



The Scripture on Great Peace

THE *TAIPING JING* AND THE BEGINNINGS OF DAOISM

Barbara Hendrischke

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University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles, California

University of California Press, Ltd.
London, England

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Tai ping jing. English

The scripture on great peace : the Taiping jing and the beginnings of Daoism / [translated by] Barbara Hendrichske.

p. cm—(Daoist classics series)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-520-24788-8 (cloth : alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 0-520-24788-4 (cloth : alk. paper).

1. Hendrichske, Barbara, 1940— II. Title.

III. Title: Taiping jing and the beginning of Daoism.

BL1900.T22552E64 2007

299.5'1482—dc22

2006018986

Manufactured in the United States of America

15 14 13 12 11 10 09 08 07 06
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

This book is printed on Natures Book, which contains 50% post-consumer waste and meets the minimum requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (R 1997) (*Permanence of Paper*).

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SECTION 41 • How to Distinguish
between Poor and Rich

This section is one of the most practice-oriented in the text.¹ It consists of two parts, one analyzing relations of property and the other the lot of women. The first is too short to be a separate section of its own, and there is no other material in the received text to which it could belong. The second part is linked closely to the following section, section 42, an indication that here, at least, the sequence of sections is not haphazard.

The first half of the section discusses the stages of wealth and poverty and how they are achieved. I have found no parallel in Han dynasty or earlier material of these different stages. Rhetorical as this account might be, the enumeration of the different types of poverty stresses the severity of social conditions and the prevalence of misery. Poverty is depicted as an element of the apocalyptic scenario. Its rapid increase is supposed to persuade men that there is an urgent need to change their ways. An almost theological need to tie different levels of being into one unified structure induces the Master to juxtapose men's poverty with that of the earth. However, heaven's position is too exalted to allow the idea of celestial poverty.

Once the Master has defined the stages of poverty and environmental destruction, as we might understand the expression "earth's poverty," he moves toward an analysis of what causes them. He points out that the plight of individual families stems from outside factors. Both poverty and wealth have a cosmic dimension. Since men are children of heaven and earth, they thrive only when their parents thrive. Thus an individual and his family cannot prosper in a community that is in misery.

Even the royal house is not exempt from this nexus. Individual wealth is said to be a fake; only a self-sufficient community can be called wealthy. In line with the *Laozi*'s image of ideal communal life, wealth is seen as created exclusively by agricultural production. The possession of valuables becomes relevant only when basic necessities are in short supply.

The prevention of poverty and the achievement of wealth, then, are the same thing, and both are said to result from proper political action. Here the Master assembles lines of thought common in quietist political philosophy, for instance in the *Huainan zi*.² Impoverishment is the result of poor politics. It came into being when *dao* was replaced by *wen* (culture) and by military rule. The Master does not seriously pursue these thoughts, referring to them only in passing before he arrives at his own message: a community will be wealthy when its government takes the triad of heaven, earth, and men into proper account. The government must establish a direct relationship between the agricultural producer and the cosmic, natural sources of fertility and growth. This precludes other, more prominent, ancient approaches to the problem: neither individual industriousness nor proper economic policy will create wealth.³

The second half of the section is possibly premodern China's most outspoken attack on female infanticide. The argument is characteristic of the way the Celestial Master sets forth his doctrine. He argues on cosmic rather than on moral grounds. The main evil in infanticide is the distress and resentment it provokes in females. Their protests reach heaven and earth, which react by causing harvest failures. Another evil resulting from it is a shortage of women, which makes it difficult for each man to have two wives and thus ensure his progeny. But the problem is too fundamental to be solved by decree. Parents don't kill girls because they want to. They feel they can't afford to bring up children from whom they will get no return. The Master thus suggests that girls should be made more valuable by permitting them to earn their keep, just as boys do. They should be to their husbands what an official is to his lord. This would enable a daughter to support her own parents in exchange for the trouble they took to raise her. In this situation a wife would be happy and not of "two hearts," as the Master puts it. She would no longer serve her in-laws at the cost of forsaking her own parents.

It is remarkable that the position of the TPJ in this matter is as isolated as it is. Clearly, infant mortality was such that newborn children were in general not yet seen as human beings, so that Confucian arguments for humane behavior were not applicable to them. As a consequence, the Master does not apply moral considerations, but rather points to the "resentment" created by such killings and its destabi-

lizing cosmic effect. The Master's program for changing the situation amounts to premodern China's only attempt to allocate to women the full measure of human responsibility. Their filial piety, which to those in the second century C.E. was roughly equivalent to their morality, was to be equated with that of men.

. . .

(41.29) Step forward, Perfected! You have been coming to study the doctrine (*dao*) for such a long time. You have really learned it all by now, don't you think?

If you had not again spoken to me, I might have thought so. But as soon as I hear your words, I know it is not so. Now I would like to reach the end but I can't think of another question. If the Celestial Master would only reveal my shortcomings once again!

All right, come here. What do we mean by "rich" and "poor"?

Well, those who own a lot are rich and those who own little are poor.

What you have said appears to be true but is in fact false.

What do you mean?

Take someone who often cheats, deceives, flatters, steals, and robs. How could we call him "rich"? Or take a situation where the people in general own a lot while the sovereign owns but little. How could we call him "poor"?⁴ (41.30)

Foolish and stupid as I am, I felt I had to speak up when the Celestial Master set out to instruct me. I am not good enough; I am at fault.

If you say you are not good enough, how shall the common people know the meaning of poor and rich?

If only you would think of my ignorance as being as that of a small child⁵ who must be instructed by its father and mother before it gains understanding.⁶

True. Modest as you are, you don't go amiss.

Yes.

Collect your thoughts. I will tell you all.⁷ We speak of "rich" when there is sufficient supply. By making everything grow, heaven provides enough wealth. Thus we say that there is enough wealth when supreme majestic *qi*⁸ arises and all twelve thousand plants and beings⁹ are brought to life. Under the influence of medium majestic *qi*, plants and beings are slightly deficient in that it cannot provide for all twelve thousand of them. This causes small poverty. When under the influence of lower majestic *qi*, plants and beings are again fewer than under the influence of medium

majestic *qi*, and this causes great poverty. When there are no auspicious portents¹⁰ [signifying the approach of majestic *qi*] at all, the crops¹¹ won't grow, which is extreme poverty. Take a look at a peasant family if you wish to know what this amounts to. Should they not possess any rare and valuable objects, they are considered a poor family.¹² Should they not be supplied with what they need, they must be seen as an extremely poor family.

The problem lies in the poverty of heaven and earth. Once all twelve thousand plants and beings come forth and are nurtured by earth without detriment, earth becomes rich. If it can't nurture them well,¹³ it becomes slightly poor as long as injuries remain small, and quite poor should they be large. If crops were to shy away from being seen and fail to grow, injured by earth's body, this would lead to extreme poverty. Without jade and other valuables and with half the yields damaged, great distress and poverty would come about. Such complete damage would eradicate a poor family.

Now think of heaven as father and earth as mother. Should father and mother be in such extreme poverty all their children would suffer from poverty. The king's government is a replica of this. Thus the wise kings of antiquity, whose reign reached out to all twelve thousand plants and beings, became lords of great wealth. Harvests that reach two-thirds of their potential provide a lord with medium wealth. When they amount to only one-third, he has but little wealth. With neither valuables nor crops, he becomes a lord of great poverty.¹⁴ Once half of his harvests are damaged, his house is in decline. If all are damaged, he becomes a man of great poverty.

