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THE CONCEPT OF TONG IN EARLY CHINA

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SUMMARY

Tong is one of the most important concepts of early Chinese thinkers, playing an important role in their philosophical discourse. Despite its importance, this concept has received little scholarly attention. There is not a book or dissertation on *tong* in either English or Chinese scholarship. This dissertation aims to fill this gap in the literature. In avoiding the usual understandings of *tong* as sameness or unity, this dissertation follows the *Mozi*'s definition to understand *tong* as a description of "difference to one." Three levels of *tong* are investigated: personal level, social level, and cosmic level. At the personal level, the "Wu Xing" of the Guodian bamboo slips and the *Xunzi* provide insights on how to achieve an ideal state of *tong* that unifies a person's heart-mind, body, and conduct. At the second level, there are two different interpretations regarding the *tong* of society, which can be identified in the "Shang Tong" of the *Mozi* and the "Li Yun" of the *Liji*. For the third level, the *Laozi*, the *Huainanzi*, and the *Wenzi* employ the expression, *xuan-tong*, to describe an ideal relation of an individual with the cosmos. In light of the three levels of *tong*, this dissertation provides a Ru scholar's view of an ideal world, which associates the *tong* of heart-mind, body, and conduct with the *tong* of society. Such a view is in contrast with the Daoist emphasis of *tong* on the grand scale of cosmic harmony.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation studies the concept of *tong* 同 in early China. *Tong* is one of the most important concepts of early Chinese thinkers, playing an important role in their philosophical discourse. For Ru 儒 scholars, the ideal society is referred to as *da-tong* 大同;[1] for Daoists, the ideal relation of an individual with the cosmos is described as *xuan-tong* 玄同;[2] for Mohists, *shang-tong* 尚同 is the ideal political principle for a society.[3] Despite its importance, the concept of *tong* has received little scholarly attention. We cannot find a book or dissertation on *tong* in either English or Chinese scholarship. This dissertation aims to fill this gap in the literature.

In early China, there are different understandings or even competing interpretations of how to achieve *tong*. For example, the "Shang Tong" 尚同 chapter of *Mozi* 墨子 suggests that the *tong* of society requires the elimination of differences, whereas the "Li Yun" 禮運 chapter of *Liji* 禮記 proposes a society of *tong* that preserves differences and diversity.[4] In addition to having a positive connotation, *tong* also can have negative connotations. The *Guoyu* 國語 and *Zuozhuan* 左傳 suggest that a state of *tong* without diversity is impoverished.[5] Nevertheless, among

[1] *Liji jijie* 禮記集解 (Sun Xidan 孫希旦 1989: 582).
[2] *Boshu Laozi jiaozhu* 帛書老子校注 (Gao Ming 高明 1996: 98).
[3] *Mozi xiangu* 墨子閒詁 (Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 2001: 74-98).
[4] See Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (2001: 74-98) and Sun Xidan (1989: 581-602).
[5] The two discourses can be found in the *Guoyu* 國語 (Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 1978: 515-516) and the *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 (Li Xueqing 李學勤 2000: 1613-1620), respectively.

various understandings of *tong*, we can identify a prevalent reading: early thinkers took *tong* to represent an ideal state of one's heart-mind, body, and conduct in society, and in the cosmos. Early thinkers consciously coined terms such as *da-tong* and *xuan-tong*, to signify these states. This dissertation argues that in these ideal states of *tong*, every entity can keep its own characteristics and form a harmonious whole with others.

In this dissertation, I demonstrate that there are three levels of *tong*. First, there is *tong* at a personal level, involving a person's heart-mind, body, and conduct; second, there is *tong* at a social level; and third, there is *tong* at the cosmic. For the first level, the "Wu Xing" 五行 of the Guodian 郭店 bamboo slips provides an insight on how to achieve an ideal state of *tong* that unifies a person's heart-mind, body, and conduct. I focus on the "Wu Xing" and the *Xunzi* 荀子, investigating how *tong* accounts for the ideal relationship between the heart-mind, body, and conduct. For the second level, both the "Shang Tong" of the *Mozi* and the "Li Yun" of the *Liji* provide accounts of *tong* in a society, even though their understandings of how a society of *tong* can be achieved are different. I compare the understandings of *tong* for the ideal society in the "Shang Tong" and the "Li Yun" and show a major difference between those two social political philosophies. For the third level, the *Laozi* 老子, the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, and the *Wenzi* 文子 use the expression *xuan-tong* to describe an ideal relation of an individual with the cosmos, and they present a continual development of the understanding of *tong* in the cosmos. I investigate how the *Laozi*, the *Huainanzi*, and the *Wenzi* articulate and develop the concept of *xuan-tong*.

Like many other ancient texts, the texts that I study may have also experienced the accretion of different materials or a sustained process of compilation over time. For example, the *Huainanzi* were compiled by a group of people and the *Wenzi* has been edited by various people over a long period of time.[6] The received "Shang Tong" and the "Li Yun" texts also experienced such a process.[7] Given the nature of these texts, is it justified to assume a coherent account is given in each of these texts? For example, the "Li Yun" is usually regarded as a Ru text, but some scholars have shown that this text contains thoughts from the Yin-Yang "school" (Jia 家) and may have been influenced by Mohists. If so, can I assume that the two different sources were successfully synthesized into a coherent account in the "Li Yun?" Furthermore, can I attribute a concept to a particular school, say the *tong* of the "Shang Tong" to the Mohists or a concept from the "Li Yun" to the Confucians?

For the first issue, I do not assume that there is an author behind the text, but I accept that a text has probably been edited by several hands.[8] Nevertheless, I can expect a process of people drawing different materials from an existing text or compiling different materials into a new one in an attempt to combine and adjust different opinions to form a coherent theory. Employing the principle of charity, I do not assume that people just arbitrarily put disparate pieces together like a hodgepodge.

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[6] For the nature of the text *Huainanzi*, see the "introduction" of the *Huainanzi* (Major et.tr 2010: 1-40), Le Blanc (1985). For a discussion of the *Wenzi*, see Paul van Els (2006; 2018), Li (2004: 1-44), Zhang (1998:117-126; 2005: 99-116).

[7] For the textual nature of the "Shang Tong", see Erik Maeder (1992: 27-82), Carine Defoort (2013: 1-34), Karen Desmet (2005: 99-118), Loy (2005: 141-158). For the "Li Yun", see Wang E 王鍔 (2004:138-141).

[8] This view has become prevalent among sinologists. They maintain that for most of the assumed Pre-Qin works, it is impossible for them to have been completed by one author. For texts such as the *Zhuangzi* and *Mengzi*, they may not have been completed until the Han dynasty. See Michael Hunter (2014: 33-79), Esther Klein (2010: 299-369).

Admittedly, I cannot go so far as to make a strong claim that there must be a coherent theory of *tong* of society in the "Li Yun." Yet, given that *tong* is the central concept that the "Li Yun" suggests, I can make a minimal claim that among different authors or editors of the text, there could be shared concerns or assumptions as to how a society of *tong* can be achieved.

For the second issue, I do not attribute a text exclusively to a particular school, such as the "Li Yun" to Confucians or the "Shang Tong" to Mohists. In fact, the term "school" itself is highly problematic. Whether there were schools during the Warring States and the Han periods is increasingly being questioned by sinologists.[9] Therefore, I try to avoid attributing a concept to a specific philosophical school. To me, a concept or an idea can be shared by people across different philosophical streams.

The methodology of this dissertation is interpretive and reconstructive. This dissertation uses sinological methods, such as textual analysis, to investigate the nuanced understandings of *tong* in particular contexts. This dissertation presents a diverse understanding of *tong*, by focusing on the personal, social, and cosmic levels. Based on various accounts of *tong*, I also reconstruct the understandings of how the personal, the social, and the cosmic levels of *tong* can be connected, particularly in Ru and Daoist traditions.

[9] Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan have conducted a comprehensive study, arguing against notions such as: discrete schools of thought contended in the Warring States and Han periods and these schools of thought were text-centered; they treat the terms "Ru" and "Dao" as direct and unproblematic references to two scholastic "isms," Confucianism and Daoism, and ignore discrepancies among the rhetorical constructions in the early sources. See Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan (2003: 59-99). Christoph Harbsmeier also contends that there was never one organized and unified Kǒng jiā 孔家 or "school of Confucianism" in the Warring States Period (Harbsmeier 2013:18). The same argument also can be found in Smith (2003: 129-156), Sivan (1978: 303-330), Ryden (1996: 5-9, 28), Boltz (2005: 50-78).

In chapter 1, based on the *Mozi*'s definition of *tong*, I understand it as "when different X,[10] where X can be properties, characteristics, entities, etc., share at least a Y, where Y can be property, characteristic, entity, etc., the different X become one with respect to Y." I also adopt this understanding to account for the use of *tong* in the early literature. Chapter 2 investigates the personal level of *tong* by focusing on the "Wu Xing," and presents a close relation between "Wu Xing" and *Xunzi* on the ideal state of *tong* in harmonizing the heart-mind, body, and conduct of a person. Chapter 3 studies *tong* in society and presents two competing political theories as to how the *tong* of society can be achieved. In chapter 4, in tracing the evolution of the concept of *xuan-tong* in the *Laozi*, the *Huainanzi*, and the *Wenzi*, I demonstrate a particular type of *tong* that is concerned with the ideal relation between the individual and the cosmos. In conclusion, in light of the three levels of *tong*, I provide a Ru scholar's view of an ideal world, which associates the *tong* of heart-mind, body, and conduct with the *tong* of society. This view is in contrast with the Daoist emphasis of *tong* on the grand scale of cosmic harmony.

[10] X refers to a plural noun.

CHAPTER ONE: From Difference to One: An Understanding of *Tong* in Early China

1. Introduction

The graph *tong* 同 is used frequently in classic texts and has played an important role in the development of Chinese thought. Unlike many other terms, *tong* has been evaluated both positively and negatively. For instance, in the *Lunyu* 論語, Kongzi 孔子 says, "Noble people are in harmony but not in *tong*; petty people are in *tong* but not in harmony" (君子和而不同, 小人同而不和),[11] taking *tong* to be a negative feature associated with petty people. The *Guoyu* and the *Zuozhuan* even suggest that in contrast with harmony, which often leads to success and prosperity, *tong* results in failure and should be avoided.[12] *Tong* is also used positively as a desired state in concepts such as *da-tong* and *xuan-tong*. The "Li Yun" of the *Liji* portrays *da-tong* as

[11] *Lunyu jishi* 論語集釋 (Cheng Shude 程樹德 1990: 935).

[12] The two discourses can be found in the *Guoyu* 國語 (Zuo 1978: 515-516) and the *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 (Li 2000: 1613-1620), respectively. I elaborate on the two discourses in this chapter. Besides the *Guoyu* and the *Zuozhuan*, the *Houhanshu* 後漢書 records a scholar of the Han dynasty, Liu Liang 劉梁, who in his "Discourse on differentiating harmony and *tong*" (辯和同), argues that harmony leads to gains, whereas *tong* results in losses (Fan Ye 范曄 1965: 2636), which indicates that early thinkers recognized the negative connotation of *tong*.

an ideal state that a society can eventually attain;[13] *xuan-tong* in Daoist tradition represents an ideal spiritual state that is the result of self-cultivation.[14]

Various meanings or translations of *tong* also complicate the understanding of this term. For example, *tong* can refer to sameness as in *xiang-tong* (相同), while sometimes it is used to refer to unity (that is, *tong-yi* 同一).[15] Then, how do we understand the meaning of *tong*? Why was *tong* viewed both negatively and positively?

The *Canon* 經 and *Explanation* 說 of the *Mozi* provide a definition of *tong* as "being different but in this (aspect) being one" (for short, "difference to one", hereafter DTO)[16] and elaborate on how *tong* can be understood differently. The *Canon*'s definition gained lexical support from the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 - a Han dynasty lexicon dated approxiamtely100 C.E. - which defines *tong* as *he hui* (合會).[17] Both the graphs *he* and *hui* denote a sense of different things being one, that is, DTO. Another lexicon, the *Tongya* 通雅, dated appropriately 227 C.E., supported the *Canon*'s definition by following the *Shuowen jiezi*'s definition to explain *he* as *tong*

[13] *Liji jijie* (Sun 1989: 581-603).

[14] For instance, the *Laozi* says, "和其光, 同其塵, 是謂玄同," in *Laozi daodejingzhu jiaoshi* 老子道德經校注校釋, see Lou Yulie 樓宇烈 (2008: 148). "萬物玄同" can be found in the *Wenzi jiaoshi* 文子校釋 (Wang Liqi 王利器 2004: 17).

[15] Li Chenyang points out that there are two related meanings of *tong*: sameness and unity or togetherness (Li 2014: 11). Brook Ziporyn translates *tong* of the *Mozi* as sameness or conforming (Ziporyn 2012: 68). Alan Chan takes *tong* in the *Lunyu* as sameness (Chan 2011: 46-47). In addition to the *Lunyu* in which *tong* refers to sameness, the *Shangshu* 尚書 refers to *tong* as unity in phrases such as *si hai hui tong* ("four seas are converging together" 四海會同), *Yong Ju hui tong* ("river Yong and Ju converging together" 灉沮會同). See *Shangshu Jinguwen zhusu* 尚書今古文註疏 (Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 1986: 201, 147).

[16] That is, 異而俱於之一也. Sun Yirang suggests that this phrase should be understood as 異而俱於是一也. See *Mozi xiangu* (Sun 2001: 316).

[17] *Shuowen jiezizhu* 說文解字注 (Duan Yucai 段玉裁 1981: 353).

(合, 同也).[18] The lexical evidence indicates that the *Canon*'s definition of *tong* had already been well accepted and prevalent by the Eastern Han dynasty.

Unlike simply explaining *tong* as sameness or unity, this chapter understands *tong* as DTO, and employs the *Canon*'s definition as a starting point to account for uses of this graph in early texts. The first part of this chapter focuses on the *Canon* and *Explanation*, analyzing how different types of *tong* involve DTO. In this part, I propose that DTO can be more accurately described as "when different X, where X can be properties, characteristics, entities, etc., share at least a Y, where Y can be property, characteristic, entity, etc., the different X become one with respect to Y." The second part of this chapter uses etymological, lexical, and textual evidence to demonstrate that the use of *tong* by early Chinese necessarily connotes DTO. The third part investigates *tong*'s negative and positive connotations, concentrating on some discourses on this concept in early texts.

2. From difference to one: the *Mozi*'s understanding of *tong*

Let us start from the *Canon*'s definition of *tong* as "being different but in this (aspect) being one." This definition indicates that *tong* involves difference 異, which the *Canon* suggests can be divided into four types, that is, two (二), not being a part ([不]體), not being together (不合), and not being of a class (不類).[19] The *Explanations* 說 of the *Canon* accounts for the four types as follows: two (names) certainly being

[18] *Guangya shuzheng* 廣雅疏證 (Wang Niansun 王念孫 2002: 116).
[19] The translation is mainly from *The Mozi: A Complete Translation* (Ian Johnston 2009: 452-453). I use italics in places where I made revisions.

different is two;[20] not being joined is not being a part; not being in the same place is not being together; not having what is the same is not being of a class."[21]

The *Canon* suggests that there are four types of *tong* corresponding to the four types of difference, that is, duplication (重), being a body (體), being together (合), and being of a class (類).[22] The *Explanations* of the *Canon* interprets the four types of *tong* as follows:

> 同：二名一實，重同也。不外於兼，體同也。俱處於室，合同也。有以同，類同也。[23]
> *Tong*: Two names for one entity is *tong* of duplication. Not being outside the whole is *tong* of being a body. Both being situated in the room is *tong* of being together. Being the same in some respect is *tong* of being a class.[24]

Accordingly, we can provide examples for the four types of *tong*. For the first type, two names, such as Confucius and Kongzi, can refer to one person. For the second, feet and hands are both parts of a body. For the third, A and B are each in a room. For the fourth, horse and dog both belong to the class of "animal."

Then, how can the relations between the four types of difference and *tong* be accounted for by the definition of *tong* as "being different but in this (aspect) being one?" For the first type of difference and *tong*, it can be understood as different names (such as Confucius and Kongzi) with respect to the referent being one. For the second type, there are different parts (e.g., feet and hands) but with respect to the body to which they belong being one. The relation in the third type is that of different entities (such as people) but with respect to the room in which they are situated "being one,"

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[20] There is some uncertainty on the interpretation of "二." I accept the opinion among most of the *Mozi* editors that "二" refers to two names. For the discussion, see Johnston (2009: 452).
[21] *The Mozi* (Johnston 2009: 453).
[22] *Mozi xiangu* (Sun 2001: 316).
[23] *Mozi xiangu* (Sun 2001: 352).
[24] *The Mozi* (Johnston 2009: 453).

that is, being in one place. In the fourth type, the relation is that of different entities (e.g., horse and dog) but with respect to the class (for example, the class of animal) "being one," that is, being in one class.

It should be noted that "being one" (一) in the *Canon*'s definition appears ambiguous, which requires clarification. According to the four types of *tong*, "being one" can mean "one entity" to which different names refer, or "the whole" to which parts belong, or "a single place" in which entities are, or "a class" to which entities belong. Usually, "being one" is used in the third sense, referring to a state of different entities becoming the whole. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the *Canon* understands "being one" more broadly than we commonly do. In the discussion of "being one," I adopt the *Canon*'s understanding.

We have discussed how the *Canon*'s definition of "being different but in this (aspect) being one" (we call it definition A) is used to account for the four types of *tong*. Furthermore, such a definition can be paraphrased as this (we call this definition B): when different X, where X can be properties, characteristics, entities, etc., share at least a Y, where Y can be property, characteristic, entity, etc., the different X become one with respect to Y.

Then, the above four types of *tong* can be accounted by the definition B as follows. For the first type, X are names, and Y is the referent. For example, X represents Confucius and Kongzi, and Y represents the person that the names, Confucius and Kongzi, refer to; hence Confucius and Kongzi become one with respect to the person that the two names refer to. For the second, X are parts of body,

and Y is the body. For example, X represents feet and hands, and Y is the body; hence feet and hands become one with respect to the body. Third, X are entities, and Y is a room. For example, X represents chairs and desks, and Y is the room that the chairs and desks share; hence chairs and desks become one with respect to the room. Fourth, X are entities, and Y is a class. For example, X represents dogs and horses, and Y refers to animal; hence dogs and horses become one with respect to animal.

In addition, as the *Canon*'s definition of *tong* involves the concept of oneness, an analysis of this concept can deepen our understanding of *tong*. P. J. Ivanhoe's work on oneness is quite helpful. Observing the concept of oneness in the course of Chinese history, he identifies five different senses and provides respective examples:

> Even a concept as apparently simple as "oneness" can be complex: it turns out there is more than one way to be one. The strongest sense in which two or more things can be one is by the relation of numerical identity: Clark Kent and Superman are one in this way. Some who defend environmental concern based on interpretations of the Gaia hypothesis rely on an only slightly less robust sense of oneness - something we might refer to as the "nature is a blended whole" hypothesis - when they insist that each and every part of the world is inextricably intertwined and passes in and out of one another. Two or more things can also be one by being parts of a single organic body, as my arm is one with the rest of me. This idea often is confused with the idea of being part of a single ecosystem. In the latter case, though, the relationship between part and whole is not as direct or crucial as in the former. Removing important members of an ecosystem may alter the system, but rarely will it lead to its collapse or directly and immediately affect all the other parts; cutting off a person' s arm or head will have more immediate and dire results. A fifth way to be one with others is as a member of some tradition, institution, team, club, or group.[25]

[25] For discussions of the five senses of oneness, see Ivanhoe (2015: 233), (2018:19), (1988: 59-76). Ziporyn discusses oneness under the "one-many" problem in a different way, which is understood in his framework of coherence (Ziporyn 2012: 49-88). Li Chenyang clarifies different types of oneness in the *Zhuangzi* (Li 2013: 54-55). Guat-Peng Ngoi discusses oneness in Song-Ming Confucians (Ngoi 2016: 673-694).

The five senses of oneness are from the strongest to the broadest sense in terms of the relations between different entities becoming one. First, the strongest sense in which two or more things can be one is by the relation of numerical identity. The second is a slightly less robust sense, in which we might refer to "nature as a blended whole". Third, two or more things can be one by being parts of a single organic body. Fourth, two or more things can be one by being part of a single ecosystem. The fifth sense is that two or more things can be one by being members of some tradition, institution, team, club, or group, among others.

It should be noted that Ivanhoe constrains his account of oneness with regard to notions of anthropocentrism (Ivanhoe 2015: 245). Nevertheless, the senses of oneness - besides the second sense, which is based on the Gaia hypothesis proposed by contemporary scholars - can be accounted for by the *Canon*'s four types of *tong*. The strongest sense is by the relation of numerical identity. Ivanhoe gives an example as "Clark Kent and Superman are one," which corresponds to the *tong* of duplication, as the *Explanation* says "two names for one entity." The third sense is by being parts of a single organic body, which coincides with the *tong* of being one body. The fourth sense is by being part of a single ecosystem. Ivanhoe suggests that for this sense, the relationship between part and whole is less direct or crucial than in the former because cutting off a person's arm or head will have immediate and dire results, while removing important members of an ecosystem will rarely lead to the system's collapse or directly affect all the other parts. Obviously, such a sense can be accounted for by the *Canon*'s *tong* of being together: when entities are in one (place or

ecosystem), a single entity is related in varying degrees to other entities or the whole. Ivanhoe's fifth sense of oneness can also be accounted for by the *tong* of being a class. Being one with others, such as a member of some tradition, institution, team, and so on, occurs because different entities share some aspect (such as a tradition, an institution, or a team), and they are one in such an aspect.

