

The *t'u-ch'en* 圖讖 Prophetic Books and the Establishment of Confucianism

(II)

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3. The Establishment of Confucianism

(i) The Prophetic Books and the Establishment of Confucianism

In the time of Hsüan-ti 宣帝 and Yüan-ti 元帝, the policy of lending land to the poor was put into practice. This is said to have been an attempt to exercise lordship over the peasants who had lost their land by means of loans of land belonging to the sovereign or to the state. Here again, attendant on the advance of the powerful families and merchants, and above them, the officials and court ministers as they encroached upon the peasants' land, there was compromise and concession on the part of the sovereign. In particular, K'uang Heng 匡衡, who had been guilty of monopolizing and stealing land in the Lo-an 樂安 District affair, was one who had made encroachments on state and imperial lands (*Han-shu* 漢書, Bk. 81, Biography of K'uang Heng); while the reason for which Chai Fang-chin 翟方進 incurred the peasants' resentment over the Hung-hsi Dyke 鴻隙陂 (*Han-shu*, Bk. 84, Biography of Chai Fang-chin) was that in pursuance of absentee landlord policies he had removed irrigation facilities and so harmed their interests. Taking such facts together, it is probably safe to consider that the land-loan policy was, as we have said, a phase of compromise and concession on the sovereign's part attendant on the advance of the court ministers *etc.*

Wang Mang 王莽 made use of the strength of these ministerial and sub-ministerial officials and went on to step outside their bounds in his seizure of power. Then, in submitting them to his organs of control and so imposing restraint upon them, he gave the people their answer. Subsequently, meeting with a counterattack on the part of a section of the court ministers and officials together with the powerful clans who had moved outside the sway of his organs of control and the common people—particularly the poor peasants—, he perished. Wang Mang employed a two-fold ideological and religious armoury consisting of writings falling within the canonical category and of prophecies and other writings of a strongly magical or occult nature. Furthermore, as successor to Shun 舜, he adopted the Virtue of Earth 土德 [Yellow]. Now the common people who had risen in revolt, especially the

Red Eyebrows 赤眉, did not only adopt the Virtue of Fire 火德 [Red] like the Han, but also support to further their solidarity by enshrining Emperor Kao-tsu's 高祖帝 grandson, King Ching 景王 of Ch'eng-yang 城陽. Emperor Kuang-wu 光武帝 did not only, as successor to the Han, adopt the Virtue of Fire [Red], but also distorted and transformed the writings of the canonical kind, putting them inside prophecies, fusing them into prophetic books, and then using these for weapons.

In this way, we may perhaps say that Wang Mang, albeit through the formality of abdication, dispossessed the Han and took their place; the Red Eyebrow movement contained the significance of prolongation of Han rule; and Emperor Kuang-wu was the Han's prolonger and reviver. Furthermore, use of writings belonging to the canonical category was common to both Wang Mang and Kuang-wu, even allowing for the distinction between those which preserved their independence and those which did not; but such writings have no connection with the Red Eyebrow movement. In contrast, magical and occult writings falling within the prophetic category were common to all three parties. At this point, it may be realized that both Wang Mang and Kuang-wu were borrowing from the beliefs of the common people. However, this was no doubt a continuation of previous attempts to accommodate the magical beliefs of the populace and thereby gain religious authority over it. Such attempts had been made by the earlier sovereigns as, with the post-Warring States relaxation of the feudal system and the development of the *chün-hsien* 郡縣 system of regional government, they advanced along the road towards direct control of the common people; for all along the sovereigns of the Ch'in and Han, assuming the title of August Emperor, had been believed to be worshippers of Heaven who attained unity with Heaven and were possessed of superhuman, magical authority. Light is perhaps thrown on this process by Kao-tsu's having gathered into the capital the shamans who directed the everyday life of the populace, appointed unto each a deity to worship (*Han-shu*, Bk. 25a, Treatise on the Suburban Sacrifice) and so, as the commander of the shamans, become himself the highest shamanistic authority; and by his having set up public shrines in the prefectures in addition to the popular shrines (*Ibid.*) and in this way attempted to direct the common people's beliefs towards the sovereign through the *chün-hsien* system. And the sovereigns of the Former Han and Wang Mang, the Red Eyebrows and Kuang-wu all followed in his footsteps.

Further, in Wang Mang's case, the canonical-type writings and the prophetic-type writings, although put into conformity with each other, were not fused into one. This shows his youth. It must have been because he was strongly linked with the Confucianistic officials—court ministers and others—who upheld the quasi-scriptures, and had to take care that his speech and conduct were in accordance with canonical and ritual prescriptions. Moreover, while he made full use of prophecies and oracles, he hardly used those

prophecies, or prophetic books, which had the aspect of being scriptures, or quasi-scriptures, works connected with Confucius, at all. This must also have been a consequence of the fact that works like the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching* 天官歷包元太平經 which were intended to promote the prolongation and resuscitation of the Han, and anything which, like the Red System 赤制 of Confucius, had been devised on behalf of the Virtue of Red 赤德, in other words the Han Dynasty, would have been largely disadvantageous for Wang Mang, who stood in the Han's place. As we mentioned earlier (*M.T.B.* No. 34 [1976] pp. 53-4.), it is indeed related that Chih Yün 鄧恽, in remonstrating with Wang Mang, incurred the latter's anger by calling upon him to relinquish the Imperial throne and take up the position of a subject on the basis of a prophecy that ran: "The Han age will be long-lasting; Confucius made the Red System" 漢歷久長, 孔爲赤制, and so on. Because Chih Yün had been citing a canonical prophecy, Wang Mang was unable to punish him (*Hou Han-shu* 後漢書, Bk. 29, Biography of Chih Yün).

Now for Kuang-wu, who claimed to represent the ninth generation of the House of Han and to be that dynasty's restorer, these prophetic books were on the contrary extremely convenient. Not only that, but, unlike Wang Mang, Kuang-wu distorted and transformed the canonical-type writings, incorporating them into prophecies, fusing them with the prophecies. He also limited the size of the largest feudal appanages to four prefectures (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 1a, Annals of Emperor Kuang-wu), allowed the kings suzerainty over the land but not its population (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 23, Biography of Tou Jung 竇融), and curtailed the territories and influence, recognized under the *Chou-li* 周禮 of the sub-feudal officials, submitting them to the sovereign's organs of control. He then suppressed those Confucians who, taking their stand upon the scriptures, denied the authenticity of the prophetic books. In this way, Kuang-wu, in performing the *feng* 封 and *shan* 禪 sacrifices, no doubt tried to associate himself with Wu-ti 武帝, who as the agent of Heaven had wielded autocratic authority. However, since Kuang-wu became ruler after the rise of the scriptures and the central government officials who upheld them, he could not disregard them, and so it was impossible for him to act arbitrarily as the autocratic agent of Heaven, untrammelled, like Wu-ti, not only, as goes without saying, by ritual prescriptions, but also by the law. Instead, he seems to have been more like Hsüan-ti, who rigidly meted out rewards and punishments in accordance with the law.

The authority of Kuang-wu as sovereign, and of his state, the Eastern Han 東漢 [the so-called Latter Han], was warranted by prophecies, or prophetic books, which had the aspect of being canonical, or quasi-canonical, connected with Confucius. Kuang-wu raised his troops in the belief, grounded on the prophetic books, that the Mandate lay with him. According to the Biography of Teng Ch'en 鄧晨 in the *Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 15:

"Near the end of Wang Mang's rule, Kuang-wu one day went to Wan 宛 together with his elder brother Po-sheng 伯升 and Teng Ch'en. They had conversation with Ts'ai Shao-kung 蔡少公 of Jang 穰 and others. Ts'ai had made considerable study of prophetic books and said that Liu Hsiu 劉秀 should be Son of Heaven. Someone said: 'Does that mean Liu Hsiu the State Master?' Kuang-wu said in sport: 'Well, how do you know it isn't me?' The company all laughed loudly, but Ch'en was delighted in his heart.