The wise and worthy of antiquity reflected deep in their dark chamber¹⁵ on the question of how poverty and wealth were achieved through [adhering to] *dao* and virtue. Why should anyone ask about this? Through meditation, men will find out for themselves.¹⁶ (41.31)

*Excellent! If the Celestial Master would only show kindness to emperors and kings! They have suffered bitterly and for a long time,¹⁷ and have been frustrated in their ambition. Whereby does one achieve such poverty and such wealth?*¹⁸

Yes, fine! Your question touches upon the crucial point of certain subtle sayings.¹⁹ Well, how they are put into practice brings about gain or loss. Once someone follows the true doctrine (*dao*) with all his might, heaven's life-giving spirits²⁰ will help his mission. So spirits sent by heaven and good harvests will be plenty. If a man enacts virtue, earth's nourishing spirits will come forth²¹ to assist his conduct of affairs. Thus, he will gain half of his potential wealth. Once someone enacts humaneness, the humane spirits of the harmony that prevails in the realm between heaven and

earth²² will step forward to help him conduct his affairs and achieve a small measure of wealth. Someone who attempts cultural refinement is on the way to intrigues and deceit, so that deceitful spirits will come forth to help him. Thus his conduct will be in some disorder. (41.32) But if he were to undertake military action, bandit spirits would be bound to appear in his support. Government would thus be directed against the will of heaven. It would injure and harm even good men.²³

Dao sets the rule for heaven's conduct.²⁴ Since heaven is the highest of all spirits (*zui shen* 最神), true spirits come forth to assist its mission. Since earth nurtures, virtuous spirits step forward to assist its mission. Humane spirits come forth to help a man's mission if he is humane. Cultured men are preoccupied with deceiving each other by means of culture. They have lost their root. Thus deceitful spirits appear to assist them. Once superiors and inferiors deal with each other by means of culture, their affairs are in disorder. Soldiers subdue others through punishment, murder, and injury. Bandits do the same. Any man who in subduing others is guided by anger, joy, violence, and severity is a bandit. So, large numbers of bandits step forth to threaten his reign. Since they often damage people's belongings, such a way of government entails a loss of property.²⁵

Thus antiquity's supreme lords, who subdued others through *dao*, largely accorded with the will of heaven. They governed as if they were spirits. They subdued others through true *dao* without causing distress. Lords of middle rank exert control through virtue, and lords of lower rank through humaneness. Lords of chaos subdue others through cultural refinement, and those of disaster and defeat rule by punishing, murdering, and injuring others. Thus the supreme lords of antiquity ruled over others through *dao*, virtue, and humaneness instead of inflicting injuries by means of culture or through punishing and murdering others. Since this is the case, the use of such means is despicable.²⁶

However, a supreme lord resembles heaven and earth. Since heaven is prone to giving life rather than to inflicting injuries, we call it lord and father. Since earth likes to nurture the ten thousand plants and beings, we call it honest official and mother. Since man thinks in a humane manner and shows the same concern and care as heaven and earth do, we call him humane. Through their goodness these three manage to govern and to lead the ten thousand plants and beings. But one cannot govern by deceiving and punishing, [for then] disasters grow in number and make it impossible for emperors and kings to achieve great peace. So this must stop.

Now if you, Perfected, were to give my book to a lord in possession of *dao* and virtue and he implemented what it says energetically, he would reach a position that would correspond to that of heaven. Thus he would achieve great peace. There is

no doubt that we would call his house rich. In this case nothing would cause emperors and kings to suffer distress. In the opposite case we would speak of a poor house. *Nowadays people sometimes call each other "rich families." Why is this so?*²⁷

This is what they do, but the common people talk nonsense. When we use the word "rich" we mean that everything is provided for. (41.33) If one single item is lacking, [supplies] are incomplete. For this reason the wise and worthy of old did not demand perfection from individuals, since they did not see them fit for it.²⁸ Today goods are in short and incomplete supply in all eighty-one territories.²⁹ It is impossible to achieve any long-term sufficiency, so goods are obtained from other territories. Now to what degree can one individual family be rich? Would you like to go along with the nonsense that common people put forth?

No, I would not dare to.

You have learned to watch your words, so don't utter nonsense, or you might bring disorder to the standard patterns (*zheng wen* 正文) of heaven and earth and they won't serve as a model for men.³⁰ Be careful.

Yes, I will. Now the Celestial Master has shown himself to be merciful and loving. He has a kind regard for emperors and kings who on their thrones suffer distress and fail to be in favor with heaven.

Since it has all been explained to them they should be able to find the path that leads to the great peace of supreme majesty.³¹

*Foolish as I am, I have received a large amount of writings. I feel dizzy and confused as if I was a youngster and I don't know what to ask next. Since you are heaven's enlightened teacher, do convey all its warnings!*³²

Yes, fine. Well, according to the model set by heaven, Yang's cipher is one and that of Yin two.³³ So Yang is single and Yin is a pair. Therefore, lords are few and subordinates are many. Since Yang is honored and Yin is humble, two Yin must jointly serve one Yang. Since heaven's cipher is one and that of earth is two, two women must jointly serve one man.

Why should it be necessary that two persons care for one?

The place next to someone in an honored position must never be left empty. When one is employed the other must remain standing or sitting next to the person in the center to look after his needs. So the one resembles heaven while the two are similar to earth. (41.34) Since men are children of heaven and earth, they must imitate both. The world has nowadays lost *dao*, so girls are often despised and even maltreated and murdered, which has caused there to be fewer girls than boys. So Yin's

qi is reduced, which does not agree with the model of heaven and earth. Heaven's way establishes the model that a solitary Yang without a partner will bring drought and cause heaven not to rain when it should. Women correspond to earth: Should one single woman be despised, it is as if all in the world despise their true mother. Should they maltreat, hurt, or murder³⁴ earth's *qi*, it will be cut off and cease to give life. In great anger the earth would then turn hostile, so that a plethora of disasters would make it impossible for the king's government to achieve peace.

Why?

The male is heaven's vital spirit; the female is earth's. Things (*wu* 物) influence each other within their own kind. It is not only the king's fault that his government is not at peace. Instead, men have in general lost *dao* and become negligent. They are all wrong. Since there is not just one mistake but ten thousand, it is difficult to conduct government affairs peacefully and they tend to go wrong. It is the nature of heaven and earth that among all twelve thousand plants and beings human life is the most important.³⁵ Thus maltreating and murdering women brings profound disorder to a king's government. This is a great offense.³⁶

Now the Celestial Master has opened to kings the ascent to great peace. The true scripture on great peace has appeared. Thus they need only at their leisure to go on long spiritual journeys. How can it be that to violate women entails so much calamity for them?

This is a good question. You understand what heaven wants. Truly, the whole world despises and hates women because they condemn their conduct.

What do you mean? I wish to hear it. I will try to take notes on bamboo and silk so that for ten thousand times ten thousand generations no one will dare to depart from it.

Fine. Now that you can put it down in writing, the world will in the future never again murder women.³⁸

Yes, I want to write it down in order to free emperors and kings from calamities. I take pleasure in saving the lives of women [stricken with] grief.

Good. Now you have gained points in the accounts kept by heaven.

What do you mean?

Indeed, to give life to others means giving life to oneself, and to kill others means to kill oneself. Heaven's concern for you may already have increased your account with heaven. So the Controller of Fate³⁹ will make alterations in your personal records.

This I would never dare to accept.

One must not turn this down; it lies within the model of heaven being the way it is (*ziran* 自然). Well, women are murdered all over the world [for the following

reason]: A father and mother suffer distress as long as a human being is young and small. They skimp on their own clothes and food in order to rear it. It is not only human beings who behave like this; all things that crawl and run behave like this. Everyone, big or small, must when grown up put all their energy into the search for clothes and food. (41.35) Thus the ten thousand beings all leave their father and mother to clothe and feed themselves. If they are worthy they meet with happiness; if they are not they are in distress. Furthermore, when young, a child gains daily more strength until it has ample, while its father and mother are daily more wasted by old age. Their strength diminishes until it no longer suffices. But, with its surplus of knowledge, worthiness, and strength, a child, whether male or female, must nourish its father and mother in return for their exertion and kindness on its behalf. So its father and mother must no longer clothe and feed it or we say “the weak is nourishing the strong.” We speak about “adverse policy” should someone with insufficient muscle power nourish those who have more than they need. This is the reason young ones who are bound to bring distress to those who are older without providing any gains for their father and mother are often killed by them. Now their father and mother murder them because clothes and food are scarce. Wouldn't it be better to rear them and let everyone find their own clothes and food? Perfected, this is really a grievous interruption of earth's dispensation.⁴⁰ People are so foolish!

Now that I have heard this, I feel sad and alarmed. I understand that there are many grievances. What should be done?

Well, someone who likes to study but does not get clothes and food is stopped on his way (*dao*) since his studies are interrupted. But if he gets clothes and food, the worthy does not cease to learn. We should let everyone be of some use. If not they would instead cause distress and misery.

What do you mean?

Now a woman has no abode. She must get clothes and food by attending to her husband as a man does by attending to his office.⁴¹ When a woman attends to her husband's house, they must support each other and lead their life in unison. Together they continue the dispensation of heaven and earth, until in death their bones and flesh are returned to the same place. They get clothes and food from supporting each other. If they are worthy, they will be happy; if not, they will suffer. Take soil as an example: heaven will add its share to the rich produce of fertile soil. It does exactly the same for the poor produce of meager soil. It certainly does not deprive soil of giving growth. Heaven and earth would never deprive a woman⁴² of her achieve-

ment. How much more so should this be men's axiom! If it were, men would never again kill their women!

Excellent indeed! As soon as this one great and severe damage has been averted, great peace will come about for emperors and kings.

How do you know, Perfected?