In addition, although Ivanhoe's second sense cannot be explained by the *Canon*'s four types of *tong*, such a sense can be easily accounted for by the definition: different entities or elements share the whole nature, they become one with respect to the whole nature.

The *Canon*'s definition of "being different but in this (aspect) being one" fully conveys the meaning of *tong*. The following part uses etymological, lexical, and textual evidence to support such a definition.

3. Etymological, lexical, and textual evidence

Let us turn to the etymological evidence. The graph "同" (*tong*) in oracle bones, the earliest material available, is often inscribed as  .[26] The graph  consists of two parts: the upper part  and the lower part . There are two different readings for the combination of these two parts. In the first reading, the upper part  is considered to represent a tool which is used for four people to carry things, and the lower part represents a mouth (口). The combination of  and signifies a state in which four people are coordinated in completing a task by following an oral

[26] See *Guwenzi Gulin Vol*7 古文字詁林第七冊 (Li Pu 李圃 1999: 79), *Jiaguwen jishi* 甲骨文集釋 (Li Xiaoding 李孝定 1965: 2527).

command.[27] This reading connotes that different people, with respect to an oral command, are the ones completing a task.

The second reading also interprets the lower part 𠙵 as a mouth (口), but reads the upper  as the graph "凡,"[28] the meaning of which is "in all or together" (*zuikuo* 最括).[29] Made up of "口" and "凡," the graph "同" can be understood as "different sounds being together."[30] On this reading, *tong* means that different sounds, with respect to tones or melody, for example, are one.

Whatever reading it may be, the graph *tong* connotes that different entities (i.e., people or sounds), by sharing some respect (e.g., a command, tone, or melody), become one.

In addition to etymological readings, various uses of *tong* in early texts also support that definition. In the *Shijing* 詩經, *tong* in phrases such as *she fu ji tong* ("archers already *tong*" 射夫既同) and *si fang ji tong* ("[people in] four directions [are] *tong* [and subject to the king]" 四方攸同),[31] signifies that different people, by sharing a command or an authority, become one. Additionally, in the *Shangshu* 尚書, *tong* in phrases such as *niao shu tong xue* ("birds and mice are *tong* in a cave" 鳥鼠同穴) or *si hai hui tong* ("four seas converging and *tong*" 四海會同)[32] describes the

[27] See *Zhiyuan* 字源 (Li Xueqing 李學勤 2012: 680).
[28] Detailed discussions can be found in Li Pu (1999: 81-84).
[29] This explanation can be found in the *Shuowen jiezhizhu* (Duan1981: 681). Xu Zhongshu 徐仲舒 also describes the evolution of this graph (Xu 1989: 1450).
[30] Yang Shuda 楊樹達 suggests that "that which sounds from different mouths are meeting together is called *tong*" (凡口為同) (Yang 2007: 92). Gaotian Zhongzhou 高田忠周 also suggests that *tong* refers to "many mouths are in harmony" (眾口同和) and "different mouth are in a tone" (異口同音) (Li 1999: 82).
[31] *Shijing zhuxi* 詩經注析 (Cheng Junying 程俊英 and Jiang Jianyuan 蔣見元 1999: 696,796).
[32] *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (Huang Huaixin 黃懷信 2007: 237, 238).

way that different entities (say, birds and mice, or rivers), by sharing a place (such as a cave), become one.

Furthermore, the lexical account provides support for the definition of *tong*. The lexicon *Shuowen jiezi* explains *tong* as *he hui* (合會). It is worth noting that the graph "合" (*he*) is inscribed as  , and "會" (*hui*) as  in the oracle bones.[33] Both *he* and *hui* describe a state in which the upper part "  ," symbolizing a bronze cover, is matched with the lower part "  ," which represents a bronze vessel.[34] A difference between *he* and *hui* is that the graph "  " - which represents some things that are stored in the bronze vessel[35]- is only in the middle part of "會." It is evident that both signify a match between the upper bronze cover and the lower bronze vessel. Therefore, both graphs *he* and *hui* mean that different entities (in this case, the upper cover and the lower bronze vessel), by sharing some aspect (say, the size of the contact part between the upper cover and the lower bronze vessel), become one.[36] In addition, either *he* or *hui* in such phrases as *qi zi hao he* ("wife and children [getting along with each other] well and *he*" 妻子好合),[37] *jiu he zhu hou* ("*he* the feudal princes for nine times" 九合諸侯),[38] *yu xi rong hui yi fa zhou* ("*hui* west barbarians to attack Zhou" 與西戎會以伐周),[39] *hui yu wen* ("[rivers] *hui* into Wen river" 會于

[33] *Guwenzi gulin vol5* (Li 1999: 380, 400).
[34] Detailed discussions on "合"and "會" are provided in *Guwenzi gulin vol 5* (Li 1999: 381-384, 402-406), respectively.
[35] *Guwenzi gulin vol 5* (Li 1999: 405).
[36] It should be noted that the meanings of *hui* and *he* in the *Shuowen jiezi* appear to be synonymous; Xu Shen 許慎 explains 會 as 合 (會, 合也) (Duan 1981: 223).
[37] "好合" here means "wills and motives are in *he*" (志意合也), see *Maoshi Zhuanjian tongshi* 毛詩傳箋通釋 (Ma Ruichen 馬瑞辰 1988: 506).
[38] *Lunyu jishi* (Cheng 1990: 982).
[39] *Guoyu* (Zuo 1978: 519).

汶),[40] can be understood as different entities (such as people or rivers), by sharing some aspect (such as wills or motives, a political goal, or a place), becoming one.

In addition to the graphs of *tong*, *he*, and *hui*, the expressions - such as *hui-tong* and *he-tong* - in which *tong* is used together with *he* or *hui* can also be accounted for by the *Canon*'s definition. For example, consider *si hai hui tong* ("four seas *hui* and *tong*" 四海會同),[41] *ba fang hui tong* ("[people] from eight directions *hui* and *tong*" 八方會同),[42] *he tong si sheng zhi xing* ("*he* and *tong* the views on life and death" 合同死生之形),[43] and *tian xia he tong wei yi* ("all under heaven *he* and *tong* as one" 天下合同為一).[44] Both *hui-tong* and *he-tong* in these phrases refer to different entities (such as four seas, different people, different views on life and death), which by sharing some aspect (say, a place, an understanding, or an authority), become one.

Therefore, etymological, lexical, and textual evidence suggests that the *Canon*'s definition not only represents the understanding of *tong* among authors of the *Mozi*, but more generally reflects how early Chinese viewed DTO in using such a graph. In the next part, employing the *Canon*'s definition, I focus on some particular texts in analyzing *tong*'s negative and positive connotations.

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[40] *Shangshu jinguwen zhushu* (Sun 1986:198).
[41] *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (Huang Huaixin 黃懷信 2007: 238).
[42] *Yizhoushu jiaobu zhuyi* 逸周書校補注譯 (Huang Huaixin 1996: 448).
[43] *Huainan honglie jijie* 淮南鴻烈集解 (Liu Wendian 劉文典 1959: 701).
[44] *Lunheng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋 (Huang Hui 黃暉 1990: 217). It should be noted that the meanings between *tong*, *he*, and *hui* in *hui-tong* and *he-tong* may have slight differences. In the *he-tong* and *hui-tong*, *he* and *hui* emphasize a process of meeting, gathering, or matching, while *tong* focuses more on the state of oneness that is the result from those processes. However, *he-tong* and *hui-tong* express a process of different entities becoming one.

4. The negative and positive connotations of *tong*

Let us turn to *tong*'s connotations. Notably, its negative connotation concerns many early thinkers. For example, the *Guoyu*, *Zuozhuan*, and *Lǚshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, all take it in a negative sense, particularly in comparison with harmony. Both the *Guoyu* and the *Zuozhuan* carry detailed discourses on *tong*. Although the scenarios in the two texts are assumed to occur in different times and between different people, the motifs and rhetoric between the two texts are very similar.[45] Both discourses originate from political concerns. To argue that *tong* in politics is unsustainable, they use similar metaphors such as cooking and music; they hold the same recognition that *tong* in cooking or music only results in a tasteless dish or a monotonous piece.[46] The reason that the culinary and musical metaphors are used in political discourse is that political activities, cooking, and music, all involve the same process of DTO:

> 和如羹焉，水火醯醢鹽梅，以烹魚肉，燀之以薪，宰夫和之，齊之以味，濟其不及，以洩其過，君子食之，以平其心。君臣亦然，君所謂可，而有否焉，臣獻其否，以成其可，君所謂否，而有可焉，臣獻其可，以去其否，是以政平而不干民無爭心.[47]
>
> Harmony is like making soup, using water and fire, vinegar, pickle, salt, and plums to cook fish. It is made to boil by the firewood, and then the cook harmonizes the ingredients, equalizing the several flavors, in order to supply whatever is deficient and carry off whatever is in excess. Then the gentleman eats it so as to compose his heart-mind. So it is in the relations of ruler and minister. When there is in what the ruler approves of anything that is not proper, the minister calls attention to that impropriety, in order to make the approval entirely correct. When there is in what the ruler disapproves of anything that is proper, the minister brings forward that propriety, in order to

[45] The *Lǚshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 has the same scenario as the *Zuozhuan*, see *Lǚshi chunqiu jishi* 呂氏春秋集釋 (Xu Weiyu 許維遹 2009: 65-67). Given that the *Zuozhuan* is believed to have been compiled earlier than the *Lǚshi chunqiu*, it is possible that the *Lǚshi chunqiu* borrowed from the *Zuozhuan*, which also provides a more detailed account. Therefore, there is no need to discuss the *Lǚshi chunqiu* and I only focus on the *Guoyu* and *Zuozhuan*.

[46] *Guoyu* (Zuo 1978: 515-516), *Chunqiu zuozhuan Zhengyi* (Li 2000: 1613-1620).

[47] *Chunqiu zuozhuan Zhengyi* (Li 2000: 1613).

> remove occasion for the disapproval. In this way the government is made equal, with no infringement of what is right, and there is no quarrelling with it in heart-mind of the people.[48]

Making soup involves a process of using different ingredients, such as water, vinegar, pickle, salt, plums and fish, to finally make a pot of fish-soup. It means that different ingredients become one with respect to a pot of fish-soup.[49] Then, the text turns to music and claims:

> 聲亦如味，一氣，二體，三類，四物，五聲，六律，七音，八風，九歌，以相成也，清濁大小，長短疾徐，哀樂剛柔，遲速高下，出入周疏，以相濟也.[50]
>
> Sounds are like flavors. Different elements complete each other. One breath, two styles, three types, four instruments, five sounds, six measures, seven notes, eight winds, and nine songs. Different sounds complement each other: the clear and the thick, the large and the small, the short and the long, the fast and the slow, the sorrowful and the joyful, the strong and the tender, the lingering and the rapid, the high and the low, the in and the out, and the close and the diffuse. The good person listens to this kind of music in order to harmonize his heart-mind.[51]

A piece of music involves a process of making various sounds being one piece of music.[52] In politics, a process of DTO occurs when reconciling different opinions - from a ruler and ministers – to form a single decision. Moreover, the operation of nature also involves DTO. The *Guoyu* says, "former kings used soil to mix together metals, woods, water, and fire to produce various types of things" (先王以土與金木水火雜，以成百物).[53] In this case, the process of DTO is of mixing different

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[48] The translation is based on James Legge's translation, *The Chun'Ts'ew with the Tso Chua* (Legge 1861: 684).

[49] The culinary metaphor is described as "harmonizing the five flavors to provide fitness for the mouth" (和五味以調口) in the *Guoyu*. It also involves a process of making different entities, for example, five flavors, to be one, see Zuo (1978: 515).

[50] *Chunqiu zuozhuan Zhengyi* (Li 2000: 1614-1619).

[51] Legge (1861: 684).

[52] For music, the *Guoyu* suggests, "harmonizing the six tones to sharpen the ear's hearing" (和六律以聰耳), which involves a process of difference (six tones) to be one (a piece of music), see Zuo (1978: 515).

[53] Zuo (1978: 515).

elements together - say, soil, metal, wood, water, and fire - to form each and everything. Therefore, cooking, musical performance, political negotiation, and the operation of nature, can be accounted for by the *Canon*'s definition of *tong*: different X (such as ingredients, sounds, opinions, and elements), by sharing Y (such as a principle), becoming one. Although those examples are not named as *tong*, they actually belong to *tong*'s broad sense.

Then, how X become one depends upon what Y they share. Both the *Guoyu* and the *Zuozhuan* discuss two distinct Y. For the first, Y represents "harmony" (和), which refers to balancing and mutual transformation between X (Li 2013:27).[54] Harmony can be considered as a "principle" applicable to every activity in natural and social operations.[55] In cooking, different ingredients, by sharing the principle of harmony, "supplying whatever is deficient (in flavors) and carrying off whatever is in excess," become a delicious one. In musical performance, different sounds, by sharing the principle of harmony, "completing and complementing each other," become a pleasant one (i.e., a piece of music). In the operation of nature, different elements (that is, soil, metals, woods, water, and fire), by sharing the principle of harmony, viz., balancing and transforming each other,[56] become one (a new thing). In addition, in

[54] It should be pointed out that the meanings of harmony between culinary and musical metaphors may be different (Chan 2011: 37-50). The two, though, share basic features that I discuss here (Li 2013: 24-27).

[55] Li Chenyang understands Confucian harmony as "a dynamic and generative process" (Li 2013: 1), which Ziporyn insightfully suggests should be better translated as "harmonization": a constant process of finding ways to harmonize (Ziporyn 2012: 65). My understanding of harmony as a principle here is compatible with Li and Ziporyn's, for a process of harmonization, in fact, is a process in which the principle of harmony is consciously applied, for example, in political activities, or unconsciously operated, such as, in the operation of nature.

[56] The *Guoyu* says, "Harmony is what brings fruition and life to things, while sameness leads to un-continuance. To balance the different with the different is called harmony; this is why it can flourish and grow, and why things all return and converge" (夫和實生物，同則不繼。以他平他謂之和，故能

political negotiation, different opinions (from ministers and the ruler), by sharing the principle of harmony, viz., complementing and balancing each other, become a wise one (an opinion on a specific policy).[57] By sharing the principle of harmony, different X complement, balance, and complete each another, thereby realizing each "full potential in a harmonious whole" (Li 2013: 27), that is, being a harmonious one.

In contrast to the principle of harmony, the *Guoyu* and the *Zuozhuan* suggest the second Y, a principle of "tong" (being identical), which refers to excluding difference and diversity between X. For the use of such a principle in cooking, musical performance, political negotiation, and the operation of nature, it can be described as different X (i.e., ingredients, sounds, opinions, and elements), by sharing the principle of excluding difference and diversity between them, become one, in which different X are identical. Both the *Guoyu* and the *Zuozhuan* believe that a "one," in which different X are identical, is not pleasant or enjoyable (i.e., in cooking and musical performance), not wise and may even incur failure (in political negotiation), or lead to an impoverished condition (in nature).[58] Therefore, such a principle of "tong" should be avoided.

Therefore, according to the *Canon*'s definition, both the *Guoyu* and the *Zuozhuan* actually show two visions of *tong*. For the first, the principle of harmony is involved. By balancing, complementing, and completing each other, different X

豐長而物歸之). This suggests that because of the process of balancing different elements in nature, things start to have life, flourish and grow. See Zuo (1978: 515).

[57] The *Zuozhuan* also suggests that good governing results from balances between harsh and slack policies (寬以濟猛，猛以濟寬，政是以和). See *Chunqiu zuozhuan Zhengyi* (Li 2000: 1622).

[58] In *Zuozhuan*'s words, they are "以水濟水", "琴瑟之專壹", and "君所謂可，據亦曰可，君所謂否，據亦曰否" (Li 2000: 1619-1620), or in *Guoyu*'s words, "聲一無聽" and "味一無果" (Zuo 1978: 516).

become a harmonious one. In the second, the principle of "tong" is used through excluding difference and diversity, and thereby different X become one (in which X are identical), which often connotes an unpleasant or impoverished condition. In contrast, the first type embraces and pursues difference and diversity, and as a result, brings continuance and prosperity.[59] Hence, the *Guoyu* maintains that "*he-tong* should be pursued" (務和同也).[60] In other words, a type of *tong* that follows the principle of harmony - which is positive - is worthy being pursued, whereas a type of *tong* that is associated with the principle of "tong" - which is often evaluated as negative - should be avoided.[61]

Furthermore, the positive type of *tong* can be identified from the expression *he-tong* 和同. In addition to appearing in the *Guoyu*, such an expression appears in several other early texts, which use it generally on two levels. On the social level, it appears in phrases such as *shang xia he-tong* ("the higher and lower in *he-tong*" 上下和同) and *yu qi ren zhi he-tong yi ting ling* ("expecting people in *he-tong* to listen to commands" 欲其人之和同以聽令),[62] referring to a state in which different people, sharing the principle of harmony, become one. On the cosmic level, *he-tong* signifies a state in which different entities (such as *qi*, the ten thousand things), by sharing harmony, become one.[63] In addition, another expression, *he-yi* (和一), which refers to

[59] For example, *Guoyu* says, "和實生物, 同則不繼" (Zuo 1978: 515).
[60] Zuo (1978: 516).
[61] Qian Gengsen 錢耕森 also notes that the *Guoyu* focuses on the negative type of *tong*, but it also notices its positive aspect (Qian 2016: 53-54).
[62] *Liji jijie* (Sun 1989: 1277), *Guangzi jiaozhu* 管子校注 (Li Xiangfeng 黎翔鳳 2004: 275).
[63] This sense of *hetong* is used in phrases such as "天氣下降, 地氣上騰, 天地和同" (Sun 1989: 417), "萬物和同" in the *Huainan Honglie jijie* 淮南鴻列集解 (Liu Wendian 劉文典 1989: 59).

a state in which different people are one because of harmonization,[64] expresses the same sense as the social level's *he-tong*. Both *he-tong* and *he-yi* indicate an ideal state of oneness on a social or cosmic level, which results from harmonization between different entities.

5. Concluding Remarks

This chapter began by analyzing the *Mozi*'s account of *tong* and then employed etymological, lexical, and textual evidence to demonstrate that DTO reflects not only the authors of the *Mozi*'s understanding of *tong* but more fundamentally how early Chinese used such a concept to denote the relation between a difference and one.

Taking *tong* as DTO means that this concept in isolation does not have a positive or negative connotation. Its every connotation depends upon a particular context. Some earlier texts, such as the *Guoyu* and the *Zuozhuan*, present a type of *tong*, which relates to the principle of "tong" (being identical). In this type, by excluding diversity and differences, different X (such as entities, opinions, etc.) become one, in which they are identical. Such a type is not desirable and should be avoided. For another type of *tong*, in which the principle of harmony is involved, different X, through complementing, balancing, and completing each other, become a harmonious one. Obviously, such a harmonious one is not achieved by sacrificing differences and diversity, which, on the contrary, are essential for it. The type of *tong* achieved through harmonization is always worthy of pursuit.

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[64] *He-yi* appears two times in the *Xunzi*, that is, "群居和一之道," "人所以群居和一之理." *He* and *yi* are not used together in an expression such as "和則一，一則多力," but actually describe the same sense as *he-yi*. See *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解 (Wang Xianqian 王先謙 1988: 71, 373, 164).

In addition, this chapter avoids employing words such as sameness and unity to explain *tong*, which does not suggest that these words cannot account for *tong*. This chapter suggests that in comparison with those words, the definition, DTO, can more completely convey the meaning of *tong*: different X, by sharing at least a Y, become one. Associating *tong* with DTO, early Chinese thinkers developed new understandings, such as *da-tong* and *xuan-tong*, of how different X on individual, social, and cosmic level, become one.

CHAPTER TWO: The Oneness of Heart-mind, Body, and Conduct: from the "Wu Xing" to Xunzi

1. Introduction

The relation between heart-mind and body is an important issue in Chinese philosophy,[65] for the harmonious unity of heart-mind and body not only bears on one's mental and physical health, but directly relates to external conduct. The "Wu Xing" ("Five Conducts" 五行) of the Guodian texts, for instance, suggests that a harmonious relation between the heart-mind and body would lead to *tong* 同, and eventually to goodness. Goodness is regarded as the "Way of Humanity" (人道), which is associated with the harmony of the "four conducts" (四行).[66] The "Wu Xing" presents a connection between heart-mind, body, and conduct.

