in Honan province.

66. **Follow Transform (294).** Pien Sui, presumably a wise recluse.

67. **Oblivious to Glory (294).** Wu Kuang. See at chapter 6, note 4 and chapter 26, note 61, where this recluse's name has been left untranslated.

68. **Yi Yin (295).** See chapter 23, p. 235.

69. **repetition (295).** The words "of these things" have been added to the translation.

70. **Chou (295).** There are so many variant readings for this graph that it is futile to attempt to locate the place, although most of the possibilities seem to lie in Honan or Hopei.

71. **He who is wise (295).** More literally, "one who knows."

72. **Lu River (295).** Supposedly located in the western part of Liaotung or near Peking. It should be noted that the names of all three bodies of water into which the righteous men of this tale and the preceding one threw themselves probably do not refer to real places. Instead, they might all be interpreted as signifying "pure, clear, etc." (the third one is a near homophone of Mathews 4194), thus symbolizing the character of the men who perished in them.

73. **Poyi and Shuch'i (295).** Presumably two sons of the ruler of Kuchu. See chapter 6, note 4 and passim, especially for Poyi. Their names may be interpreted as meaning "[Older Paternal] Uncle Level" and "[Younger Paternal] Uncle Equal."

74. **Kuchu (295).** The name of a principality supposedly located in the vicinity of modern-day Lulung district in Hopei province, but many other locations have been suggested by the commentators. The name might be translated as "Lone Bamboo."

75. **Mount Ch'i (296).** In Shensi, where King Wen had established the Chou dynasty not long before.

76. **King Wu (296).** Successor of King Wen.

77. **Uncle Tan (296).** Shutan, the duke of Chou, younger brother of King Wu.

78. **wealth (296).** I.e., emoluments and salaries.

79. **second rank (296).** Second only to the king himself.

80. **blessings (296).** Mathews 2440.

81. **Yin (296).** The Shang dynasty, that is.

82. **flaunt their deeds (296).** The text is almost certainly defective at this point. Parallel passages in other early texts have the Chou "pleasing [i.e., pacifying] the masses" by voicing abroad auspicious dreams foretelling the inevitability of their victory over the Shang.

83. **integrity (296).** Or virtue.

84. **Shouyang (296).** It is impossible to determine the geographic location of this mountain, the name of which may be interpreted as "Head/Top Yang/Sunny."

85. **ideals (297).** The word is actually the same as that translated near the beginning of the sentence by "moral principles." To translate it the same in both occurrences would render the English unacceptably tautological.

Chapter 29

1. **Robber Footpad (298).** Tao Chih, who has already appeared several times in the Chuang Tzu (see chapter 8 at note 18 for the first occurrence), most notably in chapter 10 as Chih ("Footpad"). He is variously said to have lived at the time of the Yellow Emperor (late neolithic) and during the late third century. In either case, his dates are not compatible with the other main characters in this story.

2. **Underwillow Chi (298).** Liuhsia Chi ["Junior" or "Season" [?]), also called Liuhsia Hui ("Underwillow Kindness"), a worthy of the state of Lu. These names must have been derived from a place name with which he was associated. His real name was apparently Chan Huo or Chan Ch'in/Chich'in/Tzuch'in. He could not have been friends with Confucius, since he died about sixty years before the sage was born.

3. **speak (299).** More literally, "persuade." Confucius was one of better known itinerant rhetorician-persuaders of the Eastern Chou period who attempted to influence the policies of various rulers.

4. **Hillock K'ung (299).** K'ung Ch'iu, Confucius' surname and personal name.

5. **Wen and Wu (300).** The first two sovereigns of the Chou dynasty, to whom (along with their relative, the duke of Chou) all good Confucians looked back for precedent. Their names, incidentally, mean "Civil" and "Martial."

6. **twigs and branches (300).** This is a crude dig at the Confucian penchant for elaborate ritual costume. The word "decorated" has been added to the translation for the sake of clarity.

7. **beneath your curtain (300).** To come within your presence, referring particularly to the encampment of a military personage. The words "be permitted" have been added to the translation.

8. **that all (300).** Some editions of the text insert the word "men" at this point.

9. **dispute on (300).** This may also be rendered as "to distinguish." The words "manner of" have been added to the translation.

10. **facing south (301).** The customary orientation of the ruler in traditional China.

11. **'solitary' (301).** The customary humble self-designation of the ruler in traditional China. It literally means "fatherless" or "orphaned" (he ascends the throne upon the death of his father).

12. **eight feet two inches (301).** This would have made him about six feet tall by modern standards.

13. **your face (301).** The bisyllabic word for "face" is literally "face-eyes."

14. **Yellow Bell (301).** The fundamental pitch-pipe for the Chinese scale. See chapter 8, note 7.

15. **. . . Chin and Ch'u (301).** These are the major states of the Warring States period. Considering that Robber Footpad is supposed to be encamped south of Mt. T'ai, one is forced to conclude that the geography of this sentence is somewhat imaginary.

16. **to your ancestors (301).** We may recall that, near the beginning of this chapter, it is said that Robber Footpad and his followers "disregarded their parents and brothers, and did not sacrifice to their ancestors."

17. **. . . stick an awl (301).** This becomes a common expression for describing desperate poverty.

18. **take care of their lives (302).** This could be translated more aptly with the French expression, savoir vivre.

19. **. . . not their fathers (302).** The obvious mark of a matriarchal society.

20. **Ch'ihyu (302).** Name of mythical tribal chieftain who resisted the civilizing influences of the Yellow Emperor.

21. **Cholu (302).** Various places in the north of China have been proposed as the location of this site.

22. **Yao and Shun (302).** The last two rulers of the pre-dynastic period.

23. **his sovereign (302).** Chieh, the last ruler of the Hsia dynasty. T'ang was the founder of the Shang dynasty.

24. **Chow (302).** Chow was the last ruler of the Shang dynasty, King Wu the first ruler of the Chou dynasty.