Well, the affection a father and mother feel for their child is the most solid there is in this world. If the child did not make them miserable and distressed, there would be no reason to kill it. They must not kill it or else their qi becomes that of bandits and in their great contrariness they are thoroughly devoid of dao.⁴³ For this reason it throws the reign of emperors and kings into deep disorder. (41.36) Now if women were to live without being maltreated, murdered, and violated, there would be great joy.

Yes, what you have said is true. We may assume that you have understood. Now if one family kills one female: how many hundreds of thousands of families are there all over the world? Sometimes one family kills dozens of females⁴⁴ or a fetus is injured before birth. Grief-stricken qi⁴⁵ rises up to move heaven. How can these acts not be disorderly (*wu dao li* 無道理)? So I truly want you to know more about it.⁴⁶

Should every human being through her own effort provide her own clothes and food, no wife would be of two hearts. She would concentrate on her activities and never again harbor any doubts. Those who lack achievement are forever deprived of a balance of mind.

So much for the methods that nature, being as it is (*tian xing ziran* 天性自然), suggests. Pay attention, Perfected, that you don't lay this book aside, but give it to a lord who is humane and worthy, so that he can free [men] from all the grief they are stricken with and from the calamities that injure them. Pay attention to what my book says so that you can explain it to everyone. It must never again be permissible to do away with females.⁴⁷

Furthermore, this rule agrees with the model (*fa* 法) of heaven and earth according to which one man should have two wives because heaven has arranged that Yang is single and Yin is a pair. Since the height of middle antiquity men have forgotten what heaven's way intends and have often maltreated and murdered females, which has in turn caused men to be numerous and women to be so few that there are not enough. This is grossly opposed to heaven's way. By making the killing of females a common practice, men have caused even more [evil] to be inherited and passed on.⁴⁸ Later generations have multiplied the world's trespasses, so that it has become completely devoid of *dao*.

Man is heir to heaven's dispensation and woman to that of earth. If we were to

cut off earth's dispensation we would no longer be able to reproduce ourselves, and then many of us would die without progeny. What an awful crime!⁴⁹ Thus all must reproduce themselves and continue their kind. But if we were to interrupt earth's dispensation and exterminate humankind, heaven would forever put an end to the species populating this world.⁵⁰

Moreover, when human beings come to life, heaven's *qi* shines forth in all of them: their head is round like heaven, their feet are square like earth, the four limbs resemble the four seasons, the five internal organs the five phases, while ears and eyes, mouth and nose are like the seven regents⁵¹ or three luminaries. I cannot explain to you all of this, but wise men⁵² know about it. The life of human beings is all Yin and Yang. Once the number of days and months is completed, they open the womb and step outside. In sight of heaven and earth, they grow up. Together they continue the dispensation of their ancestors. They assist heaven in giving life to plants and beings (*wu* 物) and assist earth in nourishing what has taken shape.

Since the spirits of heaven and earth put their trust in a certain family, their dispensation comes to live in a certain human being. That men damage it, heaven sees as a grave misdeed. But men won't keep each other in check. (41.37) Therefore heaven has sent me to make this book known to the generations to come. Although these matters are quite manifest, they are still continued, consciously. We must say that this is to consciously act against the model set by heaven. It is a crime of many layers and will no doubt put an end to humankind. Beware, Perfected, be on your guard.

Yes, I will.

Now that you have understood these issues, you and not others will be put on trial should you neglect these writings.

I would not dare to do so!

You may go now, and may each of you follow your own device.

*Yes, we will.*⁵³

NOTES

1. The title of this section points to the topic of distinction or differentiation (*fen bie* 分別) that is found throughout the TPJ and has been aptly expressed by the text's sixth-century editors in their section titles. See section 4, "The method of differentiating harm done to the body . . ." (TPJ p. 723, *Chao*, part 1); section 24, "The method of distinguishing between good and evil in men" (only in the Dunhuang list of contents, Yoshioka 1970: 23); section 79, "The method of distinguishing the four types of govern-

ment” (Yoshioka 1970: 29; for section “80,” TPJ p. 195); and section 97, “Instructions on how to distinguish the nine types of men” (Yoshioka 1970: 31, cf. TPJ p. 221, *Chao*, part 4). Poverty and wealth figure also in the title of section 349, “How to achieve poverty and wealth” (Yoshioka 1970: 57); the original text of this is lost, as is the corresponding section of the *Chao*.

2. See, for instance, *Huainan zi* 8, “*Ben jing*” 本經, p. 4b and passim.
3. Compare the *Shi ji* biographies of the wealthy (chap. 129) for the first approach and the economic material in the *Guanzi* for the second.
4. The Master here makes use of the fact that the character *fu* 富, which, while adequately translated as “wealth” or “rich,” can be used interchangeably with *fu* 福, “happiness”; cf. Morohashi 1985: no. 7230, which quotes a *Shi jing* passage.
5. I read *nian* 念 for *ling* 令, with Yu 2001a: 41.
6. It is not only the Master who guides as a father and mother. The model established by heaven (*tian fa* 天法; TPJ 100.228) does as well, and so does the wise man with respect to his neighbors (TPJ 103.246).
7. This ends the introduction of the discussants and their topic. The tone of the conversation is, on both sides, polite. The topic is chosen by the Master at the request of the student. In the following, the Master gives wealth a utopian quality by insisting on its completeness: only when nothing is missing will there be real wealth. Wealth thus becomes a sociopolitical rather than an individual aim and can best be observed in the personal poverty of a king who reigns over a populous and therefore wealthy country:

Great Yang is afraid of great Yin. . . . For this reason it is important in governing a country to see that there is wealth where the population is large and poverty and misery where it is small. (TPJ 105.264)

What is here meant by wealth is the best of several types of wealth mentioned in the *Shi ji*:

Hence riches of the fundamentals (*ben* 本, that is, agriculture) are the best, riches from the secondary sector (*mo* 末) come next and riches gained through criminal acts are the very lowest (129.3272; trans. by Swann 1950: 451).

The source of some of this wealth can be morally doubtful:

Neither poverty nor riches as a way of life can be taken or given; the clever have a surplus, the stupid have not enough (129.3255; trans. by Swann 1950: 422).

The *Shi ji* elucidates this statement through biographical sketches of rich persons.

The TPJ’s definition of *fu*, however, is not uniform, not even within layer A material. Although in the passage under consideration moral aspects are seen as essential, this is not true for most of the text, which follows the common understanding of the word:

Some men have obtained good, rich soil as well as the produce of heaven, earth, and the harmony between them simply by chance. They pile up millions and millions of all sorts of grain and a vast amount of jade, gold, and silver. (TPJ 103.246)

This is similar to the naïve way in which the *Guanzi*, in one of its economic rather than philosophical sections, regards the reasons for individual poverty and wealth:

If a man is lazy and extravagant, he will become poor; if he is industrious and frugal, he will become rich. (Chap. 64 “*Xing shi jie*” 形勢解, p. 325; trans. by Rickett 1985: 66)

Although this directly contradicts section 41, it is repeated elsewhere in the TPJ:

Should a gentleman persist in working hard, then he would become great in collecting valuables and his house would be rich and lack nothing. (TPJ 103.251)

When the Master chooses to ignore the moral aspect of the acquisition of wealth, he tends to stress the moral aspect of its distribution, as, for instance, in section 103, where it is argued that you offend *taiping* morality not by being wealthy, but by not allowing others to share your wealth.

8. For “supreme majestic *qi*,” see below, section 65. The passage attributes four different degrees to heaven’s influence on the growth of harvests. If this influence amounted to bad portents it would not be called *huang* 皇, since this term is reserved for items of some positive value.

