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Rewriting in modern Chinese an early Chinese text: the case of H. Roth's translation of Nei Ye

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1. Why “Nei Ye” is important
2. Harold D. Roth’s translation of Nei Ye
3. The question to read and rewrite H. D. Roth’s Nei Ye in modern Chinese

1. Nei Ye is probably the oldest mystical text of early Taoism of forth century B.C. of late Warring States which is in the chapter 49 of the Kuan Tzu, which in the Ssu-pu ts’ung-k’an edition is in book 16.

Kuan Tzu this voluminous text contains the idea of politics and economics, but this 49th chapter as an earliest mystical work of Taoism has finally caught more attention since 1973 in Ma-wang-tui discovering the texts written on bamboo and silk, the manuscripts of the Lao Tzu and four texts attached to Lao Tzu, called Huang-ti ssu-ching. These texts offer the new evidences of the early Chinese Thought, especially for the philosophic thinking of Huang Lao and Lao Tzu

Nei Ye is important is because Nei Ye is one of the most closely literary form with a series of poetic verses and philosophical thought of Lao Tzu. Nei Ye presented a mystical practice which appears in all the early Taoist texts as the Lao Tzu, the Chuang Tzu, and Huai-nan Tzu. Its practice of guided breathing meditation and inner cultivation and the cosmology of the Way (Tao) on the base, the concepts that appear in medical literature on physical and macrobiotic hygiene, to maintain health and prolong life.

Nei-Ye is translated as Inward Training, can be said it is one kind of self-discipline training. Nei means inward or inner, ye means achievement or working, the text points out the proper way of physical movement, and suggests the suitable way of eating and drinking. Moreover, the cultivation of mind will develop the inner power then emerges the real wisdom.

2. About Harold D. Roth

Harold D. Roth is professor of Religious Studies and East Asia Studies at Brown University. Roth is a specialist in early Chinese religious thought, Taoism, the history of East Asian Religions, the comparative study of Mysticism and a pioneer in the developing field of contemplative studies.

His book: Original Tao: Inward Training (Nei Ye)
Since the recovered ancient texts from Ma-wang-tui, got a “revolution” of early Chinese thought, in Roth’s Original Tao presents a complete translation and commentary of Nei Ye, the oldest mystical Taoism text of fourth century B.C. Roth uses the Western scholar’s study method to explain and translate by comparing with the Ma-wang-tui new emerged “Huang-ti ssu-ching”, and the varies important Western, the Chinese and Japanese references of mystical Taoism.

The base-text for Roth’s translation is the Ssu-pu Ts’ung-k’an edition of the Kuan Tzu, he divided the text into 26 verses, the emendations are according to the following notations:

\[A\]: delete character A

\[B\]: insert character B

A (B): character A is to be read as B, this way is used as phonetic loan characters,

There are five sources that Roth uses for emendation:
1. Kuo Mo-jo, Hsu Wei-Yu, and Wen I-to, Kuan Tzu chi-chiao
2. Jeffrey Riegel, the Four ‘Tzu Ssu’ Chapters of the Li Chi
3. Chao Shou-cheng, Kuan Tzu t’ung-chieh
4. Ma Fei-Pai, Kuan Tzu Nei-yeh p’ien chi-chu
5. Endo Tetsuo, Kanshi, Shinshaku kambun taikei edition

Roth thinks Nei Ye is a collection of poetic verses on the nature of the Way (Tao) and inner cultivation. His translation technical terms takes into the Western philosophy: such as the thought between the “mind” and the “body”, the “energy” and the “matter” to compare with Chinese “Ch’i” and translate as vital energy and vital breath. The most concentrated Ch’i is called Ching: vital essence, can be presented in two levels: can be inside all of the things in the world, and can be within us, just we do not know Ching is always with us, those who understand it called sage!

3. Here I rewrite Roth’s English translation of “ancient Nei Ye” into modern Chinese. On the left is Roth’s translation, the middle is the Nei Ye text and on the right is my translation. Under each verse there are two kinds of notes: with this sign (1) is Roth’s note, and with this sign (2) is my note.

Besides, I have translates chapter three and chapter five of Roth’s Original Tao, Chapter 3 is the teaching of Nei Ye which gives an thematic overview with 26 verses. Roth analysis the Nei Ye by topics which are different from all the other scholars’ ways to translate the text.

Chapter Five gives the context of Early Chinese Taoism,

The full text Roth translated into the mysterious life energy also concluded that the Ch’i, vital energy is freely to come and go. And to be attained must be calm. Restraint sensory needs and
desires, so that nothing will affect you, hurt you. This is the purpose of inner cultivation.

3. The questions to rewrite Roth’s translation

   Nei Ye texts were written in ancient Chinese language, however; Roth’s English versions are very elegant and with the biggest efforts for emendation. Thus, from the modern Chinese way get questions that seems in English way maybe is right to explain all!

   The questions are about:
First: The translation of Chinese tradition thinking: Ch’i
Second: The main idea of Nei-Ye :Ching
Third: The Mind is “Xin”, the heart?
Forth: Shen? A spirit? How to explain numinous?
Fifth: Zheng! Is it a square? Or it is a verb. to be aligned?

To rewrite Roth’s English version of Nei Ye help me to understand more this important early Chinese text. The way of inner cultivation until now the modern world is still working.
1. The vital essence of all things:
2. It is this that brings them to life.
3. It generates the five grains below
4. And becomes the constellated stars above.
5. When flowing amid the heavens and the earth
6. We call it ghostly and numinous.
7. When stored within the chests of human beings,
8. We call them sages.

注释
羅浩：
(1) 哈伦(王安国/哈伦，第 159 页)删去这句，他认为从尹注导入，但会破坏句对应结构“且生和星的押韻被移除。
Roth 不接受几位学者的第二句删，除这是沒有必要的校訂
(2) 哈伦(王安国/哈伦，第 159 页)删去这两个字，使维持四言一句。哈伦非常系統化的维持《内业》的規律，像他一样，这种方法我喜欢，我认为这文章，常常不是这样有条理，所以我认为这是一种試验。

管子《内业》
1. 凡物之精
2. 此則為生(1)。
3. 下生五穀
4. 上為列星。
5. 流＜於＞天地＜之＞間 (2)，
6. 謂之鬼神
7. 藏於胸中，
8. 謂之聖人。

白话文
1. 所有事物①的生命要素，② 精：
2. 是它带给它们活力。
3. 它使五穀生长
4. 在天上化成群星。
5. 流布在天地间，
6. 我们叫它像鬼似的③
   且虚渺的
7. 当存在人的胸中，
8. 我们叫他们圣人。

① all things 所有的事物;
在陳鼓应:《管子四篇诠释》三民书局 2007 年第 89 頁里，
翻译为万物; 而在湯孝純注释的《新译管子读本》三民书局,2006 年,第 618 頁, 翻译为所有的事物。
② Vital essence 是生命的要素,精; 即羅浩的精，我选择
照英文字面意义来用现代中文直译。
③管子《内业》的鬼神，对羅浩而言不是名词,而是形容词 gostly, numinous 因他敘术这像是一神祕的如鬼神, 虚渺的力量, 是可以流布在天地人之间。
羅浩
2
1. Therefore this vital energy is (1):
2. Bright!—as if ascending the heavens;
3. Dark!—as if entering an abyss;
4. Vast!—as if dwelling in an ocean;
5. Lofty!—as if dwelling on a mountain peak.
6. Therefore this vital energy [that is the vital essence]
7. Cannot be halted by force,
8. Yet can be secured by inner power [Te].
9. Cannot be summoned by speech,
10. Yet can be welcomed by the awareness.
11. Reverently hold onto it and do not lose it:
12. This is called “developing inner power.”
13. When inner power develops and wisdom emerges,
14. The myriad things will, to the last one, be grasped (2).