25. **. . . broad belt (302).** Part of the fastidious costume of the Confucian literati.

26. **peaked cap (302).** The commentors assert that it was shaped like a cockscomb to symbolize male virility and bravery.

27. **. . . prevent wrongs (303).** This is an assessment of Confucius' ability to tame the previously blustery Tzulu.

28. **Lord of Wey (303).** This is Duke Chuang of Wey. Tzulu attempted unsuccessfully to kill the duke of Wey, who had forced his patron to assist him in taking over the throne.

29. **Lu (303).** Lu was Confucius' own home state.

30. **Ch'i (303).** Confucius fled to Ch'i when there was chaos in Lu. Duke Ch'ing of Ch'i was impressed by Confucius' political advice and wanted to enfeoff him, but was prevented from doing so by the prime minister of Ch'i, Yen Ying.

31. **being pickled (303).** This sentence, and perhaps the next one as well, seems to be out of place. Some commentators have suggested that it/they should be shifted to follow "east gate of Wey" in the previous paragraph.

32. **unkind (303).** The usual Confucian image of Yao is that of great kindness. The reference here, however, is to his setting aside his unworthy eldest son from the succession to the throne in favor of Shun.

33. **unfilial (303).** Shun is normally held up by Confucians as the epitome of filial devotion. There is, however, a late and untrustworthy account of his banishment of his blind father who had horribly abused him as a child.

34. **withered (303).** Yü is usually depicted as a man of great dynamism. The reference here, however, is to his partial paralysis, which has already been mentioned in chapter 2.

35. **Chow (303).** There follows a completely inappropriate interpolation by some later editor: "King Wen was imprisoned at Yuli." The "six men" of the next sentence include the five men of this sentence and the Yellow Emperor of the previous sentence.

36. **Poyi and Shuch'i (303).** These two brothers were featured at the end of the last chapter as rather negative examples of the consequences of naively righteous disengagement from the world. Consult that section for information concerning Kuchu and Shouyang in the next sentence.

37. **Pao Chiao (303).** A recluse who committed suicide in the strange manner described here after being reprimanded by Tzukung, a disciple of Confucius. Other slightly later texts say that he "withered/dried" to death with his arms wrapped around a tree.

38. **Shentu Ti's (303).** A righteous personage of the Shang period (see chapter 6, note 4 and chapter 26, note 64).

39. **burnt to death (303).** It would appear that this passage, if not entire tale and chapter, were composed during the Han period or perhaps the Ch'in period at the earliest. Accounts of this devoted follower of Duke Wen of the state of Ch'in from before this time tell only of his dying unrewarded (and not seeking a reward) in the hills, mentioning neither that he fed the duke with his own flesh nor that he died in a conflagration caused by the duke who was supposedly trying to smoke him out of his forest retreat. Other miscellaneous details concerning the individuals mentioned in this passage point to a Han period composition, as does the exaggerated puritanical tenor of their character in general.

40. **Tailborn (303).** A rendering of the name Weisheng. Another early text refers to him as Weisheng Kao ("Tailborn Tall").

41. **pillar of the bridge (303-304).** The recurring detail of dying with one's arms wrapped a tree or pillar is vividly expressive of the stubborn tenacity with which these individuals clung to their righteous ideals.

42. **alms-gourd (304).** The translation has been greatly amplified. More literally, "a dog [that has been cut open and] displayed," "a pig [set] adrift," and "a beggar holding a calabash ladle." The supplementary material is added from other early accounts that are less laconic.

43. **Pikan (304).** See chapter 4, note 3 and passim.

44. **Wu Tzuhsü (304).** See chapter 10, note 6 and passim.

45. **. . . dread (304).** This might also be rendered as "sickness, wasting away, death, mourning, worry, and trouble."

46. **Piebald Thoroughbred (304).** The name of a famous horse belonging to the early Chou king Mu that could cover a thousand tricents in a day.

47. **fulfill the truth (304).** Literally, "[make] whole [the] truth" which later became the name of an important Taoist sect.

48. **Tzuchang (305).** An earnest, yet pragmatic, disciple of Confucius. His name might be interpreted as meaning Sir Open.

49. **Ill-gotten (305).** An obviously fictional character.

50. **realize any gain (305).** The word translated here as "gain" is elsewhere sometimes rendered as "benefit" or "profit".

51. **right course (305).** The words "on the basis of" (twice) and "course" have been added to the translation.

52. **righteousness (305).** The words "righteousness" and "you will find that" (also in the last sentence of the next paragraph) have been added to the translation for the sake of clarity.

53. **much trusted (305).** Most commentators would emend either "much" of "trust[ed]" (in the next two sentences also), or both. Their proposals are numerous but unconvincing.

54. **Chieh and Chow (306).** Infamous tyrants of the Hsia and Shang dynasties respectively. By Chuang Tzu's time, they had both acquired terrible reputations.

55. **sons of heaven (306).** Emperors, that is.

56. **Mo Ti (306).** Master Mo (see chapter 2, note 8 and chapter 8, note 11).

57. **quality (306).** The word for "quality" here consists of syllables meaning "good/beautiful" and "bad/hateful." This is echoed in the quotation at the end of the next paragraph.

58. **Duke of Huan (306).** Of the state of Ch'i.

59. **Kuan Chung (306).** See chapter 19, note 17.

60. **Ch'ang (306).** Also of the state of Ch'i. See chapter 10, note 3. His name was Ch'ang or Heng, both of which mean "constant."

61. **. . . from him (306).** It would appear that the author of this section concocted this detail, for it is not mentioned in any other early work. As recorded in the Analects, Confucius actually advised the duke of Lu to attack Viscount Fieldborn (T'ienchʻeng Tzu).

62. **in a book (306).** It is not known to which book this refers. Since this quotation has not been found in any extant work, the author may well have made it up.