Heart-mind and body involve conduct, and every conduct reflects a particular relation between heart-mind and body. Early thinkers were aware that the relation

[65] I use "body" for convenience to refer to the physical organs of a person, in contrast with heart-mind, and the "whole body" to refer to the combination of heart-mind and body. Body is often used to correspond to the Chinese word "體" (*ti*). However, the meanings of *ti* are extremely complicated. *Ti* can be used to refer to the concrete physical body, its limbs, the physical form generally, embodiment, or even its form. For discussions of *ti*, see Derk Bodde (1954: 233–235), Peter A. Boodberg (1952: 326), Nathan Sivin (1995: 14), Tu Weiming (1992: 88), Yang Rubin 楊儒賓 (1996: 8), Deborah Sommer (2008: 293-299). In this chapter, I do not describe the relation between heart-mind and body in so complicated sense, but simply as a relation between heart-mind on the one side and physical organs such as the ears, eyes, hands, feet, mouth, and so on, on the other.

[66] The four conducts, which refer to the conduct of benevolence, the conduct of rightness, the conduct of ritual, the conduct of wisdom, are expressed outside and considered to be external, in comparison with the five internal conducts which arise from the internal and are not expressed outside. See *Guodian chujian jiaoshi* 郭店楚簡校釋 (Liu Zhao 劉釗 2003: 85-86, 73).

between heart-mind and body is in fact that between heart-mind, body, and conduct.[67] The "Wu Xing" is the first text that provided a detailed account of how heart-mind, body, and conduct relate together as one, and used *tong* to describe such a relation. Yet, it is the *Xunzi*, as this chapter presents, that not only followed the "Wu Xing"'s account of the relation between heart-mind, body, and conduct, but also developed a systematic theory of cultivation for the three.[68]

This chapter focuses on the "Wu Xing" and the *Xunzi*, investigating how heart-mind, body, and conduct come together as a harmonious unity, that is, *tong*. It argues that Xunzi,[69] based on the thoughts of the "Wu Xing" and other Guodian 郭店 texts such as the "Xing Zi Ming Chu" ("Human nature issued from mandate" 性自命出),[70] developed a new understanding of the relations between heart-mind, body,

[67] For example, the *Zuozhuan* says, "The former kings adjust the five flavors and harmonize the five notes, in order to compose their heart-mind (先王之濟五味，和五聲也，以平其心)", *Chunqiu zuozhuan Zhengyi* (Li 2000: 1614). The *Guoyu* also says, "Hence they blended the five flavors to provide fitness for the mouth, strengthened each of the four limbs to protect the body, harmonized the six tones to sharpen the ear's hearing, directed the arrangement of the seven orifices to serve heart-mind" (是以和五味以調口，更四支以衛體，和六律以聰耳，正七體以役心), *Guoyu* (Zuo 1978: 515). Both texts reveal the relation between heart-mind, body, and conduct.

[68] It should be noted that the "Wu Xing" text is widely believed to be associated with the lineage of Zisi 子思 and Mengzi, and it proposes the five internal conducts - which are related to the Way of Heaven, i.e., *de* - that Xunzi criticizes vehemently. Admittedly, the "Wu Xing" focuses more on the five internal conducts than the four external conducts. However, the *Xunzi*'s account is akin to the four conducts, and presumably, Xunzi or the *Xunzi* editors were influenced by the "Wu Xing". Some scholars have noted a possible connection between the "Wu Xing" and the *Xunzi*. For instance, Liang Tao 梁濤 suggests that the word "heart-mind" in the "Wu Xing" could have two different interpretations, and Mengzi and Xunzi developed the two interpretations (Liang 2008, 227). In addition, for discussions of the "Wu Xing"'s connection with Zisi, see Csikszntmihalyi (2004: 86-100), Ding (2000: 160-163), Kong (2010). For a discussion of the connection to Mengzi, see Franklin Perkins (2014: 503-520), Du (2008a; 2008b).

[69] In this chapter, I refer to Xunzi the person as the author of the received text *Xunzi*, but this is just for convenience. The text probably contains writings of followers of Xunzi and other materials that are believed to belong to the tradition of Xunzi.

[70] The approach is based on the recognition that Xunzi or the editiors of *Xunzi* may have been influenced by the Guodian texts. Regarding the relation between the Guodian materials and Xunzi, Paul Goldin argues that Xunzi's positions may be more systematically argued than anything that is found in the Guodian manuscripts, but there can be little question that he descends from the same doctrinal sects, see Goldin (2005: 36-57). Huang Kuanyun also contends that Xunzi had available to him a certain version of the "Wu Xing", Huang (2014: 291-325). Perkins is cautious in concluding that Xunzi had access to a version of the "Wu Xing" text. Though, he admits that it is possible, and suggests that if Xunzi had access to the text, it was already through something like the commentary from

and conduct. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is a close reading of the "Wu Xing," analyzing how this text accounts for the relation between heart-mind, body, and conduct. The second part centers on Xunzi's view of heart-mind, body, and conduct, and his theory of self-cultivation.

2. The unity of heart-mind, body, and conduct in the "Wu Xing"

The "Wu Xing"'s account of heart-mind, body, and conduct can be found in two separate paragraphs. One paragraph discusses the relation between heart-mind and body. The other discusses the relation between heart-mind and conduct, or I argue so. Taking the two paragraphs together, the "Wu Xing" actually presents the relation between heart-mind, body, and conduct. Let us read the first paragraph:

> 耳目口鼻手足六者，心之役也。心曰唯，莫敢不唯；諾，莫敢不諾；進，莫敢不進；後， 莫敢不後；深，莫敢不深；淺，莫敢不淺。和則同，同則善。[71]
>
> Ears, eyes, nose, mouth, hands, feet: these six are the servants of heart-mind. When heart-mind says "obey", none dare not say "obey". (When it says) "agree", none dare not agree. (When it says) "go forward", none dare not go forward. (When it says) "fall back", none dare not fall back.(When it says) "go deep", none dare not go deep. (When it says) "go shallow", none dare not go shallow. When in harmony, they will be in *tong*, and when in *tong*, they will be in goodness.[72]

This paragraph can be divided into two parts. The first discusses the relation between heart-mind and body; the second shows three different yet related states: harmony, *tong* and goodness. The three states are used to describe the relations between

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Mawangdui (Perkins 2014: 517). Whether Xunzi or the editors of *Xunzi* had access to a version of the "Wu Xing" is open to question. Nevertheless, it is safe to assume that Xunzi or the editors of *Xunzi* had been influenced by thoughts that appears in the Guodian texts.

[71] *Guodian chujian jiaoshi* (Liu 2003: 72).

[72] This translation consults *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian* (Cook 2012: 516-517), "Five Conducts (Wu Heart-mindg 五行) and the Grounding of Virtue" (Perkins 2014: 508), and *Philosophy on Bamboo* (Meyer 2012: 291-292, 295).

heart-mind and body. The second paragraph has the same structure as the first paragraph. It reads:

> 見而知之，智也。知而安之，仁也。安而行之，義也。行而敬之，禮也。仁義，禮所由生也，四行之所和也。和則同，同則善。[73]
> Seeing and knowing it is wisdom. Knowing and being at ease in it is benevolence. Being at ease in it and putting it into conduct is rightness. Putting it into conduct and revering it is ritual. Benevolence and rightness are that from which ritual is born and that which harmonize the four conducts. When in harmony, they will be in *tong*, and when in *tong,* they will be in goodness.[74]

Likewise, this paragraph is divided into two parts. The first part explains how the four conducts, that is, the conduct of benevolence, the conduct of rightness, the conduct of ritual, and the conduct of wisdom, are harmonized. The second part, which is identical to that of the first paragraph, presents three states: harmony, *tong* and goodness. In the second part, harmony, *tong*, and goodness are used to illustrate the first part, that is, the relation between the four conducts, on the one h, and "benevolence and rightness," on the other. Then, what does "benevolence and rightness" represent? Given that "benevolence and rightness" harmonizes the four conducts and gives rise to ritual, and ritual can be formed in the heart-mind,[75] "benevolence and rightness" refers to something internal, more specifically, a benevolent and right heart-mind. The commentary in the Mawangdui manuscripts also supports this interpretation, saying "benevolence and rightness is the heart-mind" (仁義，心也).[76] Therefore, the first part displays relations between the heart-mind and the four conducts.

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[73] *Guodian chujian jiaoshi* (Liu 2003: 71).
[74] This translation is based on Perkins' translation (Perkins 2014: 508) with a slight revision.
[75] The "Wu Xing" at the beginning suggests that ritual can be formed in both the internal and external (Liu 2003: 69).
[76] *Zhubo wuheart-mindgpian jiaozhu* 竹帛《五行》篇校注 (Pang Pu 龐樸 2000: 77).

Thus, the three states, i.e., harmony, *tong*, and goodness, are used to describe the relation between heart-mind and body in the first paragraph and to describe the relation between heart-mind and the four conducts in the second paragraph. Given that every conduct is embodied, the relation between heart-mind and conduct necessarily involves the relation between heart-mind and body. The "Wu Xing" reveals that every relation between heart-mind and body or between heart-mind and conduct is in fact the relation between heart-mind, body, and conduct.[77]

Let us discuss the relation between heart-mind and the four conducts. Because we take "benevolence and rightness" as the benevolent and right heart-mind, the phrase "benevolence and rightness….that which harmonize the four conducts (仁義….四行之所和)" means that when the heart-mind is benevolent and right, every command it issues is appropriate and duly guides external conduct, thereby harmonizing the four conducts. This is in contrast with the phrase "sagacity and wisdom …. which harmonize the five conducts (聖智….五行之所和),"[78] which involves heart-mind's affective engagements rather than commands to harmonize the five conducts.[79]

The phrase "that which harmonize the four conducts" implies a process of harmonization between heart-mind and the four conducts.[80] Take the performance of a ritual as an example. At the beginning, the performance may express a conduct

[77] Chen Lai 陳來 also observes that every conduct necessarily involves the body and heart-mind, suggesting that the four conducts result from the compliance of the body to the heart-mind (Chen 2009: 140).
[78] Liu (2003: 81).
[79] For the differences among the four conducts and five conducts, see Perkins (2014: 507).
[80] Liang Tao gives an account of the process of harmonization. He suggests that harmony involves a process of the four conducts coordinating and complementing one another, but he fails to point out that heat-mind plays a core role in the process (Liang 2008: 410).

easily, such as the conduct of rightness, but hardly can all the four conducts, that is, the conduct of benevolence, the conduct of wisdom, the conduct of rightness, and the conduct of ritual, be expressed harmoniously. It needs a process of practicing, through which the four conducts are connected and coordinated, namely, harmonized by heart-mind. As a result, when benevolence, wisdom, rightness, and ritual are performed properly and proficiently, the four conducts and heart-mind are in harmony.

The ideal relation between heart-mind and the four conducts is shown in the phrase "he ze tong, tong ze shan" (和則同, 同則善). Regarding this phrase, how do we understand the relation between harmony, *tong*, and goodness? There could be two interpretations. First, the relation can be explained as the progression from harmony to *tong* and then to goodness, that is, harmony results in *tong* and *tong* results in goodness. That is, harmony results in *tong* but cannot directly result in goodness. The second understands harmony, *tong*, and goodness to be used to describe the same state with three different features. It means that, when in harmony, one will be in both *tong* and goodness. The difference between the two interpretations comes from the explanations of the character "則" (*ze*) in the phrase, since *ze* can be glossed as a progressive sense of "result in" or "is." However, the "Wu Xing" in another place says, "That the four conducts are in harmony is regarded as in goodness" (四行和謂之善),[81] indicating that a state of harmony is of goodness, which conflicts with the first interpretation that harmony cannot directly result in goodness. Thus, "ze" in this

[81] Liu (2003: 69).

context should be understood in the second sense and used to describe a state with three different yet associated features: harmony, *tong*, and goodness.

Therefore, the phrase "he ze tong, tong ze shan" means that when the heart-mind and the four conducts are in harmony, they are in *tong*, and such a state for the heart-mind and the four conducts can be regarded as goodness. Then, why can a state of harmony be taken as *tong*? As discussed in the first chapter, *tong* was commonly understood in early China as different entities becoming one. That is to say, in the state of *tong*, the different four conducts are in a state of oneness with the heart-mind. The commentary in the Manwangdui 馬王堆 manuscripts on "he ze tong" (和則同) supports this account, explaining *tong* as "to be as in oneness with the heart-mind" (與心若一也),[82] which, more specifically, means that "the four conducts are in oneness with the heart-mind of goodness" (四者同于善心也).[83] When the four conducts are in oneness with the heart-mind, every conduct arises spontaneously from the heart-mind without following commands consciously. Such an ideal empirical state of being in oneness between the four conducts and the heart-mind is achieved through a process of practicing and learning. This point will be discussed later.

In light of the relation between heart-mind and the four conducts, the relation between heart-mind and body in the first paragraph can be explained as follows. At the beginning, given that the expression *mo gan* (dare not 莫敢) is used to describe the

[82] Pang (2000: 68, 77).

[83] Pang Pu appears to suggest that it is the four conducts that are in harmony and *tong*, by commenting "舍夫四" as "the four conducts are in harmony and become as one" (四者和而為一) (Pang 2000: 68, 69). I argue that it is not the four conducts but rather the four conducts and the heart-mind that are in harmony and *tong*. Liang Tao argues that "with regard to the state of *tong*, the four conducts are not different from one another in terms of form" ("同則是捨棄四行形式上的差別") (Liang 2003: 410). However, when the four conducts are considered in *tong* with the heart-mind, their forms can still be different from each other. *Tong* does not necessarily exclude differences.

way the heart-mind's commands are irresistible for the body, the distinction between the heart-mind as commander and the body as follower is obvious. The irresistible commands suggest that the body initially does not follow the heart-mind spontaneously but unskillfully. After a process of harmonization between heart-mind and body, such as coordinating and practicing, the body begins to follow commands from the heart-mind spontaneously, rather than unskillfully. Heart-mind and body, in this sense, are eventually in a state of oneness. In other words, they are in harmony, *tong*, and goodness.

Thus, the relations between heart-mind, body, and the four conducts can be accounted for in terms of harmony, *tong*, and goodness as follows. There are two states for the relations between heart-mind, body, and the four conducts. The first is a process of harmonization, in which heart-mind, body, and the four conducts become harmonized in oneness. The body complies with commands from the heart-mind, and coordinates the four conducts. As a result of harmonization, heart-mind, body, and the four conducts achieve the second state, which features harmony, *tong*, and goodness. This state is taken as harmony because the four conducts by heart-mind and body have been coordinated and performed harmoniously. In this state, every conduct arises spontaneously from the whole body. There is no separation between the four conducts, heart-mind, and body; they are in a state of oneness, namely, *tong*. When the four conducts, heart-mind, and body are in harmony and oneness, every conduct performed, ethically speaking, is in a state of goodness. Therefore, harmony, *tong*, and goodness

describe the ideal relations between the four conducts, heart-mind, and body from the three perspectives.

Then, how are heart-mind, body, and the four conducts harmonized to achieve the ideal state? The "Wu Xing" suggests two ways. First, it emphasizes actions and practices. It says, "Without action, goodness will not be approached,"[84] and "The noble man, in carrying out goodness, has that with which he begins, and has that with which he ends."[85] Goodness lies in a process of persistent actions and practices. Second, the "Wu Xing" proposes to learn from external exemplars by "hearing the gentleman's Dao" (聞君子道) and "observing the worthy man" (見賢人).[86] Both involve approaching and learning from those who have more experiences or achievements in self-cultivation. Thus, external factors, such as actions, practices, and learning from external exemplars, are crucial in achieving an ideal state between heart-mind, body, and the four conducts.

The "Wu Xing" may imply that the principles that guide the conduct of the body are not inherent in heart-mind, and it is through continual learning and practicing that they can be obtained by the heart-mind. For example, the heart-mind originally does not know how to perform the principle of ritual, and hence cannot guide the body to perform it appropriately or proficiently. Through a process of learning and practicing, the heart-mind guides the body to perform in a consistent and appropriate manner. Because of learning and practicing, external principles, such as

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[84] Cook (2012: 491).

[85] Cook (2012: 499). The commentary of Mangwangdui on this line suggests that it is the body from the beginning to the end that carries out the conduct of goodness. Pang Pu explains that "being good lies in actions by oneself" (為善在身體力行) (Pang 2000: 42-43).

[86] Liu (2003: 76, 81).

ritual, eventually become integral to the heart-mind. Yet, the "Wu Xing" does not make this point clear. A more direct account can be found in the "Xing Zi Ming Chu":

> 凡人雖有性，心亡奠志，待物而後作，待悅而後行，待習而後奠。
> In general, although all people possess (human) nature, their heart-mind has no fixed inclinations, (which instead) depend upon (external) things to arise, depend upon gratification to take action, and depend upon practices to become fixed.[87]

The heart-mind basically has no fixed inclinations; its inclinations arise from external things. That is to say, initially, there is no principle inherent in the heart-mind guiding conduct. Because of a process of acts and practices, the heart-mind knows how to respond to external things and guide the body to conduct itself in a consistent manner. Thence, principles become integral to the heart-mind.

It is through conduct and practices that the heart-mind forms stable patterns or principles to respond to external things. This understanding perhaps is based on a long-term recognition that the heart-mind is unstable and could be easily influenced by external things through the body. The *Guoyu* maintains that external things, such as sounds or flavors, can influence the heart-mind through the ears or mouth.[88] It argues that valuable opinions or virtuous conduct, which make the heart-mind's thinking clear and firm, depend upon the perceptions of ears and eyes to be adopted or accepted because useful words can only be heard through acute ears, or virtuous conduct only observed through sharp eyes. Ears and eyes are therefore pivotal for the operation of the heart-mind. Ears must be in harmony and eyes must see straight so

[87] Cook (2012: 697-698, 700).
[88] *Guoyu* (Zuo 1978: 515). The sentences are referred in footnote 70.

that the heart-mind is clear and firm.[89] Hence, there is a reciprocal relation between heart-mind, body, and conduct. That is, external conduct through the body influences the heart-mind, which in turn through the body influences conduct. The *Guoyu* maintains that "when harmonious sounds through the ears enter (into the heart-mind), beautiful words (of the heart-mind) come out through the mouth (耳内和聲, 而口出美言)."[90] The *Zuozhuan* also shares the same understanding with the *Guoyu*, claiming that flavors and sounds through the mouth and ears influence the heart-mind, which in turn gives rise to virtuous conduct.[91]

The "Xing Zi Ming Chu" also holds an understanding of reciprocal relations between the heart-mind, body, and conduct. On the one hand, conduct can influence the heart-mind. For example, sounds that derive from the genuine affections of a person can in turn incite his heart-mind.[92] On the other hand, emotions, such as worry or joy, arising from *si* (thinking or yearning 思) of the heart-mind, can be expressed through the body to influence conduct.[93] In addition, the reciprocal relation can be

[89] The ears and eyes are pivots of the heart-mind, so hearing must be in harmony and sight must be straight. When hearing is in harmony, the ears will be acute; when sight is straight, the eyes will be clear. With acute ears, helpful words will be heard; with sharp eyes, the virtuous conduct will be distinguished. Hearing helpful words and distinguishing virtuous conduct will make thinking clear and firm (夫耳目，心之樞機也，故必聽和而視正。聽和則聰，視正則明。聰則言聽，明則德昭，聽言昭德，則能思慮純固)" (Zuo 1978: 125).

[90] Zuo (1978: 125).

[91] Such as "the former kings adjust the five flavors and harmonize the five notes, in order to compose their heart-mind", "The gentleman hears such music to compose his heart-mind, and thereby, the heart-mind is composed and virtues in harmony" (君子聽之，以平其心，心平德和), "harmonious sounds enter into the ears and are stored in the heart-mind. In comfort, the heart-mind will be in happiness" (和聲入於耳，而藏於心，心億則樂) (Li 2000: 1614, 1619, 1626).

[92] This sense can be inferred from two sentences: "In general, whenever sounds derive from affections genuinely, their entry into and inciting of heart-mind is profound" (Cook 2012: 718) and "Sounds of yearning influence the heart-mind (詠思而動心)" (Liu 2003: 97). It should be noted that both texts suggest that sounds that derive from the genuine emotions of a person can incite not only the heart-minds of other people but also the heart-mind of the person himself.