管子《内业》
2
1. 是故＜民＞「此」氣 (3):
2. 杲乎如登於天。
3. 東乎如入淵。
4. ＜綽＞「綽」乎如在於海 (4)。
5. ＜卒＞「崒」乎如在於己屺 (5)。
6. 是故此氣也
7. 不可止以力
8. 而可安以德;
9. 不可呼以聲
10. 而可迎以音「意」(6)。
11. 敬守勿失：
12. 是謂成德。
13. 德成而智出，
14. 萬物＜果＞「畢」得 (7)。

白文
2
1. 因此这生命要素, 精:
2. 如此明亮! 彷彿登上了一天。
3. 如此幽暗! 彷彿进入深淵。
4. 如此广大! 彷彿身处大海里。
5. 如此崇高! 彷彿身处高山頂。
6. 因此这生命要素. 精
7. 它不会被外力所停止
8. 而可被內在力量德所保障
9. 不能被言语所召喚
10. 而可以用意志去迎合。
11. 虔敬地守住它而不可失去它：
12. 这就是所谓的內在力量德的养成。
13. 当内在力量德养成就能産生智慧，
14. 这无数的万物直到最后可以被得到。
注释

（1）第一到第六行的精引用第一节的精。第八节也定义为集中且飘渺的气。

（2）第六到第十四行反应吕丘的建议而不是宋人对练气得过度意识控制。在这节精存透过的气的集中及沉思然後产生内在力量德。

（3）丁士涵和周所校正《管子集校》781 页和 121 页是此的字误这保留和第六句语意和句法的对应。是由于抄写的人无法清处分辨原文而写下形似的字。

（4）丁士涵和周所校正《管子集校》781 页。认为有问题的字误”轻柔”而提出”广大”较佳。

（5）我照猪饲博文的校正将”卒”改为”崒”。从郭沫若将”已”改为”屺”以保持意思与第四句对应。

（6）这是 Yasui 和王念孙的见解校”音”为”意”照晚明张榜版本。王认为在早期文章里这两字常互用在第八节里也有。

（7）王念孙校正果为毕认为是字误《管子集校》782 页。

① 湯孝純注释的（新译管子读本）译成”卒”和”己”表示突然地就在自身！陈鼓应《管子四篇诠释》第 88 页。’卒”同”崒”译成聚集，”己”译成在人身中。

② 我选择如 Roth 的高耸，如在高山顶！如此对应于”天”，”渊”，”海”和”山”！

③ 陈鼓应《管子四篇诠释》第 88, 89 页。《心術下》正作，万物毕得。如同孟子的万物皆备於我。
1. All the forms of the mind(1) are naturally infused and filled with it [the vital essence],
2. Are naturally generated and developed [because of] it.
3. It is lost inevitably because of sorrow, happiness, joy, anger, desire, and profit-seeking.
4. If you are able to cast off sorrow, happiness, joy, anger, desire, and profit-seeking(2).
5. Your mind will just revert to equanimity.
6. The true condition of the mind is that it finds calmness beneficial and, by it, attains repose.
7. Do not disturb it, do not disrupt it.
8. And harmony will naturally develop.

注释
(1) 马非白将心之形译成不同心的状态：有优越的心、平定的心等等。赵守正认为和身体上的心有关。Roth 则认为总体而言与意识有关，进一步的资料参看第八节和第三章。
(2) 哈伦认为这四情感是从第二十二节的错误混淆(王安国/ 哈伦,第 153 页)。然而乐和忧, 在那节排列不同。我看没有必要做这校订。
(3) 哈伦校正同音字较合文意。
① 我选择“心乃反济”,当和谐自然生成, 我们的心也回复到平静。
羅浩  
4  
1. Clear! as though right by your side.  
2. Vague! as though it will not be attained.  
3. Indiscernable! as though beyond the limitless.  
4. The test of this is not far off:  
5. Daily we make use of its inner power.  
6. That Way is what infuses the body,  
7. Yet people are unable to fix it in place.  
8. It goes forth but does not return,  
9. It comes back but does not stay.  
10. Silent! none can hear its sound.  
11. Suddenly stopping! it abides within the mind.  
12. Obscure! we do not see its form.  
13. Surging forth! it arises with us.  
14. We do not see its form,  
15. We do not hear its sound,  
16. Yet we can perceive an order to its accomplishments.  
17. We call it “the Way”.

管子《内业》  
4  
1. 〈折折〉(暫暫)乎如在於側(1)。  
2. 忽忽乎如將不得。  
3. 渺渺乎如窮無極。  
4. 此稽不遠。  
5. 日用其德。  
6. 夫道＜者＞所以充形＜也＞(2)。  
7. 而人不能固。  
8. 其往不復。  
9. 其來不舍。  
10. 〈謀〉「寂」乎莫聞其音。  
11. 卒乎乃在於心。  
12. 冥冥乎不見其形。  
13. 淫淫乎與我俱生。  
14. 不見其形，  
15. 不聞其聲，  
16. 而序其成；  
17. 謂之道。  

白文  
4  
1. 清晰！宛如在你身边。  
2. 模糊！宛如无法得到它。  
3. 渺远宛如超越了极限。  
4. 测试它不是如此遥远。  
5. 每天我们都会用道内在力量德。  
6. 这到就是充满我们的身体。  
7. 但人没有能力把它定住在一个地方。  
8. 它往前但不返回。  
9. 它回来又不停留。  
10. 如此寂静没有人可以听到它的声音。  
11. 突然停下！它停在心里。  
12. 昏暗！我们看不到它的形体。  
13. 上昇向前它与我们共生。  
14. 我们看不到它的形体，  
15. 我们听不到它的声音，  
16. 但我们可以理解它的成就：  
17. 我们称它为道。
注释

