

Nei Ye

內業

INNER WORKINGS, AND INTRODUCTION

TO THE FOUR "XIN SHU" CHAPTERS

Introductory Comments

The "Nei ye" is one of the four so-called "Xin shu" 心術 or "Art of the Mind" chapters, the others being "Xin shu shang" 心術上 (XIII, 36), "Xin shu xia" 心術下 (XIII, 37), and "Bai xin" 白心 (XIII, 38). These four chapters all deal with aspects of Daoist quietism and, except for the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, represent our most important source for the study of early quietist thought. For this reason modern Chinese and Japanese scholars generally treat them as a unit.¹

While I do not agree that all four of these chapters are as closely related as many of these scholars maintain, it is true that the chapters share enough in common to warrant their discussion in some systematic fashion. Unfortunately, their order of appearance in the *Guanzi* makes this difficult. For example, "Xin shu xia" (XIII, 37), which appears to be an explication and development of portions of the "Nei ye" (XIV, 49), has been placed way ahead of that text in the sequence of chapters.² Therefore, to avoid considerable repetition and other complications, I have rearranged the sequence of these chapters in the following manner:

1. "Nei ye" (XVI, 49), which is the longest of the four chapters, includes some of China's earliest discussions on the workings of the mind and the practice of breath and dietary controls. It is also a work that after having been generally ignored in the study of Chinese philosophy,

¹ Two other chapters often grouped along with these four are "Zhou he" 宙舍 (IV, 11) and "Shu yan" 摠言 (IV, 12).

² The "Nei ye" also appears in an entirely different section of the text, being the fifth chapter of the "Qu yan" 闢言 or "Minor Statements," while the "Xin shu shang," "Xin shu xia," and "Bai xin" chapters are numbers 10, 11, and 12 of the "Duan yu" 短語 or "Short Discourses."

has recently begun to receive considerable attention from Western as well as Chinese and Japanese scholars.³

2. "Xin shu xia" (XIII, 37) is closely related to the "Nei ye." Much of it either paraphrases or develops material contained in the "Nei ye" (stanzas VI to X) and sometimes appears to quote directly from that text, even to the point of prefacing these quotations with the phrase *gu yue* 故曰, "therefore it is said."

3. "Xin shu shang" (XIII, 36) is a completely separate work with only general ideological connections to the "Nei ye" and "Xin shu xia." It is divided into two distinct parts: a series of short statements, primarily devoted to describing the sage ruler and his political approach, followed by a series of explanations. The chapter deals primarily with the need to empty the mind of distracting desires and preconceptions.

4. "Bai xin" (XIII, 38), which expands on the treatment of some key concepts presented in the "Nei ye" and "Xin shu shang" chapters, is a Huang-Lao 黄老 text primarily concerned with the demeanor of the sage, the preservation of life, and survival in the world of politics.

GENERAL IDEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Daoism, the underlying ideology of these four chapters, is most often associated with ideas expressed in two major texts, the *Zhuangzi* and *Laozi*. Unfortunately, the origin of neither of them is very clear. Our present *Zhuangzi* most certainly is a work derived from a number of different sources, covering a span of perhaps 150 years. Most modern scholars now believe that only the first seven or "Inner Chapters" of the work represent the thought of Zhuangzi and his immediate disciples.⁴ Zhuangzi, or Zhuang Zhou 莊周, is said to have been born in Meng 蒙, located just north of Shangqiu Shi 商丘 in eastern Henan. Meng was a district of the state of Song 宋, but very near the border with Chu 楚 and strongly influenced by Chu culture. We know almost nothing about Zhuangzi's life except that he seems to have spent time in Chu and in the Qi 齊 capital of Linzi 臨淄, where he must have associated with

³ Among Western scholars, perhaps most noteworthy has been the work of Gustav Haloun, Joseph Needham, Jeffrey Riegel, A. C. Graham, and Harold Roth noted below. Among recent Chinese works, aside from the *Guanzi jijiao* edited by Guo Moruo, the most important is the commentary of Ma Feibai, "Guanzi 'Nei ye' pian jizhu," which was published posthumously in the *Guanzi xuekan*, 1990, nos. 1-3.

⁴ For the composition of our present *Zhuangzi*, see A. C. Graham, *Chuang-tzu*, 27-29, and "How Much of *Chuang Tzu* Did *Chuang Tzu* Write?", two articles by Liu Xiaogan, "Zhuangzi 'Neipian' zao yu 'Wai-Zapian' zhi xinzheng" and "Zhuangzi chengshu nian dai kao", and Harold Roth, "Who Compiled the *Chuang Tzu*?" A bibliography is provided in Michael Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, 56-66.

some of the early Jixia 稷下 scholars.⁵ He probably died about 286 B.C. Material seems to have been added to an original *Zhuangzi* core down to at least the early years of the Han 漢 dynasty. Roth (p. 123) suggests that the basic text as we now know it was put together at the court of Liu An 劉安, King of Huainan 淮南, about 130 B.C. Our present version of this basic Han text, however, dates only from about A.D. 300 when it was re-edited by Guo Xiang 郭象.

We know even less about the *Laozi*. Tradition says that Laozi, a name that can simply mean "Old Master," was an older contemporary of Confucius (551-479 B.C.) known as Lao Dan 老聃. The *Shi ji*, 63/1a12-1b8, identifies him as a native of Chu, named Li Er 李耳, and says that he was a historian in charge of the Zhou archives. Such an identification is now considered highly implausible. In any case, it is clear that the *Laozi* also is not the product of a single individual or a single time. Its origins were probably earlier than the *Zhuangzi*, and it was completed more or less in its present form, except for the arrangement of the text, by about the third quarter of the third century B.C. when it is cited, though not by name, and commented upon in the *Hanfeizi*.⁶ Furthermore, the oldest surviving text of the *Laozi*, the *Laozi* "A" silk scroll, discovered in 1973 in the Mawangdui 馬王堆 Han tomb III in Changsha 長沙, Hunan, is written in the small seal script that became standard during the Qin 秦 (221-207 B.C.) but was replaced by a more practical clerical script during the early Han.⁷

Neither the *Laozi* nor the *Zhuangzi*, however, represents the beginnings of Daoism, which seems to have derived its original impetus from two very distinct groups of people. The first group comprised hermits and nature-oriented philosophers who reacted to the increasing insecurity and oppression following the decline in Zhou imperial power by seeking escape from society and a return to nature. The first of these men that we know to have developed a philosophical statement was

⁵ For a discussion of the Jixia Academy, see the introduction to my 1985 *Guanzi*, 15-19. The date I give for the founding of the academy in Qi was about 302 B.C. However, as John Knoblock in his *Xunzi* 1:34-55 has shown, the beginnings of the academy go back some fifty years or so before King Xuan's 宣 actual establishment in 302 B.C. of a Scholars' Hall outside the Ji 莒 Gate of his capital at Linzi.

⁶ The *Hanfeizi* (VI, 20 and VII, 21) deals with some twenty-three chapters, mostly from the "De" 德 section, which comprises chapters 38-81 of our present text. Hanfeizi himself died in 233 B.C. For a lengthy bibliography of works dealing with the composite nature of the *Laozi* and the relatively late date of parts of it, see Herelle G. Creel, *What Is Taoism?*, 5, and Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, 269-292.

⁷ For a discussion of this and the Mawangdui *Laozi* "B" text and their importance to the study of the *Guanzi*, see my 1985 *Guanzi*, 20-23.

Yang Zhu 楊朱, who was probably a younger contemporary of Mozi (c. 479–c. 381 B.C.). Yang stressed living to the full (*guan sheng* 全生), the preservation of life and avoiding injury, by escaping from the world. According to the *Mengzi*, III B, 9/9, his doctrine was each for oneself and nothing for the prince (為我是無君也). However, mere escape is often futile, and the avoidance of oppressive rule impossible. Therefore the *Laotzi* carried Yang Zhu's philosophy a step further. It maintains that by adapting to the Way and the laws governing how things change, one can turn everything to one's advantage. Thus a cardinal teaching of the *Laotzi* states: "Reverse is the action of the Way; weakness is the means it employs,"⁸ and stress is placed on *wu wei* 無為, "nonassertiveness," or doing only what is natural and necessary. Even so, this provides no guarantee of success, so that Zhuangzi, taking another step, proposed rising above it all by considering life and death as one and identifying the self with others.⁹

The second group was made up of shamans and magicians, centered mainly in the states of Chu, Qi, and Yan 燕, who sought to prolong life by various techniques, including diet, sexual restraint, breath control, and physical exercise, similar to those associated with Indian yoga.¹⁰ We do not know how far these techniques go back in Chinese history, but one of the earliest pieces of concrete evidence is an inscription on a twelve-sided jade knob that probably dates from the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B.C.¹¹ The inscription, which provides instructions on how to breathe, is written in seal script, three characters to a side, with nine characters followed by repeat marks, thus making a total of forty-five.¹²

⁸ *Laotzi*, B, 40/4a6–7 (Arthur Waley, *The Way and Its Power*, 1922).

⁹ See Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, 65–66.

¹⁰ While it appears that these techniques may well be related to Indian Yoga as part of a widespread Indo-Tai cultural tradition extending from India across Southeast Asia to southern China, it is important to note that there are some differences. For an extensive discussion of early Daoist techniques and the Indian Yoga connection, see Victor H. Mair, "[The] File on the Cosmic" Track [and *Individual*] Donghu[iners?], Introduction and Notes for a Translation of the Ma-wang-tui Manuscripts of the *Lao Tzu* [Old Master], and Joseph Needham et al., *Science and Civilization in China* 2:139–152 and 5, pt. 5.

¹¹ Guo Moruo, "Gudai wenzi bianzheng de fazhan," 9, dates it from the beginning of the Warring States period (453–221 B.C.), perhaps 380 B.C., on the basis of the script's style. Needham, *Science and Civilization* 2:143, and others (see Hellmut Wilhelm, "Eine Chou-Inschrift über Atemtechnik," 386) believe it may be as early as the sixth century B.C. Wilhelm, "Eine Chou-Inschrift," plate XIX, shows a rubbing of the original inscription. The following translation is based on Guo Moruo's rendition into modern Chinese ("Gudai wenzi," 9).

To activate the breath (*xing qi* 行氣), breathe deeply so there is great volume. When the volume is great, the breath will expand. When it expands, it will move downward. When it has reached the lower level, fix it in place. When it is in place, hold it steady. Once it is steady, it will become like a sprouting plant. Once it sprouts, it will grow. As it grows it will retrace its path. When retracing its path, it will reach the Heaven area. The Heaven impulse forces its way upward; the Earth impulse forces its way downward.¹³ Whoever acts accordingly will live; whoever acts contrariwise will die.

The *Zhuangzi*, VI, 15/1a10–12 (Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, p. 167), describes a more elaborate development of this type of yoga practice:

Puffing and blowing, exhaling and inhaling, expelling the old and drawing in the new, executing bear strides and bird stretches, longevity their only concern—such is the life favored by the scholars who practice induction of the Way (*Dao yin* 道引), men who nourish their health, and those who seek to live as long as Pengzu.¹⁴

Even more advanced forms of yoga are mentioned in *Zhuangzi*, III, 6/14b2–3 and 7/17a9–19a122 (Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, pp. 94–97 and 167), which present stories about Liezi 列子 and his master, Huzi 壺子, and Yan Hui 顏回.

By the middle of the fourth century B.C., the concepts and practices of these two groups had come together, giving rise to the general point of view and body of thought, including the *Laotzi* and *Zhuangzi*, now known as philosophical Daoism. These philosophical Daoists, many of whom were connected with the Jixia Academy in Qi, remained true to their individualistic background and by no means represented an organized

¹³ "Heaven" and "Earth" seem to refer to polar points probably located in the brain area or top of the skull in the case of Heaven and the heels in the case of Earth. For other translations, which also follow Guo's rendition, see Wilhelm, "Eine Chou-Inschrift," 387, and Needham, *Science and Civilization* 2:143–144 or 5, pt. 5:142, and Mair, "[The] File on the Cosmic" Track," 35.

¹⁴ Pengzu 彭祖 is the Chinese Methuselah, said to have lived more than a thousand years. Bear strides (*tong jing* 熊經) and bird stretches (*niao shan* 鳥伸) were exercises used in connection with yoga-type practices. One of the silk manuscripts discovered in Han Tomb III at Mawangdui originally depicted forty such exercises. Only twenty-eight of these illustrations have survived intact, but among them is one clearly labeled "xiong jing," which depicts a man mimicking the hulking movements of a bear standing on its hind legs. For a revealing discussion of this text, see Mair, "[The] File on the Cosmic" Track," 35–36. It is to be noted that the author of this *Zhuangzi* chapter considers such longevity-oriented practices beneath the true sage, who has no need for such lowly physical techniques. The sage attains such a state of loftiness that in his readiness to lose everything he comes to possess everything, including longevity.

school. In fact, their ideas were often quite contradictory.¹⁵ Their difference in ideology stemmed not only from different concepts of the Way, the meaning of life, and the composition of the universe, but also from differing motivations on the part of the philosophers themselves. H. G. Creel has classified these motivations as "contemplative" and "purposive" and points out that while the *Zhuangzi* is in the main politically indifferent or even anarchistic, the *Laozi* gives a great deal of advice on how to acquire and retain political power.¹⁶

Purposive Daoism divides into at least three vaguely constituted groups made up of those who were primarily interested in prolonging life through various self-cultivation techniques mentioned above, those who were concerned primarily with the application of Daoist approaches to politics, and those who were interested in using Daoist concepts, such as winning through yielding, to secure military superiority. However, the line between them was never very sharp and usually showed itself merely in terms of emphasis. The Daoist chapters of the *Guanzi* represent all three of these trends.