When Kuang-wu and his train were avoiding the officials in Hsin-yeh 新野, they stayed at Ch'en's home, and the two became very intimate. Ch'en thereupon said to Kuang-wu: 'Wang Mang is impious and violent and carries out executions in the height of summer. It is now that Heaven will destroy him. Is our conversation the other day at Wan to find fulfilment?' Kuang-wu laughed and did not reply." 王莽末, 光武嘗與兄伯升及晨俱之宛, 與穰人蔡少公等讌語, 少公頗學圖讖, 言劉秀當爲天子, 或曰, 是國師公劉秀乎, 光武戲曰, 何用知非僕邪, 坐者皆大笑, 晨心獨喜, 及光武與家屬避吏新野, 舍晨廬, 甚相親愛, 晨因謂光武曰, 王莽悖暴, 盛夏斬人, 此天亡之時也, 往時會宛, 獨當應邪, 光武笑不答。

From this we can see that it was not long after the first year of Ti-huang 地皇 (A.D. 20) that Kuang-wu began, on the basis of prophetic books, to wonder if the Mandate might not lie with him and was, furthermore, pressed by Teng Ch'en into the decision that he should act accordingly. The reason is that it was in the first year of Ti-huang that Wang Mang, without waiting for the proper time, carried out executions in the height of summer as mentioned by Teng Ch'en. The *Hou Han-shu* further records the following as having taken place in the third year of Ti-huang (A.D. 22) when Kuang-wu went again to avoid the officials at Hsin-yeh:

"Kuang-wu avoided the officials in Hsin-yeh and sold grain in Wan. Li T'ung 李通 of Wan and others exhorted Kuang-wu with prophetic books saying: 'The Liu family will rise again and the Li family will assist them.' At first Kuang-wu did not dare take it upon himself, but then he considered that his elder brother Po-sheng had long been banding together free companions and was bound to undertake the Great Matter. Besides, the fall of Wang Mang was already augured and the Empire was at that very time in confusion. He thereupon agreed on a plan with them, bought weapons, and, in the tenth month, rose in Wan with Li T'ung's younger cousin I 軼. At the time he was twenty-eight years old." (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 1a, Annals of Emperor Kuang-wu) 光武避吏新野, 因賣穀於宛, 宛人李通等以圖讖說光武云, 劉氏復起, 李氏爲輔, 光武初不敢當, 然獨念兄伯升素結輕客, 必舉大事, 且王莽敗亡, 已兆, 天下方亂, 遂與定謀, 於是乃市弩, 十月, 與李通從弟軼等, 起於宛, 時年二十八。

It is thus beyond doubt that his taking the plunge and rising in arms were also based on prophetic books. Furthermore, according to the Biography of Tou Jung in the *Hou Han-shu*, the following took place just before the fifth year of Chien-wu 建武 (A.D. 29):

"Jung and his associates thereupon summoned the local heroes and the provincial governors for consultation. The wise among them all said: 'Han inherits the destiny of Yao 堯 and its allotted span is long. The present Emperor's surname and style appear in the prophetic books. It is a long time since the last generation's learned masters of Taoist arts Ku Tzu-yün 谷子雲 and Hsia Ho-liang 夏賀良 demonstrated that the Han is possessed of an oracle according to which it will receive the Mandate twice. For this reason, Liu Tzu-chün 劉子駿 changed his name, hoping to fit the prognostication. When Wang Mang's rule came to an end, the Taoist Hsi-men Chün-hui 西門君惠 said that Liu Hsiu should be Son of Heaven. Subsequently, he plotted to install Tzu-chün. The affair was discovered and he was put to death. He came out and said to the common people looking on: 'Liu Hsiu is truly your lord.' These are all celebrated events of recent times and are held in view by all the wise." (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 23.) 融等於是召豪傑及諸太守計議，其中智者皆曰，漢承堯運，歷數延長，今皇帝姓號見於圖書，自前世博物道術之士谷子雲，夏賀良等，建明漢有再受命之符，言之久矣，故劉子駿改易名字，冀應其占，及莽末，道士西門君惠言劉秀當爲天子，遂謀立子駿，事覺被殺，出謂百姓觀者曰，劉秀眞汝主也，皆近事暴著，智者所共見也。

We touched on this earlier (*M.T.B.* No. 34 [1976] pp. 98-99), but we may add here that this passage also leads us to think that the prophecy, or illustrated writing, which had ascribed receipt of the Mandate to Kuang-wu [Liu Hsiu], must have been the Ku-Hsian 谷·夏 oracle predicting a second bestowal of the Mandate on the Han and consequently either the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-t'ai-p'ing-ching* or another work of the same kind. However, as we have said before, probably neither the pretender Liu Tzu-chün, *i. e.* Liu Hsin 劉歆, nor Ku Tzu-yün, *i. e.* Ku Yung 谷永, took anything to do with such prophecies, and the above story was no doubt a fabrication intended to enhance their credibility.

Next, there is the following record about Kuang-wu's accession under the first year of Chien-wu (A.D. 25) in the Annals of Emperor Kuang-wu in the *Hou Han-shu*:

"Formerly, when Kuang-wu was in Ch'ang-an 長安, he had shared a lodging with the scholar Ch'iang Hua 彊華. [Ch'iang Hua now] presented the Red Scroll Oracle 赤伏符 from within the Passes. It read: 'Liu Hsiu will raise an army and take captive the iniquitous. The barbarians of the four quarters will gather like clouds and dragons shall dispute the field. At the juncture of four by seven, fire will be sovereign.' The offi-