(1) 一假借字语音的校正丁丁丁士涵《管子集校》,782 页。

(2) 哈伦删去这两语法连接词保持格律, (王安国/哈伦, 第 154 页) 文意翻译是”道是充盈人物形体的东西”。

(3) 王念孙《管子集校》,783 页, 以《说文》中”寂”和”谋”形近, 校正为字误, 并不是因为现代的书写不同。

① 陈鼓应：《管子四篇诠释》第 93 页, 淫淫乎译成”绵绵不断”, 如此道与生命共存。

② ①汤孝纯,注释的(新译管子读本),第 620 页, 淫淫乎译成”浸润”, 如此道浸润我们共同存在。

③ 按照英文句意, 我翻译成”上昇向前” 它与我们共生! 和①②翻译大不相同。
1. The Way has no fixed position;
2. It abides within the excellent mind.
3. When the mind is tranquil and the vital breath is regular,
4. The Way can thereby be halted.
5. That Way is not distant from us;
6. When people attain it they are sustained.
7. That Way is not separated from us;
8. When people accord with it they are harmonious.
9. Therefore: Concentrated! as though you could be roped together with it.
10. Indiscernable! as though beyond all locations.
11. The true state of that Way:
12. How could it be conceived of and pronounced upon?
13. Cultivate your mind, make your thoughts tranquil,
14. And the Way can thereby be attained.
注释

（1）張炳林《管子集校》,第 783 页,馬費白, 赵守正认为“安”是“焉”音的假借字,译为“于是”。王念孙《管子集校》,第 783,784 页,等校爱为处这恢复了押韻。

（2）馬非白校正第八行认为唐 朝将民改為人。

（3）郭沫若校正《管子集校》,第 784 页它看似字形之误。

（4）哈倫保持格律, 剖”是故”, 但 Roth 认为要保留。許维趜《管子集校》,第 784 页, Roth 重复卒字读”卒”为”崒”。

（5）马非白校正第四节第三节保持一致文字的变动意义也从细小到广大。

（6）郭沫若校正《管子集校》,第 784 页。

（7）張佩伦认为是字误做了语义校正, 马費白同意此校正。

（8）这语义校正是許多学者认为是字误。

① 湯孝純注释的《新译管子读本》,第 620 页,索求”成”索求”道忽然之间可以索求得到它。

② 照英文字意, 则为宛如你被绳索和道绑在一起。
1. As for the Way:
2. It is what the mouth cannot speak of,
3. The eyes cannot see,
4. And the ears cannot hear.
5. It is that with which we cultivate the mind and align the body.(1)
6. When people lose it they die;
7. When people gain it they flourish.
8. When endeavors lose it they fail;
9. When they gain it they succeed.
10. The Way never has a root or trunk,
11. It never has leaves or flowers.
12. The myriad things are generated by it;
13. The myriad things are completed by it.
14. We designate it “the Way.”

注释
(1) 端正形体是指坐的正且固定在某一地,让气在身体五大系统里和谐流通。

(1) 道无根茎也无花叶, 然而万物因它而生长, 也靠它而成。所以称它为道。
1. For the heavens, the ruling principle is to be aligned.

2. For the earth, the ruling principle is to be level.

3. For human beings the ruling principle is to be tranquil.

4. Spring, autumn, winter, and summer are the seasons of the heavens.

5. Mountains, hills, rivers, and valleys are the resources of the earth.

6. Pleasure and anger, accepting and rejecting are devices of human beings.

7. Therefore, the Sage:

8. Alters with the seasons but doesn’t transform,

9. Shifts with things but doesn’t change places with them.

注释
(1) 罗浩照赵守正《管子集校》,的翻译写。
(2) 許删去安以保持前三句的对应。
(3) 王念孙为了押韵, 校正”材”, ”时”, ”谋” 《管子集校》,785 页, 因管子其他文章有类似多位学者也同意。
(4) 許照尹的注解校正使保持句子的对应。
1. If you can be aligned and be tranquil,
2. Only then can you be stable.
3. With a stable mind at your core,
4. With the eyes and ears acute and clear,
5. And with the four limbs firm and fixed,
6. You can thereby make a lodging place for the vital essence.
7. The vital essence: it is the essence of the vital energy.
8. When the vital energy is guided, it [the vital essence] is generated,
9. But when it is generated, there is thought,
10. When there is thought, there is knowledge
11. But when there is knowledge, then you must stop.
12. Whenever the forms of the mind have excessive knowledge,

(1) 哈魯(王安國/哈倫), 第 157 页, 校正“道”和“通”认为是字形上的错误。但我认为的“道”就是“導引”，更合上下文在《莊子》的第十五篇《淮南子》第七篇及馬王堆文中有提及我不认为这暗示身体的锻练。但我认为是这节讨论气的引导。
1. Those who can transform even a single thing, call them "numinous";
2. Those who can alter even a single situation, call them "wise".
3. But to transform without expending vital energy; to alter without expending wisdom:
4. Only exemplary persons who hold fast to the One are able to do this.(1)
5. Hold fast to the One; do not lose it,
6. And you will be able to master the myriad things.
7. Exemplary persons act upon things,
8. And are not acted upon by them,
9. Because they grasp the guiding principle of the One.

注释
(1) 羅浩认为这一节里在不同句提出“執一”有雷同于<老子>第十，十几，十五，二十二，三十二及五十二章都是指道。
羅浩

10

1. With well-ordered mind within you,
2. Well-ordered words forth from your mouth,
3. And well-ordered tasks are imposed upon others.
4. Then all under the heavens will be well ordered.
5. “When one word is grasped,
6. All under the heavens will submit.
7. When one word is fixed,
8. All under the heavens will listen.”
9. It is this [word “Way”] to which the saying refers.(1)

注释

(1) 在第十四章澄清了“一言”就是“道”，它处在安静及修治的心在一特别的地方叫“心里的心”。

管子《内业》

10

1. 治心在中：
2. 治言出於口，
3. 治事加於人。
4. 然則天下治矣。
5. 一言得
6. 而天下服：
7. 一言定
8. 而天下聽。
9. <公>①「此」之謂也(2)。

白文

10

1. 有修治的心在你心中：
2. 有合宜的话说出于口，
3. 有合宜的事施于他人。
4. 然后天底下所有的事就能被治理好。
5. 当得到一言
6. 天底下所有的事就能顺服；
7. 当确定了一言
8. 天底下所有的事就能听从
9. 这就是[“道”字]所要说的。

注释

(2) 王念孙校正依上下文意思,认为是字误 这是我“治心在中”的意思。尹注“治心之谓”不过猪饲博文提出有可能由”心”字而变出。不论我们选哪一个,意思相同。

①陈鼓应:《管子四篇诠释》第 101 页里，翻译为公正，而在湯孝純注释的《新译管子读本》为大公至正,第 622 页，为大公至正。並沒有採用王念孙的校正。
1. When your body is not aligned,
2. The inner power will not come.
3. When you are not tranquil within,
4. Your mind will not be well ordered.
5. Align your body, assist the inner power,
6. Then it will gradually come on its own.(2)

(1)这一节是《心术下》后面文章的前端。

(2)照馬非白翻译为慢慢沉浸。

11(1)
1. 形不正，
2. 德不来。
3. 中不静。
4. 心不治。
5. 正形摄德
   <天仁地义则>(3)
6. 淫然而自<至>「来」(4)。

1. 当你的身形不端正，
2. 内在力量德将不会来。
3. 当你的内心不平静
4. 你的心将不会治理好。
5. 端正你的身形帮助内在力量德
6. 然后它救會慢慢地自己到来。

注释
(1) 陈鼓应《管子四篇诠释》第104页，认为心形相修，形德交养，至最高境界，精气自然来到。
(2) 常说的相由心生，指外形可以由心转变，端正它，则德产生。
(3) 罗浩认为这是被不知名人士所加入的一句注解，王安国照哈伦的押韵格式删去(王安国/哈伦)，第158页，且这是儒家观念，存在中并不存在除了第二十一节的特例《心术下》有对应句，没有这一句，结尾不用这句较完美。

(3) 王安国照哈伦的押韵格式校正“至”为“来”《心术下》有对应句。
1. The numinous [mind]: no one knows its limit;
2. It intuitively knows the myriad things (1).
3. Hold it within you, do not let it waver.
4. To not disrupt your senses with external things,
5. To not disrupt your mind with your senses:  
6. This is called "grasping it within you."