In the *Shi ji*, 74/4a2-6, Sima Qian refers to a group of scholars associated with the Jixia Academy, including Shen Dao 慎到, Tian Pan 田 駢, Jie Yu 接輿, and Huan Yuan 環淵, as people who studied the methods of Huang-Lao (Huang Di 黃帝 and Laozi 老子) Daoism. He also (63/4b11-5a4) says that two important Legalists, Shen Buhai 申不害 (d. 337 B.C.) and Hanfeizi 韓非子 (d. 233 B.C.), also based their doctrines on "Huang and Lao." More recently, especially since the discovery of the *Laozi* "A" and "B" and their appended texts at Mawangdui in 1973, the term Huang-Lao has come to be used for a form of Daoism that combines tenets of Daoist thought with various aspects of Confucianism and Legalism.¹⁷ In this sense, it has come to be used extensively in reference to the Daoist thought of the *Guanzi*.

It should be pointed out, however, that using the term Huang-Lao in connection with pre-Han texts is somewhat a misnomer since the term does not appear in any known pre-Han text. It is most properly used to refer to (1) a Daoist-oriented school of political philosophy that played

¹⁵ Fung Yu-lan, in his *History*, 2:172ff, points out that the very term "Daoist school" did not exist prior to the Han dynasty. He lists a number of differences in thought between the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*.

¹⁶ *What Is Taoism?*, 4-5. Creel points to chapters 22, 25, 29, 30, 39, 57, 60, 65, and 80 as examples of these purposive sections of the *Laozi*.

¹⁷ In a 1944 article, "Song Xing Yin Wen yizhu kao," 259, Guo Moruo described Huang-Lao thought as consisting of an amalgam of Daoism, Confucianism, and Mohism, but this view is no longer generally accepted.

an important role in the early Han before the emperor Wu made Confucianism the state orthodoxy, and (2) a highly mystical Daoist religious movement that developed some time later. For this reason several Chinese scholars have offered alternative suggestions, but these too are not entirely satisfactory, and therefore I have opted to follow what has now become a more or less standard convention.¹⁸

What is this so-called *Huang-Lao xue* 黃老學, especially as it appears in the *Guanzi*? One of its most important characteristics is that its Daoist component differs from the Daoism that predominates in the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* in several important areas: The Way becomes much more naturalistic and less mystical. It remains a first principle, but it is no longer entirely nameless. It tends to be treated as a natural law of the universe, but at the same time it tends to lose its position as something beyond Heaven and Earth. In fact, at times it appears as merely a creative force existing between Heaven and Earth. Emphasis is placed on the relationship between names (*ming* 名) and forms (*xing* 形) or realities (*shi* 實), timeliness instead of timelessness, law (*fa* 法), which is rooted in the Way, and political methods (*shu* 術) as a means to establish good order. The ideal ruler becomes a Daoist sage, ruling through nonassertiveness (*wu wei*) and practicing various quietist techniques, while the work of administration is performed by his ministers and bureaucracy. Confucian virtues, especially *ren* 仁, "human goodness" or "benevolence," *yi* 義, "a sense of duty" or "righteous conduct," and *li* 禮, "ritualistic principles" or "propriety," are valued.¹⁹

MEANING OF XIN SHU

The use of the term *xin shu* in connection with these chapters presents a problem. It is a fairly common term in pre-Han and Han literature.²⁰

¹⁸ Qiu Xigui, "Mawangdui Laozi 'jia' 'yi' ben jiangninhou yishu yu Daojia," 76, and Kanaya Osamu, *Kanshi no kenkyū: Chūgoku kodai shi'shi no ichimen*, use the term "Daofa" 道法, "Daoist Legalism." Wu Guang, "Guanzi sijnian yu Song-Yin xue-pai bianxi," 41, prefers "Xin Lao xue" 新老學, "Neo-Laoism." One of their chief arguments against using the term Huang-Lao is to describe the thought of texts dating from before the middle of the third century B.C. is that they lack any mention of Yin-Yang, an extremely important concept in Han dynasty Huang-Lao thought.

¹⁹ Compare this with the attitude of the contemplative Daoism as expressed in the *Laozi*, B, 38/1a (Waley, *The Way and Its Power*, 189), and repeated again in the *Zhuangzi*, VII, 22/22b (Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, 235): "Therefore when the Way was lost, the Power appeared. When the Power was lost, humanness appeared. When humanness was lost, a sense of duty appeared. When a sense of duty was lost, propriety appeared. Now propriety is a superficial expression of loyalty and trustworthiness and the beginning of disorder."²⁰ See, for example, the *Zhuangzi*, V, 13/14b) (Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, 145-146), the

However, it appears only once in the text of these four chapters, and that is under somewhat dubious circumstances in the explanatory section of “Xin shu shang” (3a1-2; 63.12-13). In fact, I believe this reference to *xin shu* may well involve deliberate tampering with the text by some early commentator who was attempting to explain the meaning of the title.²¹ The title itself is appropriate for the primary subject of these chapters, but there is some question about how it should be translated.

The character for *xin*, 心, is a pictograph of the physical heart, and this is its basic meaning. However, by extension it is also used to refer to the mind or, just as in the West, the emotions.²² Why the early Chinese should have associated the mind with the heart rather than the brain (*nao* 腦, lit. the substance inside the top of the skull) is not at all clear. It probably has something to do with the fact that the beating of the heart, along with the breath, is the most obvious distinction between life and death. *Shu* originally seems to have meant a “road” or “path,” and by extension “the way things operate,” “method” or “technique,” and finally a “skill” or “art.”

The term *xin shu* appears in one other chapter of the *Guanzi*, “Qi fa” 七法 or “Seven Standards” (II, 6/1b7-8; 1:22-12), where it is listed as one of the standards along with laws of nature (*ze* 則), physical qualities (*xiang* 象), standards for measurement (*fa* 法), forms of transformation (*hua* 化), permissive or inhibitory actions (*shu* 術 決 塞), and categories of mensuration (*yi* 量 計 數) that are vital for successful rule. Further on (2a5-6; 23.3), the text explains that “Being factual, sincere, liberal, generous, temperate, or altruistic is called *xin shu*,” which I translated there as “patterns of mental behavior.”

In the *Zhuangzi*, V, 13/14b1 (Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, pp. 145-146), *Li ji*, XI, 19/1b8-9 (Legge, *Li Ki* 28:110), and *Huainanzi*, 7/11b10 (Morgan, *Tao, the Great Luminant*, p. 75), all references cited in note 20 above,

Guanzi, XV, 21/1b8-9 and 13b9-10 (Knoblock, *Guanzi* 3:100 and 103), and XVIIII, 25/2b7 (Knoblock, *Guanzi* 3:176), the *Li ji*, XI, 19/15a9 (Legge, *Li Ki* 28:110), the *Huainanzi*, 1/14b7 and 7/11b10 (Morgan, *Tao, the Great Luminant*, 24 and 75), the *Guizhi*, 3/5b1-6, and the *Shuo yuan*, 19/13b3 and 14a10. The “Treatise on Literature” of the *Chan-Han shu*, 30/23b4-5, also lists a separate work entitled *Xin shu*.

²¹ See the “Xin shu shang,” 3a1-2 (63.12-13) and n. 36.

²² In my 1965 *Kuan-tzu*, I rather consistently translated *xin* as “heart” or “heart/mind” rather than simply as “mind.” Here I have used both “mind” and “heart,” depending upon the context. Actually there are problems connected with all three of these translations. For a fascinating discussion of the subject, see Harold H. Oshimo, “A Metaphorical Analysis of the Concept of Mind in the *Chuang-tzu*.”

it seems to refer to the operation of the mind. However, in the *Guizhi*, 3/5b1-6, and *Shuo yuan*, 19/13b3 and 14a10, it clearly refers to the art of nurturing the mind. The *Huainanzi*, 1/14b7 (Morgan, *Tao, the Great Luminant*, p. 24), even appears to cite our “Xin shu shang” chapter indirectly in a story about Xu You 許由, a hermit who refused the imperial throne when it was offered to him by Emperor Yao 堯:

The most important thing in the world lies not with Yao, but with me, not with others, but with my own self. When the self grasps the Way, all things are complete. When one goes deeply into the principles of the art of the mind, then one finds lust and desire, likes and dislikes to be extraneous.

The *Xinzi*, I, 2/9a10-11 (Knoblock, *Xinzi* 1:154), contains a relevant passage:

It is ever so that in respect to the art of controlling the breath and nurturing the mind, nothing is more direct than observing the rules of propriety, more important than having a good teacher, or more spiritually enlightening than concentrating on what one likes. This is called 治氣養心之術, “the art of controlling the breath and nurturing the mind.”

Thus I have used “art of the mind” as my translation for *xin shu* in the title of these chapters.

What is this “art”? According to the somewhat dubious passage in the “Xin shu shang” mentioned above, “The art of the mind lies in controlling the apertures (eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, anus, and sex organ) through nonassertiveness.” The mind must remain empty of all preconceptions and desires so that the nine apertures can do their work. If the mind is clouded by preconceptions or desires, the eyes, ears, and other apertures will not be able to perform their proper functions. By keeping the mind empty one can grasp the Way, respond to objective circumstances, prolong one’s life, and insure one’s sage-like rule. This is the general message conveyed by all four of these chapters. It represents a tradition that found a very strong following among the Jixia scholars and had great influence on later philosophers, including such notables as Xunzi. In fact the *Xinzi*, XIV, 21/4b9-5b7 (Knoblock, *Xinzi* 3:104), provides an excellent summary of this tradition:

How do men come to know the Way? I say that it is through the mind. How does the mind know? I say it is through vacuity (*xu* 虛), concentration (*yi* 一 or 壹), and quiescence (*jing* 靜). The mind never stops storing up things; nonetheless, it has what is called the capacity for vacuity. The mind is forever filled with conflicting ideas; nonetheless, it has what is called the

capacity for concentration. The mind never stops moving; nonetheless, it has what is called the capacity for quiescence.

Men from birth have the capacity to know, and having the capacity to know, there is memory. Memory is what is stored; nonetheless, the mind still has what is called the capacity for vacuity. Not permitting what the self has stored to interfere with what is about to be received is called "vacuity." The mind from birth has the capacity to know, and having this capacity, there is the perception of differences. Perception of differences means to know different things at the same time. To know different things at the same time is to have conflicting ideas. Nonetheless, there is still what is called concentration. Not permitting one thing to interfere with another is called "concentration." When the mind is asleep, it dreams. When it is relaxed, it moves of its own accord. When it is employed, it schemes. Therefore, the mind is never without movement. Nonetheless, there is still the capacity for quiescence. Not permitting dreams and petty annoyances to disrupt this capacity to know is called "quiescence."

RHYMES

All four of these "Xin shu" chapters make extensive use of rhyme, and while the appearance of rhymed passages in the *Guanzi* is not unusual, I have paid special attention to it here because of the relatively high incidence of irregular rhymes, especially in the "Nei ye" and "Bai xin," which tells us something about the relationship of these chapters as well as providing a clue to their origins.

As mentioned in the introduction to this volume, scholars have long recognized that among a certain group of fourth- and third-century B.C. texts whose reputed authors were supposed to have come from the general area of the state of Chu, including the *Chu ci*, *Laozi*, and *Zhuangzi*, certain irregular rhyme patterns appear with enough consistency for them to be considered representative of a regional dialect. This is further confirmed by the fact that these irregular rhyme patterns also appear in Han texts associated with the same area, such as the *Huainanzi*. Moreover, the four texts prefixed to the *Laozi* "B" manuscript unearthed at Mawangdui, which appear to have been of Chu origin, also adhere to this pattern.²³ The most important of these particularly distinguishing irregular rhymes include rhyme groups: 之 (*yi* or *ak*) with 幽 (*aw* or *awk*), 之 with 魚 (*yr* or *ak*),²⁴ 侯 (*ew* or *ewk*) with 魚, 真 (*en*) with 耕 (*eng*), and 陽 (*ang*) with 東 (*ewng*).²⁵ Also, 之

appears frequently as an end-rhyme, and the restrictions on fourth-tone rhymes are much looser.

Although these are the most common end-rhymes associated with Chu texts, an examination of the irregular rhyme tables on pp. 144-150 of Lung Yu Shun's "Xian-Qin sanwen zhong de yunwen (shang)" shows that the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* and several other texts associated with the Chu area, including the *Wenzi*, *Huang Di neijing suwen*, and *Huang Di neijing lingshu*, also share a number of other irregular patterns, and while none of these patterns can be said to be strictly limited to Chu texts, the frequency of their appearance in such texts is much higher than in those known to come from other parts of China.