63. **. . . six positions (307).** Because of somewhat unusual terminology and a certain amount of apparent overlap, the commentators are much vexed about the precise identification of the components of these two sets. The five grades or relationships probably refer to those between ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife, older and younger brothers, and friends. The six positions may indicate father, brothers, clan relatives, uncles, teachers and elders, and friends. Be that as it may, it is clear that Tzuchang advocates a rigidly hierarchical Confucian society.

64. **Prince Junior (307).** This is Wang Chi or Chili, son of a concubine, who displaced his two older brothers by the legal wife of his father. Wang Chi was the father of King Wen, founder of the Chou dynasty.

65. **elder brothers (307).** Who were involved in an abortive rebellion against the new Chou dynasty, having allied themselves with remnants of the Shang.

66. **universal love (307).** Master Mo advocated that all should be loved equally, quite the opposite of Confucius who held that there should be sharp distinctions in society.

67. **The other day (307).** The timing is ambiguous. The sentence may also mean, "I shall put my argument with you. . . ."

68. **should not be doing (307).** There is no reliable way of telling where Bondless' speech ends.

69. **Ebb and flow (307).** The literal image is one of breathing in and out.

70. **against his father (308).** For stealing a sheep.

71. **Tailborn (308).** See note 40 above.

72. **Master Pao (308).** See note 37 above.

73. **Master Shen (308).** See note 38 above.

74. **himself (308).** More literally, "did not reason [for] himself." The text has many variants at this point, including ". . . buried [submerged?] himself."

75. **his mother (308).** There is a poorly attested story that Confucius would not take time out from his peripatetic persuasions of rulers to visit his dying mother.

76. **Master K'uang (308).** A man of Ch'i who was driven away by his father for having remonstrated with him. Once he left, he never saw his father again in his life.

77. **never forget it (308).** Most commentators feel that this sentence is defective and propose more or less radical emendations. I have tried to make sense of it without proposing any changes.

78. **nobleman (308).** The word translated as "nobleman" (shih) originally meant "retainer" or perhaps "knight." Gradually, it came to signify "scholar" or "literatus." It could also mean "soldier," though of a rather exalted sort. Perhaps the best equivalent in English would be "elite." Since, however, "elite" is not available in the singular, we have chosen "nobleman" to convey the sense of class superiority and supposedly elevated character the word carried in Chinese society. We must note, however, that by Chuang Tzu's time the shih were not a hereditary group, in spite of the fact that they began as a warrior caste.

79. **transcended the world (308).** The text in this section is either sloppily written or defective. Most commentators suggest extensive revisions and emendation. I have tried to do the best I can without making any changes. An honest translator, however, should not unduly improve the demonstrably poor quality of the original.

80. **what he does (308).** By this, the author may have meant "he knows [how] to do what he [wants] to do."

81. **these traits (308).** Where the original text simply says "dismiss them," the translation specifies the object for the sake of clarity.

82. **hundred clans (309).** "The people," that is. See chapter 11, note 10.

83. **statutes (309).** The word translated as "statutes" literally means "measures." In the latter part of the sentence, "feeling that what they have" and "for more" have been added for the sake of clarity.

84. **seek anything (310).** The original text lacks an object. Because of the inferior quality of writing in this entire section (see note 79 above), it has been impossible to translate as closely and literally as desirable and still make sense.

85. **compelled by externals (310).** Here and elsewhere in this passage, the commentators are in disagreement over where to punctuate.

86. **Goodroll (310).** Shan Chüan (see chapter 28, note 6).

87. **Hsü Yu (310).** See chapter 1, note 10.

88. **diseased (311).** Although some parts of this section are virtually unintelligible, it seems to represent a kind of primitive psychology.

Chapter 30

1. **Discoursing (312).** The title may also be interpreted punningly as "Delighting in Swords." A secondary pun yields "[Using] Swords to Persuade." The tertiary pun is possible only because the same sinograph has three entirely different pronunciations and meanings.

2. **Long ago (312).** Since Master Chuang appears later in this tale, it seems fairly obvious that he could not have been its author. Like so much of the Chuang Tzu, it is included because it is about him and is presumably consonant with his spirit, as it was conceived by the editor-compiler of the book. In actuality, this chapter--given its preoccupation with statecraft--is quite at odds with the metaphysical core chapters of the book. Nonetheless, literarily speaking, this is a fairly well constructed chapter. The surprising ending is especially effective.

3. **combative (313).** The commentators offer many other interpretations of this word ("inarticulate," "reproachful," etc.).

4. **delight (313).** The graph is the same as that which was translated as "discoursing" in the title of this chapter and elsewhere in the story as "persuade."

5. **his liking (313).** The last two words have been added to the translation.

6. **Swallow Gorge, Stone Wall (315).** Yenhsi and Shihch'eng, presumably a valley and a mountain respectively. The precise locations of these two places are not known, but the commentators are agreed that they represent northern sites where Sinitic and non-Sinitic peoples intermingled.

7. **Mount Tai (315).** The famous Mt. T'ai in Shantung province.

8. **pommel (315).** Except for the first and third, there is disagreement among the commentators over the meanings of these words for the various parts of a sword.

9. **tribes (315).** From the centrist Chinese point of view, the non-Chinese people surrounding the Middle Kingdom were uncivilized "barbarians." The number "four" refers to the four directions, hence "all."

10. **Sea of Po (315).** The Gulf of Chihli in the northeast.

11. **enduring hills (315).** A variant has Heng Shan, the northernmost of the five sacred mountains of China.

12. **five elements (315).** Also called the five phases, these are metal, wood, water, fire, and earth.

13. **noblemen (315).** We might also translate this word as "retainer," "officer," "knights," etc. See note 78 of the previous chapter.

14. **three luminaries (315).** The sun, the moon, and the stars.

15. **son of heaven (316).** This was far from true, as Chao was not even one of the major feudal states, much less the seat of the empire.