9. The figure twelve thousand (*wan er qian*), as in *wan er qian wu* 萬二千物, is characteristic of the TPJ. The whole world, for instance, is called “twelve thousand countries”: “In the world there are eighty-one territories (*yu* 域) and twelve thousand countries” (TPJ p. 709, *Chao*, part 9). This is explained thus:

Why are there twelve thousand countries? The figures of heaven start with one and end with ten. Ten is multiplied by itself. Since the way of heaven turns around when it reaches five, this amounts to ten thousand countries. The “two thousand” are added in correspondence to Yin and Yang. Look at the following example: Just as the figure ten should be the end, the months of the year are only twelve. However, in five years repeated intercalary months are inserted among them. This corresponds to heaven and earth basically originating in heaven, in that the outside and the inside of heaven’s hollow grotto unite in corresponding fashion the figures of heaven and earth. Therefore, twelve months can in turn be one year only because of the intercalary month amidst them. (TPJ 139.390)

The starting point is one. It takes five steps—as explained by the figure five mentioned above—to get to ten thousand:

The figures of heaven start with one and end with ten. One multiplied by ten is ten. Each ten multiplied by ten amounts to one hundred. One hundred multiplied by ten amounts to one thousand, one thousand multiplied by ten is ten thousand. (TPJ 139.391)

In another attempt, the figure twelve thousand is explained thus:

This combined figure of twelve thousand countries is the same as the twelve months of one year, which make up one part, and the occasional thirteenth intercalary month interspersed among them. This is what it means. (TPJ 139.397)

The *Bai hu tong* explains that two intercalary months were interspersed in five years (chap. 9 “*Si shi*” 四時, p. 428; cf. Tjan 1949/1952: 595–96). The TPJ’s explanation seems to be a subtle improvement on speculations put forward in the *Bai hu tong*, which

argues that twelve thousand soldiers are needed instead of ten thousand because the number of months in a year is twelve (chap. 5 “*San jun*” 三軍, p. 200; cf. Tjan 1949/1952: 447). For the TPJ, the two thousand are that extra bit that creates a real correspondence between parallel items of different kinds. The two added to the common ten thousand “things” turns these things into an all-inclusive totality, just as the thirteenth month guarantees that the number of months makes up the whole of the year, or as thirteen (instead of the factual ten or twelve) provinces make up the country (TPJ 139.396f.). In the *Qian er bai guan yi* (Protocols of the one thousand and two hundred officials), which Tao Hongjing quotes in *Dengzhen yinjue* (Concealed instructions for ascent to perfection), “two hundred” plays a similar role (see Cedzich 1993: 33; Bokenkamp 1997: 254).

However, the use of figures starting with twelve rather than ten is perhaps mainly a stylistic peculiarity and does not convey much meaning. The *Da zhong song zhang* (Great petition for sepulchral plains) is another text that uses this figure. On p. 22b it mentions a “Supreme Lord of Celestial Mystery and his army of twelve thousand” (*bingshi yi wan er qian ren* 兵士一萬二千人, in Nickerson’s [1997: 269] translation), and smaller groups consist of 120 men.

10. For the Celestial Master of the TPJ, as for his Han dynasty contemporaries, prognostication was an important tool of orientation in all matters of private and public life (see Seidel 1983: 303f.). Thus he must be expected to argue that heaven signifies its satisfaction through portents. The “linguistic” sections give a roundabout “definition” of *rui* 瑞:

Rui is *qing* 清 (pure), *jing* 靜 (quiet), *duan* 端 (righteous), *zheng* 正 (upright), *zhuān* 專 (attentive) and *yi* 一; (one). [A *rui* is issued at a time] when the human mind (*xin* 心) is with, rather than against, heaven and earth.

I would like to know how you know that it is pure, quiet, righteous, upright, attentive, and one.

This is a good question. Now from antiquity until today it has been the nature of heaven and earth that someone who was good would achieve what was good, while someone who was bad would achieve what was bad, and that someone who was upright would achieve what was upright, while someone who was false would achieve what was false. This is the art of letting things be as they are (*ziran* 自然), and should not give any cause for surprise. So when a man’s heart is righteous, upright, pure, and quiet his perfect sincerity (*zheng* 誠) moves heaven to be without bad intentions. Because of this, lucky portents and good harvests (*rui ying shan wu* 瑞應善物) will make their appearance. (TPJ 174.512f.)

This explains how lucky portents are caused by certain moral (“upright,” “correct”) and religious (“pure,” “quiet”) attitudes. This assumption is basic for the sociopolitical function of prognostication theory.

11. The term *shan wu* 善物 (crops) is used differently in the TPJ from how dictionaries and classical texts define it (cf. *Zuo zhuan*, Duke Zhao, twenty-fifth year, 51.2110a;

Legge 1960: 711, “it is a good thing in propriety . . .”), where *wu* has the meaning of *shi* (action). *Wu* in the TPJ term *shan wu* means “products” or “produce”; see below, section 65. *Shan wu* are sent by heaven, as are portents, with which they can be linked, as in the expression *rui ying shan wu*; see the note above, and below, section 53.

12. The following layer B passage, which discusses the illness and loss of life that result from offenses against heaven’s commandments, gives a vivid account of poverty:

At this point [of a terminal illness] the parts of the body, which are in bad shape, become short of *qi* and food is not digested. Family members keeping watch might call the situation “life threatening” (*nan huo* 難活). A family in possession of some money and valuables will have something laid aside. A family without money and valuables, whose possessions are exhausted and where relatives on both sides of the family are poor, will have nothing to put forth: so when someone dies [with Long (2000: 1251) I read *yi* 已 (already) for *yi* 以 (with)] he will be buried in the ground without being given a wooden coffin. Should they later on through their toils come into some money or valuables they must then remove him from the ground. But in a family where everyone is poor, what is valuable will be lost and men will go away. When would they ever be reunited? When family members become separated, they can’t support each other. So someone without a wooden coffin will turn into a demon (*gui*) without an inner and outer coffin and will roam about without a home. Moreover, he won’t get any food. After death, as a demon, he will in his hunger beg for food without end. (TPJ 200.617)

This passage concludes that a person must make sure to lead a proper life so that he won’t fall ill and suffer the fate just described. What it adds to section 41 is the observation that the suffering that comes from poverty reaches beyond death.

Thus the TPJ depicts poverty as an all-encompassing misery. Literary sources, however, tend to define poverty from a more upper-class perspective as a lack of valuables (see *Shuo wen jie zi* [p. 542b]: *cai fen shao* 財分少) and also as a lack of refinement, characterized by poor clothes, the lack of servants, and the need to walk rather than to travel by carriage. In a similar vein, the *Yan tie lun* chapter on wealth and poverty describes as “poor” the simple lifestyle of an official who is too honest to make commercial use of his position. While the TPJ defines poverty with more precision than as simply the absence of wealth, there is no touch of the sentimental attitude to social polarization that prevails in late Han social criticism, as put forward, for instance, by Wang Fu in his *Qian fu lun* when he accusingly lists the manifestations of wealth and argues with Confucius that “poverty is born of wealth” (*Qian fu lun* 12 “*Fu yi*” 浮侈, p. 127), as if distribution were the only economic problem.

13. As Luo (1996: 57) rightly suggests, *er* 而 must be understood here as *neng* 能, as it is often in the TPJ.

14. This is connected to what was said earlier on the relationship between a country’s wealth and that of its “king,” whom we must imagine as a Han dynasty prince, that is, as ruler over a commandery.

15. *You shi* 幽室 here is the place of meditation, a meaning that also occurs in nonreli-

gious texts (cf. *Hou Han shu* 27.928). Elsewhere the TPJ uses the word in a broader sense to designate the remote, well-hidden rooms where the wealthy unjustly store their goods (TPJ 103.246). The room for meditation is also called *xu wu zhi shi* 虛無之室 (chamber of void and nothingness) (TPJ 168.470, layer C), *an zuo you shi* 安坐幽室 (dark chamber of quiet sitting) (TPJ 127.322), or *xian shi* 閑室 (separate room) (e.g., TPJ 208.666). Later *taiping* material describes it as a separate, locked room behind double external and thick partition walls that ensure sounds from the outside will not reach inside (*Secret Advice by the Wise Lord of the Scripture on Great Peace*; see TPJ p. 740). This room is not supposed to be away from one's family:

From now on, wherein should we search dao?

We should all search it in the locked room not far from father and mother and not away from wife and children. (TPJ 208.666)

Takahashi (1986: 258) argues convincingly that the Master stresses the *taiping* believer's family links, unlike other religious groups, which praise solitude and celibacy.

16. This remark attests to the TPJ's coherence. Meditation, which is here termed *zuo* 坐 (to sit), is seen throughout as the most basic *dao*-inspired activity; see below, section 48, on "guarding the one."

17. Such suffering is often expressed by the character *chou* 愁, particularly in these first sections of the received text. It is also used in this section on p. 30 (line 11) for the plight of children of very poor parents. In this instance, the *Chao* replaces *chou* with *ri* (daily) for good reason, in that the character *chou* is more often applied to the political worries of the ruling strata than to their subjects' suffering (see Qi 1992).

18. The disciple's question redirects the discussion toward a reformist and missionary agenda. It now becomes clear that defining wealth and poverty is done to prepare for the promise that communal wealth will be achieved once *taiping*-type reforms have been implemented.

19. "Subtle sayings" are the most sacred utterances: see TPJ 78.190, and see the *Han shu yi wen zhi* (*Han shu* 30.1701), where Confucius is called an originator of *wei yan* 微言. The term is also used for material distributed by the Celestial Master (TPJ 65.146). In Han dynasty commentarial writings, "subtle sayings" referred to the classics' supposed hidden meaning, which commentators accessed by reading between the lines, often with prognostic results (Hsiao 1979: 129–32).