[93] This point can be extrapolated from the two sentences: "In general, apprehension turns to sorrow only with yearning, and happiness turns to delight only with yearning" and "When the sound changes, so too does the heart-mind; when heart-mind changes, so too the sound" (Cook 2012: 723-724).

seen in this claim, "When the sound changes, so too does the heart-mind; when heart-mind changes, so too the sound."[94] When the heart-mind is stable, conduct can be expressed properly through body. Therefore, holding the "will of heart-mind" (持志) firmly, the "Xing Zi Ming Chu" believes, means one's words would be credible and one's conduct in accordance with rituals for host and guest and for occasions of sacrifice and mourning.[95]

Nevertheless, the reciprocal relation between conduct, heart-mind, and body does not mean that body is as important as the heart-mind. To be sure, the heart-mind and the body are interdependent because the normal operation for the heart-mind or for every part of the body depends upon the ordinary operation of the heart-mind and the body as a whole.[96] This does not mean that the body and the heart-mind are equally important. Rather, the heart-mind is central and the most important in the whole body. The "Xing Zi Ming Chu" claims that "the body performs the commands of the heart-mind" (身以為主心).[97] The *Yizhoushu* 逸周書 supports this claim, asserting that "ears and eyes serve the heart-mind" (耳目役心).[98] Hence, the heart-mind and body, on the one hand, depend upon each other, but, on the other, the

[94] Cook (2012: 724).
[95] "The noble man, when directing his inclinations, must have a heart-mind that is magnanimous; and when uttering words, he must have credibility that is forthright. In rituals involving guests, he must have a countenance that is respectful; in ritual of sacrifice, he must hold a reverence that is solemn; and when undergoing mourning, he must bear a grief that is reluctant to part"(君子執志必有夫光光之心，出言必有夫柬柬之信，賓客之禮必有夫齊齊之容，祭祀之禮必有夫齊齊之敬，居喪必有夫戀戀之哀) (Cook 2012: 750).
[96] This point is made by the "Yucong" (語叢), claiming that every physical organ is responsible for a particular function (容色，目司也。聲，耳司也。嗅，鼻司也。味，口司也。氣，容司也。志，心司) (Liu 2003: 192).
[97] There are different interpretations of the phrase (Cook 2012: 749-750). I follow Liu Zhao's account (Liu 2003: 106).
[98] *Yizhoushu jiaobu zhuyi* (Huang 1996: 162).

heart-mind reigns supreme over the body. Such an understanding of the relationship between the two was prevalent at the time of the Guodian.

The "Wu Xing"'s account of the heart-mind and body is connected with the above understanding in two aspects. First, the "Wu Xing" stresses the heart-mind's supremacy by claiming its commands are irresistible for the body. Second, it proposes that external things, such as practices and learning, contribute to an ideal state between the heart-mind, body, and conduct, which implies that the body can in turn influence the heart-mind. Nevertheless, the reciprocal relation between the heart-mind, body, and conduct has not been thoroughly discussed. It is Xunzi who, based on the "Wu Xing" and other early texts, developed the understanding of the relation between the heart-mind, body, and conduct, and formed a systematic theory for self-cultivation.

3. Xunzi's view of the heart-mind, body, and conduct

This section first demonstrates Xunzi's understanding of the relation between heart-mind and body, and then explains how he, based on this view, developed the theory of self-cultivation by focusing on ritual. For him, the achievement of self-cultivation is the oneness of heart-mind, body, and conduct in performing ritual.

Let us discuss the relations between heart-mind and body. Xunzi followed the "Wu Xing"'s understanding of the heart-mind's supremacy over the body, and used the metaphor of official and lord to describe their relations:

> 耳目鼻口形能各有接而不相能也，夫是之謂天官。心居中虛，以治五官，夫是之謂天君.[99]
>
> The eye, ear, nose, and mouth each have the capacity to provide sense contact, but their capacities are not interchangeable-these are termed "heavenly officials". Heart-mind that dwells within the central cavity is used to control the five officials-it is called "heavenly lord".[100]

Every organ has its particular capacity, and they are indispensable for the normal operation of the whole body. In describing the heart-mind as lord and organs as officials, the metaphor of official and lord suggests that the body must obey the heart-mind's commands so that the whole body operates normally. In other words, the absolute authority of the heart-mind over the body is essential for the operation of the whole body. Elsewhere, Xunzi maintained:

> 心者，形之君也，而神明之主也，出令而無所受令。自禁也，自使也，自奪也，自取也，自行也，自止也。[101]
>
> Heart-mind is the lord of the body and master of the spiritual intelligence. It issues commands but does not receive commands. On its own authority it forbids or orders, renounces or selects, initiates or stops.[102]

The relation between the heart-mind and the body in this paragraph is very close to that discussed in the "Wu Xing": that the heart-mind's commands are irresistible for the body. The heart-mind like the lord issues commands to the body which is like the subject. To maintain the normal operation of the government, the subject must follow whatever commands the lord issues. Likewise, if the heart-mind loses the absolute authority of issuing commands or the body does not follow the commands from the heart-mind, external conduct would be inevitably in disorder. An emphasis on the heart-mind's supremacy perhaps had been prevalent in the time of Xunzi. The *Guanzi*

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[99] *Xunzi jijie* (Wang1988: 309).
[100] *Xunzi: A Translation of the Complete Works vol III* (Knobolck 1994: 16). All the translations of the *Xunzi*'s texts in the discussion are borrowed from Knoblock's work, with slight revisions. I also consult Eric Hutton's translation (Hutton 2014).
[101] Wang (1988: 397-398).
[102] Knobolck (1994: 105).

管子, for example, holds that for the operation of the whole body, the heart-mind at the center rules the body as a lord, while organs play their due roles in serving the heart-mind as officials.[103] The metaphor of lord and official suggests the supremacy of the heart-mind.

On the other side, the metaphor also conveys the idea that the body and heart-mind are interdependent. The "Zi Yi" ("The Deep Robe" 緇衣) of the Guodian texts, for instance, suggests:

> The people take the lord as their heart-mind, and the lord takes the people as his body. If heart-mind is fond of something, the body will find comfort in it; if the ruler is fond of something, the people will desire it. Thus the heart-mind may be in dysfunction on account of the body, and the ruler may be in downfall on account of the people.[104]

As opposed to the *Guanzi* and the *Xunzi*, the "Zi Yi" uses the heart-mind and body as a metaphor to show the relation between the lord and his people. Nevertheless, all these texts do believe that the relation between heart-mind and body is akin to that between the superior and the inferior in politics. As for heart-mind and body, the "Zi Yi" holds not only that the comfort of the body depends upon the heart-mind's activities but also that the body's conditions can lead the heart-mind into dysfunction. That is, like a lord whose bad rule results in opposition and rebellion from his people, the heart-mind's excessive desires can result in improper conduct, which in turn can lead the heart-mind into dysfunction. Xunzi also noticed that the heart-mind has desires, such as "desires of possession of the whole world" (利之有天下) and desires

[103] "The status of heart-mind in the whole body is like a lord. The nine orifices play their respective roles (in the whole body) like different official posts taking different responsibilities (for the government). When *heart-mind* works in its way, the nine orifices will follow principles (of *heart-mind*)" (心之在體，君之位也。九竅之有職，官之分也。心處其道，九竅循理) (Li Xiangfeng 黎翔鳳 2004: 759).

[104] Cook (2012: 386).

for “the utmost in comfort” (綦佚).[105] Perhaps the excessive desires, which result from influences by external things, not only cause inappropriate external conduct but also endanger the heart-mind itself. Elsewhere, Xunzi argues, “If heart-mind is drawn aside by even a little thing, then on the outside one’s correctness will be altered, and on the inside one’s heart-mind will deviate.”[106] The heart-mind can be easily moved or caused to deviate, which means that even a slight thing can disrupt the internal tranquility. That one’s correctness will be altered does suggest that a disordered state of the heart-mind will be reflected in improper outside conduct.

Xunzi, on the one hand, stresses the heart-mind’s supremacy over the body, and on the other hand, recognizes that the heart-mind could be easily influenced by external things. Thus, how to regulate the heart-mind is a very important issue for him to lead the whole body into harmony. A proposed way is self-cultivation:

> 見善，脩然必以自存也；見不善，愀然必以自省也。善在身，介然必以自好也；不善在身，菑然必以自惡也.[107]
> (When a man) sees (a conduct of) goodness, being delightful he is sure to preserve it (the conduct of goodness) within himself. (When he) sees (a conduct that is of) not goodness, being sorrowful he is sure to reflect whether it is within himself. When he finds (a conduct of) goodness within himself, with a sense of firm resolve he is sure to cherish its being there. When he sees (a conduct that is of) not goodness is within himself, being frightened he is sure to hate that it is there.[108]

Self-cultivation involves two aspects: first, see and preserve goodness; second, see and eliminate “the opposite of goodness” (不善). Goodness, which can be seen and preserved, probably refers specifically to the conduct of goodness. In other words, it is

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[105] Wang (1988: 19, 211).
[106] *Xunzi: A Translation of the Complete Works vol I* (Knobolck 1988: 401). Elsewhere, Xunzi claims that the heart-mind is “not at times not-in-twofold” (未嘗不兩) and “not at times not-in-movement” (未嘗不動) (Wang 1988: 395).
[107] Wang (1988: 20-21).
[108] Knobolck (1988: 150).

through external conduct that goodness can be seen. This is akin to that idea advanced in the "Wu Xing," which contends that goodness cannot be approached without conduct. Hence, self-cultivation actually is a process of preserving goodness through conduct and eliminating bad conduct.

Ritual and a teacher are two factors essential for self-cultivation because ritual guides all good conduct and prevents bad conduct, and having a teacher is important for one to learn ritual. Xunzi says:

> 禮者，所以正身也；師者，所以正禮也。無禮何以正身？無師，吾安知禮之為是也？禮然而然，則是情安禮也；師云而云，則是知若師也。情安禮，知若師，則是聖人也.[109]
>
> It is through ritual that the whole body is rectified. It is by means of teacher that ritual is rectified. If there were no ritual, how could the whole body be rectified? If there were no teacher, how could you know which ritual is correct? When your conducts are spontaneously in consistent with what ritual mandates, then your emotions will find peace in ritual. When what your teacher says (about how to conduct ritual) you say also, then your knowledge (of ritual) will be like that of your teacher. When your emotions *settle* in ritual and your knowledge is like that of your teacher, then you will become a sage.[110]

Ritual is key to regulating or rectifying the whole body. According to Xunzi, all of the conduct of a person, from the internal activities of the heart-mind (such as willing, intention, or consideration) to external conduct of the body (such as appearance and movement) and to social communications (such as manners in social occasions), is associated with and guided by ritual. Ritual is so essential and comprehensive that any conduct that does not follow it would lead to failure or even disaster.[111] Hence, self-cultivation focuses on using ritual to regulate the heart-mind and body. It involves two stages. Initially, one is unable to make every conduct according to ritual. It takes

[109] Wang (1988: 33).
[110] Knoblock (1988: 157).
[111] The whole argument can be seen in Wang (1988: 21-23).

time in using ritual to coordinate and rectify one's conduct. After a process of practicing, all conduct has been made skillfully and in accordance with ritual. Then, an ideal stage is achieved,[112] that is, "emotions settle in ritual" (*qing an li* 情安禮). Hence, in the first stage, all conduct of a person may be in accordance with ritual, but he may still feel a sense of constraint from and consciously conduct himself to follow the ritual. That "emotions settle in ritual" represents an ideal stage, in which all of the conduct of a person that arises spontaneously from the heart-mind is in accordance with ritual, from which he would never feel any sense of constraint.

Having a teacher is another factor essential for self-cultivation. According to Xunzi, ritual, like knowledge or principle, needs to be learnt and even corrected, so that it can be fitted under changing conditions. Therefore, having a teacher is crucial for learning ritual. First, a teacher provides knowledge of ritual for students to distinguish whether a ritual is appropriate, and guides them to practice rituals correctly and properly. Second, because of his knowledge of ritual and his experiences in practices, a teacher has the capacity to correct ritual, so that the corrected ritual can be used to address changing conditions. Hence, Xunzi asserts that in learning, no method is more useful than living with those who master classics and rituals.[113]

Additionally, both ritual and having a teacher are essential in "controlling *qi* and nourishing the heart-mind." Xunzi maintains, "Of all the methods of controlling *qi* and nourishing the heart-mind, none is more direct than proceeding according to ritual, none more essential than obtaining a teacher, and none more intelligent than

[112] By proposing "accumulation" (積), Xunzi believes that persistent practices are crucial for a process to the ideal state (Wang 1988: 8).
[113] Wang (1988: 14).

liking it with single minded devotion" (凡治氣養心之術, 莫徑由禮, 莫要得師, 莫神一好).[114] In this context, "controlling *qi* and nourishing the heart-mind" is intended to regulate and rectify one's personalities or temperaments, such as audacity, pettiness, stupidity, laziness, and so on.[115] Ritual and having a teacher are used to regulate and rectify temperaments and personalities, thereby fundamentally transforming the heart-mind. The process of transformation is as follows:

> 君子之學也，入乎耳，箸乎心，布乎四體，形乎動靜。端而言，蝡而動，一可以為法則
> The learning of the gentleman enters through his ears, is stored in heart-mind, spreads through the four limbs, and manifests itself in his actions. His slight words, his most subtle movements, all can serve as a model for others.[116]

The transformation includes two processes. First, external learning, i.e., ritual, through the body enter into the heart-mind. Second, learning, that is, of ritual, is reflected in all outside conduct. In other words, because of learning, ritual becomes integral to the heart-mind, and influences and regulates all conduct of the body, and hence, all conduct is appropriate and in accordance with ritual.

The first process also reveals that the heart-mind can be cultivated and transformed by ritual. This point echoes a belief which perhaps had been prevalent in Xunzi's time: that the heart-mind can be cultivated by external things, such as music. The *Liji* 禮記, for instance, suggests to "cultivate heart-mind by performing music" (致樂以治心).[117] Xunzi also proposes to "entertain heart-mind by lute and psaltery" (以琴瑟樂心).[118] Although music actually can be considered a type of ritual, the

[114] Wang (1988: 26).
[115] Wang (1988: 25-26).
[116] Wang (1988: 12).
[117] *Liji jijie* (Sun 1989: 1029).
[118] Wang (1988: 381).

subject for “the learning of gentlemen” for him cannot be narrowly understood as music but rather more broadly as ritual. Learning ritual does not mean merely seeing or hearing knowledge. “Stored in the heart-mind” suggests a process of persistent practicing of what is learnt from outside. Through a period of learning, say, the knowledge of ritual, and practicing, ritual can be duly performed and eventually stored in the heart-mind. As more and more learning is stored, heart-mind and body gradually arrive at such a state that all conduct shown outside is in accordance with ritual. Heart-mind and personality, which because of their partiality caused improper conduct, have been fundamentally transformed.

In addition, “(learning) stored in heart-mind” implies that ritual becomes integral to the heart-mind. The ideal state of self-cultivation, therefore, is one in which the heart-mind, body, and ritual are in a state of oneness. That is to say, all conduct that arises spontaneously from the heart-mind and body is in accordance with ritual.

Now, we can see how the “Wu Xing” is connected with Xunzi. For both Xunzi and the “Wu Xing,” external factors, such as learning, practicing, and ritual, play important roles in achieving the ideal relation between heart-mind, body, and conduct. The “Wu Xing” does not give a detailed account of how external factors contribute to such an ideal relation.[119] Xunzi developed the “Wu Xing”’s thought by relating external factors, particularly, ritual and having a teacher, directly to self-cultivation, thereby forming a theory of cultivation for the ideal state of oneness between heart-mind, body, and conduct.

[119] It is worth noting that Cheng Chungying supposes that in the “Wu Xing”, it is ritual that guides the heart-mind and the four conducts to be in goodness and that the conducts of goodness must be judged as conducts that conform to an outer rule of the ritual (Cheng 2010: 150).

4. Concluding Remarks

In developing a theory of the cultivation of the heart-mind and the body, Xunzi followed an understanding that had already been prevalent in the time of Guodian: that the heart-mind is not fixed and its activities depend upon external influences. He emphasized the supremacy of the heart-mind over the body as well as recognized that the heart-mind is not reliable nor stable. So external factors, particularly ritual, should be taken into account to regulate the heart-mind.[120] According to Xunzi, through persistent learning and practicing, ritual would eventually become integral to the whole body, that is, heart-mind, body, and ritual in a state of oneness. In addition, although Xunzi did not use *tong* to describe the ideal state, the oneness of heart-mind, body, and ritual is echoed in the *tong* that is discussed in the "Wu Xing."

Notably, Gaozi 告子 had the same understanding as Xunzi, emphasizing the importance of external factors such as teachings or doctrines in guiding the heart-mind's activities. As opposed to Gaozi, Mengzi 孟子 argues that rightness is inherent in the heart-mind, and the heart-mind's activities depend upon the inherent rightness rather than external regulations or principles.[121] Mengzi's emphasis on the heart-mind's natural affective response to the world can account for why he was criticized by Xunzi.[122] Xunzi did not believe that, without a process of learning and practicing, every natural response from the heart-mind can be appropriate.

[120] Tomohisa Ikeda points out the two types of relations in the *Xunzi*, that is, the heart-mind's supremacy over the body and the heart-mind in parallel with organs of the body, but fails to discuss the relations between the two types of relations (Ikeda 2006: 1-14).
[121] Alan Chan provides a nuanced analysis of the debate between Gaozi and Mengzi (Chan 2002: 51-61).
[122] Xunzi's attack on Mengzi, see Wang (1988: 94).

Additionally, Xunzi did not accept the idea of "the five conducts" of the "Wu Xing," which emphasizes the heart-mind's natural affective responses,[123] but accepted "the four conducts," which stresses external influences on the heart-mind, in developing his theory of self-cultivation.

Self-cultivation results in an ideal state for the heart-mind, body, and conduct; it further creates harmonious relationships between people in a society. Xunzi's theory contains such a political sense. In his theory, ritual regulates and cultivates the heart-mind and body to achieve the ideal state of oneness between heart-mind, body, and conduct, which would eventually lead to a harmonious society. The next chapter investigates how such a harmonious society is achieved.

[123] For the link between Mengzi and the account of "the five acts" in "Wu Xing," see Perkins (2014: 515).

CHAPTER THREE: Two Visions of *Tong* in Early Political Philosophy

1. Introduction

The Warring States witnessed great disorders and divisions in Chinese history. Fights and wars deeply divided the society. Facing the chaos, thinkers proposed various ways to address this difficult condition, and imagined what an ideal society should be. A well-known picture of an ideal society is *da-tong* 大同 in the "Li Yun" (Evolution of Ritual 禮運) chapter of the *Liji* (Records of Rituals 禮記). This is described by Kongzi in response to his disciple, Yan Yan 言偃:

> The practice of the Great Way, the illustrious men of the Three Dynasties – these I shall never know in person. And yet they inspire my ambition! When the Great Way was practiced, the world was shared by all alike. The worthy and the able were promoted to office and men practiced good faith and lived in affection. Therefore they did not regard as parents only their own parents, or as sons only their own sons. The aged found a fitting close to their lives, the robust their proper employment; the young were provided with an upbringing and the widow and widower, the orphaned and the sick, with proper care. Men had their tasks and women their hearths. They hated to see goods lying about in waste, yet they did not hoard them for themselves; they disliked the thought that their energies were not fully used, yet they used them not for private ends. Therefore all evil plotting was prevented and thieves and rebels did not arise, so that people could leave their outer gates unbolted. This was the age of *da-tong*.[124]

In the state of *da-tong*, the society is well governed by worthy men, every individual is cared for, and people's abilities are fully developed. They live peaceful lives in such

[124] De Bary, Chan and Watson (1960: 175).

a society. The ideal of *da-tong* is so intriguing that it attracts many thinkers and politicians, particularly over the last century, to reinterpret it or devote their lives to pursuing its realization in society. For example, Kang Youwei 康有為, based on the ideal of *da-tong*, formed his political philosophy in the *Da-tong shu* 大同書. Sun Zhongshan 孫中山 also connected *da-tong* with his political theory of the Three People's Principles 三民主義, which proposes that the ultimate goal of the cause of Kuomintang is to realize the *da-tong* society.[125] The ideal of *da-tong* has deeply influenced Chinese political philosophy. Therefore, the "Li Yun," which first proposes this idea, particularly has drawn strong academic interests.[126] However, few studies investigate the meaning of the word *tong*, or explain why the ideal society is termed *da-tong*. This chapter uses the idea of *da-tong* in the "Li Yun" as a starting point to investigate the concept of *tong* in early political philosophy.

Da-tong has represented a political ideal for some thinkers - perhaps most of them are Ru scholars - since the Warring States. At the same period, another text, the "Shang Tong" ("Worthy Tong" 尚同) chapter of the *Mozi*, also proposes an ideal society of *tong*, though, in a different manner, by advocating the absolute conformity to the superior. Both the "Li Yun" and the "Shang Tong" hold that an ideal society would be that in which *tong* prevails, but their understandings of *tong* are quite different. In the following, I intend to show that the different understandings of *tong*

[125] For discussion of *datong* in Chinese history, particularly Modern China, see Dessein (2017: 83–102). Xiao Gongquan 蕭公權 also discusses Kang Youwei's concept of *datong*, see Xiao (2001: 642-653).

[126] However, English scholarship on this issue is scarce. For philosophical analysis, see Christensen (2014: 279–293), Chen (2013: 85-102). Most Chinese studies on the "Li Yun" center on the text history, but close reading of the text is scarce as well, see Wang (2004), Liang (2005: 2037-2047), Jin (2015: 35-40).

basically reflect two divergent perspectives in early China as to how a society should be ruled, or more specifically, how a disordered and divisive society should be regulated into oneness. Focusing on the "Li Yun" and the "Shang Tong," I am not going so far as to claim that there is a direct dialogue or debate between the two texts, or between Ru scholars and Mohists. I only make a minimal claim that the two texts emerged from a broader context of shared concerns or assumptions. The first part of this chapter sketches out the two understandings of political *tong* in early China, deals with some textual issues surrounding the "Li Yun" and the "Shang Tong," and analyzes their shared commonalities, thereby offering the justification of analyzing them together. The second part examines the divergence between the "Li Yun" and the "Shang Tong" as to how a society should be ruled and united. In the end, I argue that the competition between the two theories shaped the early political agenda.