cials accordingly memorialized anew, saying: 'With an oracle concerning receipt of the Mandate, what is important is that it should find fulfilment in a man. For ten thousand *li* 里 all believe in unison, and without discussion they share the same sentiment. How should the white fish of the Chou be sufficient for comparison with it? At present there is no Emperor above, and the world is in disorder. The fulfilment of the oracular insignium is made brilliantly manifest. You should respond to the heavenly numinosity to foreclose the multitude's hopes.' Kuang-wu thereupon ordered the authorities to prepare an altar and an open space by the Pavilion of a Thousand Autumns in the Avenue of the Five Perfections to the south of Hao 鄴, and on the *chi-wei* 己未 day of the sixth month he proceeded to the Imperial dignity. He made his proclamation to Heaven with a burnt sacrifice and made offerings to the Six Presences. He carried out the sacrifice to the multiplicity of divinities, and his oration read: 'The August Celestial Supreme Deity, the Sovereign of Earth and the Heavenly and Earthly Numinosities have turned their affectionate gaze and sent down their Mandate, ordering Hsiu of the common people to act as parent to others. I did not dare take this upon myself, but those below and the Hundred Princes without consulting each other all spoke the same words.' They all said: 'Wang Mang had usurped the throne, but Hsiu in his indignation raised an army. He defeated Wang Hsün 王尋 and Wang I 王邑 in K'un-yang 昆陽 and executed Wang Lang 王郎 and T'ung-ma 銅馬 in Ho-pei 河北. He has pacified all under Heaven and the whole world has received benevolence. Above, he matches the heart of Heaven and Earth; below, it is in him that the people find their home.' In a prophecy it is written: 'Liu Hsiu will raise an army and take captive the iniquitous. Mao Chin 卯金 shall cultivate virtue and be the Son of Heaven.' I still refused firmly, twice, nay, three times, but those below all said: 'The Great Mandate of August Heaven is not to be stayed. How should I dare not to accept it respectfully?' Thereupon he inaugurated a new reign-period, calling it Chien-wu. He issued a Great Amnesty to the Empire and changed the name of Hao to Kao-i 高邑." 光武先在長安時，同舍生彊華，自關中奉赤伏符曰，劉秀發兵，捕不道，四夷雲集，龍闕野，四七之際，火爲主，羣臣因復奏曰，受命之符，人應爲大，萬里合信，不議同情，周之白魚，曷足比焉，今上無天子，海內淆亂，符瑞之應，昭然著聞，宜答天神，以塞羣望，光武於是命有司，設壇場於鄴南千秋亭五成陌，六月己未，即皇帝位，燔燎告天，禋于六宗，望於羣神，其祝文曰，皇天上帝，后土神祇，眷顧降命，屬秀黎元，爲人父母，秀不敢當，羣下百辟不謀同辭，咸曰，王莽篡位，秀發憤興兵，破王尋王邑於昆陽，誅王郎銅馬於河北，平定天下，海內蒙恩，上當天地之心，下爲元元所歸，讖記曰，劉秀發兵，捕不道，卯金修德，爲天子，秀猶固辭，至于再，至于三，羣下僉曰，皇天大命，不可稽留，敢不敬承，於是建元，爲建武，大赦天下，改鄴爲高邑。

From this it seems also to be clear that Kuang-wu's accession and so on was also made to depend on the prophetic books.

Now Huan T'an 桓譚 opposed Kuang-wu's use of prophetic books. This was because Kuang-wu was trying to settle various affairs of state and ritual questions on their basis, as can be seen from the following two quotations from Huan's biography in the *Hou Han-shu*:

"Just at this time, the Emperor was giving credence to prophecies and often used them to resolve doubtful points." (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 28.)
是時帝方信讖，多以決定嫌疑。

"Later there was a command ordering a conference on a site for the Spirit Tower. The Emperor said to T'an, 'I wish to decide it through prophecies. How would that be?'" (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 28.) 其後有詔，會議靈臺所處，帝謂譚曰，吾欲讖決之，何如。

The reason for opposition can be seen again in Cheng Hsing's 鄭興 case. In his biography we read:

"The Emperor once consulted Hsing about the Suburban Sacrifice. He said, 'I wish to settle it through prophecies. How would that be?' Hsing replied, 'I take nothing to do with prophecies.' The Emperor was angry and asked, 'Do you mean to say that you reject them?' Hsing was thrown into panic and said, 'There are among writings some that I have not studied, but there is none that I reject.' The Emperor's intent was thereupon slackened." (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 36, Biography of Cheng Hsing)
帝嘗問興郊祀事，曰，吾欲以讖斷之，何如，興對曰，臣不爲讖，帝怒曰，卿之不爲讖，非之邪，興惶恐曰，臣於書有未學，而無所非也，帝意乃解。

Kuang-wu was also trying to use prophecies to make decisions about institutions such as the Suburban Sacrifice which, as sacrifices carried out by the sovereign, were the most important rituals.

We may further adduce the following material to show that Kuang-wu sought guidance in affairs of state from prophetic books:

"When the Dynastic Founder came to the throne, on the basis of a prophetic text he employed the P'ing-ti 平狄 General Sun Hsien 孫咸 and appointed a Grand Minister of the Mount. The multitude were all displeased. A command was issued requiring recommendations for the post, and the choice of the whole body of officials was confined to Wu Han 吳漢 and Tan 丹." (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 22, Biography of Ching Tan 景丹) 世祖即位，以讖文，用平狄將軍孫咸，行大司馬，衆咸不悅，詔舉可爲大司馬者，羣臣所推，唯吳漢及丹。

"The Dynastic Founder considered that Liang 梁 had merit. When he came to the throne, it was proposed to select a Grand Minister of Public Works, but the Red Scroll Oracle said: 'Wang Liang 王梁 is

lord over Wei 衛 and functions as Hsüan-wu 玄武.' On the grounds that it was to Yeh-wang 野王 that Wei had been moved, that Hsüan-wu was the name of a water deity and that the Minister of Public Works was the official responsible for water and earth, the Emperor appointed Liang as Grand Minister of Public Works and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Wu-ch'iang 武強." (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 22, Biography of Wang Liang) 世祖以爲梁功，及即位，議選大司空，而赤伏符曰，王梁主衛，作玄武，帝以野王衛之所徙，玄武水神之名，司空水土之官也，於是擢拜梁爲大司空，封武強侯。 Now in the Treatise on Sacrifices in the *Hou Han-shu*, we find the following: "In the second month of the thirtieth year of Chien-wu (A.D. 54), the officials made representations to the effect that thirty years after accession to the throne it was proper to carry out the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices on Mt. T'ai 泰山....." (*Hou Han-shu*, *Chih* 志 Bk. 7, Treatise on Sacrifices 祭祀) 建武三十年二月，羣臣上言，即位三十年，宜封禪泰山，云々。

Kuang-wu's performance of the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices was proposed by the officials. It would seem from his biography that Chang Ch'un 張純 was probably one of the officials concerned. He had consulted prophecies on seven scriptures, and presented the following memorial to the effect that Kuang-wu should carry out the sacrifices:

"From ancient times those who have received the Mandate and become Emperor have always, in the zenith of their governance of the world, held the *feng* and *shan* in order to report their accomplishment. The *Tung-sheng I* 動聲儀 [chapter] of the *Yüeh* 樂 says: 'Govern men with the *Ya* 雅; the *feng* 風 comes to perfection in the *sung* 頌.' The suburban sacrifices, the sacrifices by association, and the *feng* and *shan* of the golden age of the Chou, the time of Kings Ch'eng 成 and K'ang 康, are all to be held in regard. The *Shu* 書 [-ching 經] says, 'In the second month of the year he made an inspection tour in the east. He proceeded to Tai-tsung 岱宗 and there made a burnt offering.' This is the meaning of *feng* and *shan* You ought in this propitious time to follow the statutes of Emperor T'ang 唐 and continue the undertaking of Hsiao-wu 孝武, making a tour of inspection in the east in the second month and performing the *feng* sacrifice on Mt. Tai-tsung. You will illuminate the [Han Dynasty's] revival " (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 35, Biography of Chang Ch'un) 自古受命而帝，治世之隆，必有封禪，以告成功焉，樂動聲儀曰，以雅治人，風成於頌，有周之盛，成康之間，郊祀封禪，皆可見也，書曰，歲二月，東巡狩，至于岱宗，則封禪之義也，....宜及嘉時，遵唐帝之典，繼孝武之業，以二月，東巡狩，封于岱宗，明中興.....

All this means that the officials' proposals concerning the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices were also based on prophetic books. And undoubtedly, a number of prophetic books were used when the sacrifices were carried out. As we

said above (*M.T.B.* No. 34 [1976] pp. 50-53), in the Treatise on Sacrifices in the *Hou Han-shu* there are mentioned the *Ho-t'u hui-ch'ang fu* 河圖會昌符, the *Ho-t'u ch'ih-fu fu* 河圖赤伏符, the *Ho-t'u ho-ku p'ien* 河圖合古篇, the *Ho-t'u t'i liu-tzu* 河圖提劉子, the *Lo-shu chen-yao tu* 雜書甄曜度 and the *Hsiao-ching kou-ming chüeh* 孝經鉤命決.