Chapter 31

1. **An Old Fisherman (317).** The title might more literally be rendered as "The Fisherfather."

2. **Confucius (317).** Master K'ung, that is.

3. **Black Curtains (317).** Punningly, the name may also be interpreted to mean "Black Thoughts."

4. **deferentially (318).** The text literally says "downwind [from you]."

5. **phrases (318).** For "a few fine phrases," the text literally says "sounds of coughing and spitting."

6. **love of learning (318).** Perhaps a satirical reference to Confucius' statement in the Analects that no one loved learning as much as he.

7. **humility (319).** More literally, "Dare [I] not [have a] humble heart?"

8. **grand masters (319).** Who, as its highest members, represent the official class.

9. **these troubles (321).** Referring to the list of crises mentioned by Confucius in the previous paragraph and repeatedly elsewhere in the book. The words "all these troubles" have been added to the translation.

10. **your true nature (321).** Here and in the following paragraphs, the word "nature" has been added to the translation.

11. **sadness and sorrow (321-322).** The words "it elicits" have been added to this sentence four times for the sake of clarity.

12. **merit (322).** Or "[meritorious] achievement."

13. **who render service to you (322).** I.e., "those who are your disciples."

14. **. . . as an equal (323).** More literally, "disregarded ceremony/etiquette."

15. **stone chime (323).** This might also be rendered as "like a 'v' on its side." Ancient Chinese stone chimes were suspended perpendicularly by cords or thongs from a rack. Their shape was that of about a 60° angle with the vertex on the side--an excellent metaphor for an obsequious demeanor.

16. **Yu (323).** Yu was Tzulu's personal name.

17. **impolite (323).** More literally, "a loss/breach of etiquette/civility/ rites/ceremony/propriety."

Chapter 32

1. **Lieh Yük'ou (324).** As pointed out in chapter 21, note 32, his name means "Resist Tyranny." Master Lieh was the most important early Taoist philosopher after Master Chuang and the Old Master[s] (Lao Tzu).

2. **Dimbody (324).** Pohun Wujen. This is almost certainly the same person as Uncle Obscure Nobody (also Pohun Wujen, although Wu is written with a different graph) whom we met in chapter 5 and in chapter 21 (there also with Master Lieh).

3. **realized light (324).** This would seem to be a deliberately cryptic sentence for which the commentators offer exceedingly diverse interpretations.

4. **flock to you (325).** Some commentators emend this to mean "will still come to you for protection."

5. **with shoes (325).** It is customary in many eastern countries for people to remove their shoes before entering a house.

6. **facing north (325).** The orientation of a subject vis-à-vis his ruler.

7. **nothing may be said for it (325).** The commentators recognize the previous few sentences as being relatively opaque.

8. **wander (325).** I.e., "study, associate."

9. **Deliberate (326).** Presumably a characteristic of Confucians.

10. **intoned (326).** I.e., "studied." The words "his lessons" have been added to the translation.

11. **Furrobe (326).** The surname signifies a Confucian in two ways: 1. Confucian literati wore fur robes; 2. the word for "fur robe" in Old Sinitic sounds like Confucius' given name, Ch'iu ("Hillock").

12. **his relatives (326).** The word for "benefits" literally means "marshy dampness," hence "fertilizing moisture." For the three clans, see chapter 24, note 49. The words "of his relatives" have been added to the translation.

13. **study Mohism (326).** Deliberate's motivation for doing this is not clear. Was it to avoid competition? Because he knew that Mohists were selfless social activists? Or perhaps he believed that it was not intentional on his part, rather that his brother became a Mohist in reaction to his Confucianism.

14. **side of the Mohist (326).** It would appear that the younger brother actually adopted Master Mo's personal name, Ti, as his own.

15. **viewed my grave (326).** This might also be rendered as "Why have you not viewed what I did as good?"

16. **to be that (326).** This refers more specifically to the younger brother's predisposition to being a Mohist. More literally, "That, therefore, caused [him to be] that."

17. **This man (326).** Deliberate.

18. **from others (326).** An alternative rendering might be "thinking that he had made [his brother] different from others. . . ."

19. **grappled with each other (326).** While the story to which this refers is not known, the point is that the water in the well comes from heaven, even though the well may have been dug by men.

20. **from the heavenly (326).** Or "from nature" writ large. The words "what happened to people like Deliberate" have been added to the translation for the sake of clarity.

21. **The men (327).** One edition has "ultimate men." The words "pertained to" have been added to this sentence.

22. **Dwarfy (327).** The name translated here as "Dwarfy" may also be related to the usual word for [Confucian] literati, viz., ju.

23. **butcher dragons (327).** Some commentators assert that this is a metaphor for learning the Way, but there is no convincing evidence for such an explanation. There are, on the other hand, early legends of Chinese using dragons in cooking.

24. **space and time (327).** In Chinese, "space-time" is equivalent to "the universe."

25. **You direct (327).** Since this sentence does not form part of a dialogue, it is difficult to determine to whom it is addressed. Vaguely, it may be said to refer to the small man at the beginning of the previous paragraph. It is conceivable, however, that this and the other illustrative passages in this section are addressed by Master Chuang, who appears briefly at the end of the tale concerning the man from Cheng named Deliberate, to an otherwise indeterminate auditor.

26. **more carriages (327-328).** The words "the King of Sung" and "of Ch'in" have been added to the translation for the sake of clarity.

27. **Yen Ho (328).** See chapter 4, note 17.

28. **the people to him (328).** There is enormous disagreement among the commentators about the meaning of the previous four sentences. Indeed, much of the chapter is very sloppily written, not to mention that it is exceedingly choppy and disconnected.

29. **by mistake (328).** The implication being that the duke would not appoint Confucius if he thought carefully about the repercussions.

30. **dismiss the idea (328).** Or "him" (the object is unclear).