2. Two visions of *tong* in politics

At first glance, the meaning of the word *tong* is easy to catch, but there are numerous renditions, such as conformity, obeying, unity, harmony and so on.[127] *Tong* certainly can be associated with such meanings as conformity, unity, or obeying, but, in the following discussion, I understand both visions of *tong* involve a process of different opinions forming a single one.

Let us consider the first understanding of *tong*. This understanding is based on a recognition that different opinions would never lead to agreement but only give rise

[127] For example, Franklin Perkins translates *tong* as conformity (Perkins 2014: 508); W. Allyn Rickett translates as obeying (Rickett 1985: 236); Ian Johnston translates as unity (Johnston 2010: 91); Jan Erik Christensen even explains *tong* as harmony (Christensen 2014: 279).

to fights, disorders, and divisions. In order to get rid of this predicament, *tong* is used to eliminate different opinions, so that everyone can conform to the orders from the superiors. This argument is proposed in the "Shang Tong" of the *Mozi*:

> If there was one person, there was one principle; if there were two people, there were two principles; and if there were ten people, there were ten principles. The more people there were, the more things there were that were spoken of as principles. This was a case of people affirming their own principles and condemning those of other people. The consequence of this was mutual condemnation. In this way, within a household, fathers and sons, older and younger brothers were resentful and hostile, separated and dispersed, and unable to be in "harmony and oneness" (和合)…. *Tianzi* ("the Son of Heaven" 天子) issued his "decrees" (令) to the people of the world, saying: "On hearing of good or evil, all must inform their superior takes to be right, all must take to be right. What the superior takes to be wrong, all must take to be wrong."[128]

The authors of the "Shang Tong" recognized that the disorders and divisions in household or society arise from different principles or opinions held by people, and hence developed the philosophy of *tong*. *Tong* implies two stages. The first stage is of eliminating different opinions. The second stage is a result from the first, in which different opinions are reduced to a single one and everyone only conforms to the ruler. Decrees are crucial in the process of eliminating different opinions, by which people are instructed to absolutely conform to the superior. The *Guanzi* shares the same argument with the *Mozi*, arguing that different opinions would inevitably lead to failure and only the use of decrees can avoid this. It reads:

> In ancient times, the sage kings, in governing men, did not value broad learning among their people. They wanted men to be "in harmony and *tong* to follow decree" (和同以聽令). "The great Declaration" says: "Zhou had countless ministers; they also were of countless opinions" (heart-mind 心). King Wu had three thousand ministers, but they were of one mind. Therefore Zhou with his countless opinions lost, while King Wu with one opinion

[128] The translation is from *The Mozi: A Complete Translation* (Johnston 2010) with slight revisions, alongside which I mark Chinese characters.

> survived. Now, if the prince who possesses a state is unable to "unite the opinions of people" (*tong ren xin* 同人心), concentrate the power of the state [in his hands alone], spread the righteous conduct of gentlemen everywhere, and extend his government on high to become the law among those below, then even though his territory be vast and his population large, he still cannot be counted safe.[129]

If opinions are not "united," namely, *tong*, the society would be inevitably trapped in divisions. The *Guanzi* contends that a good government must be able to unite opinions to make everyone follow decrees from the ruler. It should be noted that there are two possible accounts of the phrase *tong ren xin*. It can be understood either in the sense of the *Mozi* as eliminating different opinions, or as a process of harmonization, namely, coordinating different opinions to form unity. The latter interpretation can be supported by the example of King Wu, who unites different opinions to lead his ruling to succeeding.

Yet, given the central thesis of this text, the first account makes more sense to me. The central thesis in this text is that uniting different opinions does not value or rely on "broad learning"博學 from people but merely rely on decrees from the ruler. "Broad learning" involves knowledge and different opinions and probably gives rises to divisions between people. By contrast, "decree" only requires obedience from people. If *tong ren xin* is explianed as the second account, namely, a process of coordinating different opinions, then knowledge and learning, that is, "broad learning," is necessarily required and essential in such a process. Thus, the second account would be in contradiction to the central thesis that the broad learning should not be valued. According to the first account, *tong ren xin* is interpreted as a process of

[129] Rickett (1985: 236-237).

eliminating different opinions. Simply eliminating different opinions for the ruler does not need people's broad learning but merely requires their obedience of decree. The first account is in consistent with the central thesis of the text. Therefore, *tong* in this text should be accounted for in the same sense of the "Shang Tong," that is, eliminating different opinions to follow decrees from the ruler.

The *Lǚshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 follows the "Shang Tong" and the *Guanzi* in understanding *tong*, arguing that "ruling a state by consulting opinions from people would incur danger immediately" (聽群眾議以治國，國危無日矣).[130] Different opinions should be excluded and only a single opinion be maintained.[131] Furthermore, the *Lǚshi chunqiu* maintains that "it is the unity of laws and decrees (for people to follow) that different opinions can be united as one" (同法令所以一心也).[132] The laws and decrees are not only used to eliminate different opinions but also direct people to conform to the ruler. Hence, *tong* in the *Mozi*, *Guanzi*, and *Lǚshi chunqiu* means using decrees or laws to exclude different opinions so that people are united under a single opinion.

The first type of *tong* depends upon external principles, such as decrees, to rule out different opinions. By contrast, the second type relies upon a dynamic process of coordinating different opinions. The *Shangshu* 尚書, for instance, maintains that:

> 汝則有大疑，謀及乃心，謀及卿士，謀及庶人，謀及卜筮。汝則從，龜從，筮從，卿士從，庶民從，是之謂大同。
> When you (the king) have great doubts, consult your heart-mind, consult your ministers and officials, consult the common people, and consult divination. If

[130] *Lǚshi chunqiu xinjiaoshi* 呂氏春秋新校釋 (Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 2002: 1134).
[131] It claims that "one leads to the order, whereas difference leads to the disorder" (故一則治，異則亂) (Chen 2002: 1135).
[132] Chen (2002: 1134).

> your heart-mind agrees (with your opinion), tortoise agrees, stalk agrees, ministers and officials agree, common people agree, it is called *da-tong*.[133]

Any cautious decision is a result from consulting with different opinions. *Tong* does not refer to a process of eliminating different opinions but rather a process of coordinating different opinions. *Da-tong* in this sense refers to consulting and adjusting different opinions to eventually form a wise one (with which everyone agrees), rather than merely using external forces (such as laws or decrees) to remove different opinions. Diverse opinions are essential for the process of *tong*.

In addition, the "Jingfa" 經法 chapter of the *Huangdisijing* 黃帝四經 of the Mawangdui silk manuscripts 馬王堆帛書 follows the understanding in the *Shangshu*, saying that "(conduct of the ruler should be) in oneness with heaven and earth, in accordance with heart-minds of the people. (Because of this) the civil administration is appropriately operated and the bans and punishments are timely executed. (Such a state can be) called *shang-tong*" (參於天地, 合於民心。文武并立。命之曰上同).[134] A ruler should consult and unite everything in the cosmos, including heaven, earth, and people, before forming his opinions and taking action. In doing so, his decrees or acts can be appropriate. The term *shang-tong*, which means grand *tong*, proposes a grand state of oneness between the ruler, people, heaven, and earth. In such an ideal state of *shang-tong*, every act is carried out after the comprehensive consultation and coordination of different opinions in the cosmos.

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[133] *Shangshu jinzhu jinyi* 尚書今注今譯 (Qu Wanli 屈萬里 2005: 80). According to Qu, this text is formed in the Warring States period (Qu 2005: 74).

[134] *Wen-wu* 文武 in the context refer respectively to "acts of the ruler in oneness with heaven and earth" and "punishments and bans are executed on time and appropriately." See *Huangdi sijing jinzhu jinyi* 黃帝四經今注今譯 (Chen Guying 陳鼓應 2007: 103). It is worth noting that Chen fails to interpret *tong*, which he understands as "the King will obtain approval from people" (Chen 2007: 105).

According to the first type of *tong*, a ruler should use laws or decrees to remove different opinions. For the second type, a ruler, on the contrary, depends upon a dynamic process of coordinating and uniting different opinions to generate decrees. Furthermore, the two visions of *tong* can be described in two phrases, respectively. The first is "that which laws and decrees are united is to make heart-minds in oneness" (同法令所以一心), which is put forth by the *Lǚshi chunqiu*, while the second, suggested by the *Liji*, emphasizes that "uniting heart-minds of people to generate the Way of ruling" (同民心而出治道).[135] Both uniting heart-minds of people and uniting laws and decrees are essential for the oneness of a society. The two are indeed associated with each other: the oneness of heart-minds of people could lead to a state in which the laws and decrees are more effectively carried out, while the unity of laws and decrees would in turn unite heart-minds as one. Nevertheless, between the two visions of *tong*, which one should be put in the priority to unite a society. In the following, I compare the "Shang Tong" of the *Mozi* and the "Li Yun" of the *Liji*, arguing that the "Shang Tong" represents the first type, that is, emphasizing laws and decrees, while the "Li Yun" represents the second, which focuses on heart-minds of people.

Before analyzing the two texts, let us consider textual issues surrounding them. It appears that neither the "Li Yun" nor the "Shang Tong" was completed or compiled by a single person, but rather by many hands through a process of compilation.[136] We

[135] Sun (1989: 977). It is worth noting that the authors of the *Liji* recognized the importance of external factors such as ritual, music, and penal code, in ruling and uniting people's opinions. Nevertheless, these factors in the context are not used to eliminate different opinions.

[136] For discussions of compilation of the "Li Yun," see Wang (2004: 138-142; 2006: 142). Wang argues that the "Li Yun" was not written by one hand; there was a continual process of compilation (Wang

should admit that the concepts expressed in the "Shang Tong" and "Li Yun" may not be always consistent and even perhaps a text contains different layers of thoughts.[137] Nevertheless, we can read and infer philosophies from the received texts and keep in mind that there may be other interpretations. Given those textual concerns, I intend to consider the two texts reflect two different standpoints of *tong* in the Warring states instead of philosophies of two particular "schools," namely, Mohist and Confucian.[138]

The reasons that I put the discourses of *tong* in the "Shang Tong" and the "Li Yun" in the same context are as follows. First, the two share an obvious commonality in their practical concerns. Facing the rifts and wars that result from divisions and disorders in the society, the authors of the "Shang Tong" suggested to use *tong* to recover such a society from the great disorders. The authors of the "Li Yun" also aimed to address this issue of how to unite a society that was trapped in divisions and wars, thereby eventually realizing an ideal society of *da-tong*.

2004: 142). For discussions of the *Mozi*, see Maeder (1992: 27-82), Maedar claims that the "Shang Tong" chapter may originate from different sources and there was a continual process that developed into the received text. He says, "Instead of a single 'Urtext' for a triad (of the 'Shangtong'), we have to consider several. And as the texts or 'internal' documents the different chapters draw upon are varied and of altogether different dates… ancient Mohists did indeed draw on 'written materials and probably never ceased, in turn, to record in writing the arguments they developed from them" (Maeder 1992: 68). Carine Defoort also endorses the evolution theory for the *Mozi* text, see the "Introduction" (Defoort 2013: 1-34).

[137] For example, the "Li Yun" is usually considered as a Ru text, but there are three paragraphs believed to belong to Yinyang thoughts, see Wang (2004: 141-142). Chen Zhengyan 陈正炎 and Lin Qitan 林其錟 argue that the "Li Yun" represents a social ideal for thinkers from different "schools" such as Ru, Dao, and Yinyang (Chen and Lin 1988: 92-93). For the *Mozi*, Carine Defoort argues that "Since these sources (of the text of the *Mozi*) were written by different authors at different times and in various places, one aspect of the sources' historical grounding lies in their reflection of these authors' own concerns and views, and not merely in their recording facts about the supposed master Mo" (Defoort 2014: 369).

[138] Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan argue that the ascription of philosophical "schools" in early history, prior to and including to Western Han, is an anachronistic imposition of a set of Eastern Han and post-Han concerns onto earlier periods (Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan 2003: 89-99). Christoph Harbsmeier also subscribes this view, particularly on Ru (Harbsmeier 2013: 1-19).

Second, both texts hold that an ideal government should rule all under heaven as a family and all of the people as a single person.[139] This understanding basically involves a theoretical concern as to how differences (such as different states or different people) are united as one (say, a family or a person), that is, *tong*. In addition, although *tian* 天 is differently understood in the "Li Yun" and "Shang Tong," the two texts take *tian* 天 as the ultimate authority of their political philosophies.[140] The "Shang Tong" suggests that all political acts must follow the wills of *tian*; the "Li Yun" claims that the rule must be based on *tian*.[141] Their understandings of *tian* are in sharp contrast with a view in the *Mengzi*, which treats people and *tian* equally important in political decisions.[142]

The two texts share those commonalities in both practical concerns and theoretical assumptions. In the following, I compare how they develop their political philosophies of *tong* in divergent manners.

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[139] The "Li Yun" says that "a sage can look on all under heaven as one family, and on all in the Middle States as one man" (聖人耐[能]以天下為一家, 以中國為一人) (Sun 1989: 606). The "Shang Tong" makes the same point, suggesting that "bringing order to the states of the world is like bringing order to a single family. Making uses of the people of the world is like making use of one person" (Johnston 2009: 127).

[140] *Tian* in the "Shang Tong" is anthropomorphic but in the "Li Yun" is not.

[141] That is, "When the people of the world all in unity with the son of heaven, but not with heaven, calamity is still not done away with" (Johnston 2009: 95-97). The "Li Yun" says that "The principles of ruling must originate from heaven" (夫政必本於天) (Sun 1989: 604).

[142] "The watching of heaven originates from what people watch; the hearing of heaven originates from what people hear" (天視自我民視, 天聽自我民聽), see *Mengzi Zhengyi* 孟子正義 (Jiao Xun 焦循 1987: 646). I must admit that the nature of *tian* in the *Mengzi* is difficult to determine. As Franklin Perkins points out, the *Mengzi* does not argue for any potential vision of heaven. However, he notes that "several passages juxtapose heaven and humans as if they were analogous" (Perkins 2014: 117). That is, such a relation between heaven and humans is different from those shown in the "Shang Tong" and "Li Yun." Hence, I suggest that the view that treats people and tian equally important in political decision can be found in the *Mengzi* but do not mean that the whole *Mengzi* text holds only such a view.

3. The political philosophies of *Tong* in the "Shang Tong" and the "Li Yun"

Let us first discuss the philosophy of *tong* in the "Shang Tong." Facing the rifts and disorders of the society, the authors of the "Shang Tong" proposed a system to remove different opinions to unite the society. Establishing government leaders is the focus for the system. The text says:

> It is quite clear that what is taken as disorder in the world arises from lack of "government leaders" (政長). Therefore, the one who was the worthy and able in the world was selected and established as being *tianzi* (the son of heaven 天子). When *tianzi* was established, because his strength alone was not sufficient, there was also selection and choice of the worthy and able of the world who were set up and established as the "Three Dukes." When *tianzi* and the "Three Dukes" were already established, because the world was vast and wide and there were people of distant countries and different lands, the distinctions between right and wrong, and between benefit and harm could not be clearly understood by one or two people. There was, therefore, division into ten thousand states with the establishment of feudal lords and rulers of states. When feudal lords and rulers of states were already established, because their strength alone was not sufficient, there was also the choice and selection of the worthy and able of the states and their establishment as government leaders.[143]

"Government leaders" play a central role in maintaining the order of society. First, those who are able and worthy, such as *tianzi*, Three Dukes, and feudal lords, are selected to take the different positions. Second, the world is vast and wide and a person's strength is limited. In order to rule more effectively, the world is divided into small parts: the world divided into states, state divided into villages, and village divided into districts. Then, a political system is established: *tianzi* in the highest (ruling the whole world), then Three Dukes (who help *tianzi* address daily affairs), Feudal lords (ruling the states), village heads (ruling villages), district heads (ruling districts). In this system, government leaders rule as follows:

[143] Johnston (2009: 91-93).

> When the government leaders were already all in place, the *tianzi* issued his decree to the people of the world, saying: "On hearing of good or evil, all must inform their superior. What the superior takes to be right, all must take to be right. What the superior takes to be wrong, all must take to be wrong. If those above have faults, then admonish and remonstrate with them. If those below do good, then enquire about and recommend them. '*Tong*' (同) with superiors and aligning with inferiors - that is what superiors reward and what inferiors praise. If one hears of good or evil and does not inform one's superiors; if what ones' superiors take to be right cannot be taken to be right and what one's superiors take to be wrong cannot be taken to be wrong; if superiors have faults and one does not admonish and remonstrate with them; if those below are good and one does not enquire about and recommend them; if those below align [with one another] and are unable to '*tong*' (同) with their superiors - these are what those above censure and what the ordinary people speak ill of." It was on this basis that those above carried out rewards and punishments.[144]

The ruling relies upon the decree from the *tianzi*, who through rewards and punishments requires absolute conformation from the people. According to the *tianzi*'s decree, the inferiors must conform to the opinions of the superiors: what the superiors take to be right or wrong, the inferiors must take right or wrong. Although admonishing or remonstrating with the superiors is admitted, the inferiors actually do not have the right to participate in political decision. That is to say, they are unable to prevent in advance the faults that the superiors may make or to put forward their opinions to the superiors for consideration. The right of participating in political decision is exclusively maintained by the superiors. Furthermore, people's right of admonishment or remonstration with the superiors is conferred by the decree of the *tianzi*. Without the conferment, people cannot have such a right. It demonstrates again that the decree of the *tianzi* is the ultimate political authority.

[144] Johnston (2009: 93).

In addition to the decree from the *tianzi*, there are other decrees issued by different ranks of officials in the political system to their immediate inferiors, such as the ruler of the state issuing to the people of the state, the village head to the people of the village, and the district head to the people of the district.[145] All these decrees share the same consideration as that from *tianzi*: eliminating different opinions to require the inferiors in absolute conformation with the superiors. Because all these decrees require everyone below to obey the above, the *tianzi* is the ultimate authority in this system. The goal of the "Shang Tong" is to achieve a state in which people absolute conform to the *tianzi*, as it says "it is only the *tianzi* who is able to *yi* and *tong* principles of the world" (天子唯能壹同天下之義).[146] Both *yi and tong* refer to a process of removing different opinions to achieve a state in which only a single opinion - that is, of the *tianzi* - is retained and must be obeyed.

The *tianzi* is the highest authority in the political system. Theoretically, his political authority originates from the anthropomorphic *tian*. The "Shang Tong" says that if the people of the world is in a state of oneness with the *tianzi* but not with *tian*, calamities are still not done away with and would be shown through natural disaster, say, storms or heavy rains.[147] In order to do away with the calamities from *tian*, the *tianzi* must lead the people of the world to "serve to spirits and ghosts" (事鬼神). "Serving to spirits and ghosts" not only requires the *tianzi* to offer sacrifices appropriately and timely, but more generally involves the *tianzi*'s administrative

[145] Among the triad of the "Shang Tong," the first part's description of orders from different ranks of officials in the system is identical with that of the second part (Johnston 2009: 90-115).
[146] *Mozi xiangu* (Sun 2001: 76).
[147] Sun (2001: 77, 82).

affairs and daily behaviors, such as hearing lawsuits, distributing wealth, and ordinary dwellings.[148] All conduct of the *tianzi*, particularly in politics, has to "serve to spirits and ghosts." Nevertheless, neither spirits and ghosts nor the anthropomorphic *tian* plays any role in the process of political decision. Although every political principle or order must be in accordance with the anthropomorphic *tian*, there is no sign in the "Shang Tong" indicating that any political decision has been decided or partly influenced by the mystic powers such as divination, as recorded in the *Shangshu* and the *Zuozhuan*.[149] The *tianzi* holds the exclusive and highest authority in politics. *Tian*, by contrast, is only able to passively respond to bad political activities through natural omens. Hence, *tian* is theoretically the ultimate authority in politics, but the *tianzi* is the real authority and takes the central position in the political system.

The main points of the "Shang Tong" are as follows. First, in order to unite the people of the society, the *tianzi* excludes different opinions by issuing decrees and all people must conform to his decrees. Second, admonishing or remonstrating with the superiors is admitted and *tian* is believed to be able to respond to bad rules through calamity. Nevertheless, neither people nor *tian* is able to participate in the process of political decision, which is exclusively held by the *tianzi*.[150]

The "Shang Tong" advances a political system which depends upon the decree from the *tianzi*. The "Li Yun," by contrast, proposes another system which depends

[148] Sun (2001: 82-83).
[149] The *Shangshu* suggests that making crucial decisions should consult divination (Qu 2005: 80). The *Zuozhuan* also records various examples (Li 2000: 1577-178).
[150] According to this theory, all of political powers are actually concentrated by the *tianzi*. In this sense, I disagree with Xiao Gongquan 蕭公權 who argues that the theory does not advocate autocratic monarchy (Xiao 2001: 127-132).

upon *li* (ritual 禮). *Li* has two features. First, it is a tradition that was not invented by a particular ruler but had been used by ancient kings to the Way of *tian* through a long period,[151] and hence is independent of any political system of the world. According to the "Li Yun," *li* begins with handling of foods and drinks, because foods and drinks are often used to offer reverence to ghosts, spirits, and forebears. Then, it is applicable to everything that relates to the living and death.[152] All of people including the ruler in a political system must follow *li*. *Li* rather than the ruler is in fact the highest authority in the political system.