Further, according to the entry for the first year of Chung-yüan 中元 (A.D. 56) in the Annals of Emperor Kuang-wu in the *Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 1b, after he had carried out the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices in the second month of that year, Kuang-wu changed the reign-title, held services at Kao-tsu's tomb in the vicinity of Ch'ang-an, and obtained various auspicious omens. In that year he also erected a Sacred Hall (*ming-t'ang* 明堂) Spirit Tower (*ling-t'ai* 靈臺) and Imperial Academy (*Pi-yung* 辟雍) etc. and proclaimed the prophetic books to the Empire.

Thus Kuang-wu rose in arms in his self-assurance, grounded in prophetic books, that the Mandate lay with him. His accession after he had seized the Empire was also based on prophetic books; he sought in the prophetic books guidelines for establishing institutions and carrying out affairs of state. The *feng* and *shan* sacrifices, too, reported his completion of the work of unifying the Empire, were performed with reference to the prophetic books; and he went on to proclaim the prophetic books to the Empire. Thus on the basis of the Mandate and Will of Heaven as revealed by the prophetic books, both state and sovereign had their authority warranted by these documents. For this reason, it seems to be possible to discern at this point the establishment of a *T'u-ch'en*-ist state, and to perceive that the prophetic books had become, as it were, a state doctrine which directed and informed the sovereign and all his people. At the same time, the prophetic books were scriptures, or quasi-scriptures, and contained within them was also the Red System of Confucius. Consequently, we can perhaps discern here the establishment both of the Confucianist State and of Confucianist Doctrine as a state religion—in other words, what is known as *Ju-chiao* 儒教, Confucianism.

This state of affairs continued into the reigns of Emperors Ming and Chang. The following is found in a memorial by the authorities about Emperor Ming, entered under the twelfth month of the eighteenth year of Yung-p'ing 永平 (A.D. 75), the date of Emperor Chang's accession, in the Annals of Emperor Chang of the *Hou Han-shu*:

"The sagely virtue of Emperor Hsiao-ming was pure and beautiful. He made complete the teaching in the Three Halls and presided in person over the rites for the care of the old. He composed ceremonial songs and regulated *yü* 予 music. He pursued wide studies in the six arts, breaking off neither by day nor night. His brilliance, depth and soundness appear in the prophetic books. . . ." (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 3.)
孝明帝聖德淳茂.備三雍之教, 躬養老之禮, 作登歌, 正予樂, 博貫六藝, 不舍

晝夜，聰明淵塞，著在圖讖.....

And Ts'ao Pao's 曹褒 biography in the *Hou Han-shu* relates the following about his father Ch'ung 充：

"On the accession of Hsien-tsung 顯宗 (Emperor Ming 明帝), Ch'ung offered the following opinion: 'The Han have received the Mandate a second time and have held as before the sacrifices of *feng* and *shan*. However, their rites and music are degenerate and defective and will not serve as a model for posterity. The Five Emperors did not continue each other's music; the Three Kings did not take over each other's rites. The Great Han ought itself to institute rites to inform a hundred generations.' The Emperor asked what he meant by instituting rites and music, and he answered: 'The *Ho-t'u kua-ti hsiang* 河圖括地象 says that in the epoch of the Han shall come forth rites and music, culture and refinement. The *Shang-shu hsüan-chi ch'ien* 尚書璇機鈴 says that when the Han Emperor comes forth, his virtue will penetrate and he will create music. It will be named *yü*.' The Emperor was pleased with his words." (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 35) 顯宗即位，充上言，漢再受命，仍有封禪之事，而禮樂崩闕，不可爲後嗣法，五帝不相沿樂，三王不相襲禮，大漢當自制禮以示百世，帝問制禮樂云何，充對曰，河圖括地象曰，有漢世，禮樂文雅出，尚書璇機鈴曰，有漢帝出，德洽，作樂，名予，帝善之。

The second quotation seems to supplement the first, and from them we can see that the system of rites and music established by Emperor Ming had the backing of prophetic books. Again, the same biography contains the following about Ts'ao Pao's ritual and musical enactments under Emperor Chang:

"It so happened that Su-tsung 肅宗 (Emperor Chang) wished to lay down regulations for rites and music, and in the second year of Yüan-ho 元和 (A.D. 85) he issued a proclamation saying: 'The *Yellow River Chart* says that Red Nine shall meet with prosperity. The tenth generation shall shine thereby and the eleventh shall rise high. The *Shang-shu hsüan-chi ch'ien* says, 'Following Yao he shall bring order to the world; he shall regulate rites and music and issue the culture of T'ang.' I the latest small child am assigned to the end of destined number; how am I to prolong and revive [Han rule], exalting the ancestors and succouring the people? The *Ti-ming-yen* 帝命驗 says, 'I perfected my virtue in accordance with Yao; I indicated the appointed limits and established symbols.' But then where the Three walked, the Five rode fleet horses; superior and inferior are of different gauge. How much the more in my case, for I am stupid and untutored and unequal to the task. Even though I should wish to carry it out, I should have no way of doing so.

Whenever I see the charts and writings, I feel shame in my heart.' Pao knew the Emperor's mind and wished to originate something, so he presented a memorial saying: 'In ancient times, of the sages who received the Mandate and became Kings, there was none who did not establish rites and create music to make manifest his merit and virtue. When their merit was complete, they created music; once their reforms were stable, they established rites. It was by this means that they relieved mundane customs, gathered in auspicious omens and obtained for the myriad families blessing from August Heaven. Now August Heaven is sending down prosperity, and tokens of felicity arrive one after another. The oracle concerning the establishment of rites and the creation of music is crystal clear. It would be fitting to lay down cultural institutions and compose the rites of Han, making greatly manifest the beauty of the dynastic ancestors' ample virtue.' " (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 35, Biography of Ts'ao Pao)

會肅宗欲制定禮樂，元和二年下詔曰，河圖稱赤九會昌，十世以光，十一以興，尚書璇機鈴曰，述堯理世，平制禮樂，放唐之文，予末小子，託于數終，曷以續興，崇弘祖宗，仁濟元元，帝命驗曰，順堯考德，題期立象，且三五步驟，優劣殊軌，況予頑陋，無以克堪，雖欲從之，末由也已，每見圖書，中心惡焉，褒知帝旨，欲有興作，乃上疏曰，昔者聖人受命而王，莫不制禮作樂，以著功德，功成作樂，化定制禮，所以救世俗，致禎祥，為萬姓獲福於皇天者也，今皇天降祉，嘉瑞並臻，制作之符，甚於言語，宜定文制，著成漢禮，丕顯祖宗盛德之美。

After all kinds of discussion:

"Having received the command, Pao made an orderly arrangement of ritual matters, taking the old statutes as the standard and the diversifying them with prophetic matter from the Five Scriptures. He included in his compilation the entire system of capping and marriage rites and the observances relevant to auspicious and ill-boding phenomena, giving complete coverage from the Son of Heaven down to the common people. He made a hundred and fifty chapters, writing them on slips measuring two feet four inches. He presented the work in the twelfth moon of that year and because it was difficult to reconcile all the opinions, the Emperor only accepted it and did not order the authorities to offer any more discussions. At just that time, the Emperor died and Emperor Ho 和帝 acceded. Pao thereupon punctuated it for him, after which the Emperor added two opening chapters of new rites." (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 35, Biography of Ts'ao Pao)