A list of the irregular rhymes appearing in these four "Xin shu" chapters is presented in chart 1. From it we can see that most of the irregular rhymes appear in the two chapters, "Nei ye" and "Bai xin." The two examples listed for the "Xin shu xia" merely involve tone. Of the four examples listed for "Xin shu shang," three are of the 之—幽 category and involve the character 道 道, "way."²⁶

Since the "Nei ye" and "Bai xin" chapters are longer than the other two, it is not surprising that they should contain the largest number of irregular rhymes, but it is surprising that there should be so little overlap. Only the combinations of groups 之 - 魚 and 諧 - 微 appear in both the "Nei ye" and "Bai xin," while the very common combination of 之 - 幽 appears in both the "Xin shu shang" and "Bai xin," but not in the "Nei ye."²⁷ This relative lack of overlap would tend to support the conclusion that these chapters all came from different sources and probably different times. Although the sample is small, it would also appear that in terms of irregular rhyme usage, as indicated in Lung Yu Shun's tables, "Bai xin" is closest to the *Zhuangzi*, *Huang Di neijing suwen*, and *Huang Di neijing lingshu*, closely followed by the *Wenzi* and *Laozi*. The "Nei ye" contains none of the common irregular rhymes associated with the *Laozi*, 之 - 幽, 侯 - 魚, 真 - 耕, and 東 - 陽, which are usually considered to be among the primary indicators of Chu dialect. However, again in terms of its overall use of irregular rhymes, it appears to be closest to the *Wenzi* and *Zhuangzi*, followed by the *Laozi*, *Huang Di neijing suwen*, *Huang Di neijing lingshu*, and *Yi Zhou shu*. Since, with the possible exception of the *Yi Zhou shu*, all of these texts are thought to be of southern or Chu origin, it is very possible that both the "Bai xin" and

²³ See Long Hui, "Mawangdui chuntu Laozi 'Yi' ben juanqian guyi shu tanyuan."

²⁴ This 之 - 魚 combination does not appear in the *Laozi*.

²⁵ The phonetic reconstructions for archaic Chinese in this volume are taken from Chou Fa-keo's *Hanzi gujin yihui*.

²⁶ Wang Niansun (see *Guanzi jijiao* 2:633) would read 道 as 持 (*diy*, group 之), thus making it a regular rhyme in these cases. However, since 道 appears in rhyme with other words in the 幽 group, I do not believe his point is valid.

CHART 1. IRREGULAR RHYMES IN THE FOUR "XIN SHU" CHAPTERS

Rhyme Groups	XVI, 49	XIII, 37	XIII, 36	XIII, 38
之 with 幽			理 - 道 事 - 道 德 - 道	己 - 道 久 - 道
之 with 魚	誘 - 懼		事 - 度 塞 - 膚 色 - 膚 道 - 取	
幽 with 侯				水 - 鬼 指 - 習 廢 - 墮 見 - 闕 滿 - 聞 團 - 門
魚 with 佳	所 - 知 失 - 物			
脂 with 微				
脂 with 緝				
祭 with 歌				
元 with 文				
元 with 真	原 - 淵			團 - 方
元 with 陽				
文 with 真	存 - 神 近 - 溼			
文 with 侵				
真 with 耕				人 - 名 人 - 真 鄉 - 東
陽 with 東				
陽 with 中	明 - 中 德 - 來 薄 - 捨 索 - 所 疾 - 死			得 - 來 澗 - 團
之 4th with 1st				
魚 4th with 2nd				
脂 4th with 2nd				
之 4th with 魚 1st				色 - 膚 指 - 習
脂 2nd with 緝 4th				
脂 2nd with 微 4th	失 - 物			
之 as an end-rhyme	5			4

"Nei ye" chapters are also from this area.²⁷ This possibility is strengthened by the marked similarity of passages appearing in the "Nei ye" and "Bai xin" and the *Jing fa*, *Shi da jing* (*Shiliu jing*), and *Cheng* texts prefixed to the *Mawangdui Laozi* "B" manuscript.²⁸ It is also perhaps worth noting that "Xin shu shang" and "xia" and "Bia xin" appear in a cluster of other chapters in this "Duan yu" section, notably, "Shu di" 水地 (XIV, 39), "Shi" 勢 (XV, 42), and "Zheng" 正 (XV, 43) which are also of probable Chu origin. The same may be true for "Si shi" 四時 (XIV, 40) and "Wu xing" 五行 (XIV, 41).

COMPOSITION OF THE "NEI YE"

The "Nei ye" is a lengthy hortatory text that, with the exception of a few short passages in stanzas VII.1, VIII.1, IX.3, and XIII, is almost entirely in rhyme. Its various parts were most likely chanted orally and existed in a number of different versions long before our existing version was put into writing. The text is primarily composed of pairs of balanced lines of two four-character phrases each, but this meter is frequently broken by passages with lines of irregular length, usually of three or five characters. The rhyming pattern and meter of the "Nei ye" tend to be more complex than those of other chapters in the *Guanzi*. The length of stanzas and their subdivisions is very uneven, and there is a wide variety of patterns, the most common being *aa*, *bb*. However, it may be *aaa*, *bb*, or *aaa*, *bbb*, etc. Furthermore, while the most common pattern is for rhymes to appear either at the end of two or more phrases of three or four characters or at the end of two or more lines consisting of two phrases of four characters each, other patterns also occur.

Surviving editions of the *Guanzi* usually have two or three breaks in this text, thus dividing it into three or four separate sections,²⁹ but several

²⁷ The existing *Fenzi*, *Huang Di neijing suwen*, *Huang Di neijing lingshu*, and *Yi Zhou shu* have all been the subject of controversy. Some scholars have labeled the *Fenzi* a post-Han forgery based on the *Huainanzi*, while others say it is Han or pre-Han. Long Hui, "Mawangdui chutu Laozi 'Yi' ben jiangqian guyi shu tanyuan," 27, considers it to be a legitimate Chu text. The prevailing view concerning the *Huang Di neijing suwen* is that it is Han with some parts even earlier. The *Huang Di neijing lingshu* is probably post-Han, but based on earlier materials. The *Yi Zhou shu* was probably put together during the Han from earlier materials, including those from the states of Jin 晉 and Chu. See Zhang Xincheng, *Yezhu tongkao*, 811-818, 969-984, and 600-616.

²⁸ One of these passages in the *Shi da jing* (*Shiliu jing*) is of particular interest because it also appears in the *Fenzi* and *Huainanzi*, both of which are associated with Chu. See n. 111, below.

²⁹ The Zhao edition of the text is divided into four separate parts: 1a7-2a5 (99.8-100.5), 2a6-2b1 (100.6-100.10), 2b2-4b2 (100.11-102.8), and 4b3-6b10 (102.9-104.9). The Yang edition has the same divisions.

modern scholars have further subdivided these into stanzas of varying length largely based on content as well as rhyme pattern and meter.³⁰ In spite of some disagreement among these scholars as to how many stanzas there should be and where they should begin and end, in most cases the situation is fairly clear. The major difference in the way these scholars have divided the text stems from their treatment of short pieces that could stand alone. I have followed the scheme adopted by Ma Feibai, who divides the text into fifteen stanzas, with most of these being further subdivided into shorter units of varying length.³¹

While there is some overall developmental logic to the sequence of these stanzas, the "Nei ye" differs from ordinary essay-type texts, even those written in rhyme prose, in that each stanza can exist as an independent unit. I suspect that originally was indeed the case, since not only is there considerable repetition, but the usage of terms seems to vary somewhat from stanza to stanza. Furthermore, some passages, such as stanza VI.1, appear to have little connection with what precedes or follows and sound like self-contained chants. In general, the first eight stanzas provide a philosophical base for the remaining seven, which deal primarily with how to prolong life and live in the world.

THE MEANING OF "NEI YE"

In previous translations I have rendered *nei ye* as "inner life," or "inner workings," while A. C. Graham and Harold Roth have use "inward training," and Jeffrey Riegel has translated it as "workings of the inner."³² In early Chinese texts, *ye* had a variety of meanings, but most common were "activity," "work," "deeds," or "achievements." Chinese Buddhists later used it as a translation for "karma," which in Sanskrit also meant "work." In modern Chinese it is often used to mean "business," and the term *biye* 畢業 means "to complete one's training" or "to be graduated."

³⁰ For example, Ma Feibai ("Guanzi 'Nei ye' pian jizhu") and Shi Yishen both divide the text into fifteen stanzas, but there is some difference in their composition, especially since Shi Yishen shifts bits and pieces of the text from one place to another. Zhao Shouzheng as well as Jeffrey Riegel ("The Four 'Tzu Ssu' Chapters," 152-163) divide the text into eighteen stanzas, but Riegel, who appears to have based his divisions on some unpublished work of Gustav Haloun, further divides three of his eighteen into sub-stanzas for a total of twenty-two.

³¹ In my 1965 *Kuan-tzu* translation, I chose to divide the text into paragraphs in accordance with the comments on the text contained in "Xin shu xia." However, this tended to disrupt the meter and poetic integrity of the original.

³² See my 1965 *Kuan-tzu*; Victor Mair, ed., *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature*, 17-27; Graham, *Disrupters of the Tao*, 100; Roth, "Psychology and Self-Cultivation," 609, and Riegel, "The Four 'Tzu Ssu' Chapters," 143.

Here, as a title, *nei ye* primarily refers to the workings of the mind, but any of the above translations is possible.

KEY TERMS

Much of what the "Nei ye" has to say is centered around several key terms. The first of these is *jing* 精, which originally meant fine and pure rice. By extension it came to mean the unadulterated essence of things or a state of mind that is concentrated on a single purpose. It is also used to refer to the seed of human life. In the "Nei ye," it primarily refers to a seminal or vital essence that is the source of all living things, from the star gods above to the five grains below and the ghosts and spirits (*guishen* 鬼神) floating in the space between.

Another key term is *qi* 氣 (originally written 气), which has a wide range of meanings, from the common air we breathe to a primal ether that provides the material base for the universe. In the *Guanzi* it usually refers to the vital forces of nature, such as the Yin and Yang, but in this chapter it means either the physical breath or a vital force representing the vital essence (*jing*) in its kinetic form.³³ As a vital force, *qi* (stanza I.3) is never to be restrained by physical strength or force but may be brought to rest by the *de* 德, the mystical or spiritual Power, which is the manifestation of the *Dao* 道 or "Way" within the individual.³⁴

The *Dao* in this text is the ultimate creative force in the universe.³⁵ According to stanza III, the Way is what fills our *xing* 形 (which may mean either "physical form" or the mind's "gestalt"), but one cannot hold it in place. Stanza IV.1 adds that with "the mind quiescent (*jing*

³¹ In answer to a question from Gongsun Chou 公孫丑 about how he maintained an unperturbed mind, Mencius replied (*Mengzi*, II.A, 2/9ff.): "The will (*zhi* 志) is the leader of the *qi* and the *qi* is what fills the body. Since the will is supreme and the *qi* secondary, I say maintain firm the will and do no violence to the *qi* . . . When the will is given primacy, it sets the *qi* in motion; when the *qi* is given primacy, it sets the will in motion." Gongsun Chou then went on to ask about the great floodlike *qi* and Mencius replied: "It is difficult to explain. This the *qi*—it is exceedingly great and exceedingly strong. Nourish it with rectitude and place no obstacle in its path and it will fill all between Heaven and Earth. This, the *qi*—it is on a par with righteousness and the Way in that without it, one is in a state of starvation."

³² For detailed discussions of *jing* and *qi*, see Gu Baotian, "Shilun *Guanzi* jing-qi shuo de xingzhi"; Zhou Lisheng and Wang Demin, "*Guanzi* zhong de jing-qi tan ji qi liishi gongxian"; and Li Cunshan, "'Nei ye' deng si pian de jing-qi sixiang tanwei."

³³ As indicated above, the different stanzas are not always consistent in their presentation of these terms. Here is an example. Stanza VI.1 states: "What to all things gives life and brings them to fruition is called the Way." On the other hand, stanza XI states: "It is ever so that in man's life, Heaven produces his vital essence. Earth produces his form."

靜) and the vital force well managed, the Way can be made to stay." In stanza V, the Way "is the means to cultivate the mind. Losing it, men die; having it, they live. Losing it, undertakings fail; having it, they succeed."³⁶

Closely associated with *Dao* is another term, *Shen* 神 or *Shen ming* 神明, "the Spirit," which appears to be a manifestation of the *Dao* or perhaps just another appellation for the *Dao* itself.³⁷ According to stanza VII.1: "What is at one with things and able to bring about their transformation is called the Spirit." Further along (stanza VII.2), the text adds: "The supremacy of the Spirit—how brilliant—it knows all things. Preserve it within and do not go to excess. Do not let things confuse the senses. Do not let the senses confuse the mind. This is called internalization of the Spirit." Again in VII.3: "Respectfully keep clean its abode, and its vital essence will naturally come. Quiet your thoughts in order to contemplate it. Rest your mind in order to keep control of it. Maintain a dignified appearance and respectful attitude, then its vital essence will of itself become stable." The *Huainanzi*, 1/16a13 (Morgan, *Tao, the Great Luminant*, p. 27), states: "The bodily form (*xing* 形) is the abode of life; the vital force is its filler (*zhong* 充); the Spirit is its regulator (*zhi* 制)."