Second, *li* is comprehensive and all-encompassing, which is involved in every part of life from public conduct such as occasions in funeral rites and sacrifices, in archery and chariot-driving, in capping and marriage, in audiences and friendly missions, and in eating and drinking, to personal behaviors such as means of offerings and acts of strength, words and postures of courtesy.[153] Furthermore, *li* is used in every aspect of politics to "distinguish what is doubtful and illuminate what is abstruse, intercourse with ghosts and spirits, examine all statutory arrangements, and identify (conduct of) benevolence and righteousness, thereby making the government ordered and the ruler secured" (別嫌明微, 儐鬼神,考制度, 別仁義, 所以治政安君也).[154] In addition, either regulating *qing* 情 such as joy, anger, love, and dislike, or instructing one's relationships with others, say, family members, friends, and his superiors, thereby leading to a harmonious society, relies upon *li*.[155]

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[151] Sun (1989: 585, 616).
[152] Sun (1989: 586-587).
[153] Sun (1989: 585).
[154] Sun (1989: 602).
[155] "聖人所以治人七情，修十義，講信修睦，尚辭讓，去爭奪，舍禮何以治之" (Sun 1989: 607).

Li's role in uniting a society lies in two aspects. First, in terms of its authority, it should be followed by everyone from the *tianzi* to common people and regulate their conduct. Second, *li* is comprehensive, for it is not only used to regulate political conduct but also applicable to every aspect of the personal life.

There are four differences between the "Li Yun" and the "Shang Tong" as to how a society should be united. First, the "Li Yun" proposes *li* to unite the world, while the "Shang Tong" emphasizes decrees. Because *li* is the highest authority in the political system, it must be followed by everyone including the *tianzi*. The "Shang Tong" does not deny the necessity of *li* in uniting society. Its goal indeed is to recover *li*, for example, between family members.[156] Nevertheless, *li* is not viewed as essential for society as that in the "Li Yun." In the *Mozi, li* only represents a series of basic norms that are applicable to regulate social or personal conduct, and any of its decoration is considered superfluous and unnecessary.[157] Therefore, *li* does not play a central role in regulating and uniting a society but merely as a minimal norm for people to obey. Uniting society simply lies in, as the "Shang Tong" proposes, decrees from the *tianzi*.

Second, whether uniting society relies upon *li* or decrees leads to different views of the ruler's role in the political system. In the "Li Yun," as *li* is the highest authority in the political system, the ruler is viewed as a highest executor of *li*. For the "Shang Tong," the *tianzi*, whose decree must be obeyed, possesses the exclusive

[156] The "Shang Tong" says that the disorder of society is associated with the condition that there is no *li* between family members. In other words, recovering the order of society lies partly in the recovery of *li* between family members. See the *Mozi xiangu* (Sun 2001: 78).
[157] For example, the *Mozi* claims that the decoration of ritual and music would only leading people to indulging (Sun 2001: 291).

power to issue decrees and therefore is actually the ultimate authority and lawmaker of the system. Such a view of the "Shang Tong" is akin to that of the legalists, which is discussed in the concluding part.

Third, the political systems are accordingly different. Maintaining a political system of the "Shang Tong" depends upon a rigid system, in which every rank of governmental officials, by issuing decrees to the inferiors, demands absolute conformation from their people. Such a hierarchy, therefore, is used to unite all of the people to follow decrees from *tianzi*. The system of the "Li Yun" does not rely upon such a rigid kind but requires everyone from different ranks to play his due role in accordance with *li*.[158] This view proposes that a society should be united through everyone's participation - from *tianzi* to governmental officials and to common people - in the process of political decision, rather than merely depending upon decrees from the superiors to the inferiors. These different understandings of political system between the "Li Yun" and "Shang Tong" reflect the last and the fundamental difference: how to treat *qing* (emotion 情) for an individual.

The term *qing* is polysemic, which can refer to "emotion" or in some early Chinese literature means "genuine" or "fact."[159] Referring *qing* to the fact that the ruled appear,[160] the "Shang Tong" uses it to connote "fact" rather than "emotion." Neglecting the aspect of emotion, the "Shang Tong" focuses more on regulating

[158] This point can be inferred from the claim that *li* is used by a sage to regulate people's emotions, cultivate one's roles (such as father, son, brother, official, and so on). See Sun (1989: 606-607).
[159] For discussions, see Graham (1986: 7-66), Bruya (2001:151-176). Graham points out that *qing* in Pre-Han literature "never means passions," but connotes "genuineness" or "essence." Bruya admits that Graham is correct that *qing* can and often means "genuine" and "fact," but at the same time argues that the term *qing* is polysemic and includes a sense of "emotions" in early thought.
[160] For example, "the fact what the below appear" (下之情) (Sun 2001: 90).

people's conduct by decrees instead of regulating emotional activities through self-cultivation. By contrast, the "Li Yun" uses *qing* to refer to emotions such as joy, anger, sadness, fear, love, disliking, and desire.[161] It says:

> 飲食男女, 人之大欲存焉; 死亡貧苦, 人之大惡存焉。故欲惡者，心之大端也。人藏其心，不可測度也; 美惡皆在其心，不見其色也，欲一以窮之，舍禮何以哉？
>
> The great desires of person lie in drinking, foods, (sexual relationships between) man and woman; the great dislikes lie in death, exile, poverty, and suffering. So desires and dislikes are great inclinations in heart-minds, and man hides them in his heart-minds, so they cannot be fathomed or measured (by others). With the good and bad (of emotions to things) being hidden in heart-mind, but not manifested outside, if one wants to interrogate (others' desires or dislikes), without *li* how it can be achieved?[162]

The "Li Yun" claims that *qing*, which is generally divided into two kinds, say, like and dislike, is inevitably involved in daily life. Because the heart-mind, from which every emotion is directly issued, cannot be fathomed or measured, the external expressions or conduct cannot truly reflect the internal genuine emotions. Therefore, in regulating the conduct, if one ignores the genuine emotions, from which every conduct arises, but relies upon external factors such as decrees or orders, the conduct cannot be fundamentally transformed. We should regulate the conduct in an essential way: regulating the heart-mind. Only when the heart-mind has been regulated, can appropriate emotions be issued and accordingly external conduct be behaved in a consistent way. The instrument to cultivate the heart-mind is *li*. The "Li Yun" in

[161] That is, "what can be considered as people's emotions? (They are) Joy, anger, sadness, fear, love, disliking, and desire (何谓人情? 喜、怒、哀、懼、愛、惡、欲) (Sun 1989: 606).
[162] Sun (1989: 607).

another place makes such a point clear that *li*, which is used to regulate the personal emotions, plays a central role in achieving a harmonious society.[163]

For the unity of society, as opposed to the "Shang Tong," which suggests the decree to regulate individual conduct, the "Li Yun" proposes to regulate the heart-mind. Such an approach is echoed in the "Da Xue" (Great Learning 大學) chapter of the *Liji*. The "Da Xue" argues that the oneness of society lies in the self-cultivation by all people from the *tianzi* to common people, which boils down to "regulating heart-mind" (正心).[164] This contrasts sharply with the opinion in the *Mozi*. Interestingly, the *Mozi* also has a chapter titled the "Xiu Shen" ("On self-cultivation" 修身). Yet, it focuses on external conduct rather than regulating heart-mind.[165] The cultivation of the heart-mind is completely neglected in such a chapter.

The *Xunzi* also considers self-cultivation central in uniting society and suggests that the self-cultivation lies simply in learning and practicing *li*. A state in which everyone follows *li* and plays his due role in society is viewed as of "harmonized into oneness" (和一), and such a society is called *zhi-ping* (extreme tranquility 至平).[166] The *zhi-ping* society reminds us of the *xiao-kang* (small prosperity 小康) in the "Li Yun." Both *zhi-ping* and *xiao-kang* highlight *li* in uniting the divisions of society, such as the public and the private, as a harmonious one.[167]

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[163] The text maintains that *li* is used for a society to achieve a state of "promote truthfulness and maintain harmony, show consideration and complaisant courtesy, put away quarrelling and plundering" (講信修睦, 尚辭讓, 去爭奪) (Sun 1989: 607).
[164] *Sishu zhangju jizhu* 四書章句集註 (Zhu Xi 朱熹 1983: 3).
[165] It maintains that although learning is important, for a gentleman, conduct is more fundamental (Sun 2001: 7-11).
[166] Wang (1988: 70-71).
[167] Wang (1988: 70-71), Sun (1989: 583).

However, for the "Li Yun," neither *zhi-ping* nor *xiao-kang* can be considered ideal, because either *zhi-ping* or *xiao-kang* society still relies upon external factors, that is, *li*, in regulating people's conduct. By contrast, *da-tong* is an ideal society in which distinctions between the public and the private would never exist; people live harmoniously with one another, their conduct is spontaneously carried out and in accordance with *li*. In the *da-tong* society, *li* would never have been viewed as external things enforced on people but rather as internal principles that people follow spontaneously.

Then, a small but not unimportant question is why the ideal society is called *da-tong*. I suppose that this term is used in comparison with *xiao-kang* and the political theory of *tong* in the "Shang Tong." *Xiao-kang* is a society that depends upon *li* enforced on people. *Kang* means "prosperous," and hence *xiao-kang* implies that a society that depends upon *li* becomes prosperous. Yet, in comparison with *da* (great) of *da-tong,* which implies a perfect society, *xiao* (small) of *xiao-kang* does suggest a society is far from perfect because it still relies upon external regulations.

Both the "Li Yun" and the "Shang Tong" claim their ideal society as *tong*. In terms of a process of "difference to one," both theories can be viewed as *tong*, because they are concerned with how to unite a society in disorders and divisions into oneness. Yet, the political system in the "Shang Tong" is so rigid that people are constrained and forced to follow decrees from the ruler. *Tong* is the very method to sustain the system by eliminating different opinions to arrive at a single opinion. Presumably, for the authors of the "Li Yun," such a type of *tong* were neither desirable,

for it excludes diversities and differences, nor sustainable in practice, for without people's engagements in political decisions, it cannot be guaranteed that orders from the ruler are always reasonable, but more likely to lead to failures or even disasters for the whole society. In sharp contrast, a society of *da-tong* would never depend upon ruling out different opinions or upon absolute conformation from people. Rather, it is a society in which people live spontaneously and harmoniously with others. Therefore, perhaps, combining *da* with *tong* to coin a new term, *da-tong*, the authors of the "Li Yun" deliberately distinguished their understanding of *tong* from that in the "Shang Tong" chapter of the *Mozi*.

4. Concluding Remarks

The "Li Yun" and the "Shang Tong" present two distinct understandings on how a society is united from differences. According to the "Li Yun," uniting society should not sacrifice differences but center on personal self-cultivation; *li*, which is used for self-cultivation, would eventually lead people to living harmoniously with one another. The "Shang Tong" suggests that a society can only be united by excluding differences, and accordingly designs a political system that relies upon absolute conformation from the people to the ruler.

The two understandings of *tong* influenced greatly the early Chinese political agenda, particularly, in the rein of the Qin dynasty. After his unification of the "all under of heaven" (天下), the First Emperor 始皇 (259 B.C. - 210 B.C.) still faced challenges and disagreements from people. In order to ruling out differences and

recover oneness, his Chancellor Li Si 李斯 (284 B.C. - 208 B.C.), a legalist, argued that today all under the heaven is unified, and laws and decrees should come from one source, namely, the First Emperor, but the private learning incites people to use their own opinions to debate, to disagree with, and even to slander the laws and decrees from the Emperor. In order to recover the state of oneness from such divisions, Li Si suggested that all private learnings should be banned, and if one wants to learn laws and decrees, he should turn to legal officials.[168] Notably, Li Si's standpoint is akin to that in the "Shang Tong": only when different opinions are removed and people absolutely obey the laws and decrees from the ruler, can the state of oneness of society be maintained.[169]

Li Si's philosophy was adopted by the Emperor, and had dominated political discourse over the reign of Qin. It was considered as a main factor that lead to the Qin's final collapse. Yet, the debate between the two philosophies continued in the Han dynasty. Many of early Han thinkers reflected upon the Qin's demise. Jia Yi 賈誼 (200 B.C. - 168 B.C.), for example, pointed out that it is the Qin ruled by numerous laws or decrees rather than by benevolence and rightness that caused its ultimate failure.[170] In order to avoid the Qin's tragedy, he suggested that *li* is the instrument to regulate people's conduct, whereby people can be united and the society becomes stable.[171] Evidently, Jia Yi followed the philosophy of the "Li Yun."

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[168] *The Grand Scribe's Records* Vol I (Nienhauser et 1994: 147-148).
[169] However, I do not mean that Li Si's way of eliminating different opinions is the same as that of the *Mozi*. The Mohists are more concerned with getting everyone to agree on a standard for evaluating claims.
[170] *Xinshujiaozhu* 新書校注 (Yan Zhenyi 閻振益 and Zhong Xia 鐘夏 2000: 16).
[171] Yan and Zhong (2000: 214, 380, 378).

The debate about whether a rule should emphasize laws and punishments or benevolence and *li* further culminated in the reign of Emperor Zhao 昭帝 (94 B.C. - 74.B.C.) of the Han. In a conference (81 B.C.) which was held to debate the national policy, officials on the one side argued for the priority of laws and punishments to rule the society, while literary scholars on the other side contended that benevolence and *li* are more essential.[172] Such a famous debate is usually viewed as a representation of the divergence between Confucians and Legalists as to how to rule a society.[173] Yet, as this chapter has demonstrated, the divergence can be traced back to the different interpretations of *tong* between the "Li Yun" and the "Shang Tong." We may attribute a particular view, which is close to the "Shang Tong," to Mohist or Legalist, or a view, which is close to the "Li Yun," to Confucian or others. Nevertheless, the two distinct understandings of uniting the society rooted in early political philosophy, competed with each another, and at the same time, shaped the political agenda.

[172] This debate can be found in *Yantielun xiaozhu* 鹽鐵論校注 (Wang Liqi 王利器 1992: 565-566, 68).
[173] For example, Lao Gan 勞幹 holds such a view (Lao 2006: 231-232).

CHAPTER FOUR: A Daoist View of *Xuan-tong* (玄同) in Early China

1. Introduction

The notion of *tong* 同 in the early texts is used in personal, social, and cosmic levels. For instance, in the "Wu Xing" of the Guodian bamboo slips, it describes a relation between the heart-mind and body, which further involves how a person's conduct is related to the heart-mind. *Tong* is also used in the "Li Yun" of the *Liji* and the *Mozi*'s "Shang Tong" to conceive how an ideal society is united. In addition, Daoist texts use it in a distinct manner that combines *tong* with *xuan* 玄 to coin a new term, *xuan-tong* 玄同. The earliest appearance of *xuan-tong* is in the *Laozi* chapter 56. It describes an ideal state in which one is not distinct from the world but also independent of influences from external things such as gains or losses, benefits or harms, and so on.[174] Notwithstanding one appearance in the *Laozi*, *xuan-tong* is a central concept for the *Laozi* philosophy in particular and for the Daoist philosophy in general.[175]

As *xuan-tong* appears only once in the *Laozi* and there is not enough context to identify its meaning, it is open to interpretation for commentators and thinkers.

[174] Chen Guying 陳鼓應 maintains that in the *Laozi* there are few places that talk of "ideal state" (境界), but if any, the concept of *xuan-tong* can be counted. He suggests that *xuan-tong* is a state in which one eliminates biases, misunderstandings and blindness, transcends the narrowness of relationships such as between father and son, and treats everything of the world impartially (Chen 2006: 279).
[175] Chan Wing-Tsit also makes this point (Chan 1963:199).

Different interpretations can be identified in early *Laozi* commentaries such as the *Heshang Gong Commentary* 河上公注 and the *Laozi Zhigui* 老子指歸. In addition, other Daoist sources such as the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, the *Huannaizi* 淮南子, and the *Wenzi* 文子, also discuss *xuan-tong*, and particularly, the *Wenzi* understands it in relation to an ideal state that is a result of a sophisticated process of self-cultivation.[176] These interpretations have departed from the *Laozi* and its commentaries, i.e., the *Heshang Gong Commentary* and *Laozi Zhigui*. The interpretation of *xuan-tong* changed over time, but modern commentators assume a homogeneous use in different texts and fail to offer a thorough account of this term.[177]

This chapter first investigates different interpretations of *xuan-tong* in the *Laozi* and its early commentaries, and challenges the assumption of its homogeneous use. Then, it focuses on how the *Huainanzi* and the *Wenzi* expanded and developed the concept of *xuan-tong*.[178] In the end, it analyzes the *Wenzi*'s understanding of

[176] *Xuan-tong* appears once in the *Zhuangzi*, two times in the *Huangnaizi*, four times in the *Wenzi*. See Guo (1961: 353), He Ning 何寧 (1998: 73, 1120), Wang (2000: 19, 163, 338, 385).

[177] For example, Chen Guying comments on the *xuantong* in the "Quqie" (胠篋) of the *Zhuangzi*, suggesting that this term is similar to that in the *Laozi* (Chen 1983: 216-261). So is the case in the Wang Liqi's *Wenzi suyi*. Wang neglects the variations of the understandings of *xuantong* in different texts and uses those different texts to account for the *xuantong* of the *Wenzi*.

[178] The *Wenzi* was viewed as a forgery for a long time. Thanks to the excavation of the Dingzhou 定州 bamboo slips, in which some fragmentary of the *Wenzi* was found, it has been believed to form at least in the early Han. See Wang (2000: 1-13), Ding (1999: 3-24). Yet, the relation between the Dingzhou *Wenzi* and the received *Wenzi* is complicated. The Dingzhou *Wenzi* contains circa 2.790 legible graphs, which is a mere 7% of the Received *wenzi*' s 39.674 graphs, and some 30.671 graphs (almost four fifths of the Received *Wenzi*) occur in both the received *Wenzi* and the *Huainanzi*. A verifiable account is that the received *Wenzi*'s is mainly copied from the *Huainanzi* (including the texts this chapter will discuss) and of course from other texts, such as the *Zhuangzi* and the *Laozi*. This means that the ancient *Wenzi* was formed in the early Han, but the received text is different from the ancient edition. Through a process of revising, coping, and synthesizing the *Huainanzi*, the *Laozi*, the *Zhuangzi*, and other sources, the received *Wenzi* was probably formed during the Wei-Jin dynasties. The thorough and persuasive studies on the realtions between the received *Wenzi*, the Dingzhou *Wenzi*, and the *Huainanzi*, and on the date and the editor of the received *Wenzi* can be found in a series of papers by Paul Van Els. See Van Els (2006; 2009: 909–41; 2005: 211-34; 2015: 325-40). Other related studies on the *Wenzi* can be found in Guo (2016: 27-32), Qiao (2014: 12-21), Chen (1997), Ho (1992: 131-149; 2003: 503-529; 2004).

xuan-tong in contrast with the "Qiwulun" ("Discussions on making all things equal" 齊物論) chapter of the *Zhuangzi*.

2. *Xuan-tong* in the *Laozi* and early commentaries

Let us begin by discussing renditions and understandings of *xuan-tong*. There is hardly an agreement on the translation of this term. For example, it is translated in English as "mysterious equality," "mystic unity," "absolute equality," "great harmony," "profound identification," and so on.[179] Chinese commentators also interpret this term differently. Heshang Gong 河上公 explains it as "having the same Dao as heaven,"[180] while Chen Guying 陳鼓應 reads as "a state of mystery and equality."[181] Both English translators and Chinese commentators face the same difficulty in understanding this term, not least because the meanings of the two words, *xuan* 玄 and *tong* 同 - which make up this term - are themselves hard to decipher. For example, *xuan* have different senses such as dark, mystic, profound, among others. *Tong*, too, can be explained differently as unity, equality, sameness, and so on. Therefore, we must place *xuan-tong* in particular contexts to pinpoint what it connotes. Let us start from the assumed earliest text that *xuan-tong* appears, the *Laozi* chapter 56. It reads:

> He who knows does not speak, he who speaks does not know. Close the *orifices*, shut the doors, blunt the sharpness, *disentangle the entanglements*, *harmonize* the lights, *tong* the dusts. This is called *xuan-tong*. Therefore it is impossible either to be intimate and close or to be distant and indifferent to him. It is impossible either to benefit him or to harm him. It is impossible either to honor him or to disgrace him. For this reason he is honored by the world.[182]

[179] Chan (1963: 200).
[180] Wang (1993: 217).
[181] Chen (2006: 278).
[182] I borrow Chan Wing-Tsit's translation (Chan 1963: 199), but use italics where I make changes.

Chapter 56 can be divided into two parts. The first part discusses how *xuan-tong* is achieved. The second part is a description of the *xuan-tong* state in which one is free from influences of the external world.