注释
(1) 羅浩 翻译 "洞察" (通常是"明亮") 为洞察, 《莊子》第二章, 和平常学者的知识相对而有所批评。我们认为这英文翻译非常贴切。

12
1. 如神的心没有人知道它的极限
2. 它洞察无数的万物。
3. 在你的内心守住它不要让它犹疑
4. 不让外物惑乱你的感官,
5. 不让你的感官惑乱你的心。
6. 这就是称为内心有所得。

作者
12
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引用
(2) 王安国照《心术下》(王安国/哈伦), 第159页, 有对应句同音字校正。进一步证明神这字在《内业》里的其它地方出现。
(3) 王念孙《管子集校》, 787页, (王安国/哈伦), 第159页, 赵守正均删去这字, 在尹注中也没有。

空
空
空
空

There is numinous [mind] naturally residing within;

One moment it goes, the next it comes,

And no one is able to conceive of it.

If you lose it you are inevitably disordered;

If you attain it you are inevitably well ordered.

Diligently clean out its lodging place

And its vital essence will naturally arrive.

Still your attempts to imagine and conceive of it.

Relax your efforts to reflect on and control it.

Be reverent and diligent

And its vital essence will naturally stabilize.

Grasp it and don’t let go

Then the eyes and ears won’t overflow

And the mind will have nothing else to seek.

When a properly aligned mind resides within you,

The myriad things will be seen in their proper perspective.

1. 有神自在＜身＞(3)。
2. 一往一來；
3. 莫之能思。
4. 失之必亂；
5. 得之必治。
6. 敬除其舍：
7. 精將自來。 
8. ＜精＞靜想想之(4)；
9. 寧念治之。
10. 嚴容畏敬：
11. 精將＜至＞「自」定(5)。
12. 得之而勿捨：
13. 耳目不淫，
14. 心無他圖。
15. 正心在中，
16. 萬物得度。
注释

(1) 这居所的暗喻也见于《心术上》第十三章。

(2) “图”的意思，参考《汉语大词典》第665页的定义八。

(3) 文意上是他们将得到当然地分派。也就是说合宜端正你的心，就能理解所有你遇到的事物的关系。

(4) 郭沫若《管子集校》，787页，删去“身”，因三句四言句连贯性被破坏其格律和押韵。

(5) 郭沫若《管子集校》，787页，(王安国/哈伦)，第159页，王安国校正“精”为“静”，认为是同音上的字误。

(6) 王念孙《管子集校》，787页，校“至”为“自”。
The Way fills the entire world.
It is everywhere that people are,
But people are unable to understand this.
When you are released by this one word:
You reach up to the heavens above;
You stretch down to the earth below;
You pervade the nine inhabited regions.
What does it mean to be released by it?
The answer resides in the calmness of the mind.
When your mind is well ordered, your senses are well ordered.
When your mind is calm, your senses are calmed.
What makes them well ordered is the mind.
What makes them calm is the mind.
By means of the mind you store the mind:
Within the mind there is yet another mind.
That mind within the mind: it is an awareness that precedes words.
Only after there is awareness does it take shape;
Only after it takes shape is there a word.
19. Only after there is a word is it implemented;
20. Only after it is implemented is there order.
21. Without order, you will always be chaotic.
22. If chaotic, you die.

注释
(1)对“解”的说法请参考《庄子》《淮南子》有类似用法。
(2)第四到九行有重复全部或部分从这五资料《成法》，《黄帝四书》，《心术下》，《淮南子》，《道原》。
(3)依上下语意校正这形似字误。
(4)王念孙《管子集校》，658,788 页，依上下语意校正”音”改为”意”因形近，校正为字误。
①“一言之解”我认为仿佛让人的心解放而对道有所领悟，所以我选择翻译成”领悟”
1. For those who preserve and naturally generate vital essence
2. On the outside a calmness will flourish.
3. Stored inside, we take it to be the well spring.
4. Floodlike, it harmonize and equalizes.
5. And we take it to be the fount of the vital energy.
6. When the fount is not dried up,
7. The four limbs are firm.
8. When the well spring [of vital essence] is not drained,
9. Vital energy freely circulates through the nine apertures.
10. You can then exhaust the heavens and the earth.
11. And spread over the four seas.
12. When you have no delusions within you,
13. Externally there will be no disasters.
14. Those who keep their minds unimpaired within,
15. Externally keep their bodies unimpaired,
16. Who do not encounter heavenly disasters
17. Or meet with harm at the hands of others,
18. Call them sages

管子《内业》

15

1. 精存自生，
2. 其外安榮。
3. 內藏以為泉原。
4. 浩然和平，
5. 以為氣淵。
6. 淵之不淵，
7. 四體乃固。
8. 泉之不竭，
9. 九竅遂＜通＞「達」(3)。
10. 乃能窮天地，
11. 被四海。
12. 中無惑意，
13. 外無邪蓄。
14. 心全於中，
15. 形全於外，
16. 不逢天蓄，
17. 不遇人害：
18. 謂之聖人。
注释
(1) 浩然在这是形容精，孟子则形容有道德圣人的气。
(2) 九窍是指七感官器官(两眼、两耳、两鼻孔)及肛门、阴道。通过这九窍，气在人体流动。
(3) 王念孙《管子集校》，789页，校正“竭”，“达”保持押韵，因形近，为字误。
1. If people can be aligned and tranquil,
2. Their skin will be ample and smooth,
3. Their ears and eyes will be acute and clear,
4. Their muscles will be supple and their bones will be strong,
5. They will then be able to hold up the Great Circle [of the heavens](1)
6. And tread firmly over the Great Square [of the earth].
7. They will mirror things with great purity.
8. And will perceive things with great clarity.(2)
9. Reverently be aware [of the Way] and do not waver,
10. And you will daily renew your inner power,
11. Thoroughly understand all under the heavens,
12. And exhaust everything within the Four Directions.
13. To reverently bring forth the effulgence [of the Way]:
14. This is called “inward attainment,”
15. If you do this but fail to return to it,
16. This will cause a wavering in your vitality.