Another word associated with *Dao* and *Shen* is *Yi* 一, which may mean to concentrate or focus one's attention on something, to be of single purpose, or to be at one with something, but it also can be used as a noun to mean "the One," that eternal principle which never changes. It appears to have this meaning in stanza VII.1: "To transform without altering one's vital force, to change without altering one's wisdom—only the man of quality who grasps the One is able to do this."³⁸

³⁶ Kanaya Osamu, "Taoist Thought in the *Kuan-tzu*," 35, describes the *Dao* in the "Nei ye" as an objective entity, existing in a fluid state on a cosmic scale, that enters and abides in a person's mind under certain conditions, such as when the mind is at peace and the feelings are calm.

³⁷ Although *Shen* was often used in early texts to refer to the supreme deity of the Zhou, Heaven, in this chapter it seems to appear as another term for the *Dao*. It is perhaps worth noting that the terms *Dao* and *Shen* never appear together in the same stanza, a fact that strengthens my suspicion that this "Nei ye" chapter is a composite, made up of stanzas that, by and large, had an independent existence before being set down in writing.

³⁸ The meaning of *zhi* 執, "grasps the One," is not entirely clear. The *Laotzi*, A, 10/5a, (Waley, *The Way and Its Power*, 153), and the *Zhuangzi*, VIII, 23/4b7 (Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, 253), in a similar context write *bao* 抱, "embrace the One." The *Laotzi* commentator Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249) explains "the One" as meaning "man's true nature." Waley, *The Way and Its Power*, 154, explains it as the undivided state that underlies the normal consciousness. I have interpreted "the One" as a reference to the

There are also several key terms that have to do with the functioning of the mind. This functioning is best described in stanza VIII.1–3, which begins with a discussion of the Way and the need to understand it:

What do we mean by understanding it? This lies in the mind's regulation. When our minds are well regulated, our sense organs are also well regulated. When our minds are at ease, our sense organs are also at ease. What regulates them is the mind; what sets them at ease is the mind. The mind therefore contains an inner mind. That is to say within the mind there is another mind. In that mind's mind, the power of awareness comes before sound. After awareness come forms. After forms come names. After names comes putting the mind to use. After putting the mind to use comes its regulation.³⁹

In this passage the term *yì* 意, which I have translated as "power of awareness," is of special interest. It seems to refer to a basic mental capacity that precedes thought. This is brought out more clearly in the comparable passage in the "Xin shu xia," 8a–7 (68.7–8): "The power of awareness comes before words. After awareness comes forms, and after forms comes thought. After thought comes knowledge." Stanza 1.3 of the "Nei ye" also contains the statement that the *qi* may never be summoned by one's call but "may be made welcome by one's power of awareness."

Of particular importance to the proper functioning of the mind is its *xing* 形. *Xing* basically means "form," and it appears with this meaning several times in the chapter, especially in reference to the body. However, it also appears in the expression *xin zhi xing* 心之形, lit., "the form of the mind." In this case I have translated *xing* as "gestalt," in reference to the mind's overall character. Stanza II.1 states: "It is ever so that the mind's gestalt is naturally full and naturally replete, naturally born and naturally perfected. Should its function be impaired, it is certain to be due to sorrow and happiness, joy and anger, desire and profit seeking."

For the mind to enjoy a proper gestalt and to avoid artificiality or overassertiveness in action (*wu wei*), it is necessary for it to be quiescent (*jing* 靜). According to stanza IV.1: "The mind quiescent and the vital force well managed, the Way can then be made to stay." The *Zhuangzi*,

Way. According to the *Huainanzi*, 1/11b2 (Morgan, *Tao, the Great Luminant*, 17), the Way "merges in the Formless, and what we call the Formless means the One." Stanza VIII.1 also speaks of understanding the "one word" in an apparent reference to the Way.

³⁹ For a detailed discussion of concepts of consciousness in early Chinese thought, see Liu Zhongxian, "Guanzi si pian de yishi lun."

V, 13/12a (Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, p. 142), describes quiescence as a state in which nothing can disturb the mind.

In the "Nei ye," Confucian virtues are also mentioned as having a role in maintaining an individual's equilibrium and general well-being. According to stanza XIII:

For arresting anger, nothing is better than poetry. For getting rid of sorrow, nothing is better than music. For moderating music, nothing is better than rules of propriety. For preserving rules of propriety, nothing is better than respect. For preserving respect, nothing is better than quiescence.⁴⁰

The last part of the chapter stresses the importance of practicing dietary and breath control and getting rid of emotion. As stated in stanza XIV.1: "With excessive gorging the breath will be harmed and the form will be unable to hold it all. With excessive abstinence the bones will dry up and the blood will congeal." XIV.2 urges: "Expand your mind, and you will feel release. Deepen your breathing and you will feel relaxed." XV.1 then goes on to say: "It is ever so that man's life is certain to depend on his being content. Through sorrow he loses his guiding tread; through anger he loses his beginnings. In sorrow and melancholy, joy and anger, the Way can find no resting place."

AUTHORSHIP AND DATING

Luo Genze in his *Guanzi tanyuan* (pp. 86-90 and 105-107) states that the "Xin shu" chapters date from the end of the middle part of the Warring States period, that is, the late fourth to early third centuries B.C. On this point most Chinese and foreign scholars are agreed. Where they differ is in the matter of authorship and the relative dating of these four chapters in relation to other texts of the time, such as the *Mengzi* and *Zhuangzi*.

Among Chinese scholars, three basic points of view tend to dominate the discussion. The first centers around an article written by Guo Moruo in 1944 in which he maintained that all four of the "Xin shu" chapters are remnants of the writings of two Jixia scholars, Song Xing 宋筮 and Yin Wen 尹文.⁴¹ According to Guo, Song Xing and Yin Wen were both

⁴⁰ This passage may well be a later addition. Its Confucian message not only seems out of place in the general context, but it also represents the longest unrhymed passage in the text.

⁴¹ Guo Moruo, "Song Xing Yin Wen yizhu kao." *Kanaya Osamu, Kanshi no kenkyū*, 260 and 296, also cites a 1943 article published in *Shanwen yuekan* 說文月刊 by Liu 見之宋筮 and entitled "Guanzi zhong suo jian zhi Song Xing yipai xueshuo" 管子中所見之宋筮一派學說 [The Theories of the Song Xing School Appearing in the *Guanzi*]. Unfortunately, I have never seen it.

contemporaries of Mencius (371-289 B.C.), with Song slightly older and Yin slightly younger. They both leaned toward Daoism but were primarily influenced by Mozi (c. 479-c. 381 B.C.) in that they were against war and criticized luxurious living, including overeating. They accepted Confucian virtues such as humaneness, a sense of duty, and propriety, as well as the Confucian respect for music. It is the amalgam of these views that Guo then dubs as "Huang-Lao."

Guo asserts (p. 247) that the original statements of "Xin shu shang" were written by Song Xing himself, while the explanations consist of notes taken by his students during his lectures. He also says that both the "Nei ye" and "Xin shu xia" were also written by Song, the latter being the original version of the same text. Later the text of the "Xin shu xia" was badly damaged in transmission, leading to the loss of both its beginning and end and the scrambling of slips in what remained. The reason given for the two being separated in the *Guanzi* is that Liu Xiang 劉向 obtained them from different collections.⁴² The "Bai xin," which shows a further development of Song's ideas, was written by Song's disciple Yin Wen, who was influenced by other Jixia scholars, including Daoists such as Huan Yuan, Guan Yin 關尹, and Jie Yu, and by Shen Dao, who combined Daoism and Legalism, and the Confucian "golden mean" philosophy expressed in the "Zhong yong."⁴³

Song Xing is mentioned in a number of early texts, including the *Mengzi*, *Zhuangzi*, *Xinzi*, and *Hanfeizi*, where he is usually described in Mohist terms.⁴⁴ Less is known about Yin Wen.⁴⁵ However, both he and Song Xing are described in some detail in another chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, X, 33/16a10-16b9 (Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, pp. 367-368):

To maintain a pure mind (*bai xin* 白心) by being uninhibited by current fashion and unpretentious in respect to material things, by being neither

⁴² See my 1985 *Guanzi*, 7, for Liu's statement concerning his editing of the *Guanzi*.
⁴³ The "Zhong yong" has traditionally been attributed to Zi Si (Zi Ssu) 子思, the grandson of Confucius, an attribution apparently accepted by Guo. However, Jeffrey Riegel, in his "The Four 'Zi Ssu' Chapters," shows that the origin of the *Zhuang yong* had nothing to do with Zi Si and the present work is a Han composition based on earlier models such as the "Nei ye."

⁴⁴ *Mengzi*, VII, 4, where he is known as Song Kong 宋輕; *Zhuangzi*, I, 1/4b (Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, 31-32), where he is known as Song Kongzi 宋榮子; *Xinzi*, III, 6/8a1-6, XI, 1/1/4b4-5, XII, 18/1/166ff, and XV, 2/1/3a12 (Knoblock, *Xinzi* 1:223 and 3:22, 45, and 102), and *Hanfeizi*, XIX, 50/9b3ff (Liao, *Han Fei Tzu* 2:300), where he is known as Song Rong. The "Treatise on Lianture" of the *Qian-Han shu*, 30/23a13, lists a *Songzi* 宋子 in eighteen *puan*, but this work has long since disappeared.

⁴⁵ The "Treatise on Lianture" of the *Qian-Han shu*, 30/19b7, also lists a *Yin Wenzi* 尹文子 in one *puan*, but this work was lost, and the surviving work that bears its name is considered to be a late forgery. See Zhang Xinheng, *Waxihu tongkao*, 921-929.

hypercritical (emending 苛 to 苛) of other men nor hostile toward the masses, by seeking peace in the world in order to preserve the lives of the people, and by asking for no more than that required to provide for others and one's self—such were aspects of the Way as practiced in ancient times. Song Xing and Yin Wen heard about these models for behavior and were delighted with them. They fashioned a [flat-topped] hat shaped like Mount Hua 華山 [to indicate equality] and adopted it as their symbol. In interacting with all things, they began by discriminating [between true glory and shame] and being tolerant of other people. They discussed the phenomena of the mind, referring to them as patterns of mental activity (*xin zhi xing* 心之行). Adopting a warm and friendly attitude, they sought to bring men together in joyous accord in order to harmonize all within the four seas, and expressed their desire to establish such concepts as prevailing principles. They felt it no disgrace to suffer insult, but sought to save people from fighting, to bring a stop to aggression, to abolish the use of arms, and to rescue their generation from war. They took this message throughout the world, attempting to persuade the lofty and instruct the lowly. Even though the world refused to accept them, they persisted in raising their voices and would not give up. Thus it was said that both those on high and those below grew weary of seeing them, yet they persisted in being seen.⁴⁶

Guo's thesis seems to have been greatly influenced by the presence in this *Zhuangzi* passage of a reference to *bai xin*, the title of one of our "Xin shu" texts, and the interest of Song and Yin in the phenomena of the mind. However, the term *bai xin* is used here not to describe the philosophy of Song and Yin, but rather how the Way was practiced in ancient times.⁴⁷ Furthermore, since the term appears only in the title of the "Bai xin" chapter and not in the text, it is very likely that the title was provided long after the composition of the text. It was common for early Chinese texts to have no title but to be known simply by one to three important characters appearing in the text, often in the opening line. It was not until the Han that many texts were assigned formal titles. For example, chapter 1, 2 of the *Guanzi*, "Xing shi" 形勢, was known to Sima Qian as "Shan gao" 山高, the first two characters of the text, and it does not seem to have received its present title until the time of Liu Xiang.⁴⁸ As for an interest in the phenomena of the mind, this was shared by a wide range of writers in the early third century, including Mencius and the contributors to the *Zhuangzi*.

⁴⁶ For a more detailed summary of what we know about Song Xing and Yin Wen, see Fung Yu-lan, *History* 1:148-153.

⁴⁷ For a similar conclusion, see A. C. Graham, "How Much of *Chuang Tzu* Did *Chuang Tzu* Write?" 316-317.

⁴⁸ See my 1985 *Guanzi*, 6.