31. **difficult to govern (328).** The commentators are divided over whether this sentence belongs at the head of this section or at the end of the previous section.

32. **Longlived (329).** Longevous. This might also be rendered as "Completed; Tested/Examined."

33. **the Correct (329).** Cheng K'aofu, supposedly a member of the ducal family of the state of Sung and Confucius' ancestor ten generations back.

34. **honorary appointment (330).** During the Chou dynasty, there were Nine Honors by which the Chou aristocracy were ranked. Although the system is not well defined, according to some authorities, the first and lowest honorary rank was that of "nobleman/retainer/ knight/elite" (see chapter 29, note 78); the second was that of grand master; and the third was that of minister. These appointments ought to have come from the Chou emperor, but in the case of Longevous Father, they may have come from the duke of Sung.

35. **along the wall (330).** The description of Longevous Father in this and the previous lines of verse was recorded in a bronze tripod inscription bearing his name that is preserved in the Chronicle of Tso.

36. **he prances (330).** The meaning of the words in this line are obscure but would seem to be descriptive of a haughty bearing.

37. **names of his uncles (330).** It is extremely rude in Chinese society to call one's relatives by their personal names. This would be particularly true of one's paternal uncles who should be respected almost as highly as one's own father.

38. **T'ang, Hsü Yu (330).** Ancient paragons of modesty and yielding whom we have already encountered several times before in the Chuang Tzu.

39. **by its eye (330).** In striving to retain the vivid imagery of the Chinese text, I have had to expand and modify slightly. More literally, "[Of] thievery, there is none greater than for integrity to have mind and for the heart/mind to have eye[s]." In Modern Standard Mandarin, "to have a mind's eye" has come to imply oversensitiveness and suspiciousness. It is extremely curious that this ancient image from Chuang Tzu also exists in English, where it signifies almost the same thing ("the imagination").

40. **defeated (330).** The author's intention is not to disparage introspection, but to point out the dangers of narcissism, introversion, and extreme subjectivity.

41. **five types (330).** There are all sorts of commentarial speculations, none very reliable, about what these five types might be.

42. **bring on punishment (331).** This clause is missing in all editions of the text except one relatively late one where it has undoubtedly been supplied by a frustrated editor trying to

cope with what is obviously a defective passage. It is impossible to make sense out of the overall structure of this paragraph. It is even less possible to do when one joins to it the following paragraph, as virtually all commentators do.

43. **comprehends (331).** The word used in the Chinese text is the same as that for "success/succeeds" in the preceding paragraph.

44. **a great fate (331).** The word translated by "fate" has many other pertinent resonances: destiny, decree, command, and appointment (as in the verse passage above).

45. **artemesia (331).** A very common group of plants identified with poor people in China.

46. **dragon (331).** The phrase "a pearl under the chin [of a dragon]" comes to mean something exceedingly difficult to obtain.

47. **office under him (331).** The translation is much expanded from the terse original: "Someone [sent an] invitation to Master Chuang [with gifts]." The word for "invitation" includes the obligatory notion of accompanying gifts. The rest of the additions must be understood from the context. The words "once again" have been added to the last sentence of this paragraph.

48. **paired jades (332).** Auspicious round burial items placed at the head of the deceased.

49. **pearls (332).** Placed in the mouth of the corpse, these were expected to stave off its corruption.

50. **myriad things (332).** All the created phenomena (including creatures and objects) of the universe.

51. **If you even (332).** "Even" here includes the notions of fairness, justice, and equality. It stands in opposition to the partiality of the last sentence. The concluding sentences of this chapter, ostensibly Master Chuang's final mortal sentiments, embrace a lesson that is terribly important for our own age. The words "things" and "that results" have been added to the translation.

52. **by others (332).** This includes inanimate things as well as people and other animate creatures.

Chapter 33

1. **All under Heaven (333).** This chapter presents--in tightly argued, analytical fashion--many of the themes and figures that have already appeared in narrative form elsewhere in the book (especially in the Inner Chapters). From a strictly scholarly point of view, it may well be the most important chapter of the Chuang Tzu, even though it was certainly not written by Master Chuang himself, but probably by the editor of the book who brought together the disparate materials that go to make it up. "All under Heaven" amounts to a critical review of the major (and some minor) thinkers of the pre-Ch'in period. Considering the unprecedented nature of its accomplishment, the last chapter of the Chuang Tzu is a most remarkable document, a veritable intellectual tour-de-force.

2. **theories and techniques (333).** "Theory" here implies a way of looking at things from a single direction or vantage point (in extreme cases, this may be of a rather secret or esoteric kind); "technique" conveys the notion of device, artifice, strategy, etc. The two words later fused to become a bisyllabic expression signifying various occult arts in medicine, divination, and so forth. Still later, the two syllables taken together as one word came to mean "trick, stratagem."

3. **It is everywhere (334).** More literally, "There is nowhere [that it does] not exist." The participants in this dialogue are not specified. We may think of them as disembodied philosophical interlocutors.

4. **intelligence (334).** "Bright[ness]" or "[en]light[enment]."

5. **formed (334).** "Completed."

6. **sage (334).** The false etymological echo between "presage" and "sage" (they would appear to be from different roots) in this sentence does not exist in the Chinese.

7. **takes music as harmony (334).** In the sense of its being one of the Confucian arts, as are humaneness, righteousness, and ritual.

8. **superior man (334).** Just as the ultimate man is the model for Taoists, so is the superior man the model for Confucians.

9. **one . . . four (334).** We may think of this sort of enumeration as signifying policy decisions or ranks. The words "to consider," "as deciding what is," and "of government" have been added to this sentence.

10. **. . . and store (334).** That is, to be attentive to agriculture.

11. **. . . caring for the people (334).** Many commentators feel that this long sentence is corrupt and have rearranged and emended it in various ways. I have tried to make sense out of it as it appears in the standard edition of the text, except that I have added the words "administrative," "occupation," "provision," "took," and "caring for" to the translation.