The first part consists of six phrases, namely, "close the orifice, shut the door, blunt the sharpness, disentangle the entanglement, harmonize (or soften) the light, *tong* the dust" (塞其兑, 閉其門, 挫其銳, 解其分, 和其光, 同其塵). Among the six phrases, each has the same syntactic structure: each has three words, the first word is a verb, the third an object, and the middle a pronoun, *qi* 其. Most of the translations and commentaries do not make a consistent account of the reference of this pronoun. For example, some read *qi* in the second phrase as desires and explain this phrase as "shut the door of desires," or read the same phrase as "shut the door of yours" by referring *qi* to the person who carries out conduct. Due to the neglect of the function of *qi*, the syntactic structures of other phrases are also understood differently. For example, the fourth phrase has been translated as "disentangle the entanglement" without indicating the subject of the entanglements.[183]

Given its consistent use as pronoun in the middle of every phrase, *qi* in the six phrases should refer to the same thing. I argue that *qi* in the six phrases refers to the person who makes a series of acts, namely, "close," "shut," "blunt," "disentangle," "harmonize," and "tong." There are two reasons. First, if *qi* does not refer to the person but to another thing or other things, "X," such as desires, the six phrases cannot be accounted for in a consistent way. For example, if *qi* refers to desires, the

[183] So is the case in most of the translations and commentaries. See Chen (2006: 278), Chan (1963: 199), LaFargue (1992: 66).

second phrase can be understood as "shut the door of the desires," but if "desires" is put in other phrases, such as the fifth phrase, then that "harmonize the light" is understood as "harmonize the light of desires" makes no sense to me.[184] Second, following the six phrases, the second part of chapter 56 describes the state of *xuan-tong* in which one has successfully carried out those acts. More specifically, the first part of chapter 56 suggests a series of acts for a person to achieve *xuan-tong*, and the second part describes the *xuan-tong* as a state that is a result from those acts. Therefore, *qi* in the six phrases of the first part can only be used to refer to the person who carries out these acts. The six phrases are literally interpreted as follows, "[1] close your orifice, [2] shut your door, [3] blunt your sharpness, [4] disentangle your entanglements, [5] harmonize your light, [6] *tong* your dust."

In light of the above interpretation, the six phrases propose a series of particular acts for one to achieve the state of *xuan-tong.* There are three aspects regarding these acts. First, phrase 1, 2, and 4 propose one should prevent things from influencing the tranquility of the heart-mind by "closing your orifice, shutting your door, and disentangle your entanglement." In other words, one should sever contacts with and detach involvements in the external things, thereby blocking them from influencing the heart-mind.[185] In doing so, desires will not arise, nor will emotions be moved. One would be in spiritual quietude.

[184] Yoav Ariel and Gil Raz analyze the graph *qi* in the *Laozi* chapter 1 and suggest that it in chapter 56 may refer to the entity named "mysterious entity" (*xuan-tong*), but they are meanwhile cautious in saying that "this referent seems to defy our expectations" (Ariel and Raz 2010: 411).

[185] Wang Bi 王弼 and Chen Guying also suggest that orifices and doors are related to external things which give rise to desires. See Lou (2008: 139), Chen (2006: 265).

Second, phrase 3 suggests to "blunt one's sharpness" and phrase 5 proposes to "harmonize or soften one's light." The two phrases present two aspects of how one lives with others. First, because "sharpness" connotes the characteristics that would impinge upon others, "blunting one's sharpness" refers to acts that are intended to avoid such impingement. Second, "light" connotes the characteristics that externally distinguish oneself from others. Hence, "harmonize one's light" means the avoidance of such external distinction. The two aspects are also shown in Chapter 58, which claims that "the sage is as pointed as a square but does not pierce. He is as acute as a knife but does not cut. He is as straight as an unbent line but does not extend. He is as bright as light but does not dazzle."[186] A sage has characteristics such as of "being pointed," "being acute," "being straight," and "being bright." Yet, he not only cooperates with others harmlessly, which can be reflected in proper acts, such as "not pierce" and "not cut," but also avoids external distinction from others in acts such as "not extend" and "not dazzle." Therefore, the two phrases suggest that through those acts, one can achieve a state without external distinction from others, i.e., a state of blurredness, which I will show in the following account of phrase 6.

Third, phrase 6, "*tong* your dust," proposes one to pursue "*tong*." The *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字 interprets "dust" (塵) as "flying dirt" (揚土).[187] When dust flies in the air, it can produce a blurry state. Therefore, "*tong* your dust" means a state of blurredness in which one lives with others: one cooperates with others harmlessly, and the external distinction between a person and the world from the outside

[186] Chan (1963: 203).
[187] Duan (1981:472).

perspective is in blurredness, in other words, disappears. This aspect echoes the state that the phrase 3 and 5 connote. "Dust" also represents a negative sense, as opposed to cleanness.[188] Then, "*tong* your dust" suggests one to accept and even be in oneness with things that are usually considered negative or lowly, such as failure and humiliation, and thereby he can be free from external things and achieve a state of spiritual quietude. This aspect, obviously, mirrors the state that the phrase 1, 2, and 4 describe.

According to the three aspects, the above acts - that the six phrases suggest - and the results to which those acts lead can be summarized as follows:

Phrase	**Acts**	**Results**
Phrase 1 Phrase 2 Phrase 4	close your orifice shut your door disentangle your entanglement	I. One would be free from external things and in spiritual quietude.
Phrase 3 Phrase 5	blunt your sharpness harmonize your light	II. One cooperates with others harmlessly, and the external distinction between a person and the world from outside perspective disappears
Phrase 6	*tong* your dust	I and II

As a result, the outside cannot comprehend one only from his physical and psychological appearance.[189] Additionally, because one is in spiritual quietude, he is free from external influences such as "intimate" and "distant," "benefit" and "harm," and "honor" and "disgrace." Such a state is exactly in accordance with the description that the second part of chapter 56 provides.

[188] For example, "塵" in the phrase "塵垢不污" refers to this sense. See Wang (2000: 140).
[189] This point is akin to that described in chapter 15, which says, "Of old those who were the best rulers were subtly mysterious and profoundly penetrating. Too deep to comprehend" (Chan 1963: 126).

Then, let us return to the starting point: how to account for the term *xuan-tong*. Given that the phrase "this is called *xuan-tong*" (是謂玄同) follows the six phrases that have been discussed, *xuan-tong* is used to describe a state in which one is in spiritual quietude, his appearance is not distinct from others, and he neither sees others clearly nor makes too many distinctions. Such a state actually reflects the oneness that his spirit, conduct, and appearance are with the world, which can be also considered as a type of *tong*. Then, why is this state not termed as *tong* but called as *xuan-tong*? Probably, *xuan* is used to modify *tong* to emphasize that such a state of *tong* is associated with *xuan*. *Xuan* in the *Laozi* is a fundamental concept from which almost every principle originates, as the *Laozi* chapter 1 states. Therefore, the term, *xuan-tong*, which consists of the two graphs *xuan* and *tong*, contains two senses. First, it refers to a state of *tong*: the oneness of one's spirit, conduct, and appearance with the world. Second, such a state of *tong* is in accordance with *xuan*, a fundamental concept of the *Laozi*.

The above are my understandings of *xuan-tong*. Yet, I do not intend to pursue the *xuan-tong*'s proto-meaning. Given the nature of the insufficient context, recovering the proto-meaning is impossible. In fact, among the Han commentators there are already divergent understandings of the *xuan-tong* of the *Laozi*. For instance, one explained *xuan-tong* as a state that is "in oneness with Dao with heaven" (與天同道) by reading *xuan* as heaven 天.[190] Another commentator explained it as a state that

[190] Wang (1993: 217). The Han commentator Gao You 高誘 followed this by reading *xuan* as heaven (He 1998: 73).

is “in oneness with the external world without distinctions.”[191] Evidently, regarding the interpretation of the *Laozi*’s *xuan-tong*, there was not an agreement among commentators as early as in the Han.

In addition to the *Laozi* which refers to *xuan-tong* particularly as an ideal individual state, other early texts use *xuan-tong* broadly to signify a state without distinctions. The “Quqie” (“Rifling Trunks” 胠篋) chapter of the *Zhuangzi* uses *xuan-tong* in such a broad sense, saying:

> “Put a stop to the ways of Zeng and Shi; gag the mouths of Yang and Mo; wipe out and reject benevolence and righteousness; and for the first time, the Virtue of the world will reach the state of *xuan-tong*” (削曾、史之行，鉗楊、墨之口，攘棄仁義，而天下之德始玄同矣).[192]

Zeng refers to Zeng Shen 曾參, who is famous for his filial conduct, and Shi refers to Shi Yu 史魚, who is well-known for his integrity. Yang and Mo refer to the followers of Yang Zhu 楊朱 and Mo Di 墨翟, respectively. Yang Zhu proposed the philosophy of “every conduct only done for self” (為我), and Mo Di advocated the opposing philosophy, “universal love” (兼愛). The phrases, “the Ways of Zeng and Shi,” “the mouths of Yang and Mo,” and “benevolence and righteousness,” involve distinctions or debates that result from distinctions. Any conduct or philosophies that would lead to distinctions, therefore, should be abandoned. In other words, one should pursue the blurry and lowly rather than the virtuous and clear-headed. In doing so, the Virtue of the world would be in a state of *xuan-tong*.[193] In addition, the “Shuoshan Xun” (“A

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[191] This interpretation can be found in this phrase “mixing with the world and *xuan-tong* with the customs” (與世混沌, 與俗玄同) in the *Laozi zhigui* 老子指歸 (Yan Zun 嚴遵 1994: 59).

[192] Watson (2013: 71).

[193] Far more than proposing a state without distinctions for virtues, the “Quqie” chapter proposes a world completely without distinction. That is, everything that leads one to being distinct from others, such as virtues, conducts, abilities, measurements tools, laws, treasures, and so on, should be abandoned, thereby leading the world completely without distinctions. See Guo (1961: 353).

mountain of persuasions" 說山訓) chapter of the *Huainanzi*, in discussion of the relation between beauty and ugliness, also uses *xuan-tong* to describe a state in which one treats everything without distinctions.[194] *Xuan-tong* in these two texts refers to a state in which the ten thousand things are treated from outside perspective without distinctions.

In contrast with the above texts, the "Yuandao Xun" ("Originating in the Dao" 原道訓) chapter of the *Huainanzi* and the *Wenzi* understand *xuan-tong* in a more sophisticated manner. Based on the understanding of *xuan-tong*, they use this term with *wanwu* 萬物 to form a phrase, that is, *wanwu xuan-tong* ("the ten thousand things in mysterious one" 萬物玄同) - a new concept in relation to how one views and lives the world when he is in the ideal state.

3. *Wanwu xuan-tong* from the *Huainanzi* to the *Wenzi*

The term *wanwu xuan-tong* appears in the *Huainanzi* and *Wenzi*. We can identify this term in three chapters: the "Yuandao Xun" chapter of the *Huainanzi*, and the "Jiu Shou" ("the nine preservations" 九守) and "Dao Yuan" ("the origin of the Way" 道原) of the *Wenzi*. There are clear connections between the three chapters concerning *wanwu xuan-tong*, for their descriptions of the ideal spiritual state in relation to *wanwu-xuantong* are almost the same. The description in the "Yuandao Xun" of the *Huainanzi* is as follows, "there is neither joy nor anger; there is neither happiness nor bitterness; the ten thousand things are in mysterious oneness; there is neither wrong

[194] "求美則不得美，不求美則美矣；求醜則不得醜，求不醜則有醜矣；不求美又不求醜，則無美無醜矣。是謂玄同." See He (1998: 1120).

nor right" (無所喜而無所怒, 無所樂而無所苦, 萬物玄同也, 無非無是). The "Jiu Shou" of the *Wenzi* provides the same phrases, that is, "無所喜, 無所怒, 無所樂, 無所苦, 萬物玄同, 無非無是," with only expurgating function words "而" and "也" from that of the "Yuandao Xun". The "Dao Yuan" follows "Jiu Shou" with a minor revision. The phrases are "無所樂, 無所苦, 無所喜, 無所怒, 萬物玄同, 無非無是." We can note that the "Dao Yuan" places the phrase "there is neither happiness nor bitterness" (無所樂, 無所苦) in front of the phrase "there is neither joy nor anger" (無所喜, 無所怒). Therefore, regarding *wanwu xuan-tong*, there is a process of editing texts from the "Yuandao Xun," then the "Jiu Shou," and eventually the "Dao Yuan."

In the following, my approach relies upon Paul Van Els' studies of the *Wenzi*. He argues that the received *Wenzi* primarily borrowed from the *Huainanzi*.[195] The following discussion echoes his argument by presenting how the "Jiu Shou" of the *Wenzi* borrowed from the "Yuandao Xun" of the *Huainanzi* to form a concise discourse, which is further developed by the other chapter of the *Wenzi*, i.e., the "Dao Yuan." First, let us turn to the "Yuandao Xun" of the *Huainanzi*. It reads:

> The essentials of the world do not lie in the other, but instead lie in the *self* (我); do not lie in other people but instead lie in your own person. When you fully realize it [Dao] in your own person, then *the ten thousand things are possessed in you* (萬物備矣). When you thoroughly penetrate the teachings of the Techniques of the Mind, then you will be able to put lusts and desires, likes and dislikes, outside yourself. Therefore, there is nothing to rejoice in and nothing to be angry about, nothing to be happy about and nothing to feel bitter about. *The ten thousand things are in mysterious one* (萬物玄同). There is neither wrong nor right; transform and nourish a mysterious resplendence and,

[195] For Van Els' studies, see footnote 181. Because the received *Wenzi*, which is the focus of this discussion, is quite different from the Dingzhou *Wenzi*, for convenience, I use "the *Wenzi*" to refer to the received text.

> while alive, seem to be dead. The world is my possession, but I am also the possession of the world. So how could there even be the slightest gap between me and the world.[196]

Wanwu xuan-tong indicates an ideal relation between one who achieves the ideal spiritual state and the world. In such a relation, the person and the ten thousand diverse things - while remaining ten thousand things and thus diverse - are mutually interfusing without joy or anger, which is the opposite of keeping closed off or aloof from things: the world is my possession and I am also the possession of the world.

Achieving the spiritual state of *wanwu xuan-tong* lies in the self, which boils down to the teachings of the "Techniques of the Mind" (*xinshu* 心術).[197]The term *xinshu* is discussed in the *Guanzi*, which argues that *xinshu* involves a process of striping away desires and preference from consciousness.[198] The *Huainanzi* provides the same use of *xinshu* as well. The above paragraph and other chapters understand it as a process of removing desires and preference from the self to achieve a state of emotion without distinctions.[199]

Then, how is *xinshu* carried out to achieve the indistinguishable emotion state? The "Yuandao Xun" argues that one should focus on the internal (i.e., the self) rather than the external (i.e., things that are outside the self), which eventually leads to "non-happiness" (無樂), a state that can be also viewed as "great-happiness" (至樂).[200] "Non-happiness" implies that emotions are arising but not distinguished and

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[196] I adopts John S. Major et.'s translation, *The Huainanzi* (Major et. 2010: 71), but use italics with Chinese graphs, wherever revisions is made.

[197] See the sentences "故達於心術之論者,即嗜欲好憎外矣, 是故無所喜, 無所怒, 無所樂, 無所苦, 萬物玄同," which will be discussed soon.

[198] For detailed analysis, see Roth (1999: 99-123).

[199] He (1998: 548-549, 996).

[200] The whole argument can be inferred from such sentences as "能至於無樂者, 則無不樂; 無不樂, 則至極樂矣; 不以內樂外, 而以外樂內" (He 1998: 68-70).

not pursued, and hence "great-happiness" is not used in a sense as opposed to a specific emotion, say, unhappiness, but represents an ideal state for the emotion that is without distinctions.

Focusing on the internal suggests that *xinshu* should be performed through a process of self-cultivation. The "Yuandao Xun" suggests that self-cultivation involves both physical cultivation (such as the cultivation of *qi* and body) and spiritual cultivation (i.e., nourishing spirit), and that through nourishing spirit, harmonizing *qi*, extending the body, and concurrently "drifting with Dao" (與道浮沉), one can respond appropriately to the transformations and changes in the world.[201]

If one can drift with Dao and respond appropriately to those transformations and changes, he would be free from external influences, and thereby achieve the state in which emotions are indistinguishable. This further leads one to reaching the ideal spiritual state: he is in a state of oneness with the world. As to how the state of oneness with the world is achieved, the "Yuandao Xun" proposes:

> (What I call possessing the entire world) It is simply realizing it (Dao) yourself. Once I am able to realize it, the entire world will also be able to realize me. When the entire world and I realize each other, we will always possess each other. And so how could there be any gap between us to be filled in? What I call "to realize it yourself" (自得) means to fulfill your own person. To fulfill your own person is to become "*in one with Dao*" (與道為一).[202]

Possessing the entire world - for example, for a ruler - again, lies in the internal: fulfilling one's own person, mutually interfusing the ten thousand things without joy or anger, whereby he eventually achieves in a state of oneness with Dao.

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[201] That is, "聖人將養其神, 和弱其氣, 平夷其形, 而與道沈浮俯仰….如是, 則萬物之化無不遇, 而百事之變無不應." See He (1998: 90).

[202] He (1998: 72).

In addition, the "Yuandao Xun" advances two states in relation to Dao. The first state is "close to Dao" (幾於道). Those who emphasizes the self and deemphasizes the external world can be considered in this state.[203] The second is the "realization of Dao" (得道) or "in oneness with Dao" (與道為一), in which one is in a state of oneness with the world. He is interfusing with the ten thousand things without anger or joy, free from the changes and transformations of the world, and consequently all acts are carried out in a timely and proper manner.[204]

Therefore, the two stages for the ideal state of *wanwu xuan-tong* can be described as follows. First, in order to achieve *wanwu xuan-tong*, a person must focus on the self, practicing *xinshu*, such as nourishing spirit, harmonizing *qi*, extending the body. Second, when *xinshu* is mastered and thoroughly penetrated, one is interfusing with the ten thousand things without a particular emotion, and he is independent of influences from the world. Such a state is considered as *wanwu xuan-tong*.

The "Jiu Shou" of the *Wenzi* follows the "Yuandao Xun" chapter's understanding and makes its argument more concise. It reads:

> [1] 聖人與陰俱閉, 與陽俱開,
> [2] 能至於無樂也, 即無不樂也, 無不樂, 即至樂極矣.
> [3] 是以內樂外, 不以外樂內,
> [4] 故有自樂也,
> [5] 即志遺乎天下, 所以然者, 因天下而為天下也.[205] 不在於彼而在於我, 不在於人而在於身, 身得則萬物備矣. 故達於心術之論者,即嗜欲好憎外矣, 是故無所喜, 無所怒, 無所樂, 無所苦, 萬物玄同, 無非無是.…

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203 "知大己而小天下，則幾於道矣" (He 1998: 66).

204 "故得道者志弱而事強，心虛而應當。所謂志弱而事強者，柔毳安靜，藏於不敢，行於不能，恬然無慮，動不失時，與萬物回周旋轉，不為先唱，感而應之" and "是故夫得道已定，而不待萬物之推移也。非以一時之變化而定吾所以自得也" (He 1998: 48, 80). The state of "penetrating Dao" (達於道), in which one follows the transforms and changes in the external world but is free from their influences (He 1998: 24-25), is akin to the state of "realization of Dao."

205 I accept Wang Liqi's view that revises "即有自志貴乎天下" to "即志遺乎天下"and "因而為天下只要" to "因天下而為天下也" (Wang 2000: 164).

[6] 聖人持養其神, 和弱其氣, 平夷其形, 而與道浮沉, 如此則萬物之化無不偶也, 百事之變無不應也.[206]

[1] The sagely man shuts with *yin*, opens with *yang*.

[2] (He) can achieve (a state of) non-enjoyment, then (there is) none that is non-enjoyment. (There is) none that is non-enjoyment, then the great enjoyment is in extremity.

[3] So it is because of the internal enjoyments that one can enjoy the external, but not because of the external enjoyments that one's internal can be in enjoyment.

[4] So there is self-enjoying,

[5] That is, willing to detach from the world. The reason in doing so lies in living the world as the world is. (The key for living the world) does not lie in other people but instead lies in your own person. When you fully realize it [Dao] in your own person, then the ten thousand things are possessed in you (萬物備矣). When you thoroughly penetrate the teachings of the Techniques of the Mind, you will be able to put lusts and desires, likes and dislikes, outside yourself. Therefore, there is neither joy nor anger; there is neither happiness nor bitterness; the ten thousand things are in mysterious oneness; there is neither wrong nor right.…

[6] The sage holds and nourishes his spirit, harmonizes and softens his *qi*, extends and smooths his body, and meanwhile floats or sinks with Dao. Hence, there is no transformation of the ten thousand things to which he cannot correspond; there is no change of hundred things with which he cannot resonate.