Be that as it may, Guo's views tended to dominate the field for a number of years, but by the 1980s more and more people were questioning them.⁴⁹ A number of scholars have pointed out that while these chapters share some points in common with Mohist thought in being against war and advocating a frugal life-style, there are major differences. This is particularly true of the "Nei ye," with its stress on *jing*, "vital essence," and *qi*, "vital force," and its preoccupation with prolonging life through dietary, breath, and other disciplines. Furthermore, as pointed out by Wu Guang, when Song Xing and Yin Wen advocated frugality, this was essentially because basic human nature did not require any more, a rationale very different from the need expressed in these "Xin shu" chapters to rid the mind of desire along with other emotions so that the mind and body can function properly.⁵⁰ Thus Wu Guang, along with others, insists that these four *Guanzi* chapters have nothing to do with Mohism but represent later developments of Laozi's Daoism, which, in the environment of the Jixia Academy, came under heavy influence from Qi culture with its traditional emphasis on *Dao* (the Way), *li* (ritualistic principles), and *fa* (law).⁵¹

The second view is stated most clearly by Wu Guang, who believes that all four of these chapters represent a development of Laozi's Daoism at the Jixia Academy. Following a suggestion made earlier by Qiu Xigui, he reasons that the "Xin shu shang" and "Bai xin" chapters cannot be the work of Song Xing and Yin Wen but rather belong to the school of two other Jixia scholars, Shen Dao (c.360-c.285 B.C.) and his associate, Tian Pian.⁵²

The third view has been presented best by Li Cunshan in his 1987 article "'Nei ye' deng si pian de xiezuo shijian he zuozhe." Li rejects the views of both Guo Moruo and Wu Guang, maintaining that these

⁴⁹ The first article to question Guo's views that I know of was by Zhu Ruikai, "Guanzi Xin shu shang," *Xia, deng pian fei Song Xing Yin Wen yizhu huan*. "However I have never actually seen it. Another of Zhu's works, *Xian-Qin shenhui he zhuzi xixiang*, contains a chapter (pp. 192-208), "'Xin shu shang' pai he 'Xin shu xia' pai de fangqi ji qi dui houhai zhexue de yingxiang," which appears to be somewhat similar in content to his 1977 article. In this chapter, Zhu maintains that the "Xin shu shang" and "Bai xin" and the "Xin shu xia" and "Nei ye" chapters of the *Guanzi* represent separate schools of pre-Qin Daoism, the first two being an amalgam of Daoism and Legalism, while the second two represent an amalgam of Daoism and Confucianism.

⁵⁰ Wu Guang, "Guanzi sipian yu Song-Yin xuepai bianxi," 38.

⁵¹ For other views stressing the Daoist nature of these chapters, see Kanaya Osamu, *Kanahiro no kenkyu*, 260 and 334. Hu Jiacong, "Jixia Daojia cong Laozi zhexue jicheng bing tuiyan le shenma?" and Xu Lijun, "'Xin shu' deng si pian shu Daojia zhuozu."

⁵² This attribution will be discussed in detail in the introductory comments to the "Xin shu shang" and "Bai xin" chapters.

four chapters all postdate Mencius (371–289 B.C.) and Zhuangzi (c. 369–c. 286 B.C.). He cites a number of brief passages in the *Zhuangzi* that he maintains parallel the language and thought of the “Nei ye,” “Xin shu shang,” and “Bai xin” chapters. Li maintains that the *Zhuangzi* contains the writings of both Zhuangzi himself and his followers who split into two groups, one continuing the *xiaoyao* 逍遙 or “Free and Easy Wandering” contemplative philosophy of Zhuangzi while the other developed a *zhishi* 治世, “rectify the age,” purposive approach. It is his belief that these four *Guanzi* chapters represent the work of this splinter group.

None of these views do I find fully acceptable, either because the evidence is too skimpy or because of basic problems of methodology such as their lumping chapters together on the basis of general similarities without considering their differences, treating either the *Zhuangzi* or *Laoshi* as texts representing the ideology of a single person or a single time, or citing superficial similarities in wording with little or no regard to context.⁵³

Kanaya Osamu, *Kanshi no kenkyū*, pp. 260–266, after rejecting Guo’s theories, presents an entirely different point of view. He believes that the “Nei ye” was put together about 250 B.C. from materials that trace their ideological roots back to two sources, the statements section of the “Xin shu shang,” which predates Mencius (late fourth or early third century), and an ancestral version of the “Xin shu xia,” dating from about the same time but later lost. He also believes that the explanatory section of the “Xin shu shang,” our present “Xin shu xia,” and the “Bai xin” chapters, with their Huang-Lao orientation, all date from the end of the Warring States period (middle third century B.C.).

⁵³ For example, Li Cunshan (33) cites three lines from the *Zhuangzi* that he says show the similarity between it and the “Xin shu shang.” 1b3–4 (62.9–10): 虛其欲，神人舍，掃除不潔，神乃(=不)留處，“Become empty of desires, and the Spirit will enter to take up its abode. Should you fail to make a clean sweep, the Spirit will not remain.” The first is II, 4/7a13 (Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, 58): 唯道集虛，虛者心齋也，“The Way gathers in emptiness alone. Emptiness is the fasting of the mind.” Not only is the text very different, but the *Zhuangzi* text is taken from a paragraph that begins with Confucius saying: “Make your will (*zhi* 志) one.” *Zhi* is a key term that appears in the *Mengzi* but not in the “Xin shu shang” or any of the “Xin shu” chapters for that matter. See n. 33, above. The second is II, 4/8a4–5 (Watson, 58): 夫狗耳目內外於心知鬼神而流人乎，“Let your ears and eyes communicate with what is inside, and put your mind and knowledge on the outside. Then even ghosts and spirits will come to take up their abode, not to mention men.” The third is VII, 22/24a1 (Watson, 237): 攝汝知，一次度，神將來舍，“Call in your knowledge, unify your demeanor, and the spirits will come to take up their abode.” Li does cite some examples that are much closer, but while these may be used to show that these texts shared a common Daoist tradition, they cannot be said to prove that their relationship was any other than that.

In my opinion, differences in the style, language, and content of these four chapters make it clear that they all had very different origins, and that it is impossible to lump them together in the manner of Guo Moruo and some of the other commentators. The “Nei ye” is a case in point.⁵⁴ While it does speak of the sage ruler, it does not show the concern for statecraft found in later Huang-Lao texts, including the remaining three “Xin shu” chapters. As mentioned above, several factors, including the independent nature of the separate stanzas and apparent inconsistencies in the use of terms, have led me to believe that this “Nei ye” chapter is but one version of a body of material that most likely existed in an oral tradition for some time before it was put together and written down. Even then the nature of the text was such that it would have been easy to add material as time went along.⁵⁵ The bulk of the material is quite early, however, probably no later than the beginning of the fourth century B.C. In a recent article, “Redaction Criticism and the Early History of Taoism” (p. 16), Harold Roth examines a number of linguistic features in the “Nei ye,” including its use of particles, and concludes that it dates from the fourth century B.C.

Another important piece of evidence supporting an early dating for most of the “Nei ye” is the fact that it makes no mention of Yin and Yang dualism. The absence of such a reference is to be expected of texts dating from the beginning of the fourth century B.C. and before, but highly unlikely for any text dealing with the forces of the universe written a century or so later.⁵⁶ Yin originally referred to the shady side of a hill or river bank and Yang the sunny side. From this, the meaning expanded to include cold and heat and atmospheric conditions. Gradually the meanings were expanded to cover a wider range of dualisms until Zou Yan 騫衍 (c. 305–c. 240 B.C.) and others expounded it as a philosophical system of correlates covering the interaction of all things in the universe. By the time the *Lishi chunqiu* was compiled about 240 B.C., it had already become a key component in all schools of Chinese thought. The *Laoshi* mentions Yin-Yang once in chapter 42, but this could well be

⁵⁴ The other “Xin shu” chapters will be dealt with in their own introductory comments.

⁵⁵ I suspect stanza XIII, which consists primarily of a very Confucian-sounding passage, stressing poetry, music, ritual principles, etc., is an example of this. See n. 40, above.

⁵⁶ When speaking of Yin and Yang, Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* 2:273, concluded: “There can be little doubt that the philosophical use of the terms began about the beginning of the 4th century, and that the passages in older texts which mention this use are interpolations made later than that time.” A. C. Graham, in his *Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking*, 9, expresses much the same idea.

one of the later chapters. The combination also appears in two "Inner Chapters" of the *Zhuangzi*, II, 4/8b9ff (Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, p. 59) and III, 6/8b4 and 9b1 (Watson, pp. 84–85). In both of these chapters the reference is to heat and cold energies in the body.⁵⁷

In the development of Daoist thought, the "Nei ye" would seem to come from about the same time as the oldest sections of the *Laozi*. However, it tends to treat the basic concepts, such as the Way and the Power, differently and to expand on other concepts mentioned only briefly in that text. For example, *jing*, "vital essence," is mentioned in only two chapters of the *Laozi*, 25 and 55, the latter of which is probably late. *Qi*, "vital force," appears in only three chapters, 10, 42, and 55. In chapter 10 it has the meaning of "breath," and in chapter 42 it refers to the Yin and Yang. In chapter 55 it seems to refer to the vital force, but the meaning of the line is not entirely clear. *Xin*, "the mind," is mentioned in six chapters, 3, 8, 12, 20, 49, and 55, but in none of them is any attempt made to develop the concept of mind and its relations to the body or to the Power or vital force. Furthermore, while the *Laozi* stresses quiescence and vacuity, it does not tie these to good health and the prolongation of life.

Although two of the later chapters of the *Zhuangzi*, IX, 28 and 29, discuss the importance of relinquishing the desire for material profit and political power should one wish to prolong one's life, nowhere in that text is there any parallel to either the treatment of the mind or its relation to the prolongation of life that is the main subject of "Nei ye." Indeed, one of the primary messages of the "Inner Chapters" of the *Zhuangzi* is that the pursuit of long life is a meaningless endeavor. The primary purpose of the yoga techniques practiced by Yan Hui and Huizi, as described in chapters III, 6 and 7, of that text, was to rise above the world and become one with the universe rather than merely survive within it.⁵⁸ Moreover, the yoga techniques practiced by these men seem to have been much more elaborate than the relatively simple disciplines of the "Nei ye." Therefore it is my belief that the "Nei ye" is the product of an entirely separate branch of Daoism more in line with later Daoist medical texts, such as the *Huang Di neijing suwen*, than either the *Laozi* or the *Zhuangzi*.⁵⁹ Particularly in the case of the *Zhuangzi*, similarities

⁵⁷ The *Mozzi*, I, 6/13b7, and VII, 27/6b1 (*Moi, Mozi*, 26 and 144), also mention Yin and Yang, in what Needham, *Science and Civilization* 2:274, describes as a "technical sense."

⁵⁸ See the *Zhuangzi*, III, 6/14b2-3, and 7/17a9-19a122 (Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, 94-97 and 167). See also n. 14, above.

⁵⁹ See Li Sizhen, "Guanzi zhengxue yu yixue sixiang," and Yue Aiguo, "Guanzi 'Nei ye' pian de xintan."

are due primarily to these texts' sharing of a common linguistic and cultural tradition. If there was any direct borrowing, it was done by the writers of the *Zhuangzi*.

Translation

[1.1]

It is ever so that the vital essence of things is what gives them life.

(*sheng*)

Below it gives life to the five grains;⁶⁰ above it creates the ranked

stars. (*sheng*)

When floating between heaven and earth, we call it ghost or spirit.

(*shen zhi*)

When stored in the breast, we call it sageliness. (*ren nieren*)⁶¹

99.9

[1.2]

Thus, man's⁶² vital force—

How bright! As if mounting the heavens. (*tian ten*)

How dark! As if entering an abyss. (*wen*)

How vast!⁶³ As if filling the ocean. (*hai xian*)

How compact! As if contained within the self. (*ji kien*)⁶⁴

99.10

[1.3]

Thus, this vital force—

Never to be restrained by physical strength, it may be brought to

rest by spiritual Power. (*de tak*)

⁶⁰ The five grains are usually listed as (1) hemp, two kinds of millet, wheat, and beans or (2) rice, two kinds of millet, wheat, and pulse.

⁶¹ For a discussion and partial translations of this section and other portions of this chapter, see Needham, *Science and Civilization*, vols. 2 and 4, *passim*; Grinnam, *Disputers of the Way*, 100–105; and Roth, "Psychology and Self-Cultivation" and "Redaction Criticism and the Early History of Taoism." Perhaps the first attempt to translate the "Nei ye" into a Western language was made by Gustav Haloun and Joseph Needham (see Needham, "Bibliography C," *Science and Civilization* 2:630), but only the small section mentioned above was ever published.

⁶² Emending 我 to 人 in accordance with the Yin Commentary [Ma Feibai]. He Ruzhang and Guo Moruo would emend 民 to 名. The line would then read: "Thus, we call it 'vital force.'"

⁶³ Reading 渾 as 坤 [Ding Shihan].

⁶⁴ Guo Moruo and Zhao Shouzheng would read 幸 as 幸 and 己 as 己. Thus: "How lofty! As if residing on a barren peak." The rhyme would remain the same.

