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A History of Chinese Political Thought

Volume I: From the Beginnings to the Sixth Century A.D.

By Kung-chuan Hsiao

Translated by F. W. Mote

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Fan-li—General Principles Governing the Composition of This Work

One: This work adopts the point of view of political science, and employs the methods of history in briefly narrating the general features of political thought through the twenty-five hundred years commencing with the late Chou era. It is intended as a reference work for students in the political science departments of [Chinese] colleges and universities. With regard to the period preceding the late Chou, noting the inadequacy of documentary evidence, we have adopted for the present Confucius' example in "putting aside the points of which one stands in doubt" [*Analects*, II/18/2]. Thus there is no chapter devoted specifically to the earlier political thought, although some references to that appear in the chapters on Confucius, on Mencius and Hsün Tzu, and elsewhere.

Two: This work is structured on the warp of chronology, and the woof of the various thinkers and schools; its content is drawn principally from those figures of the past whose writings possess theoretical value and importance. The presentation attempts to include those political discourses which are judged to have had the greatest influence, and omits all of those which are relevant to concrete issues limited in their significance to particular places and times.

Three: In relating the thought of the various thinkers, this work strives to achieve an attitude of objectivity. Where critical evaluations occasionally appear, the intent has been to elucidate the historical position of the ideas in question, and not to impose subjective censure or praise, nor to indulge in personal judgments on the worth of these ideas.

Four: The manuscript of Part Five of this work [Chapter Twenty-five; Bibliography of Principal Works Consulted; Index] was lost; those headings have been retained in the Table of Contents to indicate the scope and form of the original work.

Five: The author is conscious of the inadequacies of his own learning; moreover, this book was completed during the war years [1937–1945], when access to reference materials was often difficult or impossible. Not only have my researches been less than exhaustive, I also fear that errors may abound. Although having failed to seek fuller guidance from my

superiors in learning, I can yet hope that they will not now deny me their criticisms and advice.

K. C. HSIAO
[Manuscript completed June 26, 1941
at Chengtu, Szechwan]

Author's Foreword

It has been said that the greatest compliment a scholar can confer on a writer is to translate his work into another language, making it accessible to a wider circle of readers. F. W. Mote has done me a great honor indeed in rendering my book on Chinese political thought into English. This arduous task has been accomplished with as much consummate skill and erudition as with meticulous care. I owe him a debt of gratitude and appreciation far beyond repayment.

The original editions, prepared under less than favorable conditions, contain many errors, grave or inconsiderable, that, due to circumstances beyond my control, were mostly allowed to stand in later editions. Professor Mote has given me ample opportunity and valuable help in removing them in the English edition. I must be held responsible and offer apologies for whatever faults may still remain.

K. C. HSIAO
Seattle, 1972

Translator's Preface

A brief account of how this translation came into existence may not be entirely out of place here. The author's name, of course, was well known to me when, as a graduate student, I at last had the opportunity of meeting him at the University of Washington in 1950. I attended K. C. Hsiao's lectures in Chinese political thought at that time, but did not have an opportunity to read the work translated here until it was reprinted in Taiwan in 1954, for the earlier printing, while not unknown in American collections, was not widely available.[1] I found the book difficult, by reason of its profound insights into Chinese civilization and the knowledge required to appreciate those insights, but immensely stimulating. The thought of translating it was in my mind from the first reading.

Yet the practical difficulties in putting so large and so tightly knit a work of original scholarship into English were quite forbidding. At first I thought of asking the author whether he might not undertake the task himself, but others among his colleagues at the University of Washington reported that he was deeply engaged in teaching and in other research; moreover, he was not drawn to the idea of engaging in a vast re-creation in another language of a work whose original creation in Chinese had occupied long years in the (then) recent past. While in no sense seeking to have his work translated he offered, however, to assist a translator, should one wish to undertake the task, by reading the translation and offering advice. George E. Taylor, then Director of the Far Eastern and Russian Institute (which in 1971 became the Institute for Comparative and Foreign Area Studies) of the University of Washington, became interested in the idea of having the work translated, and offered his encouragement. Several former graduate students who had studied under K. C. Hsiao decided to work as a team, each translating those chapters closest to his research interests. Through the mid-1950's this plan was discussed, but it produced no results. In 1958, Professor Taylor invited me to come back to Seattle to get the translation started on an experimental basis. Three or four chapters were translated, enough to make me the more fully aware of the difficulties and dangers in such work, but also enough to convince me that, with Professor Hsiao's guidance, the task could be done.

[1] Publication data: *Chung-kuo cheng-chih ssu-hsiang-shih*, Commercial Press two-volume edition, vol. one, first Chungking edition, April, 1945; first Shanghai edition, December, 1945; vol. two, first published October, 1946, in Shanghai. Four or more reprintings of both volumes were made in Shanghai before 1950. First Taiwan edition, in six volumes, August, 1954; several reprintings of this edition have since appeared.