16
1. 人能正靜:
2. 皮膚欲寬,
3. 耳目聰明,
4. 筋信(伸)而骨強(3)
5. 乃能戴大圜
6. 而履大方，
7. 竄於大清，
8. 視於大明。
9. 敬慎無忒；
10. 日新其德。
11. 窮知天下，
12. 罕於四極
13. 敬發其充，
14. 是謂內得。
15. 然而不反；
16. 此生之忒。

16
1. 如果人能端正平静：
2. 他们的皮肤就会丰润且光滑，
3. 他们的耳朵和眼睛就会敏锐又明亮，
4. 他们的筋肉伸展而且骨骼强壮。
5. 他们将能顶住大圜天
6. 且站立在地的大地方，
7. 他们将如镜的反映事物的纯清，
8. 他们将视察事物的明确。
9. 恭敬地维持道而不犹疑；
10. 如此你将每天更新内在的力量德。
11. 完全了解天底下的事物，
12. 且穷尽大地四处的所有事情。
13. 恭敬地发挥道的光亮，
14. 这就称为内在有所得。
15. 如果你如此做而不能返回；
16. 这将造成你生命的犹疑。
注释

(1) 大圜, 天和大方, 地可能有关联于宇宙学开天理论有著列星和星球《天与地》第 38,39 页, 第 270,271 页。

(2) 第五到第八说明圣人的辩识能力, 和《淮南子》中诗句对圣人能力的术说相似。

(3) 据戴望的看法信是伸的古字《管子集校》,789 页。
羅浩

17
1. For all [to practice] this Way:
2. You must coil, you must contract,
3. You must uncoil, you must expand,
4. You must be firm, you must be regular [in this practice]. (1)
5. Hold fast to this excellent [practice]; do not let go of it.
6. Chase away the excessive; abandon the trivial. (2)
7. And when you reach its ultimate limit
8. You will return to the Way and its inner power.

注释
(1) 羅浩认为“周”、“密”、“宽”“舒”是有关于气, 及整文都专注于练气虽然可能是语言上的技巧，以为原文是因老师口授于弟子所使用。
(2) 如马非白所注“淫”这形容词很常使用, 如第十九节第十八行但也有情感在其中。
(3) 羅浩据刘绩版本念“泽”为“释”。
(4) 这是一推测性的校正因“知”与“致”同音，且后者较合我对此文的了解。
18. When there is a mind that is unimpaired within you,
2. It cannot be hidden.
3. It will be known in your countenance,
4. And seen in your skin color.
5. If with this good flow of vital energy you encounter others,
6. They will be kinder to you than your own brethren.
7. But if with a bad flow of vital energy you encounter others,
8. They will harm you with their weapons.
9. [This is because] the wordless pronouncement is more rapid than the drumming of thunder.
10. The perceptible form of the mind’s vital energy is brighter than the sun and moon,
11. And more apparent than the concern of parents.
12. Rewards are not sufficient to encourage the good;
13. Punishments are not sufficient to discourage the bad.
14. Yet once this flow of vital energy is achieved,
15. All under the heavens will submit,
18. And once the mind is made stable,
19. All under the heavens will listen.

注释
(1) 刘绩，王念孙依《心术下》校正这形近的字误《管子集校》，790 页。
(2) 郭沫若校正这形近的字误保持“恶”“鼓”“母”韵《管子集校》，790 页。
(3) 张佩纶校正“意”为“壹”形近的字误《管子集校》，790 页。

①这节说明气若健全存在心中，则显现在外表，比日月更光明，且天下的事物因此而顺服听从。
1. By concentrating your vital breath as if numinous,
2. The myriad things will all be contained within you.
3. Can you concentrate? Can you unite with them?
4. Can you not resort to divining by tortoise or milfoil
5. Yet know bad and good fortune?
6. Can you stop? Can you cease?
7. Can you not seek it in others,
8. Yet attain it within yourself(1)?
9. You think and think about it
10. And think still further about it.
11. You think, yet still cannot penetrate it.
12. While the ghostly and numinous will penetrate it,
13. It is not due to the power of the ghostly and numinous,
14. But to utmost refinement of your essential vital breath.
15. When the four limbs are aligned
16. And the blood and vital breath are tranquil,
17. Unify your awareness, concentrate your mind,
18. Then your eyes and ears will not be overstimulated.
19. And even the far-off will seem close at hand.

管子《内业》

1. 〈博〉「摶」氣如神(2)，
2. 萬物備存。
3. 能專，能一乎。
4. 能無卜筮
5. 而知〈吉凶〉「凶吉」乎(3)。
6. 能止乎，能已乎(4)
7. 能勿求諸人
8. 而「得」之己乎(5)。
9. 思之思之
10. 又重思之。
11. 思之而不通，
12. 鬼神將通之。
13. 非鬼神之力也。
14. 精氣之極也。
15. 四體既正，
16. 血氣既靜，
17. 一意〈博〉「摶」心。
18. 耳目不淫。
19. 雖遠若近。

自文

1. 经由如神似的专注你生命气息①②，
2. 无数的万物将存在你的心。
3. 你能专注你能统一它们吗。
4. 你能不用龟殼筮草占卜吗
5. 如此知道坏运或好运吗。
6. 你能停止你能抓住吗
7. 你能不求他人吗
8. 如此在己身得到它。
9. 你一再的思考它
10. 且仍再进一步思考。
11. 你思考但能无法贯通它，
12. 然而似鬼神的将贯通它。
13. 不是因为是似鬼神的力量。
14. 而是精煉到你生命要素气的极端。
15. 当四肢端正，
16. 且血气平静，
17. 统一你的意识专注你的心。
18. 然后你的眼睛和耳朵不会太受刺激。
19. 且甚至遙遠的也似乎在手边。
注释
(1) 前八句的全部或部分可在马王堆《黄帝四书》第十六章，《心术下》第十三章，及《庄子》第二十三章看到。

(2) 郭沫若校正这形近的字误，据刘绩与朱东光版《管子集校》，790 页。

(3) 只有《四部丛书》和赵保留这一行，《管子集校》，791 页。

(4) 得並沒有在《四部丛书》里，但在刘绩版本里有《管子集校》，791 页。

①这节说明专注的精气可以到達似神的境界看似遙遠卻在身边。

②陳鼓应：《管子四篇诠释》第 117 页，“抟气如神”得名句即出自此意指聚气的方法在于”专一”，便能达到如神的化境。
1. Deep thinking generates knowledge.
2. Idleness and carelessness generate worry.
3. Cruelty and arrogance generate resentment.
4. Worry and grief generate illness.
5. When illness reaches a distressing degree, you die.
6. When you think about something and don't let go of it, internally you will be distressed, externally you will be weak.
7. Do not plan things out in advance.
8. Or else your vitality will cede its dwelling.
9. In eating, it is best not to fill up;
10. In thinking, it is best not to overdo.
11. Limit these to the appropriate degree.
12. And you will naturally reach it [vitality].