- 99.11 Never to be summoned by one's call, it may be made welcome by
 one's power of awareness. (意 *iy7*)⁶⁵
 Respectfully preserve and never lose it, such is called perfecting
 one's Power. (德 *tak*)
 Power being perfected, wisdom develops, and all things may be
 fully⁶⁶ comprehended. (得 *tak*)

[II.1]

- 99.12 It is ever so that the mind's gestalt (形 *geng*)⁶⁷
 Is naturally full and naturally replete, (盈 *yieng*)
 Naturally born and naturally perfected. (成 *dieng*)
 Should its function be impaired, (失 *st'iet*)⁶⁸
 It is certain to be due to sorrow and happiness, joy and anger,⁶⁹
 desire and profit seeking. (利 *lier*)
 If we can rid ourselves of sorrow and happiness, joy and anger,
 desire and profit seeking, (利 *lier*)
 The mind will revert to its flawless state. (濟 *tser*)⁷⁰

[II.2]

- 99.14 The mind's inner reality is benefited by rest and quiet. (寧 *neng*)
 Avoid being harassed or confused, and its harmony will naturally
 be complete. (成 *dieng*)
 How clear!⁷¹ As if right at our side. (側 *tsiak*)
 How nebulous! As if beyond comprehension. (得 *tak*)
 How expansive! As if exhausting the limitless. (極 *giak*)
 This inner reality, if we search for it, is never far and we may
 daily use its Power. (德 *tak*)⁷²

⁶⁵ Emending 音 (*iam*) to 意 (*iy7*, group 之, 3rd tone) which completes the rhyme with 德 (*tak*, group 之, 4th tone) [Yasui and Wang Niansun].
⁶⁶ Emending 果 to 畢 in accordance with a similar statement in the "Xin shu xia," 5b11 (66.8) [Yasui and Wang Niansun].
⁶⁷ Reading 刑 as 形 [Yasui].
⁶⁸ Deleting the 之 following 失 (*st'iet*, group 德, 2nd tone), "impaired" in order to preserve the rhyme with 利 (*lier*, group 德, 3rd tone), "profit seeking" [Riegel/Haloun].
⁶⁹ Riegel/Haloun would delete the four characters 憂樂喜怒哀, "sorrow and happiness, joy and anger," here and in the line below in order to preserve the meter.
⁷⁰ Riegel/Haloun would emend 濟 (*tser*), "flawless state," to 齊 (*dzer*). Thus: "the mind will return to a state of equilibrium (齊 *dzer*)."
⁷¹ Emending 折折 to 哲哲 [Ding Shhan].
⁷² Following the interpretation of Guo Moruo, Ma Feibai, and Zhao Shouzheng. Zhang Peijun, Xu Weyun, and Riegel/Haloun would emend 惟 to 道 so that the sentence would read: "This Way is never far and we may daily use its Power." Were this emendation adopted, this and the preceding three lines would form the opening lines of stanza III, below.

- [III]
 Now the Way is what fills the mind's gestalt,⁷³ but men cannot hold
 it in place. (固 *kar*)
 Going, it may not return; coming, it may not stay. (舍 *st'iar*)
 How still!⁷⁴ No one hears its sound. (音 *iam*)
 How immediate! Residing within our minds. (心 *sjiam*)
 How obscure! No one sees its form. (形 *geng*)
 How bounteous! Together with us born. (生 *sreng*)
 We cannot see its form; (形 *geng*)
 We cannot hear its sound. (聲 *st'ien*)
 Yet it is orderly in its completeness. (成 *dieng*)
 Such we call the Way.⁷⁵

[IV.1]

- It is ever so that the Way has no fixed place. (所 *s'iar*)⁷⁶
 Yet in a good mind it will peacefully settle. (處 *'iar*)⁷⁷
 The mind quiescent, and the vital force well managed, (理 *lier*)
 The Way can then be made to stay. (止 *tier*)

[IV.2]

- The Way is never far removed. (遠 *yiwan*)
 By obtaining it, people may live. (產 *s'iar*)⁷⁸
 The Way is never detached. (離 *lia*)
 By relying on it, people become harmonious. (和 *gwaw*)⁷⁹
 Thus, how immediate! As if one were bound together with it. (索 *sak*)⁸⁰
 How distant! As if it were exhausting infinity. (所 *s'iar*)

⁷³ Deleting the two characters 者 and 也 in order to preserve the meter [Riegel/Haloun]. As mentioned previously, the meaning of *xing* 形 is often unclear in this chapter. Since the following passage speaks of the Way as residing in the mind, I have read *xing* here as referring to the mind's gestalt rather than the body's physical form.

⁷⁴ Reading 誰 as 淮 [Chen Huan].

⁷⁵ A somewhat similar description of the Way appears in the "Jie Luo" 解老 [Explanation of the *Laotzi*] chapter of the *Hanfeizi*, VI, 20/8b10-12 (Liao, *Han Fei Tzu* 1:192-193): "Should you consider it near, it remains the four limits of the universe. Should you consider it far, it is always at your side. Should you consider it dark, its light shines brilliantly. Should you consider it bright, its being is obscure."

⁷⁶ Both the Yang and Zhao editions break the text beginning with this line to form a new section.

⁷⁷ Emending 愛 (*ar*) to 處 (*'iar*) to complete the rhyme with 所 (*s'iar*), above [Wang Niansun, Tao Hongqing, and Guo Moruo].

⁷⁸ Reading 產 as 生 [Ma Feibai].

⁷⁹ Following Guo Moruo in emending 知 (*tier*), "knowledge" or "ability to know," to 和 (*gwaw*) to complete the rhyme with 離 (*lia*).

⁸⁰ Rhyme: 索 (group 魚, 4th tone) with 所 (group 魚, 2nd tone), below.

[V.3]

That⁸¹ Way's inner reality, (情 *dzieng*)
Rejects sound and speech. (聲 *'sfieng*)
Only after cultivating one's mind and quieting one's power of
awareness, (意 *'iay*)⁸²
May the Way be comprehended. (得 *tey*)

100.12

[VI.2]

The supreme quality of Heaven lies in its regularity (正 *jieng*)⁸⁷
Of Earth, it is equity; (平 *bieng*)⁸⁸
Of man, it is quiescence. (靜 *dzieng*)
Spring and autumn, summer and winter, are Heaven's seasons.
(時 *diy*)
Mountains and hills, rivers and valleys, provide Earth's resources.
(材 *dzei*)⁸⁹
Joy and anger, taking and giving, underlie man's schemes. (謀
mj'wəy)
For this reason, the sage—
In accordance with the times, is ever changing, but never trans-
formed. (化 *xrwə*)
In responding to things, he is ever flexible,⁹⁰ but never inconsis-
tent. (移 *ria*)⁹¹

100.13

100.14

[V]

That which is the Way,
The mouth cannot express, the eye cannot see, and the ear cannot
hear. (聽 *t'eng*)⁸³
It is the means to cultivate the mind and rectify its gestalt. (形
geng)⁸⁴
Losing it, men die; having it, they live. (生 *sreng*)
Losing it, undertakings fail; having it, they succeed. (成 *djieng*)⁸⁵

100.9

100.10

26

[VI.1]

It is ever so that the Way⁸⁶
Has neither roots nor stalks, (莖 *greng*)
Neither leaves nor blossoms. (榮 *i'weng*)
Yet what to all things gives life (生 *sreng*)
And brings them to fruition (成 *djieng*)
Is termed the Way.

100.11

101.1

[VI.3]

Capable of good judgment⁹² and remaining quiescent, (靜 *dzieng*)
He is consequently able to remain stable. (定 *deng*)
There being a stable mind within, (中 *t'awng*)⁹³
His ears and eyes are sharp and clear. (明 *mi'wawng*)
His four limbs strong and firm, (固 *ka*)
He can serve the vital essence as a dwelling place. (舍 *si'jia*)
The vital essence is the essence of the vital force.
When the vital force permeates,⁹⁴ there is life, and with life comes
thought. (思 *si'jəy*)
With thought comes knowledge, and with knowledge comes a
stopping point. (止 *jiay*)

101.2

⁸¹ The Yang edition mistakenly writes 按 for 接.

⁸² Rhyme: 蒸 (group 之, 3rd tone) with 接 (group 之, 4th tone), below.

⁸³ The *Hsinanazi*, [2/1b6-7] (Morgan, *Tao, The Great Luminant*, 103), says: "The Way cannot be heard. If it is heard, it is not the true Way. The Way cannot be seen. If it is seen, it is not the true Way. The Way cannot be expressed. If it is expressed, it is not the true Way. Who understands the formlessness of its form?"

⁸⁴ Again the meaning of 形 is not clear. Zhao Shouzheng follows the Yin commentary in reading it as physical form. Thus: "It is the means to cultivate one's mind and rectify one's physical form."

⁸⁵ This passage is somewhat similar to a passage in the "Dao fa" 道法 section of the *Mawangdui Jing fa*, 1: "Therefore all things emerge in the same manner from the true profoundness [of the Way] whether to die or whether to live, whether to fail or whether to succeed."

⁸⁶ Both the Yang and Zhao editions break the text with this line to begin a new section. Ma Feibai follows suit to begin a new stanza. Riegel/Haloun and Zhao Shouzheng would include this stanza in the preceding one. Shi Yishen believes it represents a misplaced slip and should be inserted in line 1b10 (100.1) after 日用其德, "we may daily use its Power."

⁸⁷ 正 here refers to the Heaven's regularity in respect to the seasons. Below, it refers to good judgment in people.

⁸⁸ I.e., it provides support equally to all living things.

⁸⁹ Emending 接 (*jiay*) to 材 (*dzei*), which completes the rhyme with 時 (*diy*)

[Wang Niansun].

⁹⁰ Inserting 道 following 物 in accordance with the Yin commentary [Xu Weiyu].

⁹¹ These two sentences are similar in content to the "Xin shu xin" 7a10 (67.12).
⁹² 正. This refers to the above statement that the sage, "in accordance with the times, is ever changing, but never transformed. In responding to things, he is ever flexible, but never inconsistent."

⁹³ Irregular rhyme: 中 (group 中) with 明 (group 明), below.

⁹⁴ Reading 道 as 通 [Dai Wang].

[VII.1]

It is ever so that the mind's gestalt, (形 *geng*)
On being inundated with too much knowledge, loses its

vitality. (生 *sheng*)

3a What is at one with things and able to bring about their transfor-
mation is called the Spirit.⁹⁵

101.3 What is at one with affairs and is able to bring about changes in
them is called wisdom.

To transform without altering one's vital force,

To change without altering one's wisdom—

101.4 Only the man of quality who grasps the One is able
to do this.⁹⁶

Grasping the One and never losing it (失 *shī'jīe*)⁹⁷

He is able to become prince over all things. (物 *mǐwà*)

101.5 The man of quality manipulates things but is never manipulated by
them. (使 *shǐyà*)

This is because he comprehends the One's inherent order. (理 *lǐy*)
A well-regulated mind lies within, well-regulated words issue from

his mouth, and well-regulated policies are applied to men.
Hence the world is well regulated.

“With one word comprehended, (得 *tàk*)

The world submits; (服 *bǐwàk*)

With one word firmly established, (定 *dēng*)

The world obeys.” (應 *t'eng*)

This saying clearly express the meaning.⁹⁸

[VII.2]

If the mind's gestalt⁹⁹ lacks good judgment, the Power will not
come. (來 *lay*)

If the self within is not quiescent, the mind will not be well
regulated. (治 *dīy*)

⁹⁴ This stanza is somewhat similar in content to two paragraphs in the “Xin shu xin,” 6b4–10 (67.3–5). However, for 神, “Spirit,” that chapter writes 精, “vital essence.”

⁹⁵ For a discussion of the meaning of “the One,” see the section on key terms in the introductory comments and n. 38, above.

⁹⁶ Irregular rhyme: 失 (group 脂, 2nd tone) with 物 (group 物, 4th tone), below.

⁹⁷ I have not been able to find this precise saying in any other text. However, H. G. Creel's reconstruction of the *Shienzi*, frag. 4 (*Shen Pi-hai*, 353), contains a somewhat similar statement concerning the rule of an enlightened prince: “His single word being correct, the world is well regulated.” Frag. 5 (p. 354) also says: “His single word being correct, the world stands firm.”

⁹⁸ Again the meaning of 形 in this sentence and the one below is not entirely clear. In both cases I have read it as referring to the mind's gestalt, but Zhao Shouzheng believes

Rectify the mind's gestalt and hold on to the Power. (德 *tàk*)
Then the beneficence of Heaven and righteousness of Earth in

bounteous fashion will naturally arrive. (來 *lay*)¹⁰⁰

101.7 The supremacy of the Spirit—how brilliant—it knows all things.¹⁰¹
Preserve it within,¹⁰² and do not go to excess. (戒 *t'ak*)

101.8 Do not let things confuse the senses; do not let the senses confuse
the mind.

This is called internalization of the Spirit.¹⁰³

[VII.3]

The Spirit independently exists. (在 *dzay*)¹⁰⁴

Its going and coming. (來 *lay*)

No one is able to contemplate. (思 *shīy*)

101.9 Lose it, and the mind is certain to be confused; obtain it, and the
mind is certain to be well regulated. (治 *dīy*)

Respectfully keep clean its abode,¹⁰⁵ and its vital essence will
naturally come. (來 *lay*)

Quiet¹⁰⁶ your thoughts in order to contemplate it. (思 *shīy*)

Rest your mind in order to keep control of it. (治 *dīy*)

Maintain a dignified appearance and respectful attitude, (敬 *k'eng*)
Then its vital essence will of itself become stable. (定 *dēng*)

Obtain it and never let it go. (捨 *shīy*)

it refers to one's physical form or outward appearance. Cf. the “Xin shu xin,” 5b9–6a2 (66.7–9), which is very similar in content and wording to stanza VII.2.

¹⁰⁰ Emending 至 (*shīy*) to 來 (*lay*, group 之, 1st tone) in accordance with the “Xin shu xia,” 5b11 (66.8), and completing the rhyme with 得 (*tàk*, group 之, 4th tone), above [Riegel/Haloun]. The meaning remains essentially the same.

¹⁰¹ Riegel/Haloun would emend 明之 to 莫知 and delete 乎 to make this sentence conform to a similar passage in the “Xin shu xin,” 5b11–12 (66.8). Thus: “No one understands the Spirit's supremacy, but it is brilliant in knowing the entire world.”