In general, the work of translation has merited very little encouragement or assistance. Until recently, sources of research grants normally would not consider an application for support to translate a modern work of scholarship, on the grounds that "translation is not scholarship." That view is defensible, yet translation can be important to a field of scholarship, and it is very difficult to accomplish the task in odd moments and during brief vacations. This translation therefore lagged for a decade, little or no further progress ensuing. When in 1971 I determined to make it the first order of business, regardless of all else, I accepted employment at the University of Washington to further that cause by being close to Professor Hsiao, who was by that time professor emeritus and living adjacent to the university campus. The Far Eastern and Russian Institute generously offered various kinds of support. The National Endowment for the Humanities also granted research support, without which the translation and preparation of the manuscript would have required still longer. The conjunction of these several favorable circumstances allowed the work to commence again in earnest. All the earlier work was retranslated to achieve greater consistency in style and usage, retyped, read by Professor Hsiao, and again revised after his meticulous and untiring editing. In this manner, the first part, comprising Volume One of this edition, was completed by the end of 1971, and the remainder has since been translated, assuring that the task will at last be completed. I recount this experience in order to pay thanks to those who have patiently waited the matter through, especially those who have encouraged and supported the task from its inception. Above all, I wish to point out my many layers of indebtedness to Professor Hsiao himself for keeping faith with a translator who had dawdled for over a decade, and for yet giving him the benefit of his unfailing wit, wisdom, and limitless erudition.

Without the author's willingness to assist by editing and correcting the draft translation, this translator would have been unwilling to undertake the task, and unable to complete it. I have committed many errors in translating, yet with patience and precision Professor Hsiao has always offered the appropriate corrections, neatly inserted on slips of paper. The translation thus has become a joint effort in which the author's judgment has ruled. Also, many typesetter's errors and other minor inaccuracies in the original have been corrected (and, except where substantial, usually without noting those departures from the Chinese text). Thus this translation, despite continuing inadequacies of English style, nonetheless is authorized by Professor Hsiao to supersede the Chinese original, where discrepancies exist. Although in that limited sense the translation takes precedence over the original where specific discrepancies of content occur, the translator's purpose has been merely to bring the work to a wider audience, not to render the original work obsolete. The

translation suffers all the shortcomings obvious in pedestrian academic English frequently interrupted by bracketed insertions. The original, in striking contrast, is one of the masterpieces of modern literary Chinese. It possesses immense richness of style and forceful clarity of expression, together with masterly subtlety and allusiveness ever varying in relation to the period and the subject under discussion. That dimension of the work has been lost in translation, and for those who have access to the original, it should by all means and in all circumstances take priority over the impoverished translation.

Finally, the work of translation has been for the translator a rigorous continuing course in classical Chinese in philosophy, in history, and in Western political concepts and methods. My original impulse to undertake the translation was totally selfish, motivated by the desire to receive precisely this training from the hand of this master; what student of China would not wish to have so stimulating, so profitable, and so profoundly pleasant an experience?

F. W. MOTE

Notes on the Principles Guiding Translation

The translator's intent has been to reproduce the original work, not to produce a new study of the subject taking into account the relevant scholarship now in existence. The author's original footnotes are extensive, and are adequate to sustain the text they accompany. Nevertheless, the work is written in an elegant and highly learned classical style for students assumed to possess considerable background knowledge of the Chinese cultural tradition. Unfortunately, with the passage of only twenty-five or thirty years, such readers are now unusual in China, and they have always been rare in the West. Therefore the translator has felt it necessary to insert some notes into the text to clarify the meaning of difficult or obscure passages. Also, many allusions to classical works have been identified. *All such additions to the original, both in the text and in the accompanying footnotes, have been enclosed in square brackets.* Parentheses have been used only as in the original. The insertion of words and occasionally of whole sentences in brackets creates the risk of destroying the continuity and readability of the original; therefore these have been reduced to a minimum, but they still may offend some readers.

The reader of Chinese familiar with the original will note several other departures from the original text. Single sentences in the original have often been divided into two or more English sentences, and paragraphs in the original have often been subdivided. Also, in translating the author's footnotes, the translator has adopted forms of citation standard in Western language bibliographies. Otherwise, the format and content of the original have been preserved. No portions have been omitted, except for a word or a line here and there, as noted in square brackets in all cases. Also, in the very few instances where a loose paraphrase has seemed preferable to a close translation, those have been noted. The use of quotation marks in the translation also varies slightly from that in the original, in the following way only: some words and phrases embodying well-known allusions in the original, in keeping with Chinese usage, are not enclosed in quotation marks there. In many such cases quotation marks have been added in the translation, in keeping with English usage, and for the convenience of the reader who might not recognize them as allusions. Otherwise, this is an integral, direct translation, as faithful to the original as possible.

In translating passages quoted from Chinese classical, historical, and scholarly works, the translator's purpose has been to find English equivalents expressing the sense in which the author has quoted those in the original. Therefore, alternate interpretations *usually have not* been indicated, but where they might contribute to the English reader's under-

standing, they have occasionally been noted. Standard English translations are cited where possible, in the version closest to the author's intent, but for the sake of consistency in handling recurring terms, modifications of wording have often been necessary, and in all cases have been noted. Eminent translations into other languages have in many cases been consulted, but have seldom been quoted, since the purpose is to produce an English equivalent of the book as it exists in Chinese, not to establish any issues in scholarship, nor to supply bibliographic guidance to the scholar who might wish to pursue further research interests of his own.