褒既受命，乃次序禮事，依準舊典，雜以五經讖記之文，撰次天子至於庶人，冠婚吉凶終始制度，以為百五十篇，寫以二尺四寸簡，其年十二月奏上，帝以衆論難一，故但納之，不復令有司平奏，會帝崩，和帝即位，褒乃為作章句，帝遂以新禮二篇冠。

But in the concluding discussion to this biography we find:

"Emperor Hsiao-chang, having the former kings ever on his lips, came brilliantly forth as an initiator and issued an exclusive order to the officials responsible for ritual affairs to draw up prescription for the nation. How beautiful, this undertaking born of the plenitude of his virtue! But he had already reached the end of his Heaven-given count of years, and with the proposals to expel heterodoxy, this way at length fell back into desuetude." (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 35, *ibid.*) 孝章永言前王，明發興作，專命禮臣，撰定國憲，洋洋乎盛德之事焉，而業絕天算，議黜異端，斯道竟復墜矣。

Thus the rites and music which Emperor Chang, attentive to the prophetic books, ordered Ts'ao Pao to prepare came to a hundred and fifty chapters and contained an admixture of 'prophetic matter from the Five Scriptures' 五經讖記; but it was not put into practice. However, the rule that the sovereigns of the early years of the Latter Han instituted rites and music on the basis of prophetic books held throughout. Consequently, up till and including the reign of Emperor Chang—which is to say, during the time of the Latter Han's greatest prosperity—both the sovereign and the rites and music, or in other words both sovereign and state, stood on the ground of the prophetic books, and this was a dispensation that made state doctrine of the prophetic books.

Now in the fourth year of Chien-ch'u 建初 period (A.D. 79) of Emperor Chang's reign, that Emperor had the scholars of broad learning and the Confucians discuss discrepancies in the Five Scriptures at a conference in the White Tiger Tower 白虎觀 and, in imitation of Emperor Hsüan's visit to the Shih-ch'ü 石渠 Library, adjudicated in person. On this occasion the *White Tiger Tower Symposium* 白虎議 (the so-called *Po-hu-t'ung* 白虎通) was compiled (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 3, Annals of Emperor Chang), and it goes without saying that prophetic books and the like are cited in this work. Thus the early years of the Latter Han Dynasty were, it might be said, a period in which the prophetic books constituted orthodoxy. Meanwhile, those Confucians who regarded the prophetic books as uncanonical and who, taking their stand on the scriptures, upheld the original doctrines of Confucius with comparative fidelity, were suppressed. The concluding discussion to the *Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 36, Biography of Chia K'uei 賈逵 puts it succinctly:

"Huan T'an was exiled for his disapproval of prophecies; Cheng Hsing just escaped by using the meaning of texts and was thoroughly unillustrious. How sad that the ruler of the age should judge scholarship in this way!" 桓譚以不善讖，流亡，鄭興以遜辭，僅免，賈逵能附會文致，最差貴顯，世主以此論學，悲矣哉。

Moreover, the Biography of Pan Ku 班固 in the *Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 40b, records as follows:

"Later he was transferred to the position of Hsüan-wu ssu-ma 玄武司馬. When the Son of Heaven assembled the Confucians for disputations on the Five Scriptures and the preparation of the *Po-hu t'ung-te lun* 白虎通德論, he ordered Ku to take charge of the compilation." 後遷玄武司馬, 天子會諸儒, 講論五經, 作白虎通德論, 令固撰集其事.

Thus Pan Ku was responsible for the compilation of the *Po-hu-t'ung*. He also wrote the *Tien-yin-p'ien* 典引篇, in which he wholeheartedly praised the virtue of the Han, likening it to the virtue of Yao. About the first one-third of this work is a relation of the foundation myth of the Han state, which runs as follows.

After the opening of Heaven and Earth, Heaven appointed successive sovereigns, and among these sovereigns the most outstanding in point both of morality and of achievement was Yao. Yao set his own issue aside and abdicated in favour of Shun, and Shun in turn yielded the throne to Yü 禹. In succession to Yü, or consequently to the Hsia 夏, T'ang 湯 the descendant of Hsieh 契 became sovereign; and in succession to T'ang, or in other words to the Yin 殷, Wu 武 and the House of Chou 周, the posterity of Chi 稷. As the position of sovereign had, after Yao, thus made a complete circuit of the latter's right-hand men—Shun, Yü, Hsieh and Chi, Heaven attributed their merit back to their principal, Yao, and invested the Liu family or Han. But first, since at the end of the three dynasties morality was in confusion and institutions deficient, Heaven commanded the dark sage Confucius 玄聖孔子 to organize scholarship and establish a system. This, the Red System of Confucius, was in very truth a divine model. In this way, as time passed, the two sages Kao-tsu 高祖 and Kuang-wu 光武 appeared like dragons and were recognized by Heaven and Men. It would seem that the Han succeeded to the legitimate line of transmission ordained by Heaven, accepted the destiny proper to Yao, stored up the splendid virtue of fire and gained the support of the scriptures and prophecies of Confucius.

He goes on to pile on fine phrases exalting the virtue of the Han, extolling it as sacred and like to the virtue of Yao. The work concludes with such exclamatory expressions as 唐哉皇哉, 皇哉唐哉 in praise of the diligence of the 'sage overlord' 聖上, that is to say Emperor Chang. In between, he alludes to oracular insignia and prophetic books, and adds Emperor Wu and Kuang-wu to the seventy-two sovereigns who carried out the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices of old, making a new total of seventy-four sovereigns. And as we can see in, for example:

"The charts and writings in their truth and clarity are heavenly perspicacity; the plan of Confucius [resulting in] his anterior command is sagely sincerity." (*Hou Han-shu*, Bk. 40b, *ibid.*) 夫圖書亮章, 天哲也, 孔猷先命, 聖孚也.

Confucius' anterior command, or rather prophecy, with respect to the

Han's performance of the *feng* and *shan*, was ranked with the Heaven-given prophetic books. Here Confucius as prophet actually becomes the proxy of Heaven and becomes like Heaven a wielder of superhuman, magical authority. Perhaps the application of the term 'dark sage' 玄聖 to Confucius did not originate in Chuang-tzu's 莊子 use of the expression, but was derived from prophetic books of the same type as the *Ch'un-ch'iu yen-k'ung t'u* 春秋演孔圖 which held that Confucius' mother bore him as a result of overshadowing by the Black Emperor 黑帝.

After Wu-ti, the Han were identified with the virtue of fire [the Red Virtue] and associated with Yao. In this connection, we may adduce Sui Hung's 陸弘 reaction when a great rock on T'ai-shan 泰山 stood up of itself and a withered willow-tree in the Shang-lin Park 上林苑 having come back to life, insects ate into its leaves in such a way as to form the characters *Kung sun ping i li* 公孫病已立. Sui interpreted this as signifying the revival of the fallen house of Kung-sun, and went on to say:

"My former master Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 once said, 'Even though there may be a ruler who preserves form and maintains civility, it will not stand in the way of a sage's receiving the Mandate.' The House of Han is the posterity of Yao and it is its destiny to transmit the state. The Han Emperor ought to search throughout the empire for a capable man, relinquish the imperial dignity and withdraw. He should invest himself with a fief of a hundred *li* like the descendants of the Yin and Chou. In this way he will comply with the Mandate of Heaven." (*Han-shu*, Bk. 75, Biography of Sui Hung) 先師董仲舒有言，雖有繼體守文之君，不害聖人之受命，漢家堯後，有傳國之運，漢帝宜誰差天下，求索賢人，禮以帝位而退，自封百里，如殷周二王後，以承順天命。