¹⁰² Deleting 養 as an interpolation taken from the line above [Wang Niansun and Ma Feibai].

¹⁰³ The “Xin shu xin,” 6a2 (67.9), for *zhong de* 中得, lit., “inner obtainment,” writes *nei de* 內得, “having the Power within.” *Zhong* and *nei* have essentially the same meaning, while the two *de* characters are often subject to a play on words. According to the “Xin shu xin,” 3b11 (64.10): “Therefore Power 得 is obtainment 得 and obtainment refers to obtaining the means for things to be what they are.”

¹⁰⁴ Deletting 身 in accordance with the rhyme pattern [Guo Morong].

¹⁰⁵ I.e., the mind. According to the the “Xin shu xin,” 1b4–5 (62.10): “Become empty of desires, and the Spirit will enter to take up its abode. Should you fail to make a clean sweep, the Spirit will not remain.” Line 2a5–6 (63.2–3) also says: “Cleanse the mansion of your mind and open the gates of perception! When you rid yourself of selfish desires and stop talking, the Spirit will appear.” The explanation for this statement (4b4–6.5.5) explains that “mansion” refers to the mind.

¹⁰⁶ Emending 静 to 靜, 静 was assimilated from the line above.

- Your ears and eyes will never go astray, nor your mind become occupied with irrelevant concerns. (圖 *dar*)¹⁰⁷
 When a stable¹⁰⁸ mind lies within, all things attain their proper measure. (度 *dar*)

[VIII.1]

- The Way fills the whole world, (下 *gray*)¹⁰⁹
 Existing wherever people dwell. (所 *stay*)
 Yet people are incapable of knowing it. (知 *they*)¹¹⁰
 With the one word understood,
 Above, one may explore Heaven;
 Below, reach the extremities of Earth;
 Circulating about, cover the whole of the nine regions. ¹¹¹
 What do we mean by understanding it? (之 *tiar*)
 This lies in the mind's regulation. (治 *tiar*)¹¹²

[VIII.2]

- When our minds are well regulated, (治 *diar*)
 Our sense organs are also well regulated. (治 *diar*)
 When our minds are at ease, (安 *an*)
 Our sense organs are also at ease. (安 *an*)
 What regulates them is the mind; (心 *stam*)

¹⁰⁷ Zhao Shouzheng would end the stanza with the phrase 耳目不暈, "your eyes and ears will never go astray," and begin a new stanza with 心無他用. Thus: "Do not let your mind become occupied with irrelevant concerns. When a stable mind lies within, all things attain their proper measure." However, Zhao's punctuation would destroy the rhyme and meter.

¹⁰⁸ Emending 正 to 定 in accordance with the above passage, 2b8-9 (100.14): "There being a stable mind within, his (the sage) ears and eyes are sharp and clear." Yi Yue (see *Chanzi jijiao* 2:656) would read 正 as 誠, "sincere."

¹⁰⁹ The opening passage of this stanza is summarized in the concluding sentence of the "Xin shu xia," 8a10-11 (68.10).

¹¹⁰ Riegel/Haloun would delete these three opening lines as commentary later inserted into the text. They may be correct. The rhyming of 所 (group 蒸) with 知 (group 佳) is not at all common.

¹¹¹ This passage is similar to one in the "Cheng fa" 成法 section of the *Mawangdun Shida jing* (*Shida jing*), 74: "With the One understood, one may explore Heaven and Earth; by grasping its inherent principles, one may reach everywhere within the four seas." The *Huainanzi*, 1/11b7 (Morgan, *Jao, the Great Luminant*, 18), and the *Fenzhi*, A/4b11-12, both contain somewhat similar statements.

¹¹² Following Guo Moruo, who would emend 安 (*an*) to 治 (*diar*) in order to preserve the rhyme with 之 (*tiar*), above. Zhang Peilian and Xu Weiyu would delete 安 as an interpolation taken from the following passage, 3b9-10 (101.13). Thus, "This lies in the mind."

- What sets them at ease is the mind. (心 *stam*)
 The mind therefore contains an inner mind. (心 *stam*)¹¹³
 That is to say within the mind there is another mind. (心 *stam*)

[VIII.3]

- In that mind's mind, (心 *stam*)¹¹⁴
 The power of awareness comes before sound. (音 *iam*)
 After awareness come forms. (形 *geng*)
 After forms come names. (名 *myieng*)
 After names comes putting the mind to use. (使 *stiar*)
 After putting the mind to use comes its regulation. (治 *diar*)
 Without proper regulation, there is certain to be confusion.
 If there is confusion, there is certain to be death.

[VIII.4]

- When the vital essence is present, it naturally produces life. (生 *sveng*)
 Outwardly it produces a restful glow. (榮 *iweng*)
 Stored within, it becomes a fountainhead. (原 *ng/wan*)¹¹⁵
 Floodlike,¹¹⁶ harmonious, and smooth, it becomes the vital force's wellspring. (淵 *'wen*)¹¹⁷
 So long as the wellspring does not run dry, (涸 *gak*)
 The four parts of the body¹¹⁸ will remain firm. (固 *kar*)

¹¹³ I.e., within the thinking mind there is a deeper mind that can control the thinking mind and thought processes.

¹¹⁴ This passage, 按心之心者以先言, 言然復形, 形然後言, 言然後使, 使然後治, which is somewhat similar to VIII, 37/8a4-7 (2:68.7-8), is clearly corrupt. I have followed Guo Moruo in emending the first 言 to 愛 and the first 言 to 音 (*iam*) in order to preserve the rhyme with 心 (*stam*). Since in the following phrase 言 (*ng/wan*) fails to rhyme with 形 (*geng*), he would also emend the two 言 to 名 (*myieng*). Liu Ji, Wang Niansun, and Zhang Peilian would emend the two characters 音 "sound" to 愛; "power of awareness" in accordance with a similar passage in the "Xin shu xia," 8a5 (68.7). Thus: "In the mind's mind, the power of awareness comes before words. After awareness come forms. After forms come words. After words come putting the mind to use. After putting the mind to use comes its regulation."

¹¹⁵ Cf. a somewhat similar passage in the "Xin shu xia," 8a7-9 (68.8-10).

¹¹⁶ *Hao ran* 浩然. This appears to be a common descriptive term. The *Mengzi*, II A, 2/9, uses it to describe the vital force. See n. 33, above.

¹¹⁷ Irregular rhyme: 淵 (group 真) with 原 (group 元), above. Riegel/Haloun, in accordance with the corresponding statement in the "Xin shu xia," 8a7-8 (68.9), would emend 淵, both here and below, to 泉 (*dz/iwan*), "fountain," thus maintaining a regular rhyme with 原.

¹¹⁸ The four parts of the body are arms, legs, head, and trunk.

102.4

So long as the wellspring is not exhausted, (鴻 *giat*)
The passages of the nine apertures will remain clear. (達 *dat*)¹¹⁹
Thus it is possible to explore the limits of Heaven and Earth and
cover the four seas. (海 *xmav*)
Within, there will be no delusions; without, there will be no
calamities. (孽 *stiy*)

102.5

His mind complete within, his form complete without, (外 *ngwar*)
Encountering neither Heaven-sent calamities nor man-made
harm—(害 *gar*)
Such a person, we call a sage.

[IX. 1]

When man is capable of good judgment and remaining quies-
cent,¹²⁰ his flesh will be plump and full, his ears and eyes sharp
and clear. (明 *miwang*)
His muscles will become taut,¹²¹ and his bones sturdy. (強 *giang*)
Thus he is able to wear on his head the Great Circle¹²² and plant
his feet on the Great Square, (方 *jiwang*)¹²³
Find his reflection¹²⁴ in the Great Purity and be comparable to the
great luminaries. (明 *miwang*)¹²⁵

102.6

[IX. 2]

Respectful and cautious, and avoiding excesses, he daily renews his
Power. (德 *tak*)
He comes to understand everything in the world and thoroughly
examines its four extremities. (極 *giak*)

102.7

¹¹⁹ Emending 通 (*ewng*) to 達 (*dat*) in order to preserve the rhyme with 鴻 (*giat*) [Wang Niansun, Yasui, Tao Hongjing, and Xu Weiyu]. The meaning is essentially the same.
¹²⁰ For a somewhat abbreviated version of this portion of stanza IX, see the "Xin shu xia," 7a11–7b2 (67.12–14).

¹²¹ The parallel sentence in the "Xin shu xia," 7a11 (67.12), for 信 (= 伸) writes 用, "firm."

¹²² The "Xin shu xia," 7a12 (67.13), for 圓 writes 圓.

¹²³ The "Great Circle" refers to Heaven and the "Great Square" to Earth.

¹²⁴ The "Xin shu xia," 7a12 (67.13), for 鑒 writes 鏡, as does the *Huadanzhi* text cited below. The translation remains the same.

¹²⁵ The *Huadanzhi*, 2/4a1–3 (Morgan, *Tao, the Great Luminant*, 36), contains a somewhat similar passage in reference to the sage: 是故能戴大員者履大方, 鏡太清者視大明, 立大平者處大堂. "For this reason, being one who is able to wear on his head the Great Circle, he plants his feet on the Great Square, finding his reflection in the Great Purity, he is comparable to the great luminaries, establishing great peace, he occupies the great hall." The "Great Purity" is the Way; the "great luminaries" are the sun and moon. For further discussion, see the "Xin shu xia," n. 32.

The respectful development of his inner well-being is what we call
internalization [of the Spirit]. (得 *tak*)
Being like this and never retrogressing, his is a life without¹²⁶
excesses. (減 *tak*)

[X. 1]

It is ever so that the Way is certain to be dense and close,¹²⁷
Certain to be broad and expansive, (舒 *sr'iar*)
Certain to be strong and firm. (固 *kay*)
Preserve the good and never let it go. (舍 *sr'iar*)
Rid yourself of licentiousness and discard¹²⁸ frivolity. (薄 *bwak*)¹²⁹
Having come to understand its supremacy, (極 *giak*)
You may return to the Way and its Power. (德 *tak*)

102.9

102.10

[X. 2]

When a complete¹³⁰ mind lies within, it cannot be concealed. (匿
niak)
It may be ascertained¹³¹ from one's bearing and observed from
one's complexion. (色 *siak*)
If you greet men with good will, they will become dearer than
brothers. (兄 *xiwang*)
If you greet them with ill will, they will become more harmful
than weapons. (兵 *piwang*)

102.11

¹²⁶ The meaning of these final two lines is not clear. I have followed Guo Moruo in emending the next to the last character, 之, to 亡 = 無.

¹²⁷ Both the Yang and Zhao editions break the text and begin a new section with this line. Harold Roth, "Psychology and Self-Cultivation," 618, adopts a rather radical interpretation for this passage, maintaining that it refers to a form of breath control meditation:

In general [to practice] this Way,
One must coil, one must contract,
One must uncoil, one must expand,
And one must be firm and regular [in this practice].

My translation accords with that of Ma Feibai Zhao Shouzheng, and other Chinese commentators in respect to reading *Dao* 道, "the Way," as the subject of the passage, but Ma and Zhao would interpret 固 and 密 as "all-embracing yet finely textured."

¹²⁸ Emending 薄 to 釋 [Lin Ji, Chen Huan, and Li Zhenming].

¹²⁹ Rhyme: 薄 (group 魚, 4th tone) with 舍 (group 魚, 3rd tone), above.
¹³⁰ The "Xin shu xia," 7b2 (67.14), for 舍 writes 舍, "mental." Both characters should probably be emended to 定 in accordance with the above passage, 2b8–9 (100.14): "There being a stable mind within, his (the sage) ears and eyes are sharp and clear." The remainder of this stanza is somewhat similar to the "Xin shu xia," 7b2–10 (67.14–68.4).

¹³¹ Emending 知 to 知 in accordance with the similar passage in "Xin shu xia," 7b4 (68.1) [Lin Ji and Wang Niansun].

The unvoiced sound may be more startling than a thunder clap. (其

kwɔŋ)¹³²

The manifestations of the mind and the vital force are more
illuminating than the sun and moon, more discerning than a
father or mother. (母 *maŋ*)

Rewards are not enough to encourage goodness; punishments are
not enough to discipline evil. (惡 *ak*).¹³³

But when awareness of the vital force¹³⁴ is attained, the whole
world will submit. (服 *bjwaŋ*)

When awareness of the mind is firmly rooted, (定 *deng*)

The whole world will obey. (聽 *t'eng*)

102.1

Without resorting to tortoise shell and milfoil, can you foretell bad

fortune from good? (吉 *kyier*)¹³⁹

Can you tell where to stop? Can you tell when to desist? (已 *riay*)

Rather than seeking it in others, can you find¹⁴⁰ it within yourself?