12. **four regions (335).** Some commentators feel that this refers rather to the four seasons, hence, together with the six directions of the universe, time and space. Quite literally, the text reads "six penetrate four cleave." See also at chapter 13, note 1.

13. **historians (335).** It must be noted that the word translated as "historian/historiographer" originally signified "astronomer/astrologer," then "secretary" or "scribe" (one who kept records for the ruler). It was only later that it evolved to mean "historian."

14. **. . . music (335).** Four important books, later canonized as classics, of the Confucians.

15. **nobleman (335).** See chapter 29, note 78.

16. **Tsou and Lu (335).** States in Shantung that were the home of many of the most important early Confucian literati, especially Mencius and Confucius respectively.

17. **official class (335).** Literally, "[those who had tallies symbolizing official status] stuck [in their] sashes." This referred particularly to those individuals belonging to the class of officials but who resided at home rather than at court (where they would more likely have been referred to by their ranks and titles) and who consequently exercised considerable local influence. This expression is often translated in sinological literature as "gentry."

18. **understand it (335).** The following commentarial remarks have crept into the text at this point: "The Odes describe the will/determination; the Documents describe affairs; the Ritual describes conduct; the Music describes harmony; the Changes describe yin and yang; the Spring and Autumn [Annals] describe obligations."

19. **middle kingdom (335).** This expression has now come to be the official self-designation of the Chinese nation. It originally signified the state[s] of the central plains along the Yellow River, or the state[s] within the passes in Shensi.

20. **stated and declared them (335).** The gist of this paragraph is that there was a gradual dissipation of the wisdom of the ancients through time until the late Warring States period, which is where the author appears to situate himself.

21. **Way and virtue (335).** Since the basic orientation of this portion of chapter 33 appears to be that of eclectic Confucianism, it would seem best to translate te here as "virtue" rather than "integrity." Just as this chapter comes last in the Chuang Tzu, so does it come last in the chronological development of the numerous schools of thought surveyed in it and examined within the book as a whole.

22. **partial (335).** More literally, "bent/distorted scholars." Because their skills are narrow, they are perforce distorted. The goal of the author of this chapter is to resynthesize and make whole once more what he perceives to be a fragmented tradition. For the word translated here in its late guise as "scholars," see note 15 above and the note referred to there.

23. **turning back (335).** To the unified Way of the ancient sages for which the author longs. The words "along their own ways" have been added to the translation.

24. **codes of conduct (336).** The text more literally says "with [the carpenter's] inked line" (an instrument used for ruling off straight lines). This image has at least two close affinities with Master Mo who is mentioned in the next line. In the first place, he is generally thought to have had a background as a carpenter or other similar type of artisan. And secondly, Master Mo's surname means "ink."

25. **Mo Ti (336).** Master Mo was a spartan, populist activist and theoretician of rather dour disposition who advocated universal love, inveighed against excess and luxury, and believed that the only just war was a defensive one.

26. **Ch'in Kuli (336).** One of Master Mo's closest disciples who had formerly studied under Tzuhsia, a high-ranking disciple of Confucius.

27. **"anti-music," "economy of expenditure" (336).** These are actually two separate chapters in the collection of writings attributed to Master Mo and his followers. More literally, "they devised 'anti-music' and entitled it 'economy of expenditure.'"

28. **love overflowing to all (336).** This is Master Mo's most celebrated doctrine. It is also referred to as "universal love," "extensive/broad love," etc.

29. **music of the ancients (336).** There is much disagreement among the commentators about how to punctuate the last three sentences of this paragraph. "Though" and "strive" have been added to the translation.

30. **"Pond of Totality" (336).** Like the following six items, this is the name of a work of music (pronounced "Hsiench'ih" in Modern Standard Mandarin). All of these pieces are attributed to ancient emperors, kings, and a duke. See chapter 14, pp. 132-136.

31. **"Great Stanzas" (336).** "Ta chang." "Stanzas" might also be taken to mean "display, ornamentation, elegance," etc.

32. **"Great Splendors" (336).** "Ta shao." See chapter 18, note 14.

33. **"Great Hsia" (336).** Hsia was the name of the dynasty, supposedly founded by the legendary emperor Yü, that has still not been historically and archeologically confirmed to the satisfaction of all. The name may mean "summer" (the warm, auspicious season, especially for those in northern climes).

34. **"Great Diffusion" (336).** "Ta hu." The graph used to write the word hu is also used to write the etymologically related word huo ("water dashing down").

35. **"Royal Concord" (336).** "Pi yung." This was still the name of the hall in Peking where graduates of the Imperial Academy (Hanlin) were examined during the last dynasty. Throughout earlier periods of history, the name was used in the sense of "Royal Learning

Retreat." In other words, it was a place where the emperor "withdrew" (said to be the basic meaning of pi) in "peace/concord" to pursue his studies.

36. **"The Martial" (336).** "Wu," the same epithet as that used for the king who is said to have been one of the co-composers of the piece. His predecessor's epithet (Wen), in contrast, means "Civil."

37. **son of heaven (336).** The emperor.

38. **overthrow . . . altogether (336-337).** Literally, "the way/doctrine of Master Mo has not been defeated." An alternative interpretation would be "[this] has not been [enough] to defeat the way/doctrine of Master Mo."

39. **. . . rejected music (337).** This might also be rendered as "people will be joyful, yet he rejects joy."

40. **declared (337).** Though less likely, this might also be rendered as "In extolling his way, Master Mo said. . . ."

41. **four uncivilized tribes (337).** See chapter 30, note 9.

42. **nine regions (337).** See chapter 11, note 23.

43. **down (337).** Some commentators would read this as meaning "flesh."

44. **for the most part (337).** Some commentators force this phrase to mean "only."