For the passage, in addition to part 4 "故有自樂也," which perhaps is added by the *Wenzi*'s editors to account for the former parts, all of the other parts are excerpted from the "Yuandao Xun."[207] In contrast with the long and dispersed discussion of the "Yuandao Xun," the discourse in the "Jiu Shou" chapter is short and concise. Yet, the arguments between the two are identical. The discussion of the "Jiu Shou" can be divided into three layers. The first layer includes parts 1, 2, 3, and 4, the second layer is part 5, the third is part 6. The second layer suggests that the ideal spiritual state can be achieved through *xinshu*. According to the first and third layers, the *xinshu* relates to methods such as cultivating spirit, *qi*, and body, and following *yinyang* by focusing

[206] Wang (2000: 162-163).

[207] The order of part 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6 is the same as that in the *Huainanzi*. See He (1998: 68, 69, 70, 73, 90).

on the self to accomplish a self-enjoying state. Focusing on self-cultivation, one is interfusing with the ten thousand things without anger or joy and eventually arrives at a state of spiritual oneness with the entire world, thereby responding to changes and transformations in an appropriate manner.

That the "Jiu Shou" is actually an expurgated version of the "Yuandao Xun" reflects a preliminary stage in forming the *Wenzi* text. The later stage would synthesize different sources to develop a new understanding of *wanwu xuan-tong*. This is shown in the passage of the "Dao Yuan." It reads:

> [1] 真人者,
> [2] 大己而小天下,
> [3] 貴治身而賤治人,
> [4] 不以物滑和, 不以欲亂情,
> [5] 隱其名姓, 有道則隱, 無道則見,
> [6] 為無為, 事無事, 知不知也,
> [7] 懷天道, 包天心,
> [8] 噓吸陰陽, 吐故納新,
> [9] 與陰俱閉, 與陽俱開,
> [10] 與剛柔卷舒, 與陰陽俯仰,
> [11] 與天同心, 與道同體;
> [12] 無所樂, 無所苦, 無所喜, 無所怒, 萬物玄同, 無非無是.[208]
> [1] For a genuine man,
> [2] (he) values the self but devalues the world;
> [3] appreciates the cultivation of the self but depreciates the cultivation of others;
> [4] (his) harmony is not disturbed by things; emotion is not disordered by desires;
> [5] hides his name; if he has Dao, his name is hidden; if he does not have Dao, his name is revealed;[209]
> [6] acts non-action, engages non-engagement, knows non-knowledge;
> [7] possesses the Dao of heaven; embraces the heart-mind of heaven;
> [8] exhales and inhales (*qi*) of *yin* and *yang*; spits the old and takes in the new;

[208] Wang (2000: 18-19).

[209] For the phrase "有道則隱, 無道則見," it could be understood as "When the world had Dao, he is hidden; when the world does not have Dao, he is appearing." Given that the whole discussion emphasizes non-distinction and non-actions, it cannot make sense if the phrase is understood as "one appears, when the world does not have Dao." Furthermore, this interpretation is contradictory to the *Laozi*'s understanding of *xuan-tong* and the whole Daoist philosophy. I do not adopt this interpretation.

[9] shuts with *yin*; opens with *yang*;
[10] unfolds and folds with the hard and soft; moves upwards and downwards with *yin* and *yang*;
[11] in one heart-mind with heaven, in one with Dao;
[12] there is neither joy nor anger; there is neither happiness nor bitterness; the ten thousand things are in mysterious one; there is neither wrong nor right.

This text draws from three different types of sources: first, the "Yuandao Xun," including parts 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, and 12;[210] second, the *Laozi*, i.e., parts 5 and 6; third, other unknown sources, including parts 1, 7, 8, and 11, which were probably added by the *Wenzi* editors. The three types of sources indicate the synthesis nature of the "Dao Yuan."

Let us consider how the text synthesizes those sources. For the source from the "Yuandao Xun," parts 2, 3, and 4 indicate that by focusing on self-cultivation, one can be independent of external things and desires. Parts 9 and 10 show a state in which one interfuses with the ten thousand things and follows *yinyang*. Part 12 describes an ideal state in which one transcends from the distinctions in the world.

How can parts 2, 3, and 4 be connected with parts 9 and 10? The "Yuandao Xun" suggests a process of cultivating the spirit, *qi*, and body. Likewise, part 8 specifies a method of breathing *qi*, whereby one can be spiritually and physically in a state of oneness with *yinyang*. This passage also adds the *Laozi*'s thoughts, namely, parts 5 and 6, which proposes a series of acts, such as hiding name 無名, non-action 無為, non-engagement 無事, and non-knowledge 無知.[211] In doing so, one can not only retreat from the world but also avoid the external distinctions from others,

[210] Part 2, 4, 9, 10, and 12 correspond to Page 66, 68, 68, 11, and 73 of the *Huainanzi jishi*. Though there is no correspondence to part 3 "貴治身而賤治人", the sense is in fact the same as the phrase "不在於人而在於我身" of the *Huainanzi*.
[211] These ideas can be found in the *Laozi* chapter 41, 63, and 70.

thereby achieving a state of oneness with the world, in other words, *xuan-tong*, as the *Laozi* chapter 56 suggests.

Though there is a variation between words, parts 7 and 11 in fact express the same sense, that is, a state of oneness with heaven and Dao. It is worth noting that some Han commentators interpreted the *Laozi*'s *xuan-tong* as a state of "oneness with heaven" by explaining *xuan* as heaven.[212] Perhaps, editors of the "Dao Yuan" chapter were influenced by such an interpretation and hence used parts 7 and 11 to paraphrase the conept of *xuan-tong* of the *Laozi*. By inserting parts 7 and 11 into the "Dao Yuan," the editors implied that the state that the whole passage portrays is in fact a state of *xuan-tong*.

In addition, placing part 11 between parts 8, 9, and 10 and part 12 shows that when one is in a state of oneness with Dao, he not only treats the world undistinguishably but also is spiritually and physically in a state of oneness with the world. Though the "Yuandao Xun" of the *Huainanzi* suggests the state that part 12 describes is associated with Dao,[213] nevertheless, it is the "Dao Yuan" of the *Wenzi* by inserting part 11 into the passage that explicitly links "being in oneness with Dao" to such a state.

We have analyzed how the *Wenzi*'s editors, by combining the account of the "Yuandao Xun" of the *Huainanzi* with the *Laozi*'s thoughts and the Han commentators interpretation of *xuan-tong*, formed a sophisticated understanding of

[212] This interpretation can be found in the Heshang Gong's commentary (Wang 1993: 217). Explaining *xuan* as heaven also can be identified in Gao You's comment on *xuantong* (He 1998: 73).
[213] Given that in the "Yuandao Yun," the phrase "則與道為一矣" ("then it is in oneness with Dao") (He 1998: 74) and part 12 appear in the same discourse, although the former does not follow closely the latter, it probably suggests that the state that part 12 describes is associated with Dao.

the ideal state of *wanwu xuan-tong*. Achieving *wanwu xuan-tong* requires a series of acts, such as non-action and non-engagement,[214] to retreat from the world. Physical and spiritual cultivation, such as cultivating *qi* and body, is also required. In doing so, one can be spiritually and physically in a state of oneness with the world: he treats the world indistinguishably; his conduct, body, and spirit are completely in oneness with the world. A person in this state is in oneness with Dao.

Notably, such an ideal state of *wanwu xuan-tong* is also discussed in other places of the *Wenzi*. In one place, it says, "Possessing with the ten thousand things and there is neither front nor after, neither private nor public, in great *tong* with heaven and earth; that is which is called the ultimate virtue" (稟受萬物而無所先後，無私無公，與天地洪同，是謂至德).[215] Another place makes the same point, saying, "Between heaven and earth, there is one body of a person; inside the six directions, there is one form of a person….The sage from the near to the far takes the ten thousand (things) as one single sameness-and-difference" (天地之間，一人之身也，六合之內，一人之形也….聖人由近以知遠，以萬異為一同).[216] Both places indicate an ideal state in which one is interfusing with the ten thousand things, in oneness with the world, and treats the world undistinguishably.

We have discussed how the authors of the *Wenzi* developed the understandings of *xuan-tong* in the *Laozi* and *Huainanzi*. Then, are there any relations between the *Wenzi* and the *Zhuangzi* regarding the ideal state? Notably, between the *Wenzi* and the

[214] The reason that I take "non-action" and "non-engagement" as acts is based on the phrase "acts non-action, engages non-engagement."(為無為,事無事)
[215] Wang (2000: 37).
[216] Wang (2000: 397).

"Qiwulun" chapter of the *Zhuangzi* there is a similarity about the appearance of the person who achieves the ideal spiritual state: both texts describe the appearance as "the frame made to be like withered wood and the heart like dead ashes."[217] Yet, the "Qiwulun" does not term the ideal state as *xuan-tong*, which implies the "Qiwulun" and the *Wenzi* may hold different views regarding the ideal state. In the following, I will show the difference between the two texts from two related aspects: the way to achieve the ideal state and the relation between the self and the world when in such a state.

The "Qiwulun" basically questions any fixed distinctions in the world by raising a cognitive issue of the relation between "this" and "that." It says:

> Everything has its "that," everything has its "this". From the point of view of "that," you cannot see it; but through understanding, you can know it. So I say, "that" comes out of "this," and "this" depends on "that"—which is to say that "this" and "that" give birth to each other.[218]

"This" and "that" are mutually transforming and their boundary is fluid. There is no such definite "this" and "that." That is to say, every specific view can be transformed into its opposite:

> But where there is birth, there must be death; where there is death, there must be birth. Where there is acceptability, there must be unacceptability; where there is unacceptability, there must be acceptability. Where there is recognition of right, there must be recognition of wrong; where there is recognition of wrong, there must be recognition of right.[219]

A specific view on, such as birth, acceptability, and right, always involves its opposite, i.e., death, unacceptability, and wrong. Hence, always there are distinctions, but ever

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[217] Guo (1961: 43), Wang (2000: 23).
[218] Watson (2013: 10). In the following reference of the *Zhuangzi* text, I also consult Ziporyn (2009) and Graham (2001), but I adopt Watson's translation to keep consistency and make italics if any changes.
[219] Watson (2013: 10).

new and shifting distinctions. What the "Qiwulun" transcends is not distinctions, but fixed distinctions. According to such an understanding, regarding the relation between the self and the world nor is there definite demarcation. That the self is in contrast with the world, which would imply a fixed distinction, appears problematic. Therefore, any way that would lead to a fixed distinction between the self and the world should be avoided.

A way that the "Qiwulun" proposes is to "lose the self" (*sangwo* 喪我),[220] in contrast with the way that emphasizes the self and de-emphasizes the external things, as the *Wenzi* suggests. "Losing the self" means to get rid of the fixed boundary between the self and the word, which basically involves "the disuse of one's physical, perceptual, and intellectual faculties," and thereby the person becomes "a lone existence in the state of non-dependence that goes beyond the world of dualities."[221] Placing the emphasis on the self, the *Wenzi* concentrates on the cultivation of the spirit, *qi*, and body to arrive at the state of oneness with the world.

The different ways to the ideal state lead to the divergent views on the relation between the self and the world. For the *Wenzi*, through the cultivation of spirit, *qi*, and body, the self is interfusing with the ten thousand things to be eventually in oneness with the world. Yet, the "Qiwulun" is cautious to consider the ideal relation between the self and the world as oneness. First, the "Qiwulun," by suggesting to lose the self,

[220] Guo (1961: 45).

[221] Lo Yuet Keung provides a detailed account of how "lose the self" operates (Lo 1999: 161). In addition to the "Qiwulun" chapter, other parts of the *Zhuangzi* also maintain that a person in an ideal state will lose the self. The "Xiaoyaoyou" ("Free and easy wandering" 逍遙遊) says, "the ultimate person has non-self" (至人無己); the external chapter of "Qiushui" ("Autumn flood" 秋水), "the great person has non-self" (大人無己). Additionally, the external chapter of "Zaiyou" ("Let it be, leave it alone" 在宥) says that "for one who is in great oneness with the universe, he has non-self" (大同而無己). See Guo (1961: 17, 574, 395).

focuses more on the state of non-dependence (rather than the state of oneness with the world) in which one becomes a lone existence that can "accommodate the diversity of all things" (Lo 1999: 162). Second, the "Qiwulun" doubts whether the self can be in oneness with the world, by arguing that conceptually "the one and what I said about it make two, and two and the original one make three. If we go on this way, then even the cleverest mathematician, much less an ordinary man, cannot tell where we will end" (Watson 2013: 13). Hence, the better way is not to move nonbeing to being, that is, a move that takes the self and the world as oneness, but to "let things be" (Watson 2013: 13).

Therefore, although the "Qiwulun" and the *Wenzi* provide the same description of the appearance of the person who is in the ideal state, their ways to the ideal state are fundamentally different. This reflects two understandings of the cultivation in early Taoist tradition: one stream from the *Laozi* to the *Huainanzi* and to the *Wenzi*, another stream from the "Qiwulun" of the *Zhuangzi*.

4. Concluding Remarks

We have discussed how the concept of *xuan-tong* is first used in the *Laozi*, then developed in the *Huainanzi*, and eventually synthesized and completed in the *Wenzi*. The *Laozi* uses *xuan-tong* to signify a state in which one, particularly in terms of act and appearance, is in oneness with the world and never distinct from others. The *Huainanzi* expands the use of *xuan-tong* by coining a new term, *wanwu xuan-tong*. The new term relates to an ideal state in which one is in spiritual oneness with the

world. The efforts by the *Wenzi*'s authors to synthesizing the previous understandings of *xuan-tong* are evident. In combining the *Laozi* and *Huainanzi*'s understandings, the *Wenzi* developed *xuan-tong* as an ideal state in which one is spiritually and physically in a state of oneness with the world. At this point, the philosophical meaning of *xuan-tong* is fully developed.

Thenceforth, *xuan-tong* has been commonly viewed as a central concept to denote the Taoist ideal state, which can be identified as early as in the Guo Xiang's commentary on the *Zhuangzi*. On the sentences that "everything has its 'that,' everything has its 'this'" in the "Qiwulun," Guo commented that "that there is no 'that' nor 'this' results in *xuan-tong*," suggesting that the ideal state that the "Qiwulun" advances is *xuan-tong*.[222]

The early Daoist texts provide rich resources as to how to achieve *xuan-tong* through cultivation. By focusing on the self, one should interfuse with the ten thousand things to achieve a state that is spiritually and physically in oneness with the cosmos. In addition, the fact that early commentators explained *xuan* as heaven implies that the term *xuan-tong* connotes a state of not only oneness with the world but more comprehensively oneness with heaven, that is, the cosmos. This chapter has indicated that *xuan-tong* actually represents a cosmic level of *tong*: through a process of the cultivation of the spirit and body, one can eventually achieve in a state of oneness with the cosmos, that is, a state of *tong* with the cosmos.

[222] Guo (1961: 66). For Guo's philosophy, see Ziporyn (2003).

CONCLUSION

In the previous four chapters, I have demonstrated how the concept of *tong* can be described as a "difference to one" and investigated three types of *tong*, focusing on the personal level, the social level, and the cosmic level.

At the personal level, I analyzed an ideal relation between the heart-mind, body, and conduct, focusing on *tong* of the "Wu Xing." According to the "Wu Xing," in an ideal state of *tong*, the heart-mind and body coordinate in a harmonious state and lead to conduct that is in accordance with such principles, as benevolence, rightness, and so on. Achieving the ideal state requires a process of coordinating, that is, harmonization, between the heart-mind, body, and conduct. In this process, external factors, such as worthy man and practices, are indispensable. Though the *Xunzi* does not use the term *tong*, its understanding of the ideal relation between the heart-mind, body, and conduct, and its directive of how to achieve the ideal relation are close to those of the "Wu Xing." The *Xunzi* argues that the ideal relation between the heart-mind, body, and conduct can be realized through proficient performance of ritual. In achieving such a state, external factors, such as practices and rituals, play crucial roles. It is evident that the view in the *Xunzi* has been influenced by the concept of *tong* of the heart-mind, body, and conduct in the "Wu Xing."

At the social level, I present two visions of *tong* on how to unite a society. The first type places laws and decrees 法令 as priorities, which is proposed by the "Shang Tong" of the *Mozi*. The "Li Yun" of the *Liji* suggests the other type, arguing that the oneness of society boils down to ritual. On how to rule a society, the two visions competed in interpreting *tong* and shaped the political agenda in early China.

At the cosmos level, I focus on the concept of *xuan-tong*, tracing how this concept evolved from the *Laozi*, to the *Huainanzi*, and eventually to the *Wenzi*. By synthesizing the understandings of the *Laozi* and the *Huainanzi*, the *Wenzi* develops *xuan-tong* in relation to an ideal state in which one is in spiritual and physical oneness with the world. To achieve the ideal state, the *Wenzi* suggests a process of cultivation by focusing on the self, such as cultivating the spirit, *qi*, and body. Hence, *xuan-tong* represents an ideal state that in which one begins by a process of self-cultivation, thereby being in spiritual and physical oneness with the world.

Thus, are there any relations between the three levels of *tong*? A connection is sensible between the personal level of *tong* in the "Wu Xing" and the *Xunzi* and the social level of *tong* in the "Li Yun." Both the "Wu Xing" and the *Xunzi* suggest when in the ideal *tong*, every conduct not only spontaneously arises from heart-mind and body, but is in accordance with the principle of benevolence, the principle of rightness, and so on, or ritual. Such an ideal state of *tong* is the very basis for the ideal society of *tong* that the "Li Yun" proposes. For the "Li Yun," ritual plays the central role in cultivating and regulating the conduct of individuals, by which a society of *tong* can be realized. Theoretically, if every member of a society achieves the personal level of

tong, such a society would be in an ideal state of *tong*, namely, *da-tong*, in which all of the conduct of a person arises spontaneously and is in accordance with ritual. Moreover, the "Li Yun" suggests that ritual originates from *tai yi* (great oneness 太一), namely, the ultimate source of the cosmos, from which heaven and earth, yin and yang, the four seasons, and ghosts and spirits, evolve.[223] It implies that when the heart-mind, body, and conduct are in *tong* in performing ritual, the heart-mind, body, and conduct come into oneness with the cosmos. The three levels, that is, the individual, society, and cosmos, are associated with ritual. Thus, the "Wu Xing," the *Xunzi*, and the "Li Yun" portray a type of *tong*, which can be tentatively regarded as *tong* through ritual.

Xuan-tong focuses on an individual's relation with the cosmos. Yet, it represents another way of connecting the individual, society, and cosmos, proposing methods such as cultivating *qi*, body, and spirit, to achieve a state of being in oneness with the cosmos. Given that Dao plays a central role for one to achieve the ideal state, we can regard such a type as *tong* through Dao.

As we usually attribute the "Wu Xing", the *Xunzi*, and the "Li Yun" to Ru texts and the *Laozi*, the *Huainanzi*, and the *Wenzi* to Daoist texts, we could retrospectively regard *tong* through ritual as a way of Ru thinking, and *tong* through Dao as a way of Daoist thinking. Thus, the concept of *tong* of early China already contained two ways of distinct thinking that have been prevalent in later Chinese philosophy. For Confucians, one could eventually achieve an ideal state of being in

[223] Sun (1989: 616).

oneness with society and with the cosmos through a process of self-cultivation, namely, through practicing ritual. Daoists also emphasize self-cultivation for one to be in oneness with society and, eventually, with the cosmos, but they take a distinct approach by focusing on cultivating the spirit and *qi*. Both ideas, in my view, have already been reflected in the concept of *tong* in early China.

This dissertation examines how early Chinese thinkers view an individual to be in a state of oneness with the society and, eventually, with the cosmos, by focusing on *tong*. Then, what can we learn from the Ruist and Daoist tradition about the concept of *tong*? There are two points. First, *tong* does not exclude differences or unique characteristics, but rather embraces and preserves diversities, differences, and unique characteristics. In the state of *tong*, different entities not only play their respective roles in a whole that they make up but also cooperate and coordinate with one another, thereby leading to a harmonious whole. Second, *tong* does always involve a process leading to such a state. It means a process of efforts, such as, practice and cultivation, is essential to attaining the ideal state of *tong*.

The scope of this dissertation does not allow a more comprehensive study of *tong*. Further studies may include the following. First, *tong* has been closely related to harmony. It would be beneficial to study *tong* along with harmony. Second, Ru tradition believes that ritual plays a central role in the connection of the individual, society, and cosmos. This dissertation studies the individual and social levels, but further studies are still needed on how an individual connects with the cosmos

through ritual.[224] Third, this dissertation only examines the concept of *xuan-tong* in relation to the individual and cosmos. How this concept can be applied to society, especially as the *Wenzi* indicates, awaits further investigation.

By studying *tong*, this dissertation provides a starting point for comprehensively and completely exploring how early Chinese thinkers believed an ideal state for an individual, for a society, and for the whole cosmos, should be. I hope this dissertation has provided a solid first step toward this future adventure.

[224] The relation between man and the cosmos has been discussed by many scholars, such as Qian Mu 錢穆 (Qian 1998), A. C. Graham (Graham 1989), Yu Yingshi 余英時 (Yu 2014), Franklin Perkins (Perkins 2014), but how an individual connects with the cosmos through ritual still requires further study.

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