20. *Sheng shen* 生神 (life-giving spirits) are most welcome:

Men with knowledge and willpower will never lose sight of the art of life. It is their desire to act jointly together with life-giving spirits and to think in accord with heaven. (TPJ p. 711, *Chao*, part 9)

The term is more prominent in layer B. The above quotation is from a speech addressed by the Celestial Lord (*tian jun* 天君) to the Great Spirit (*da shen* 大神). There is also another mention—"This is what the life-giving spirits want"—in layer B that follows the description of well-ordered social relations (TPJ 199.614).

21. The text reads “earth’s Yang and nourishing spirits” (*di zhi yang yang shen* 地之陽養神). Yu 2001a: 42 argues for correcting Yang to Yin. Yang does not belong here. Perhaps it first entered the text as a mistake for *yang*, meaning “to nourish,” and when this character was correctly added the editors forgot to take out the first, mistaken, “Yang.”
22. The term *zhonghe* 中和 (harmony between) occurs frequently in the TPJ. In a non-specific way it is used as *zhong* (medium) might be used. It is stated, for instance, that for the study of *dao*, humanity is the beginning, virtue is of medium (*zhonghe*) rank, and *dao* is supreme (TPJ 163.456). It also takes the place of *zhong* in the meaning “in the middle between” (TPJ 212.676). In a more specific way it is used throughout the text to transform pairs of terms into a trinity, in particular Yin and Yang and heaven and earth, and as a consequence defines the place of man. Man is the third that Yin and Yang result in, being physically located between heaven and earth, and is also their child, their guarantor and their future. Thus, *he* is also a cosmic force. This point is stressed by Lai Chi Tim (2000: 66) when he interprets *zhonghe* as a method of ordering the cosmos. As the TPJ puts it:

Primordial *qi* has three names: great Yang, great Yin, and the relationship between them. . . . This relationship between the two is in charge of making the ten thousand beings agree (*tiao he* 調和) with each other. It is [like] a newly born child. Children come to life through their father and mother, their mandate (*ming* 命) is derived from their father, their dispensation is derived from above, and they are entrusted with life (*sheng* 生) by their mother. So when grieved they turn to their lord, their father. . . . Harmony (*zhonghe*) must prevail between Yin and Yang. It makes the ten thousand plants and beings grow. When the people live in harmony and concord (*he tiao*), the king’s rule is in great peace. . . . The harmony between [Yin and Yang] gives accord to the reign of emperors and kings. With mutual agreement (*tiao* 調) between the ten thousand beings, each will be well governed. (TPJ pp. 19f., *Chao*, part 2)

The term has slightly different facets depending on what it is associated with and the argument it figures in. The above passage shows that Yin and Yang become effective through *zhonghe*. The term is used for what they produce, the “child,” and also for their intercourse. In section 65 this trinity, as opposed to a dualistic model, is assigned cosmogonic power: Yin and Yang through their intercourse bring forth all plants and beings. This view explains the frequent usage of the phrase “Yin, Yang, and the harmony between them” instead of the simple “Yin and Yang.” The trinity is always seen as a positive entity, as is the family. The single character *he* can replace *zhonghe*, but the reverse does not often hold true. In the following, more complex, image it might not be appropriate to use *zhonghe*:

There are always the three *qi* that heaven’s way consists of. The first one likes to bring to life. It is called Yang. The second enjoys letting things grow. It is called harmony (*he*). The third loves to kill. It is called Yin. Heaven is appointed to give life. Man is in charge of nurture and growth. What has grown mature is meant to be killed. What has been killed is stored. Heaven, earth, and men combine their efforts; their activities rely

on each other. Without Yang there is no life, without harmony no growth, without Yin no killing. These three rely on each other to form one family and to let all twelve thousand plants and beings grow. (TPJ 212.675f.)

In this case, the recurrence of the image of the family is not as convincing as in other examples quoted below. The passage shows the text's characteristic ambiguity, or, rather, a certain integration of different cosmological images. Since the Celestial Master's interest does not lie in these images as such but in the moral message they convey he uses them as it suits his argument.

Zhonghe also forms a trinity with heaven and earth. Since the two are manifestations of Yang and Yin this is but another facet of the meaning just dealt with. The three are, as pointed out in section 61 (p. 113), one family:

Heaven's *dao* also forms a family, where the father resembles heaven, the mother earth, and the child the harmony between them. (TPJ 139.395)

So in order to make the cosmos resemble family life, *zhonghe* is an essential component. While it is clear that in this respect man corresponds to *zhonghe*, details differ:

The harmony in between is under the charge of man. With its help, he controls the four seasons and five phases. He must let them proceed harmoniously. (TPJ 134.371)

From what has been said so far it does not seem possible to argue that one specific meaning of the term is reserved for certain parts of the text. There is, however, one more meaning that is frequently although not exclusively used in layer B material. *Zhonghe* is not only a third force, which complements that of heaven and earth, but also the space between them, the world we live in:

Heaven's light shines downward beneath the Yellow Springs, earth's light shines upward into heaven, the light of the space between [heaven and earth] shines both upward and downward in the same manner (*he tong* 合同). So the three lights become effective through cooperation (*he he* 合和). Heaven with its own three lights—that is, sun, moon, and stars—shines downward on the space between [heaven and earth] and on earth. (TPJ 190.584, layer B)

This is the place where men live:

It was explained to the spirits that they must not at random oppose the children of the space in between, [who live] below heaven and above earth. (TPJ 187.571, layer B)

This is also the place where food grows: “All twelve thousand plants grow in the soil of the harmony between heaven and earth” (TPJ 200.615, layer B). Or, in other words:

Heaven likes to share its *dao* with men, earth enjoys letting men participate in its virtue; the harmony between them likes to feed its goods to men. (TPJ 103.248, layer A)

In the passage at hand, harmony forms a triad with heaven and earth. Its position is, as it should be, in third place and in correspondence with man and with humanity.

23. “Good men” (*shan ren* 善人) are not wicked:

The actions of good men bring about wealth; the actions of wicked men result in calamities. (TPJ p. 732, *Chao*, part 1)

The term is used in the *Xiang'er* in the same sense (10.26–29, *Laozi* 27; Bokenkamp 1997: 124). So *shan ren* are average law-abiding subjects, ranking between serfs and “worthy [officials]” (TPJ p. 222, *Chao*, part 4). In this sense, they are also the opposite of robbers and bandits (TPJ 103.250 and section 43, *passim*).

Up to this point, the TPJ follows common language use. The term is, however, also used in a more specific sense. The “good men” follow the moral rules proclaimed by the Celestial Master and may thus be selected by heaven to fulfill specific tasks (TPJ 207.653; 208.659; and below, 56.90). Thus the term precedes the “seed people” (cf. Bokenkamp 1997: 3), who are chosen to be exempted from the apocalypse. As Petersen (1990b: 34) points out, the term is particularly frequent in layer B material, which introduces the concept of a “supreme good man” (*shang shan ren* 上善人). The disciple whom the Great Spirit presents to the Celestial Lord (TPJ 182.551) is said to deserve this epithet:

The supreme good man acts in such a way that he knows in advance about the external and internal [movements of] heaven and earth, appears and withdraws as Yin and Yang do, takes their [practice] as his guideline (*dao qi gang ji* 道其綱紀), ponders over them in his thoughts and does not put aside the order they provide. (TPJ 182.549, layer B) This is a subtle way of action. The less advanced “good man” does not have the same level of sophistication: he obeys heaven’s rules and is rewarded by longevity (section 203 *passim*, layer B).

As opposed to terms like *dongji* 洞極 and *cheng fu* 承負, which were newly created for the purposes of *taiping* missionary work, *shan ren* goes back to the *Lun yu* (7.26), where commentators equate it with “gentleman” (*junzi* 君子), that is, with the man of excellent moral bearing. While throughout layer A it occurs with this meaning, that is, pointing to an excellent follower of the *taiping* doctrine and a believer in heaven, it also refers to a regular good person who has done no harm. As the usage of the term in section 43 attests, the two meanings are not meant to be kept apart.

24. This is the correct hierarchical relationship between *dao* and heaven, although this use of the term *dao* is rare in the TPJ, which does not stress the point that heaven gets its rules from elsewhere. The order at the cosmos’s top is thus: “heaven stands in awe of *dao*, *dao* stands in awe of what is as it is (*qiran* 自然)” (TPJ p. 701, *Chao*, part 9). This order is based on cosmogonic sequence (TPJ 139.392; p. 305, *Chao*, part 5). Since heaven is often one of two, that is, part of “heaven and earth,” cosmogonic lists rarely place it at the top. What heaven and *dao* have in common is the power to give and to preserve life: “heaven likes to give life and so does *dao*. Thus *dao* is heaven’s principle (*tian jing* 天經)” (TPJ p. 308, in a *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao*—an eighth-century Daoist ritual compendium—quotation). What is, however, of more interest to the Celestial Master than such ontological concerns is the following practice-oriented relationship between *dao*, as principle of action, and “heaven,” as the sky above us: “In the past as well as today every man who practices *dao* takes his model from majestic heaven” (TPJ 208.654).