45. **furs and . . . (337).** The text has "furs and serge [i.e., very coarse woollen cloth]," but "serge" is almost certainly an orthographic error for "arrowroot hemp." In the first place, the sinographs for these two words are visually and phonologically very similar. Secondly, the wearing of furs in winter and hempen clothes in summer was a common trope indicating rusticity and plainness. This would be in contrast to silks and embroideries. Indeed, "furs and hempen garments" were so commonly paired that they came to stand for "summer and winter clothing" and, by still further extension, they signified "a year." Thirdly, there are other early texts which state that the Mohists were given to wearing such simple clothes. And fourthly, we have already encountered a hermit (Goodroll) who wore this particular combination of clothing. See the text at chapter 28, note 6.

46. **Hsiangli Ch'in (337).** His name might well be interpreted as meaning Diligent Village Compatriot.

47. **Wu Hou (337).** There is much confusion surrounding this figure because he is not known about from the other texts and because his name might also be interpreted as meaning "five [i.e., various] feudal lords."

48. **Bitter (337).** The same word that is translated as "misery" just above and as "weary" just below--a telling indication of the Mohist ethos. This individual (K'u Huo) is known about only from the mention of him here.

49. **Bite Self (337).** Chi Ch'ih (more literally "Own Teeth"). Is the name meant to indicate his masochistic tendencies? Also known only through his mention here.

50. **Master Tengling (337).** His name might be rendered as Master Teng (name of a small feudal state in modern Hupeh) Tumulus, Master Climb Mound, or (as it is written in one edition) Master Countryside Mound.

51. **"hard" and "white" (337).** See chapter 2, note 16.

52. **"odd and even" (338).** Another frequent topic for argument among the Warring States thinkers. None of the three topics mentioned here were unique to the Mohists, nor were they even particularly identified with the Mohists. As a matter of fact, they were a general subject for discussion among most schools, but were most closely linked with the sophists.

53. **giants (338).** Recent archeological excavations have revealed that, during the first millennium B.C.E. and even before, there were individuals (both male and female--such couples were often buried in the same grave) who were remarkably taller than the rest of the population and had other telling differences in their bone structures. Such individuals were probably the inspiration for the scattered references in early Chinese texts to giants. The reference to giants here, however, probably signifies the title of the leaders of the various factions that emerged during the development of sectarian Mohism (cf. hierarch, primate, etc.) or to the ranking figures in the early history of the Mohist movement.

54. **accepted by . . . (338).** As the acknowledged head(s) of the Mohist movement.

55. **to order (338).** The order brought about by good government, that is. "The results were" has been added to the translation.

56. **scholar (338).** See chapter 29, note 78.

57. **ability (338).** The final particle of this sentence provides a certain nuance of regret (over unfulfilled promise?).

58. **caustic (338).** Most editions read "careless," the sinograph for which is very similar to that for "caustic."

59. **Sung Chien (338).** See chapter 1, note 6.

60. **Yin Wen (338).** His dates are roughly 350-285 B.C.E., but few details are known of his life other than that he was associated with the kings of Ch'i.

61. **Mount Hua caps (338).** The people of the Warring States period had the curious custom of wearing distinctive caps (sometimes quite elaborate and even outlandish) to express some feature of their character that they especially prized. Mt. Hua was said to be "flat both on top and at the bottom." Sung Chien and Yin Wen apparently felt that this was an appropriate symbol for what they believed in (equality of treatment, non-distinction, etc.).

62. **capacity (338).** To endure, forbear, pardon, etc.

63. **"the action of the mind" (338).** This may be the title of a chapter from their writings which is no longer extant.

64. **pliability (338).** Since there are no other contemporary or earlier examples of the unusual sinographs used to write this word, it is impossible to determine its exact meaning. The commentators have offered dozens of speculations (e.g., intimacy, affection, softness, closeness, familiarity, etc.).

65. **all within the seas (338).** The more usual formulation is "[all within the] four seas," an expression whose signification is roughly the same as that of "[all] under heaven," viz. the world or the empire and its inhabitants.

66. **chief doctrine (338).** The word "doctrine" has been added to the translation.

67. **from war (338).** The words "their aim" have twice been added to this sentence and "tenets" has been added to the next two sentences.

68. **five pints (339).** This, of course, would not be a small amount for one person if it were being served at a single meal, but if it were intended to last for several meals or to feed a master and his disciples, five pints would not go very far.

69. **I am afraid . . . (339).** The syntax of this sentence and several of the following sentences appears to be somewhat defective.

70. **external policy (339).** The word "policy" has been added to this sentence (twice) and the words "this was . . . of their theories" have been added to the next.

71. **P'eng Meng . . . (339).** Little is known of these three men except that the latter two, like Sung Chien and Yin Wen, were said to have been associated with the so-called Chihsia "academy" of the kings of Ch'i. Scattered fragments of Shen Tao's writings have survived, but nothing remains from the other two thinkers.

72. **is imperfect (340).** That is, it does not touch upon or reach to every point.

73. **tramples upon it (340).** Many commentators concede that it is virtually impossible to understand the meaning of this sentence with any assurance.

74. **no particular task (340).** The commentators are in complete disagreement over how to interpret this clause. Here I follow Ch'en Kuying. Another alternative reading may be obtained from Mathews 2428.2 and 7180.30-31: "His revilement was unbearable." It must be admitted, however, that much of this paragraph on Shen Tao is extremely obscure.

75. **Things . . . without knowledge (340).** In philosophical (especially Western and Indian) terms, this might better be rendered as "insentient things." To convey the style and preserve the integrity of the Chinese text, however, it is preferable to translate the word for "know[ledge]" consistently throughout this passage.

76. **a thing without knowledge (340).** See the previous note. "May" and "at the state of being" have been added to the translation for the sake of clarity.

77. **clod (340).** One of the symbols for the Way in early Taoism was that of a clump of earth.

78. **of the living (340).** Or "cannot serve as a guide for the conduct of the living." The text literally says, "[is] not [the] conduct/practice [of] living men."