This leads us to suppose that the acceptance of the Han as the posterity of Yao was probably the older of the two elements. And claiming to be the ninth generation descendent of this House of Han, Kuang-wu raised an army in the self-assurance that the Mandate lay with him, an assurance that was based on prophecies, or prophetic books, that had the aspect of being scriptures or quasi-scriptures, works connected with Confucius. In reliance on these prophetic books he acceded to the imperial dignity; basing himself on these prophetic books he carried out affairs of state; and in conformity with these prophetic books he performed the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices in which he reported to Heaven his accomplishment of the task of unifying the empire and thereby became a wielder of superhuman, magical authority similar to Heaven's. Finally, he proclaimed the prophetic books to the empire. Thus at the hand of Kuang-wu was established the Han Empire in which both sovereign and state were grounded in the prophetic books. The present writer reviewed this process just now, and Pan Ku in his *T'ien-yin-p'ien*

gave his full assent to such facts and idealized the story into a state foundation myth. He enthusiastically praised the Han Dynasty established thus and the Han virtue transmitted down to Emperor Chang, and made of the latter a thing to be ranked with the virtue of Yao.

At all events, since in the post-Kuang-wu, Han both sovereign and state were grounded in and had their authority warranted by the prophetic books, the doctrine of the prophetic books had become a true state religion. And because this state religion doctrine of the prophetic books was scriptural or quasi-scriptural, connected with Confucius, it follows that the state religion was naturally Confucian. Consequently, the establishment at the hand of Kuang-wu of the Han Empire grounded in the prophetic books was also the establishment of the Confucian state. This was at the same time the establishment of Confucianism the religion of Confucius in its aspect of being a state religion: the establishment of what is known as *Ju-chiao* 儒教, Confucianism the religion of the Confucians. Unable to find the establishment of the religion of the Confucians as the state religion in the time of Han Wu-ti, the present writer discerns at this later time the foundation of the state religion Confucius' Religion, or what is called the Religion of the Confucians.

However, as this Confucianism had as its content the prophetic books, that is to say prophecies bespeaking Heaven and its will, it belonged to the altogether superhuman, supernatural way of Heaven, and its Confucius was not only not, as goes without saying, the Confucius who confined himself to the way of man and did not speak of prodigies, feats of strength, rebellions or supernatural beings, but was also a far cry from the Confucius who, being wholly bent on pursuing human righteousness, respected ghosts and spirits but kept them at a distance and spoke neither of Heaven nor of the nature. On the contrary, as the agent of a supernaturalized Heaven, he had become a superhuman, magical prophet who played the part of mouthpiece bespeaking Heaven and its will. Moreover, different in this from Tung Chung-shu *et cetera* too, he had become the ultimate magical authority able to direct even a sovereign who was one with Heaven and possessed magical power similar to Heaven's.

At this point it is clear that there had been a transformation of the original doctrines of Confucius, and of Confucius himself. For this reason, it can only be said that the establishment of the religion of the Confucians as the state religion was the result of the transformation of the original religion of Confucius. Or perhaps it should rather be said to have been a result of the degeneration of the religion of Confucius. For a Confucius and a Confucianism that were entirely concerned with the way of man and with orthodox ritual would have criticized if they had not disowned a ruler who sacrificed to and held intercourse with a Heaven that was the highest supernatural authority and possessed magical power similar to Heaven's;

such a ruler they would have striven to set on the path of humanism and orthodox ritual. However, as we have said, Confucius had become the agent of Heaven and Confucianism the prophetic books bespeaking Heaven. This was because the mummifier had been mummified. It was a result of the fact that the Confucians had become the sovereign's functionaries and now strove to uphold and strengthen his magical and occult authority. Light is thrown on the opposite side of the coin by Kuang-wu's suppression of those who, comparatively faithful to the original doctrines of Confucius, upheld the scriptures, rejected the prophetic books as uncanonical, and refrained from studying them.

(ii) The Change of Confucianism. A study on Its Process

In this way, the transformation and degeneration of the original religion of Confucius were the indispensable preconditions for the establishment of the religion of the Confucians as the state religion. The present writer therefore wishes to give an outline of this process.

Confucius, believing in the Mandate of Heaven, postulated a territory in which, in conformity with their Heaven-given nature and under Heaven's Mandate, human beings ought to live. Accordingly, he established the way of man under the way of Heaven and set up the world of the rites under Heaven. In this way, he placed man under the two-fold norms of the Mandate of Heaven or Way of Heaven and the way of man or the rites, and considered that human beings ought to respond to Heaven's Mandate by living out the way of man in conformity with the rites. And for this reason he not only, as goes without saying, refrained from speech about prodigies, feats of strength, rebellions and supernatural beings, but also bent himself wholly on the pursuit of human righteousness and respected ghosts and spirits but kept them at a distance. For this reason also, he made the following remark with regard to the *Changes* 易, a work that belonged to the way of Heaven and of the supernatural:

"If, adding a few years, one studies the *Changes* at the age of fifty, it is possible to be without great error." (*Analects*, Bk. 7.) 加我數年，五十以學易，可以無大過矣。

That is to say, it was not a great error to study the *Changes* once one had lived the way of man to an age at which one might know the Mandate of Heaven; once, in fact, one was well able to serve other people. In effect, Confucius did not disown the *Changes* with their supernatural and celestial associations: he adopted the same attitude of respecting but keeping at a distance as he did *vis-à-vis* ghosts and spirits. Confucius too, in his belief in Heaven's Mandate, worshipped Heaven and the supernatural beings, but as we can see from his remark "I have been saying my deathbed prayers for a long time now" 丘之禱久矣 (*Analects of Confucius*, Bk. 7.), his prayers were solely for the purpose of making response to Heaven and the supernatural

beings while living out the way of man. In this sense, he occupied an anthropocentric position. That is to say, according to Confucius and those Confucians, such as Mencius and Hsün-tzu 荀子, who were faithful to him, man, being subject to the two-fold norms of the way of Heaven and the way of man and of the Mandate of Heaven and the rites, should conform with the way of Heaven and respond to Heaven's Mandate by conforming with the rites and living the life of the way of man.

However, from ancient times rulers had worshipped Heaven as well as their ancestors. Holding intercourse with Heaven, they had become integrated with Heaven, and as shamans or magicians, they had assimilated Heaven's magical and occult authority. Powers of the Warring States period and later, having now many opportunities of exercising direct control over the common people who, in their everyday life, were under the supervision of shamans, *fang-shih* 方士 and other magicians, strove for the strengthening of this authority; this was particularly true of the sovereigns of the Ch'in and Han who had come to take direct control of the common people for granted. In other words, in taking over the religion of the common people, they sought to assimilate its religious authority. Presumably related to this were such moves as having the birth of the dynastic founder regarded as something superhuman and calling the ruler Emperor or August Sovereign; so also was Kao-tsu's assumption of command over all the shamans in the empire; so also were the announcements to the empire of their integration with Heaven made by the first Ch'in Emperor, the Emperor Wu and Kuang-wu on the occasion of their performance of the *fang-shih* directed *feng* and *shan* sacrifices. Thus these rulers and their organs of control were overstepping the rites upheld by those Confucians who faithfully expounded the doctrines of Confucius. This tendency became fixed from the middle years of the Warring States period, the time when the change from the feudal system to the *chün-hsien* system got into its stride.