25. Governments are commonly listed in a certain hierarchical or chronological order

according to their moral value. Chronological order entails hierarchical structuring, as, for instance, in the *Laozi* (38) and in *Huainan zi* 8 “*Ben jing*” 本經, pp. 4b–5b, where government by *dao* and virtue, by benevolence, by propriety, and so on are described, the intention being to stress the major distinction between government by action and that by nonaction and to define improvement as the gradual returning to a previous stage.

The text contains another, more detailed, list of ten methods of governing (TPJ 103.253f.). These ten methods (indicated in italics) are shown below in juxtaposition with the section 41 list:

1. *dao*—sufficient wealth—heaven—superior ruler
 1. *primordial qi—heaven—prognostic writings*
 2. *what is as it is (ziran)—earth—prognostic writings*
2. virtue—half-sized wealth—earth—medium ruler
 3. *dao—men—prognostic writings*
 4. *virtue—chapter and verse commentaries*
3. benevolence—small wealth—men—ruler of lower rank
 5. *benevolence—chapter and verse commentaries*
 6. *propriety—distorted writings*
4. culture—small disorder—deceit—ruler over disorder
 7. *ritual—distorted writings*
 8. *culture—distorted writings*
5. military—lawlessness—punishments—ill-omened ruler
 9. *law (fa)—distorted writings*
 10. *military—distorted writings*

The two lists have in common a contempt for *wen* 文, here “ceremonial, decorum” in Max Kaltenmark’s (1979: 30) understanding, and for *wu* 武, “military endeavors,” which resembles the traditional quietist outlook presented in the *Huainan zi* (8.3b–4a). The second list stresses *yuan qi*, the primordial vapor, which ranks first from a cosmogonic point of view (cf. Asano 1982: 7, based on TPJ 139.392; 212.676) and is thus given a higher metaphysical and moral ranking than *dao*. The passage in section 103 ranks texts highly (cf. Hachiya 1983), arguing that good Daoist government, which is concerned with life, is characterized by the prevalence of sacred prognostic text, that medium-style government stresses the commentatorial tradition (*zhang ju* 章句), and that with all other government writings become distorted.

For the passage at hand, the list of governments enhances the social and communal definition of wealth in that wealth is said to accompany a well-ordered society. The Han dynasty state in its ideal form is positioned at stage three. It is said to be dominated by the value of humanity, the creation of commentaries, and a man-centered reign.

26. The repetitiveness in this passage stems from the attempt to provide some exem-

plification, which can hardly be done in the TPJ style of writing, that is, without giving names of rulers and other historical details.

27. The disciple attempts to present an argument against the Master's narrow definition of "rich." Wang Ming does not signify a change of speakers.

28. This observation is repeated (TPJ 43.39) and goes back at least to *Huainan zi* 13 "Fan lun" 汎論, p. 20a, where it is argued that even Yao and Shun were not perfect in moral respects and that for this reason moral perfection was impossible to achieve.

29. For the TPJ, the world's central region consists of eighty-one territories (*yu* 域). The division into nine continents (*jiu zhou* 九州) is mentioned only once in the TPJ (TPJ 127.317), while the *Lun heng*, for instance, stresses that China is one of nine, not eighty-one, territories (chap. 31 "Tan tian" 談天, p. 480), as Zou Yan had supposedly argued (see *Shi ji* 74.2344; see also Needham 1956: 236). The following passages seem to suggest that Chinese influence reached all these territories and that China itself, being more than a "country," consisted of more than one "territory":

When the good, worthy, and wise among the four barbarian tribes and in the eighty-one territories hear that China (*zhongguo* 中國) has a ruler of great virtue who governs like this, they will all wish to come to submit themselves. (TPJ 129.333)

The following passage outlines the world's size in order to explain that at different places the sky's phenomena are seen differently, just as the observers' moral condition differs:

The world has sun, moon, and the pole star in common. It consists altogether of twelve thousand countries. The central part (*zhong bu* 中部) has eighty-one territories, divided into small parts that each make up one country. Those with plenty of virtue and excellence are twelve thousand miles (*li* 里) in size, the next is ten thousand miles from east to west and from north to south, the next is nine thousand, and so on, to one thousand and then five hundred and one hundred miles. (TPJ 134.368)

The intention of this passage is to stress the independence of countries in order to show that their fates differ in accordance with the morality of their respective governments. This world is large, considering that the thirteen figures given for countries of different moral rectitude alone would amount to 67,600 *li* and that there has to be room for 12,000 countries. The *Huainan zi* (4.2b), for instance, gives a figure of 233,500 *li* plus 75 "paces" (*bu* 步) as the size of the world (cf. Major's 1993: 147–49 discussion of the issue). Through wrong computation, as Forke argues (1962, vol. 1, p. 256), Wang Chong (*Lun heng* 31 "Tan tian" 談天, p. 480–82) arrives at a figure of one million *li*.

However, the Celestial Master is not concerned with these details. What matters is the fact that countries are the place where *taiping* reforms must be introduced:

I would like to know how many countries there are all together in the world. . . .

All right. The central part has eighty-one territories; beyond this there is again one circle (*zhou* 周). The world has ten thousand countries, but in the distance it runs into the void grotto, which has no exterior. The three areas [the eighty-one territories, the circle around them, and the rest] together are the twelve thousand countries. (TPJ 139.389f.)

This modifies the account given in section 134, as quoted above, but does not contradict it. Again, as pointed out with regard to the “twelve thousand plants, beings, and things,” the extra two thousand are meant to define the total, including countries beyond the inner and perhaps even the outer circle.

The administrative division of these “countries” (*guo* 國) resembles that of an idealized Han dynasty empire judging by the following passage, which deals with the similarity between a family and a large state:

The father acts as the ruler, the mother as an official, the children as the people. What they own they share with each other and make it grow, as, for instance, their crops. In such a family, all share the same major concern. Although there are ten thousand households in one county (*xian* 縣; this is its official size; see Bielenstein 1980: 101), they also constitute one family and share the same major concern. The same holds true for the ten counties, which make up one commandery (*jun* 郡), the ten commanderies, which make up one big province (*da zhou* 大州), and the ten provinces, which together form one big country (*da guo* 大國) but still constitute one big family, which shares the same concern. It is all surrounded by one identical border (*jie* 界). Should their emperor or king have virtue, his concern would reach the twelve provinces, and if this concern were great, it would reach all thirteen provinces, and yet they would all constitute one big family and share one major concern. The distant regions outside the border do not belong to the countries of men (*ren guo* 人國). When the countries of men possess *dao* and virtue, the good who live in those distant regions will come. When this is not the case, they will not come. Should virtue be lacking among men, the people from the outside regions would come to harm them. This is all one coherent area with only the one border that is the dividing line between heaven and earth. . . . One county, one commandery, one province, one country, they all mean the same: they share the same major concern. That I now report on all twelve thousand countries as [if they were] one big area is to let you know, Perfected, that they are cause for one identical concern and have one identical border in common. The rest is like these twelve thousand countries and too much for detailed reporting. For this reason the wise men of old wrote only about one small part.

Why did they not report on the larger area as a whole?

Heaven’s emissary (*tian shi* 天使) had not spoken; the great mission (*da hua* 大化) had not begun. Men differed in their actions. They did not have one identical model. Therefore, they did not report [on the world as a whole]. Since today the great mission has started, all twelve thousand countries are linked together. (TPJ 139.395f.; for the additional occurrence of commune [*ting* 亭] and hamlet [*li* 里], see TPJ 127.314; for *xiang* 鄉 [district], see section 61)

So the TPJ takes into account an administrative division into hamlets, communes, counties, commanderies, and provinces (both commanderies and provinces were *guo* [country] when an imperial relative was in charge; cf. Bielenstein 1986: 506ff.) but surpasses this division toward a worldwide missionary approach. The layout of the world re-

sembles the generally accepted *gai tian* theory (cf. Needham 1959: 210f.), but what is striking is that the aspect of surrounding water is completely missing. Zou Yan, for instance, knew of a “great ocean” (*Shi ji* 74.2344). Instead, there is only the horizon and beyond that the “void grotto” (TPJ 139.390) as the external limit.