The following comments indicate in a general way the translations that have been most heavily drawn upon for quotations from the pre-Ch'in political thinkers: For the *Analects*, as for the Chinese canonical works, first reference has been made to the translations of James Legge (i.e., *The Chinese Classics*, 1895, in the University of Hong Kong's 1960 reprint in five volumes, and the *Li Chi*, or *Li Ki* in the *Sacred Books of the East*, edited by Max Müller). Arthur Waley's translation of *The Analects of Confucius* (1938) in some instances has been preferred to Legge, and sometimes the best features of both have been combined.

When the chapter on Mencius was first translated, W. A. C. H. Dobson's new translation (1963) and D. C. Lau's (1970), had not yet appeared; the Legge translation has been heavily drawn upon, but a few revisions based on others, e.g., W. T. Chan, have been introduced.

H. H. Dubs' *The Works of Hsüntze* (1928) and later studies by J. J. L. Duyvendak, Y. P. Mei, and *Hsün Tzu: Basic Writings*, translated by Burton Watson (1963), have been consulted.

Quotations from Mo Tzu have been translated following Y. P. Mei's *Motze* (1934) where possible, with frequent reference to Burton Watson's *Mo Tzu: Basic Writings* (1963), but several of the key terms have been standardized, following the versions in W. T. Chan's *Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (1963).

The *Lao Tzu, or Tao Te Ching* and the *Chuang Tzu* have been the most difficult to handle. The range of interpretations is the broadest, and the number of English versions of the former is very great. It would be difficult to devise a new translation of any line of the *Lao Tzu* that would not, consciously or unconsciously, coincide in some degree with existing ones. My solution has been, nonetheless, in some cases to produce new translations, after consulting a dozen existing versions ranging from Legge's (1891) to W. T. Chan's (1963).

For the *Chuang Tzu*, a similar range of translations has been consulted, with W. T. Chan and Burton Watson's *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (1968) proving most useful, but not to the exclusion of Legge's and Giles' earlier versions.

The *Kuan Tzu* is a large and difficult work for which English versions are less complete or less satisfactory than for any of the other early

political thinkers. The translations in Maverick's pioneering *The Kuan-tzu* (1954) are in many cases paraphrases. A. W. Rickett's translation of twelve chapters from the *Kuan Tzu* (1965) includes few of the portions of that book most pertinent to political thought. Therefore it has been necessary in almost all cases to produce new translations of the quoted passages.

The *Book of Lord Shang* has been brilliantly translated and annotated by J. J. L. Duyvendak (1928). The *Han Fei Tzu: Basic Writings* (1964), the partial translation by Burton Watson, is in its use of English somewhat more useable than the *Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu* translated by W. K. Liao (two volumes, 1939 and 1960), yet the latter also has been consulted, with much profit, throughout.

The model of Derk Bodde's superb translation of Fung Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy* (two volumes, 1937/1952 and 1953) has been clearly in the mind of the translator, who is indebted to it not only for the inspiration it provides but also for translations of many terms and passages. The present work should be read in conjunction with Bodde's translation of Fung in order to understand some of the relationships between philosophy and political thought.

W. T. Chan's *Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* has been indispensable as a reference tool, and as a standard for meticulous translation. His *The Way of Lao Tzu* (1963) supersedes the translation of the *Tao Te Ching* found in the *Source Book* and offers fuller supporting scholarship, but the latter has been cited, for convenience, as the source of passages quoted here. The translator's notes indicate the extent to which the *Source Book* has been drawn upon. In addition, it is a pleasure to acknowledge the helpful advice drawn from Professor Chan's careful reading of the first eight chapters of the translation.

A. C. Graham's *The Book of Lieh-tzu* (1960) is another good example of recent translation that has been useful to the translator here, particularly in Chapter XI. Unfortunately, a number of excellent translations relevant to the present task, such as D. C. Lau's *Mencius* and *Tao Te Ching*, Timotheus Pokora's *Hsin-lun* (*New Treatise*) *and Other Writings by Huan T'an*, Ch'i-yün Ch'en's *Hsün Yüeh*, to name but a few outstanding examples, appeared only after the chapters to which they are relevant had already been translated and put into final form, so the translator was unable to benefit from them.

Finally, this translator must acknowledge the help and pleasure he has found in the vast achievement of Arthur Waley, whose translations of the *Analects* and the *Lao Tzu* have been noted above, and whose brilliantly rendered selections from Mencius, Chuang Tzu, and Mo Tzu are found in *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (1939).

F. W. MOTE

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Part One

The Political Thought of the Feudal World—
the Period of Creativity

以仁心說以學心聽以公心辯此荀卿子之名言也余往歲竊取其意而爲治學之座右銘曰以學心讀以平心取以公心述

壬子初夏錄應

復禮教授吾兄雅屬

七十五叟公權