(己 *kiay*)

Think about it! Think about it! (之 *jiay*)

Again think about it! (之 *jiay*)

If you still cannot fathom it, ghosts and spirits will help you

fathom it. (通 *jiay*)

This is not because they possess some special prowess. (力 *liak*)

It is because the vital essence and its vital force are supreme. (極

giak)

102.12

102.13

102.14
59

[XI. 1]

If you concentrate¹³⁵ your vital force until you become like the

Spirit, (神 *zdjiɛŋ*)¹³⁶

Your grasp of all things will be complete. (存 *dzwan*)¹³⁷

Can you concentrate your mind? Can you focus your power of

awareness? (— *jiɛt*)¹³⁸

103.4

[XI. 2]

The four parts of the body will be in correct order. (正 *jiɛŋ*)

Your pulse and breath will become quiet. (靜 *dziɛŋ*)

You will focus your power of awareness and concentrate your

mind. (心 *siam*)

Your ears and eyes will not be distracted. (溼 *riam*)

And even though things be distant, they will appear as if near at

hand. (近 *gian*)¹⁴¹

[XI. 3]

Thought and inquiry produce knowledge.

Slackness and carelessness produce sorrow.

Violence and arrogance produce resentment.

Sorrow and melancholy produce illness. (疾 *dzjiɛt*)

Sickness and trouble bring death. (死 *siɛt*)¹⁴²

If you continue to think with no relaxation, (捨 *si'iaŋ*)

Inwardly you will be troubled, and outwardly you will grow thin.

(薄 *bwak*)¹⁴³

If you do not make early plans to prevent this, (圖 *day*)

Your life will relinquish its abode. (舍 *si'iaŋ*)

103.5
59

tell where to stop? Can you tell when to desist? Can you disregard it in others and seek it
within yourself?"

¹³⁹ Inverting the two characters 吉凶 in accordance with the parallel passage in the
"Xin shu xia," 6a11 (66.14), and to preserve the rhyme with — (*jiɛt*) [Wang Niansun

and Yasui].

¹⁴⁰ The Yang edition mistakenly deletes 得.

¹⁴¹ Irregular rhyme: 溼 (group 文) with 溼 (group 博), above.

¹⁴² Irregular rhyme: 疾 (group 脂, 2nd tone) with 疾 (group 脂, 4th tone) above.

¹⁴³ Irregular rhyme: 薄 (group 肴, 4th tone) with 捨 (group 蒸, 1st tone), above.

¹³² *Lei gwi* 雷鼓 may also refer to a large, eight-sided drum used during sacrificial ceremo-
nies to summon the spirits.

¹³³ Emending 過 (*kwɔŋ*), "mistakes," to 惡 (*ak*) [Guo Moruo]. 惡 completes the
rhyme with 服 (*bjwaŋ*), below.

¹³⁴ The meaning of the two expressions 氣意, "awareness of the vital force," and 心
意, "awareness of the mind," appearing in this and the following line, is not clear. Ma
Feibai says that they refer to the use of spiritual and psychological approaches to
government. Zhang Peitun would emend the two 意 characters to 意. Thus the transla-
tion would be: "unification of the vital force" and "unification of the mind."

¹³⁵ The Yang and the Zhao (Ming print) editions, both here and in the following line,
mistakenly write 推 for 推 = 推 [Lin Ji, Wang Niansun, Yasui, and Guo Moruo].

¹³⁶ This portion of stanza XI is similar in content to the "Xin shu xia," 6a9–6b3
(66.13–67.2).

¹³⁷ Irregular rhyme: 神 (group 真) with 存 (group 文).

¹³⁸ Again, the meaning of — presents a problem. I have read it in accordance with
a statement farther along in this stanza (3a8; 103.3): 一 意 推 (意) 心, "You will focus
(i.e., unify) your power of awareness and concentrate your mind." Such an interpretation
is further supported by somewhat similar passages in the "Xin shu xia," 6a9–10 (66.13)
and the "Shun dao" 順道 section of the Marwāṅghī *Shi da jing* (*Shih jing*), 88: "Can
you focus? Can you desist? Can you rise above yourself? Can you make decisions on
your own while honoring the inherent order of things?" However, in the *Zhuangzi*,
VIII, 23/4b7–10 (Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, 253), there is another passage very similar in
content that contains the phrase 推拖一手. In this case, — is clearly a noun and refers
to "the One" (perhaps the Way or perhaps true human nature or the undivided state
underlying one's consciousness). The *Zhuangzi* passage reads: "Laotzi said, 'The cardinal
precept in preserving life is—Can you embrace the One and never lose it? Without
resorting to tortoise shell and milfoil, can you foretell good fortune from bad? Can you

[XI. 4]

- 103.7 When eating, it is best not to overindulge.
When thinking, it is best not to overdo. (敬 *t'ier*)
When there is a suitable equilibrium, (齊 *dzer*)
Long life will naturally be achieved. (至 *t'ier*)

[XII]

- 103.8 It is ever so that in man's life, (生 *sreng*)
Heaven produces his vital essence. (精 *tsjeng*)
Earth produces his form. (形 *geng*)
These combine in order to produce man.
When they are in harmony, there is life. (生 *sreng*)
Without it, there is no life. (生 *sreng*)
If one searches for the way to it, (道 *daw*)
Its inner reality¹⁴⁴ cannot be seen, its outward manifestation cannot
be classified. (醜 *t'jaw*)
103.9 However, when equanimity and good judgment fill the breast and
engulf¹⁴⁵ the mind, this brings long life. (壽 *djaw*)
103.10 If joy¹⁴⁶ and anger are excessive, (度 *daj*)
Deal with them in a planned manner. (圖 *daj*)
Moderate the five desires¹⁴⁷ and get rid of the two violent emo-
tions. (凶 *xjewng*)¹⁴⁸
103.11 Be neither joyous nor angry, then equanimity and good judgment
will fill your breast. (匈 *xjewng*)

[XIII]

- 103.12 It is ever so that man's life (生 *sreng*)¹⁴⁹
Is certain to depend on equanimity and good judgment. (正 *tjieng*)
Its loss is certain to be because of joy and anger, sorrow and
suffering.
103.13 Thus, for arresting anger, nothing is better than poetry.
For getting rid of sorrow, nothing is better than music.
For moderating music, nothing is better than rules of propriety.

¹⁴⁴ Emending 精 to 精 [Yasui, Dai Wang, and Guo Moruo].

¹⁴⁵ Emending 治 to 治 [Guo Moruo].

¹⁴⁶ Emending 志 to 志 in accordance with the text below [Ding Shihan].

¹⁴⁷ The five desires stem from the action of the five organs: ears, eyes, nose, mouth, and heart/mind, and involve hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting, and love and hate.

¹⁴⁸ The two violent emotions are joy and anger.

¹⁴⁹ This stanza is similar in content to a paragraph in the "Xin shu xia," 7b11-8a2 (68.4-6).

For preserving rules of propriety, nothing is better than respect.

(敬 *ki'eng*)

For preserving respect, nothing is better than quiescence. (靜

dzieng)¹⁵⁰

Inwardly quiescent and outwardly respectful, (敬 *ki'eng*)

You may revert to your true nature, (性 *sjeng*)

And it will become completely stable. (定 *deng*)

[XIV. 1]

- 103.13 It is ever so that concerning eating habits,
With excessive gorging, the breath will be harmed (傷 *st'jiang*)
And the form will be unable to hold it all. (藏 *dzang*)¹⁵¹
With excessive abstention, the bones will dry up (枯 *kay*)
And the blood will congeal. (凝 *gay*)
103.14 The middle ground between gorging and abstention is called
moderation. (戒 *djieng*)
It provides a place for the vital essence to dwell and for knowledge
to develop. (生 *sreng*)
104.1 If hunger or overindulgence is excessive, (度 *daj*)
Deal with it in a planned manner. (圖 *daj*)
When too full, quickly move about; when hungry, relax your
thoughts; when old, forget¹⁵² your worries. (慮 *liat*)
If having eaten too much, you do not quickly move about,
The breath will not circulate to your four extremities. (未 *mwat*)
If, being hungry, you do not relax your thoughts,
Your hunger¹⁵³ will not be alleviated. (廢 *p'war*)¹⁵⁴
104.2 If, being old, you do not forget your worries, when troubled,¹⁵⁵
you will be quickly exhausted. (竭 *giat*)

¹⁵⁰ This Confucian-sounding passage may well represent a later addition. See n. 40, above.

¹⁵¹ The writing of 大无傷而不藏 is clearly corrupt. I have followed Li Zhenming in emending this line to 大无氣傷而形不藏. According to the *Lexi chunghu*, I, 377b10-12 (Wilhelm, *Friehling und Herbst*, 8): "If a person tastes a great many delicacies, his stomach will be stuffed. When stuffed, the insides will be stretched too tightly. When they are stretched too tightly, the breath cannot circulate. If such a state continues for long, can life be maintained?"

¹⁵² Emending 畏 to 忘, both here and below [Guo Moruo]. Ma Feibai would leave the sentence as is, reading it as: "When old, put a premium on (i.e., be sparing in) your mental effort." See n. 155, below.

¹⁵³ Emending 耗 to 耗 [Yu Yue].

¹⁵⁴ Rhyme: 廢 (group 祭, 3rd tone) with 未 (group 祭, 4th tone) above, and 竭 (group 祭, 4th tone), below.

¹⁵⁵ As mentioned above, Ma Feibai would leave 畏 in the previous sentence as is, but

[XIV. 2]

- Expand your mind, and you will feel release. (敬 *t'jang*)¹⁵⁶
 Deepen your breathing, and you will feel relaxed. (廣 *kwang*)
 Your form will be at ease and never restless. (移 *riá*)
 You will be able to focus your power of awareness, and dispose of
 the myriad minor irritations. (奇 *ga*)
 On seeing profit, you will not be enticed. (誘 *yriwar*)
 On seeing harm, you will not be frightened. (懼 *gw'war*)¹⁵⁷
 Being relaxed and humane, you will find happiness within your-
 self. (身 *st'ien*)
 This is called setting in motion¹⁵⁸ the vital force so that your
 awareness and action become like Heaven. (天 *t'en*)

104.3

The spiritual force within the mind, sometimes arrives and some-
 times departs. (逝 *djar*)
 So fine that nothing can exist within it; so large that nothing can
 exist beyond it. (外 *ng'war*)¹⁶¹
 The reason we lose it is because haste is harmful. (害 *gar*)
 When the mind is able to retain a state of quiescence, (靜 *dzieng*)
 The Way will naturally become stable. (定 *deng*)
 For the man who comprehends the Way—
 The lines [of his face] effuse¹⁶² [a sense of harmony], and his hair
 exudes it. (泄 *riar*)¹⁶³
 Within his breast there is nothing corrupt. (敗 *brwar*)
 Since he practices this method of moderating desires, nothing ever
 causes him harm. (害 *gar*)

[XV. 1]

- It is ever so that man's life is certain to depend on his being
 content. (敬 *xw'ar*)
 Through sorrow he loses his guiding thread; through anger he
 loses his beginnings. (端 *twar*)¹⁵⁹
 In sorrow and melancholy, joy and anger, (怒 *nar*)
 The Way can find no resting place. (處 *t'jar*)
 Love and desires—quiet them! (靜 *dzieng*)
 Stupidity¹⁶⁰ and confusion—rectify them! (正 *tieng*)
 Do not pull! Do not push! (推 *twar*)
 Happiness will naturally be restored. (歸 *kywar*)

104.4

161 According to the "Xin shu xiu," 2a8 (64.2): "The Way lies between Heaven and Earth.
 It is so large that nothing exists beyond it. It is so small that nothing exists within it."
 162 Reading 悉 as 悉 [Wang Yinzh].
 163 Following Wang Yinzh who would emend 屯 to 毛 in accordance with another
 version of this statement appearing in the *Huanzanzi*, 20/3a2-5: "Now a person who
 adheres to the Way stores the vital essence within [his body] and retains the Spirit in his
 mind. He is quiet and still, and happiness (愷 = 凱) lies within his breast. A harmful vital
 force has no place to stay or congeal. His four limbs are as close-knit as the joint and
 tendon. The lines [of his face] exude [harmony]; his hair effuses it. Thus his essential
 parts are harmonious and well functioning and his hundred veins and nine apertures all
 operate together."

[XV. 2]

- That the Way will naturally come (來 *lay*)
 Is something you can count on and plan for. (謀 *mywar*)
 If you are quiescent, you will obtain it. (之 *t'jar*)
 If you move hastily, you will lose it. (之 *t'jar*)

he would emend 困 here to 困 = 淵. Thus this sentence would read: "If being old, you do not
 put a premium on your mental effort, the wellspring will be quickly exhausted."

¹⁵⁶ Emending 敬 to 敬 [He Ruzhang].

¹⁵⁷ Irregular rhyme: 懼 (group 爰) with 誘 (group 之), above.

¹⁵⁸ Reading 壹 as 壹 = 運 [Yasui and Guo Moruo].

¹⁵⁹ According to the *Mengzi*, II.A, 6/5-7, man has the four beginnings (si *dian* 四端)
 of virtue: "A feeling of commiseration (ce *yin* 惻隱) is the beginning of humanness
 (ren 仁), a sense of shame and disgrace (xu *e* 羞惡) is the beginning of a sense of duty
 (yi 義), a sense of modesty and yielding (ci *rang* 辭讓) is the beginning of propriety
 (li 禮), and a sense of right and wrong (shi *fei* 是非) is the beginning of wisdom (zhi
 智)."

¹⁶⁰ Reading 運 as 愚 [Yasui, Zhang Binglin, and Xu Weiyu].