For the passage at hand, the mention of all countries (“eighty-one territories”) acts as a reminder that *taiping* concerns were global.

30. This usage of *wen* 文 is more common in the TPJ than is the pejorative “decorum.” *Wen* means “pattern,” “constellation,” and “text”:

On meeting a worthy, why should one grant him texts [as one grants food to the hungry and clothes to a person who is cold]?

Consider the reason for granting texts (*wen*). *Wen* (patterns) originate in the east and shine in the south. So through celestial patterns (*tian wen* 天文) that originate in the northeast—and a book (*shu* 書) that has come out in the northeast—heaven makes its designs known. “Tiger” [this is, the white tiger taking up the western sky] is a pattern (*wen* 文) with its home in *yin* 寅 [the third earthly branch]. “Dragon” [the green dragon of the eastern sky] is a pattern, with its home in *chen* 辰 [the fifth branch]. Turning its back, it moves up into the sky and brightness *li* 離, the thirtieth hexagram] decorates the south. Of the three heavenly bodies that create patterns (*wen*), the sun gives most light. So patterns originate in the east and become mature in the south, as the sun rises in the east and becomes mature in the south. Heaven demands of emperors and kings that they set up a model in imitation (*xiang* 象) of heaven. So they must grant texts in order to promote the great Yang, that is, the phase of fire (with Luo 1996: 390) and intensively promote fire in order to distinguish between what texts call right and wrong. What texts report is indeed what is right and what is wrong in this world. (TPJ 100.228f.)

The disciple also raises the question as to which texts the worthies should be granted. The Master responds that it should be the celestial scripture (*tian jing* 天經), created by the Perfected through collating the best (*da shan* 大善) texts on true *dao* from old, middle, and lower antiquity. The gist of this passage, if I read it correctly, is interesting: texts are for the sovereign what astronomical phenomena are for heaven, that is, the main tool of instruction.

Moreover, texts are also the main channel of communication between heaven and men. This is stressed in the following passage:

When heaven wants prosperity, it provides lucky portents, patterned stones (*wen qi* 文琦), and books, and it makes sure that they are generally understood and received. When it wants decay, it conceals these texts or arranges that nobody wants to look for them. (TPJ 79.198)

So texts are a means, if not *the* means, of salvation. As soon as all false texts have been exterminated, the evil that has been inherited and passed on through the ages will vanish and great peace will arrive (TPJ 152.416).

31. The Master “analyzes” the phrase *shang huang taiping* 上皇太平 in section 65.

32. This passage prepares for the start of a new subject. However, poverty and the necessities of life remain issues of discussion.

33. This is generally accepted; see, for instance, *Huainan zi* 3 “*Tian wen*” 天文, pp. 15b–16a. In this section, speculation on the lines of Yin–Yang correlation takes the place of concrete argumentation, while this correlation is not itself a topic for discussion. That the world is divided into the two forces (cf. TPJ p. 728, *Chao*, part 1) is the background for the passage at hand. However, when this division is evaluated, Yin is usually seen as covering the less desirable areas: punishment as opposed to virtue (TPJ 101.231 or 60.110f.) and death as opposed to life (TPJ p. 12, *Chao*, part 2, or section 60 as above). Yin is also identified with those in inferior positions, such as the moon and stars, as opposed to the sun, and the official as opposed to the ruler (TPJ p. 220, *Chao*, part 4). This view of the two entities of Yin and Yang leads to the pragmatic, but cosmologically doubtful, conclusion that Yin must be kept in check because its increase would be detrimental: subjects would not be loyal (TPJ 101.231) and disease might occur (TPJ 135.378). Various activities understood to increase Yin are therefore called obnoxious, including the drinking of alcohol (TPJ 105.270) and luxurious burial rites (TPJ 46.49). The contradiction between the first and second views attests to the argumentative position of the “Yin–Yang correlation.” It is a rhetorical tool; it helps to market and defend a supposition, but suppositions are not founded upon it. Instead, a supposition might be founded on the contradiction between life and death, for instance, leading in consequence to the demand for reducing burials as well as abolishing female infanticide. That the first must be called “reducing the Yin” and the second “increasing it” does not seem to cause a problem for the Celestial Master.

34. *Zei hai sha* 賊害殺 occurs only here; other combinations of these characters abound, in particular *zei hai* and *zei sha*; *zei sha shang* 傷 is another option. The difference lies in rhetorical effect, not in meaning.

35. This accords with Confucius’s point of view, at least according to one way in which the *Lun yu* (10.12) passage about the Master’s inquiry after the burning of stables can be read. His main concern is the loss of human life.

36. *Jiu* 咎 is often an offense involving heaven (TPJ 60.111), as opposed to *yang* 殃, which means the same in regard to earth (TPJ 58.95). This accords with the use of *yang* for offenses committed by or in regard to the dead (see Seidel 1985: 168).

37. Cf. *Laozi* 57: “When I [that is, the sage] don’t have any business, the people will of themselves become rich.”

38. These introductory remarks are long, and their gravity adds weight to the ensuing discussion. Only here is it mentioned that the students’ note taking will prolong the student’ lives. We may assume that the note taking actually took place. The Master reminds students about taking notes as if to suggest that a lecture is about to begin. Sections 43, 55, 63, 67, 105, 107, 108, and 156 include such a warning toward their beginning; other

sections include it in the middle, as here, to signal a change of topic (63.138; 65.148; 139.391 and 393); and others still (65, 78, 133, 139, and 152) include it at the end, in a hortatory function.

39. In the TPJ, the “Controller of Fate” (*si ming* 司命) is in the first place a deity residing in a person’s body and supervising the moral behavior of his charge:

Therefore, it is said that the Controller of Fate is in the chest next to the heart. In close proximity, he observes (*si* 司) the right and the wrong things that a person does. When there is a fault he abruptly retires—why should he waste time?—and thereby abruptly reduces the years of a man’s life. (TPJ 195.600, layer B)

All corporeal deities endanger a man by leaving him (TPJ pp. 27f., in a TPJ citation of the *Sandong zhunang* 1 “*Jiao dao pin*” 教道品, giving “TPJ 33” as its source; cf. Tanaka 1984: 292). The Controller of Fate is also depicted as an independent deity who keeps accounts and offers reports on them when asked to do so by the Celestial Lord (*tian jun* 天君), who then passes his verdict (TPJ p. 214, *Chao*, part 4). This second image is not necessarily distinct from the corporeal presence of the deity. The deity is well known enough to also appear in a figurative sense: man is said to be the Controller of Fate for the domestic animals (TPJ 137.383; cf. Espeset 2002b: 16), and the county head is seen as Controller of Fate for the people (TPJ p. 699, *Chao*, part 8). The deity’s function is closely related to that of the “Controller of Time” (*si hou* 司候) in the text’s layer B astronomical chapters (see Penny 1990; cf. Espeset 2002b: 27f.), whose accounts determine the length of one’s life. He is said to reside in the Constellation Room (*fang* 房), which was supposed to act as the heavenly equivalent of the Hall of Light (*ming tang* 明堂) and to keep lists of a man’s essential data, in particular the time of birth, which was thought to predetermine the course and length of someone’s life (TPJ 181.547). Thus *si hou*’s bookkeeping differs from the moral supervision exercised by *si ming*.

40. TPJ p. 707, *Chao*, part 9 discusses the *san tong* 三統 (three dispensations) in a form close to the calendrical speculations about the “three orders” in the *Bai hu tong* 8 “*San zheng*” 三正, pp. 360–64; cf. Tjan 1949/1952: 548–52. However, most of the time the term *tong* is used in a less specific sense, just as if using *tian tong* instead of *tian* would remind readers of the fact that heaven is a cosmological entity. This is similar to the use of *qi*, which is added to abstract terms such as *taiping* for the sake of clarity; whether the character *qi* is added or not, peace can be imagined only in the form of *qi*. However, nonabstract terms can thus be made abstract, as, for instance, in the term *wang qi* 王氣, which could be rendered as “kingliness” (TPJ p. 304, *Chao*, part 5). Thus terms are attributed their full argumentative value by adjuncts like *qi* or *tong*:

Primordial *qi* (*yuan qi* 元氣), the obscure (*huang hu* 恍惚), and what is as it is (*ziran* 自然) froze into one, which was called heaven. It split and on giving life to Yin produced earth, which was called two. Based on heaven above and earth below, Yin and Yang expanding into each other gave life to man, who was called three. These three dis-

pensations jointly gave life to and raised all plants and beings, which were all called goods (*cai* 財). (TPJ p. 305, *Chao*, part 5)

Discussion of the interrelationship of the three *tong* pervades much of the TPJ:

Now the three dispensations of heaven, earth, and man are set up dependent on each other and reach perfection by shaping each other's appearance (cf. *Laozi* 2). A man, for instance, has a head, feet, and a belly. If one dispensation were in distress, all three would come to ruin. This is just as if a man were without head or feet or belly: with one gone all three would be doomed. So when man in grand fashion (*da dao* 大道) opposes heaven and earth, all three will perish. (TPJ 134.373)

However, often enough the plain terms heaven, earth, and men seem to suffice to express the full cosmological meaning.