Even Confucius, Mencius and Hsün-tzu, who believed in the immutability of the rites and confined themselves to the way of man, were prepared to recognize partial changes in the rites. However, in circumstances such as those described above, the immutability and authority of the Confucians' rites were impaired, and, consequently, among the Confucians too there emerged the attitude that it was impossible to confine oneself solely to the rites and the way of man but that one might accord with the way of man and the rites through accordance with the way and Mandate of Heaven. Furthermore, in order to educate society with the teachings of Confucius, the Confucians had to become the advisers and functionaries of rulers of the above kind, and as the most important members of officialdom, to say nothing of the current chief advisers, occupied subordinate positions based on personal trust *vis-à-vis* their rulers, while the bureaucratic organs were also gradually undergoing regulation, they did not yet possess the strength to restrain the

exercise of the rulers' power. Consequently, criticism of the rulers' magical and occult authority on the part of the Confucians would seem to have been weak.

Next, between a date before the time of Hsün-tzu and the Ch'in and early Han, commentaries to the *Changes* were written by the Confucians and the *Changes* became part of their canon. In this way, among the very Confucians who respected ghosts, spirits and the *Changes* but kept them at a distance, there emerged a tendency to become deeply involved not only with the more fundamental way and Mandate of Heaven—more fundamental, that is, than the way of man and the rites—but also with the way of Heaven as way of the shamans and of the supernatural. This made it possible for the Confucians to support powers who overstepped the way of man and the rites and wielded magical and occult authority. It also enabled them to confront the Taoists who rejected the way of man and preached return to and mystic union with the way of Heaven; and at the same time, it infused the humanistic elements into the system of the *Changes*. Further, it qualitatively changed Confucianism the religion of the way of man into a religion of the way of Heaven and of the supernatural. This can only be said to have been a major change for Confucianism.

In ancient China, it was believed that the way and Mandate of Heaven were revealed by signs. Among signs there were those that could be discerned in the configurations of the Heaven and the earth; and the special signs, the auspicious omens of felicity and the ill-boding portents and calamities. There were those that were conferred by Heaven and those that human beings could find by means of divination and the like. Through these signs the way and Mandate of Heaven were understood and interpreted. On the basis of the latter type the theory and technique of the *Changes* developed and as we have said above the Confucians also came to participate in this; while on the basis of the former type the appointment of seasons through observation of signs to be seen in such works as the *Yao-tien* 堯典 and *Yüeh-ling* 月令 was performed, astronomy and calendrical science developed, and there emerged the theory of portents found in the *Shang-shu ta-chuan* 尚書大傳 and Tung Chung-shu *et al.*'s interpretations of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* 春秋. Subsequently, with the development in the Han Dynasty of the *yin-yang* 陰陽 theory which understood the way and Mandate of Heaven in terms of the ebb and flow of the *yin* and *yang*, these two streams were merged.

Now drawings and writings were also signs of a sort, and as can be seen—even leaving aside the mention of the *Yellow River Chart* in the *Analect*—from the recognition accorded to the *Yellow River Chart* and *Lo River Writing* in the *Hsi-tz'u Commentary* 繫辭傳 on the *Changes*, signs which took the form of *t'u* 圖 or *shu* 書 were also believed to be things conferred by Heaven. And among the masses who saw Heaven as the ultimate authority among the supernatural beings possessing knowledge, feeling and will, the

fang-shih and other magicians thought that the will and admonitions of Heaven were revealed not only in portent and calamity signs but also in signs of the documentary kind. These latter, in their belief, included prophecies that were susceptible of verification, or what later came to be known as *ch'en* 讖. Outstanding examples of the type were the *Lu-t'u-shu* 錄圖書 obtained by Ch'in Shih-huang-ti 秦始皇帝 and, although it is not usually called a *ch'en*, the *Ting-shu* 鼎書 (the *Book of the Tripod*, also known as *Cha-shu* 札書) obtained by Emperor Wu as he was setting in hand preparations for the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices. However, the Confucians, like Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang, did not for the most part go so far as to recognise prophecies of the type discussed above, attribute knowledge, feeling and will to Heaven as they might, although they did search for the will and admonitions of Heaven in the portents and calamities recorded by the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and in phenomena of a similar type, and with the further reservation that this does not include the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing*. And yet since the will and admonitions of Heaven which they read in the portent and calamity signs contained prophecies bespeaking Heaven, virtual *ch'en* were present.

Further, in the belief of such Confucians, the sages, chief among them Confucius, obtained signs of Heaven through divination, and by interpreting these disclosed the way and Mandate of Heaven to men. Moreover, grasping the meaning of the signs sent down by Heaven, they set them down in appropriate places in the canon, thereby displaying them to all humanity, they thus became virtual magicians, similar to the shamans and *fang-shih*. In this way, the transformation of Confucius and Confucianism was maintained from the time of the writing of the commentaries to the *Changes* onwards. This was because the authority of the way of man and of the rites was weakened by reason of the collapse of their immutability that accompanied the breakdown of the feudal system, and because many of the Confucians, having become the sovereign's functionaries, had now to give their assent to his superhuman and magical authority. And such Confucians were highly valued by the Han power. On the other hand, those Confucians who expounded the original doctrines of Confucius with comparative fidelity did not make much showing either in society or in the intellectual sphere from the end of the Warring States period until the time of Emperor Wu. At the same time as suffering suppression in those years, they withdrew of their own accord, and so they could not but fall into step with the trend of feudal power as it turned towards loyalty to the sovereign.

However, in the time of Emperor Wu, the *chün-hsien* system was consolidated, the officials increased in number and a new class of officials springing from the powerful clans was coming into being. At the time of Emperor Hsüan's personal rule, these new officials also came to the fore, having risen via the requisitioning of the capable, virtuous and learned made in connection

with the debate on Salt and Iron; the scope for the operations of the officials within the bureaucratic organs expanded, and the officials and bureaucratic organs, at the same time as they upheld the sovereign, became able to impose restraint on the exercise of his power.

Against such a background, the Confucian-type officials who held with comparative fidelity to the original doctrines of Confucius came into activity. Subsequently, in order to make all men from the sovereign down conform with the rites of Confucianism and to restrain them all with these rites, they provided the ritual canon with commentaries and a theoretical superstructure and carried out a reconstitution of the rites. On this basis they inaugurated a movement for the reform of the dynastic ancestral temples and the suburban sacrifice, desiring that the rites of Chou be put into effect. Among these Confucians it was accepted, as was not the case with Tung Chung-shu and those like him, that as man was under the control of the laws of the way and Mandate of Heaven, and as the calamities and portents sent down by Heaven were also decreed by Heaven's laws, man could do nothing whatsoever about them. There were, however, also those such as Ku Yung 谷永 and Liu Hsin 劉歆 who held that man could, by taking warning and labouring assiduously in the way of man, drive away evil and seek out good fortune, so that sorrow and joy depended on man.

It became impossible for the sovereigns from Emperor Hsüan onwards, suffering the restraint of such officials at the same time as they enjoyed their support, to ignore the scriptures and rites which the latter presented. They also began to sanction the movements which the officials were pushing forward for the reform of the dynastic ancestral temples and the suburban sacrifice, and for the adoption of the rites of Chou. If, by promoting these movements, they were able to set the sovereign on the path of the rites, it would presumably also become possible for them to guide and educate even him according to the doctrines of Confucius. In this way, no doubt, a Confucianism that was descended in comparatively pure line from the original doctrines of Confucius could have been enabled to become the state religion. These movements, however, had their limits. That is to say, in connection with the ancestral temples reform proposals, the provincial temples were abolished, and the reform of the suburban sacrifice was finally translated into practice; but these were changes affecting only a small fraction of the ritual establishment and concerned but one limited aspect. The limitations are further demonstrated by the fact that even Wang Mang, who had been using the movements and the ministers and Confucian-type officials who were promoting them, had to overstep their bounds in order to become ruler.