(1) These two lines break the four-character rhythm and the rhyming scheme of the previous six lines. In addition, it contains two places where the terms “若” and “當” and the characters “作” and “像” are used in a manner resembling the use of “如” in one of them, and these may be interpreted as a possible addition of Confucian ideas.
1. As for the life of all human beings:
2. The heavens bring forth their vital essence,
3. The earth brings forth their bodies.
4. These two combine to make a person.
5. When they are in harmony there is vitality;
6. When they are not in harmony there is no vitality.
7. If we examine the Way of harmonizing them,
8. Its essentials are not visible,
9. Its signs are not numerous.
10. Just let a balanced and aligned [breathing] fill your chest.
11. And it will swirl and blend within your mind.
12. This confers longevity.
13. When joy and anger are not limited,
14. You should make a plan [to limit them].
15. Restrict the five sense-desires;
16. Cast away these dual misfortunes.
17. Be not joyous, be not angry,
18. Just let a balanced and aligned [breathing] fill your chest.
注释

(1) 羅浩删去以保持四音节的格律。

(2) 安井衡, 戴望, 郭沫若依尹注《管子集校》, 792 页, 校正, 因形近, 为字误。

(3) 郭沫若依《管子集校》, 792 页, 因形近, 为字误。

(4) 丁士涵依《管子集校》, 793 页, 保持格律第十七句的对应校“忿”为“喜”。

①这节说明了天地人相和而生, Roth 用在你的心中漩渦似的混合着方式形容“伦洽在心非常入神。
As for the vitality of all human beings:

It inevitably occurs because of balanced and aligned breathing.

The reason for its loss

Is inevitably pleasure and anger, worry and anxiety.

Therefore, to bring your anger to a halt, there is nothing better than poetry;

To cast off worry there is nothing better than music;

To limit music there is nothing better than the rites;

To hold onto the rites there is nothing better than reverence;

When you are inwardly tranquil and outwardly reverent

You are able to return to your innate nature

And this nature will become greatly stable. (1)

— 管子《内业》

1. 凡人之生也，
2. 必以平正。
3. 所以失之
4. 必以喜怒憂患(2)。
5. 是故止怒莫若詩；
6. 去憂莫若樂；
7. 節樂莫若禮；
8. 守禮莫若敬；
9. 守敬莫若靜。
10. 內靜外敬，
11. 能反其性。
12. 性將大定。

— 管子《内业》

1. 全部人的生命，
2. 必定有平衡和端正的气。
3. 失去它的原因
4. 必定是喜乐愤怒忧虑和紧张。
5. 因此让你的愤怒停止没有什么比詩歌好；
6. 去除你的忧虑没有什么比音乐好；
7. 节制音乐没有什么比礼制好；
8. 守礼制没有什么比虔敬好；
9. 守虔敬没有什么比平静好。
10. 当你内在平静且外在虔敬，
11. 你可以返回先天的本性。
12. 且这本性将大為稳定。

(1) 當你内在平静且外在虔敬，

(2) 王安国(王安国/哈伦), 第167页,校正“患”为“乐”, 《心术下》含有“乐”的对应句。但Roth不认同音韻或语义上的校正，不接受。
1. For all the Way of eating is that:
2. Overfilling yourself with food will impair your vital energy.
3. And cause your body to deteriorate.
4. Overrestricting your consumption causes the bones to wither.
5. And the blood to congeal.
6. The mean between overfilling and overrestricting:
7. This is called “harmonious completion.”
8. It is where the vital essence lodges.
9. And knowledge is generated.
10. When hunger and fullness lose their proper balance, you make a plan to correct this.
11. When full, move quickly;
12. When hungry, neglect your thoughts;
13. When old, forget worry.
14. If when full you don’t move quickly, vital energy will not circulate to your limbs.
15. If when hungry you don’t neglect thoughts of food, when you finally eat you will not stop.
16. If when old you don’t forget your worries,
17. The fount of your vital energy will rapidly drain out.
注释
(1)《内业》的饮食哲学是外在不要过度饱充生命能量气生命要素精是作者们对心灵上的对应，一个完整的人包含生理心理及心灵上都要整合在《吕氏春秋》也有这类似用法。

(2) 罗浩依李哲明《管子集校》，793 页，王安国(王安国/哈伦)，第 163 页，校正”气”，重建第二到三四到五句子的对应。

(3) 许维叡删去不字保持和第五句的对应校正”藏”为”戕”，因形近，为字误，另一”藏”刘绩，朱东光认为字误，而语意上则不相似。

(4) 哈伦删去这字，为恢复格律(王安国/哈伦)，第 168 页。

(5) 哈伦删去这字，为恢复格律(王安国/哈伦)，第 168 页。

(6) 张佩纶校正，因形近，为字误《管子集校》，793 页。

(7) 郭沫若校订”长”为”忘”，因形近，为字误。

(8) 哈伦删去这字，为恢复格律(王安国/哈伦)，第 168 页。

(9) 戴望校订”饱”为”食”，”废”为”止”《管子集校》，794 页。

(10) 马非白，赵守正校正”淵”因形近，为字误，《说文解字》写作”困”在第十四节为气的泉源。
When you enlarge your mind and let go of it,
2. When you relax your vital breath and expand it,
3. When your body is calm and unmoving:
4. And you can maintain the One and discard the myriad disturbances(1).
5. You will see profit and not be enticed by it,
6. You will see harm and not be frightened by it.
7. Relaxed and unwound, yet acutely sensitive,
8. In solitude you delight in your own person.
9. This is called “revolving the vital breath”:
10. Your thoughts and deeds seem heavenly.(2)

注释
(1) 第四行“守一”的句子是尚存的文献里，第一次提出，变成道教和佛教思考传统的中心。在利为亚孔的“守住一”有提“专注沈思于道”，及安亚柏“道的沈思与长寿技巧”第125-58页。
(2) “意行似天”的意思是你的行为能完全自然自发如同全部的事情是像天的伟大价值。
(3) 郭沫若、丁士涵为恢复押韵，校正这形近的字误
(4) 马非百《管子集校》认为“宽舒”是现在气功师指的心灵与情感的放松状态“仁”指人的自觉与身体的感应见《黄帝内经素问》，《汉语大字典》。
(5) 安井衡，郭沫若《管子集校》，794页，校正，因形近，为字误。
①这里并不翻成苛刻而是烦忧。
1. The vitality of all people
2. Inevitably comes from their peace of mind.
3. When anxious, you lose this guiding thread;
4. When angry, you lose this basic point.
5. When you are anxious or sad, pleased or angry,
6. The Way has no place within you to settle.
7. Love and desire: still them!
8. Folly and disturbance: correct them!
9. Do not push it! do not pull it!
10. Good fortune will naturally return to you,
11. And that Way will naturally come to you
12. So you can rely on and take counsel from it,
13. If you are tranquil then you will attain it;
14. If you are agitated you will lose it.