The issue of political legitimacy, and in consequence historiographic reasoning, which often accompanies the use of the term *tong*, is not thematized in the TPJ.

41. The comparisons are striking: for a woman marriage is equivalent to the office held by a scholar. It also means that a man cannot manage any better without the support of a wife than a ruler can without the help of his officials.

42. *Ru* 汝 (you) is erroneous and must be replaced by *nü* 女 (woman).

43. *Da ni* 大逆 and *wu dao* 無道 are Han dynasty legal terms (cf. Wakae 1982); *wu dao* can be used as *bu dao* 無道. Both terms point to antigovernment activities; see below, section 63.

44. This is not a common topic in Chinese literature and thought. An exception is the moving description of infanticide given by Yan Zhitui (531–91) in his *Yan shi jia xun* 5 “*Zhi jia*” 治家, p. 51 (cf. Teng 1968: 20).

45. *Yuan jie* 冤結 (grief-stricken) seems to occur first in the *Chu ci* (“*Jiu zhang*” 九章 4.38a, trans. Hawkes 1959: 77), where it describes a woman's undefined sadness. Throughout the text the character *yuan* (冤 grievance) is also used in the meaning of *yuan* (怨 resentment). *Yuan jie* as well as *yuan* (冤 and 怨) often indicate the resentment felt by those who see themselves as maltreated and as suffering without cause. This resentment, which reaches beyond death, amounts to a major cosmic force because it stimulates heaven to cause disaster. The term is used in arguments against the severity of punishments, as, for instance, in Xiang Kai's memorial, where it occurs several times (*Hou Han shu* 30B.1077 [*yuan* 冤 only], pp. 1078 and 1081). The Celestial Master contrasts such grief and resentment with a correct understanding of the true origins of suffering, which lie, as he explains, in evil inherited from previous generations (see also sections 48 and 65, below).

46. Two characters are missing here, and the text is difficult to reconstruct. One might suspect that more than two characters have been lost, since the paragraph that follows seems disconnected. The phrase *zhong zhi* 重知 is often preceded by *zi yu* 欲子 (If you want to know more about it, [I am telling you . . .]), a phrase that usually introduces another point in the argumentation (TPJ 99.226; 134.369 [twice]; 134.373 and 375; 139.393;

152.414; 155.435; 160.450; 174.513). I have added *yu qi* 欲子 (I want you . . .), but there is no parallel for this phrase. Yu 2001a: 46 reads the two missing characters as *fan fu* 反復 (again).

47. To kill one's child was against the law in Han times; see Hulsewe 1955: 88f. and Kinney 1993: 108–13. Nevertheless, infanticide was widely practiced, often by abandonment. There are so few known instances of criticism of infanticide that it seems appealing to link these instances, all from the Western Han dynasty, with the theory put forward in the TPJ. The best-known opponent of infanticide was the antieunuch partisan Jia Biao 賈彪. He was from Yingchuan 潁川 commandery (in the center of present-day Henan) and is said to have taken as his model the famous politician and intellectual Xun Shuang (128–90), whose home was in the same commandery. After several minor postings, Jia became prefect of Xinxi 新息 in Runan 汝南 commandery (in the southeast of present-day Henan). He died, probably in 168 C.E., because he refused to go into hiding when the anti-Party prosecutions broke out. His biography includes the following report on his rule over Xinxi:

The small folk were miserable and poor. Many did not bring up their children. Jia Biao strictly ruled this to be the same crime as murder. South of the town there were outlaws who caused harm to people, and north of the town there was a woman who had killed her child. When Jia Biao announced an investigation and the officials all wished to turn to the south, he said angrily: “When outlaws damage people, this follows a constant principle. When mother and children injure each other this opposes heaven and runs counter to the way (*dao*).” Therefore, he drove his carriage northward to investigate the crime. When the robbers south of the town heard about it, they came to accuse themselves, their hands fastened at their backs. Over the course of some years, men thus raised thousands of children. They all said: “We were brought up by father Jia.” Newborn males were named “sons of Jia,” and newborn females were named “daughters of Jia.” (*Hou Han shu* 67.2216)

The explanation given by Jia for his interference seems to have been moral rather than cosmological, but the usage of the terms heaven and *dao* is nevertheless the same as in the TPJ.

For two other instances of legislation against infanticide we have no explanation of the official's motive. Wang Ji 王吉, adopted son of the eunuch leader Wang Fu 王甫, became chancellor of the state of Pei 沛 (in the northern half of present-day Anhui) when he was only twenty years old. In 179, he ended up in prison due to his father's political fall and death. He is considered to have been a harsh official. His biography states, “When someone gave birth to children and did not raise them he had father and mother beheaded” (*Hou Han shu* 77.2501). In the third instance nothing seems to be known about the official except for his name, and the event cannot be dated:

Zong Qing 宗慶 was governor (*tai shou* 太守) of Changsha 長沙 [a commandery in central Hunan]. Since people often did not have sufficient clothing and food, they did

not raise those they had borne. Qing urgently pressed the local thrice venerable (*san lao* 三老) to prevent the people from killing their children. Over the course of these years, more than three thousand children were reared by the people. Boys and girls alike all bore the name Zong. (See the citation of Xie Cheng's 謝承 lost text *Hou Han shu* by Yu Shinan 虞世南 [early Tang] in his *Bei tang shu chao* 北堂書鈔, ed. *Qi jia Hou Han shu* 7.6a, on pp. 205f.)

Since the author of this report served as commandant of Changsha in the Sanguo state of Wu, this information might have come from quite reliable local sources.

There is only one other mention of the issue in the TPJ. This is the seventeenth of nineteen commandments:

If you want to prevent men from killing and maltreating women, you must make sure that each of them in her place works for clothes and food as well as she can. Don't allow her to be so perverse (*da ni* 大逆) as to make her parents suffer (*chou* 愁). (TPJ 108.512)

In her account of infanticide, Kinney (1993: 116f.) stresses the point that economic hardship was often seen as the main obstacle in raising a child. The *Han shi wai zhuan* (3.6a) stated that in times of great peace infants would not be abandoned.

48. The world's misery is the result not only of present-day trespassing but also of man's continuing misdemeanors ever since he was created. *Cheng fu* 承負 (to inherit and to transmit) is the term for the measure of evil that humankind is thus burdened with (see below, section 48).

49. Not to have children was considered a serious crime; see below, section 42.

50. The term *shi lei* 世類 (worldlings) for humankind (as used in *Han shu* 41.2089) is specific to the TPJ; see, for instance, TPJ 42.37; 134.373. Yü Ying-shih (1964: 86) quotes this passage to illustrate the esteem with which early Daoist believers held life, manifested in particular, as he sees it, in the TPJ and the *Xiang'er*.

51. The "seven regents" and "three luminaries" refer to almost the same objects: the sun, moon, and five planets (seven), or the sun, moon, and stars (three). The second, better-known expression could be a gloss inserted in the text to explain the first.

52. So the "wise men" (*sheng ren* 聖人) are experts on microcosmic-macrocosmic relations:

Therefore, the wise man teaches not to rely on bridle and whip but establishes his doctrine by following the nature of what is as it is. (TPJ p. 725, *Chao*, part 1)

In earlier texts, such as the *Huainan zi*, the *sheng ren* is a personage of highest wisdom, but the figure underwent a certain devaluation. In a highly formalistic TPJ passage, *sheng ren* comes only fifth in a list of nine ranks. He is said to model himself after the harmonious cooperation between Yin and Yang and all the plants and creatures (TPJ p. 221, *Chao*, part 4). The sphere of Yin and Yang is often seen as his field: "Therefore the wise man knows how to assemble Yin and Yang, and the worthy organizes what is crooked and what is straight" (TPJ 179.525). We must expect, then, that the *sheng ren* is expert

in sexual matters. He is capable of serving in government (“to rule over the one hundred surnames”), assisted by the worthy (*xian ren* 賢人; TPJ 108.289), who fills the sixth rank. The wise and the worthy are often mentioned together (cf. Takahashi 1984: 308f.).

53. The summary says:

This section distinguishes and explains poverty and wealth, and how the conduct of lords and kings creates auspicious conditions. It warns men not to cut off earth’s dispensation. By making both men and women thrive, the king’s reign is at peace.