Incidentally, putting the rites of Chou into effect would have meant assimilating the officials of the *chün-hsien* system with the *shih-ta-fu* 士大夫 of the feudal system. Even if this had been acceptable, it would still have meant making the difference between the appanages and armies of the feudal

lords and the domain and army of the sovereign something extremely small. This would have amounted to asking for a decentralized power structure, and could not have been permitted by a ruler who enjoyed supremacy over the officials of the *chün-hsien* system.

As we have seen above, from the central years of the Warring States period onwards, many Confucians became deeply involved with the way of Heaven, but there was a continuing opposition between those who immersed themselves not only in the way of Heaven as foundation of the way of man, but also in the way of Heaven and of the supernatural that was associated with Shamanism and magic; and those, on the other hand, who sought to respond to the way and Mandate of Heaven through the way of man, and avoided any involvement with the magical way of Heaven and of the supernatural. Chiefly in the case of the latter, prophecies, including *ch'en*, were carried out on the basis of investigations of the laws of Heaven that depended on knowledge of the musical and calendrical sciences and of the *Changes*; in the case of the former, it was believed that Heaven was the ultimate authority among the supernatural beings possessing knowledge, feeling and will and as well as sending down admonitions and manifestations of its will, imparted also the *ch'en* which gave foreknowledge of it. Striking examples of this are the facts that the *Hsi-tz'u Commentary* on the *Changes* and Chao Ts'o 晁錯, Tung Chung-shu and others accepted the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing*, and that Tung Chung-shu, Liu Hsiang and others read prophecies as well as admonitions from Heaven and intimations of its will into the calamities and portents recorded in the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. And among these prophecies, there were many that served to warrant the magical and occult authority of the sovereign. Further, from the point of view of these Confucians, Confucius and the other sages had become shaman-like magicians. Still, in the case of Tung Chung-shu, Liu Hsiang and others like them, the magical authority attributed to Confucius was not yet on a par with that ascribed to the sovereign.

However, in the late Former Han period, from the time of Emperor Ch'eng onwards, there appeared the *ch'en* that were regarded as scriptures or quasi-scriptures, as things penned by Confucius—that is to say, the prophetic books; and these began to find their supporters among those Confucians who occupied roughly the same position as Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang. These prophetic documents, particularly the early ones, came into the world at a time of crisis for the House of Han, a time of vivid consciousness that the Han's Mandate might be about to expire; the virtual *ch'en* of Tung Chung-shu, Liu Hsiang and others, the admonitions of its will that they had read in calamities and portents, appeared no longer so cloaked, but directly. Further, at this point it was not only that Confucius was a magician: now—as had not been the case in the thought of Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang—, while making manifest the will of Heaven

and acting as the mouthpiece for Heaven's prophecies, he wielded magical and occult authority similar to Heaven's. Consequently, without borrowing authority from Heaven, he became the ultimate magical authority able to lay down the law to the sovereign. And the reason that these *ch'en* were recognised as scriptures or quasi-scriptures was that from the time when Emperor Hsüan took up the reigns of government in person, the sovereigns, wield superhuman and magical authority though they might, came gradually to find themselves restrained in their exercise of power by the ministers and Confucian-type officials, and others within the bureaucratic organs; and consequently also, inevitably, by the scriptures and rites which these people upheld. Thus even the ruler came to need something that could withstand the criticisms of the Confucians.

In this way, Emperor Ai 哀帝, on the basis of a prophecy called the *T'ien-kuan-li-pao-yüan-t'ai-p'ing-ching* which was an oracle concerning receipt of the Mandate, planned a revival of the Han on the grounds of a renewed Mandate, but he failed. Wang Mang established his influence among the ministers and officials, making his conduct accord with the rites and grounding his policies in the scriptures. In directing the suburban sacrifice reform movement that was carried out on the basis of the rites and in putting into partial effect the rites of Chou, he withstood the criticism of these officials and at the same time made use of their strength. However, in order to become sovereign, he could not but impose control on the officials from a position of supremacy over them, wielding superhuman magical and occult authority similar to Heaven's. Further, in order to attract commoners such as the Red Eyebrows, who banded together on the basis of magical religion, he made wide use not only, of course, of prophecies but also of oracles and auspicious omens of similar type and of sacrifices to supernatural beings. What this means is that, utilizing a composite armoury made up of moral authority derived from the original doctrines of Confucius and the scriptures, and of magical, occult authority based on Heaven, Wang Mang received the Mandate and took over from the abdicating Han; but he did not last long.

From the time that he rose in arms, Kuang-wu publicized his claim, based on prophetic books, that the Mandate lay with him, and so became sovereign. For as well as using the fact that the prophetic books were quasi-scriptures, things Confucius might have written, in order to give their answer to the officials and intellectuals who took their stand on the scriptures and rites, Kuang-wu also sought to have his Heaven-like superhuman and magical authority warranted by the prophetic books and thereby to obtain the allegiance of the generality of the intelligensia, and commoners such as the Red Eyebrows. After he became sovereign too, he altered institutions, carried out affairs of state and performed the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices in accordance with the prophetic books; he also proclaimed the prophetic books to the empire. Subsequently, this *t'u-ch'en*-based sovereignty and state were taken

over by Emperors Ming and Chang. For Kuang-wu, slightly different from Wang Mang, had transformed the original doctrines and scriptures of Confucianism, incorporated them into prophecies, and then utilized those integrated weapons thus cast, the prophetic books. He further suppressed those Confucians who rejected the prophetic books as uncanonical and constricted the strength of the ministers and Confucian-type officials.

In fine, Kuang-wu made use of elements of Confucianism the doctrine of the way of man that had been transformed into *t'u-ch'en*-ism the doctrine of the way of Heaven and of the supernatural. However, the immediate preconditions for this had been created by Tung Chung-shu, Liu Hsiang and other representative Confucians of the Former Han. These preconditions can, moreover, be traced back to the *Yellow River Chart* and the *Lo River Writing*, documents which stood outside the original Confucian religion; and the transformation of Confucianism is to be attributed to the fact that the Confucians became officials and upheld and strengthened the sovereign's magical and occult authority. In any case, for Kuang-wu and the other sovereigns of the early part of the Latter Han, the prophetic books were quasi-scriptures, things penned by Confucius; those who denied their authority were therefore suppressed as moral reprobates. In this way, the Latter Han *t'u-ch'en*-based establishment of sovereign and state was in truth nothing other than the foundation of the Confucian state. And that Confucianism had thereby become a state religion that guided and illumined the entire population from the ruler down, goes without saying.

Confucianism the state religion, the creed that illumined the entire population from the sovereign down—what is known as *Ju-chiao*—was herein established. But as this Confucianism had been transformed from a doctrine of the way of man into a doctrine of the way of Heaven and of the supernatural, its establishment as the state religion, or in the form of *Ju-chiao*, was the result of the transformation and degeneration of the original religion of Confucius. When in his *Tien-yin-p'ien* Pan Ku accorded wholehearted praise to the Han state that had made Confucianism its state religion, he was also no doubt wholeheartedly praising this transformed and degenerate Confucianism. Was this a tragedy in the history of state-patronized scholarship, or was it rather a comedy?

There remains the further problem of the relationship between the prophecies *ch'en* and the apocryphal scriptures *wei* 緯, but we may leave it for another occasion.