注释
(1) 章平林、安井衡认为“遇”念“愚”见《管子集校》，795页，王安国(王安国/哈伦)，第169页。

管子《内业》
25
1. 凡人之生：
2. 必以其欢。
3. 忧则失纪：
4. 怒则失端。
5. 愁悲喜怒：
6. 道乃无处。
7. 爱欲静之。
8. 愚(愚)乱正之(1)。
9. 勿引勿推。
10. 福将自归。
11. 彼道自来。
12. 可籍与谋。
13. 静则得之，
14. 躁则失之。

白文
25
1. 人的生命力：
2. 必定起来它们心中的平和。
3. 当忧虑时就会失去这引导的思考；
4. 当生气时就会失去这基本点。
5. 当忧虑或伤心喜乐或愤怒：
6. 道无法在你的心存在。
7. 爱与欲乱静止它们。
8. 愚昧和烦扰纠正它们。
9. 不要推它不要拉它。
10. 好福气将会自然地回来①。
11. 且道将会自然地归来。
12. 如此你可依靠它且从它得到建议。
13. 如果你能平静就能得到它，
14. 如果你躁烦就会失去它。

① 人的心重要的是保持平静，则福气自然到来，自然得到道。如果心躁烦，当然影响，而失去它们。静为首要工作。
1. That mysterious vital energy within the mind:
2. One moment it arrives, the next it departs.
3. So fine, there is nothing within it;
4. So vast, there is nothing outside it.
5. We lose it because of the harm caused by mental agitation.
6. When the mind can hold on to tranquility,
7. The Way will become naturally stabilized.
8. For people who have attained the Way
9. It permeates their pores and saturates their hair.(1)
10. Within their chest, they remain unvanquished.
11. [Follow] this Way of restricting sense-desires
12. And the myriad things will not cause you harm.

注释
(1)我翻译“毛孔”为文字上的皮肤的网络，依多纳哈柏早期定食长寿保健法，文献上的意思是另一重要和气循环有关的生理结构，气循环当气贯穿网络。哈柏“类似吼叫”387页。
(2)王引之认为“丞”应念音似字“烝”《管子集校》,795页，删而为保持四音节格律（王安国/哈伦）。第169页。王引之视“屯”为“毛”，因形近，为字误《管子集校》,795页。

1. 那神秘书的生命能量气在心中，
2. 前一刻到来，下一刻消逝。
3. 如此细密没有任何东西存在里面；
4. 如此巨大没有任何东西在它之外。
5. 我们失去它：
6. 是因心躁烦所造成的伤害。
7. 当心可以维持平静，
8. 道将自然平定。
9. 对于得道的人：
10. 它贯穿于毛孔渗透于头发。
11. 在胸中保持不败坏。
12. [遵循]节制感官和欲望的道，
13. 如此无数的事物将不会对你造成伤害。
The Teachings of *Inward Training*

**A Thematic Overview of *Inward Training***

Before presenting a detailed study of the central ideas in Inward Training, this chapter offers a general overview of the main topics of its twenty-six verses.

Structure and Topics of Inward Training

I. Vital essence as a Cosmic Force
II. Metaphysical and Psychological Aspects of Vital Essence
III. Vital Essence and the Mind
IV. The Way and Its Inner Power
V. The Way and How to Attain It
VI. The Way and Its Efficacy
VII. The Ruling Principles
VIII. Inner Cultivation: Lodging the Vital Essence
IX. Inner Cultivation: Holding Fast to the One
X. Inner Cultivation: The Well-Ordered Mind and the One Word
XI. Inner Cultivation: The Well-Ordered Mind and Aligning the Body
XII. Inner Cultivation: Grasping the Numinous Mind
XIII. Inner Cultivation: How to Attain the Numinous Mind
XIV. Inner Cultivation: How to Attain the Way
XV. Holistic Benefits of Inner Cultivation: Ch’i Circulation
XVI. Holistic Benefits of Inner Cultivation: Vitality and Clarity
XVII. Inner Cultivation: Breathing Practice to Attain the Way
XVIII. Holistic Benefits of Inner Cultivation: Influence of Good Chi
XIX. Holistic Benefits of Inner Cultivation: Foreknowledge
XX. Inner Cultivation: Moderate Thinking and Eating
XXI. Inner Cultivation: Harmony of Mind and Body Through Breathing
XXII. Inner Cultivation: Harmony of Mind and Body Through Breathing (with a Confucian Interpolation)
XXIII. Inner Cultivation: Harmony Through the Way of Eating
XXIV. Summary: Inner Cultivation and Its Benefits: Maintaining the One
XXV. Summary: Inner Cultivation and Its Benefits: Tranquility and Vitality
XXVI. Summary: Inner Cultivation and Its Benefits: Tranquility and the Way
《内业》的教义
《内业》主题纵览

在提出内业中心思想的详细研究之前本章提供它二十六节主题的全面纵览

《内业》的结构与要旨

一 精如同宇宙的力量
二 精在形而上學及心理學上的形態
三 精與心
四 精與内在力量
五 道及如何得道
六 道及道的效能
七 主要原則
八 内在修养: 蓄存精
九 内在修养: 緊守專一
十 内在修养: 治理良好的心与一言
十一 内在修养: 治理良好的心与调正形体
十二 内在修养: 得到神
十三 内在修养: 如何得到神
十四 内在修养: 如何得道
十五 内在修养的整体利益: 气的运行
十六 内在修养的整体利益: 生命力与清楚
十七 内在修养: 练气来得道
十八 内在修养的整体利益: 善气的影响
十九 内在修养的整体利益: 预知
二十 内在修养: 適当的思考和饮食
二十一 内在修养: 经由练气使心及形體和谐
二十二 内在修养: 经由练气使心及形體和谐(加入儒家学说)
二十三 内在修养: 经由饮食之道和谐
二十四 结论: 内在修养和它的利益: 守住專一
二十五 结论: 内在修养和它的利益: 静及生命力
二十六 结论: 内在修养和它的利益: 静及道

Based on this analysis, Inward Training appears to have a deliberate-if somewhat loose-organizational structure. The first seven verses consider what might be called the philosophical foundations of inner cultivation practice. The next seven present the details of this practice. After this, four of the next five verses discuss the benefits of inner cultivation,
the only exception being verse XVII, which gives further details of breathing practice. However, as will be seen, this verse does end with a most significant final benefit of breathing practice, the return to the Way and its inner power. The next four verses, XX-XXIII provide further refinements of inner cultivation practice, including a philosophy of eating. The final three verses appear to be summaries of inner cultivation and its benefits presented in a more general fashion than the instructions in verses VIII-XIV. This textual organization is followed below.