79. **His (341).** This probably refers to T'ien P'ien, not to P'eng Meng, P'eng Meng's teacher, or to the ancient men of the Way.

80. **usages (341).** "Manner" or "style"; more literally, "wind."

81. **vague (341).** Or perhaps "peculiar." The commentators have offered many other speculations about the meaning of this elusive word (e.g., "swift," "sound of an opposing wind," "quiet," etc).

82. **heeded (341).** More literally "observed," although many commentators have suggested emending this to "welcomed."

83. **extraneous (341).** Literally, "coarse."

84. **Director of the Pass (341).** Kuan Yin, see chapter 19, note 3.

85. **Old Longears (341).** This is supposedly the same person as Lao Tzu (the Old Master[s]), the putative author[s] of the Tao Te Ching.

86. **soft weakness (341).** Softness and weakness are repeatedly presented in the Tao Te Ching as desirable traits.

87. **whiteness (342).** By which "innocence" is meant.

88. **be a valley . . . (342).** This is a somewhat garbled version of parts of the Tao Te Ching, chapter 28. The following quotations closely resemble the thought of various passages in the Tao Te Ching and in some cases even the language, but none of them are exact. They serve the double purpose of characterizing Lao Tzu and of roughly quoting maxims attributed to him. The huge discrepancies among sayings attributed to the Old Masters in the Chuang Tzu and other early texts show that the Tao Te Ching was still in process of formation and undoubtedly crystallized out of an oral tradition.

89. **filth (342).** There are grounds for emending this to "abuse," the sinograph for which is homophonous and visually similar to that for "filth."

90. **a surplus (342).** The following commentarial remark has crept into the text at this point: "Toweringly, he has a surplus."

91. **acts not (342).** This is the famous doctrine of nonaction which is common to Taoism and to Yoga.

92. **whole (342).** Translated as "intact" in chapter 22 of the Tao Te Ching.

93. **spiritual intelligence (342).** This expression might also be rendered simply as "spirits" or "gods."

94. **presumptuous (342).** Some commentators emend this to "partisan," but there are many other suggestions for how to deal with this difficult expression.

95. **impromptu words (343).** See chapter 27, note 1 and the fourth paragraph.

96. **. . . the root (343).** That is, when he discusses the origin of all things.

97. **. . . the ancestor (343).** That is, when he discusses the Way.

98. **not exhaustive (343).** Most commentators interpret this as meaning "inexhaustible" and similarly explain the remainder of this section on Master Chuang as offering him unqualified approbation. But this does violence both to the balanced structure of the section itself and to the eclectic Confucian outlook of the chapter as a whole.

99. **metamorphosing (343).** This is what the text seems to say, but it is far from clear.

100. **. . . fathomed (343).** Alternatively, "someone who did not fathom it (i.e., the Way) fully."

101. **Hui Shih (343).** Master Chuang's favorite intellectual sparring partner. See chapter 1, note 19. It is curious that his name and surname, perhaps only by accident, mean "kind bestowal." It is also curious that the author of this final chapter of the Chuang Tzu gives him such prominence, not only by placing him in the culminating position, but by devoting so much space to this otherwise largely neglected philosopher. There is, in fact, some evidence that this section of chapter 33 may originally have been part of a separate chapter devoted to Hui Shih. Like Master Mo, he truly deserves to be called a philosopher in contrast to the vast majority of other early Chinese thinkers who dealt with social problems rather than logic, ontology, epistemology, and so forth. Master Mo, interestingly enough, is similarly highlighted in this survey by being placed first and by being awarded so extensive coverage. Master Mo was also nearly forgotten during the course of Chinese history and is only now being rediscovered and reassessed, primarily by Western scholars. Fortunately, a large amount of the writings of Master Mo and his school has survived, whereas very little from Hui Shih and his school (the School of Names or Sophists or Logicians) has come down to us.

102. **His books (343).** There is controversy among the commentators over whether these were his own writings or merely his library.

103. **. . . of things (343).** This might also be interpreted as the title of a lost work by Hui Shih in which the following paradoxes occur. A close comparison with the paradoxes of Greek and Indian logicians would be amply rewarded.

104. **great one, small one (343).** These might also be translated respectively as "major unity/unit" and "minor unity/unit."

105. **. . . it dies (344).** That is, "it starts to decline" and "it starts to die."

106. **difference of similarity (344).** As in the previous sentence, "great" and "small" may be replaced by "major" and "minor." The words "given that" have been added to the translation (twice). There are as many different interpreters of this sentence as there are commentators and translators; this is called an enormous difference of similarity.

107. **Yen, Viet (344).** Yen was in the north and Viet was in the south.

108. **one body (344).** Though the effect is similar, this statement is made on very different premises from Master Mo's concept of universal love.

109. **sophists (344).** More literally, "disputers."

110. **Ying (344).** The capital of Ch'u, a southern state.

111. **Huan T'uan (346).** The details of his life are not known.

112. **Kungsun Lung (346).** See chapter 2, note 10 and at chapter 17, note 21.

113. **so magnificent (346).** The meaning of this sentence is highly elusive. An alternative translation might be "Are heaven and earth [as] hearty [as me]?"

114. **Huang Liao (346).** Apparently a singular sophist from Ch'u who, according to the Intrigues of the Warring States, asked Master Hui some tough questions when the latter was sent on a mission to that southern kingdom by the king of Wei.

115. **strange remarks (346).** The words "all sorts of . . . remarks" have been added to the translation.

116. **weak in virtue (346).** Reminding us once again of the fundamentally eclectic Confucian orientation of the critique.

117. **close indeed (346).** The commentators offer numerous grossly conflicting interpretations of this sentence. I have had to expand the translation somewhat ("to claim," "role," "I") to make it intelligible. The clause after "but" reads as though it were an interpolated comment and interrupts the flow of the argument.

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