根据这分析，《内业》显示其深思熟虑却有些松散的组织结构。前七节我们可以称为内在修养的哲学基础。之后的下五节讨论内在修养的利益，只有第十七节例外，给予更详尽练气的细节。然而，如同所见这节给予最后最具意义气的修练的利益。下四节，第二十到第二十三节，提供更精炼的内在修养包含饮食的哲学。最后三节则表现内在修养和它的利益的结论，比第八到第十四节的用更普遍方式说明。本文的结构如下，

The Philosophical Foundations of *Inward Training*

COSMOLOGY: VITAL ESSENCE AND THE WAY

The two most important philosophical concepts in *Inward Training* are the closely related concepts of the vital essence (*ching*, 精) and the Way. The vital essence is that which brings life to all living things. Verse 1 reads:

1. The vital essence of all things:
2. It is this that brings them to life.
3. It generates the five grains below
4. And becomes the constellated stars above.
5. When flowing amid the heavens and the earth
6. We call it ghostly and numinous.
7. When stored within the chests of human beings,
8. We call them sages.
1. 凡物之精
2. 此則為生。
3. 下生五穀
4. 上為列星。
5. 流於天地之間，
6. 謂之鬼神
7. 藏於胸中，
8. 謂之聖人。

This verse establishes certain basic characteristics of the vital essence within a triune framework of the heavens, the earth, and human beings that is an important motif throughout the text. Here, ching is a generative substance of cosmic proportions that manifests itself in these three interrelated areas of the universe. Most important for Inward Training, when we can store it within our hearts/minds, we become sages. Verse VIII provides the following clear definition: "The vital essence: it is the essence of the vital energy.” Thus it is a highly refined, concentrated, and subtle form of vital energy. Yet while it has these concrete properties, something about it defies intellectual understanding and categorization:

这一节建立了精的确实基本特性于天地人三位一体架构，是连贯全文的要旨。在此，精是宇宙里一有生命力的实体，在宇宙三相互関连的領域表现自己。對《内业》最重要的是，當我们能在心/心智里存住精，我们即成圣人，第八节提供以下清楚的定义: “精是生命活力（气）的精 "所以它是气的极高且精炼的精致形态。虽然，它有这些具体性质，但仍有某些是挑战智力上的了解和分类判定。

1. Therefore this [form of] vital energy [that is, the vital essence] is:
2. Bright!—as if ascending the heavens;
3. Dark!—as if entering an abyss;
4. Vast!—as if dwelling in an ocean;
5. Lofty!—as if dwelling on a mountain peak.

As a cosmic power or force, the vital essence resembles the very Way itself:

第二节

1. 是故＜民＞「此」氣：
2. 昀乎如登於天。
如同宇宙的動力和力量，精和道本身是相似的。

1. Clear! as though right by your side.
2. Vague! as though it will not be attained.
3. Indiscernable! as though beyond the limitless.
4. The test of this is not far off:
5. Daily we make use of its inner power.
6. That Way is what infuses the body,
7. Yet people are unable to fix it in place.
8. It goes forth but does not return,
9. It comes back but does not stay.
10. Silent! none can hear its sound.
11. Suddenly stopping! it abides within the mind.
12. Obscure! we do not see its form.
13. Surging forth! it arises with us.
14. We do not see its form,
15. We do not hear its sound,
16. Yet we can perceive an order to its accomplishments.
17. We call it “the Way”.

第四节
1. ＜折折＞(皙皙)乎如在於側。
2. 忽忽乎如將不得。
3. 渺渺乎如窮無極。
4. 此稽不遜。
5. 日用其德。
6. 夫道＜者＞所以充形＜也＞。
7. 而人不能固。
8. 其往不復。
9. 其來不舍。
10. ＜謀＞「寂」乎莫聞其音。
11. 卒乎乃在於心。
12. 冥冥乎不見其形。
13. 淫淫乎與我俱生。
Verse IV depicts the Way as the ineffable cosmic power familiar from other early sources of Taoism, the most important of which is the *Lao Tzu*. However, it has a more tangible presence in *Inward Training* than in the *Lao Tzu*. Although this vital essence cannot be perceived as an object, we not only see what it accomplishes; it is also a constantly moving power that seems to come and go within the human mind. Verse V details further how the Way resides within people:

1. The Way has no fixed position;
2. It abides within the excellent mind.
3. When the mind is tranquil and the vital breath is regular,
4. The Way can thereby be halted.
5. That Way is not distant from us;
6. When people attain it they are sustained
7. That Way is not separated from us;
8. When people accord with it they are harmonious.
9. Therefore: Concentrated! as though you could be roped together with it.
10. Indiscernable! as though beyond all locations.
11. The true state of that Way:
12. How could it be conceived of and pronounced upon?
13. Cultivate your mind, make your thoughts tranquil,
14. And the Way can thereby be attained.

第五节
1. 夫道無所：
2. 善心安(焉)＜愛＞「處」。
Although constantly moving in and out of the mind, the Way can come to abide within it when one cultivates tranquility through the regular and systematic practice of breathing meditation. Though beyond dualistic concepts and pronouncements, it can be apprehended directly within this cultivated or “excellent” mind. These passages do not suggest that the Way is sometimes present within human beings and at other times absent. Rather the Way is always present. However, the awareness of this presence enters the human mind only when it is properly cultivated. This emphasis on the potential of people to experience the Way is also paralleled in how Inward Training discusses the vital essence:

1. Therefore this vital energy [that is the vital essence]
2. Cannot be halted by force,
3. Yet can be secured by inner power [7e].
4. Cannot be summoned by speech,
5. Yet can be welcomed by the awareness.
6. Reverently hold onto it and do not lose it:
7. This is called “developing inner power.”
8. When inner power develops and wisdom emerges,
9. The myriad things will, to the last one, be grasped.

1. 是故此氣也
2. 不可止以力
3. 而可安以德；
4. 不可呼以聲
5. 而可迎以＜音＞「意」。
6. 敬守勿失：
7. 是謂成德。
8. 德成而智出，
9. 萬物＜果＞「畢」得。

PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS:
TRANQUILITY, INNER POWER, AND THE NUMINOUS MIND

As the previous passages suggest, *Inward Training* defines inner power (Te, 德) in a very concrete psychological sense. It is linked to both the essence and the Way. It is what enables the sage to secure vital essence, and it is the perceptible manifestation of the Way within human experience. It cannot be controlled by force of will or use of language, thus implying that it arises within awareness devoid of individual will and dualistic thought. In verse XI it is one definite result of the distinctive method of inner cultivation advocated in *Inward Training*.
1. When your body is not aligned,
2. The inner power will not come.
3. When you are not tranquil within,
4. Your mind will not be well ordered.
5. Align your body, assist the inner power,
6. Then it will gradually come on its own.

1. 形不正，
2. 德不來。
3. 中不靜
4. 心不治。
5. 正形攝德
   <天仁地義則>
6. 淫然而自<至>「來」。

Thus inner power gradually and naturally develops within you place if you place your body in the proper posture and thereby become tranquil. This proper posture refers to the position for breathing meditation, a link repeated in verse XVI. It therefore seems that, to the authors of *Inward Training*, inner power was a quality of mental concentrations that arose naturally, along with tranquility, through the practice of breathing meditation. It is also closely connected to the vital essence and the Way. One way to conceive of the relationship between inner power and the vital essence is that the latter appears to be the physiological substrate associated with the former; one way to conceive of the relationship between the Way and inner power is that inner power represents a quality of mind, discovered through the tranquility attained through breathing practice, through which the presence of the Way that dwells within human beings is revealed to them. Thus if inner power is a highly concentrated and tranquil state of mind with an associated physiological substrate, the vital essence, and if the Way is revealed within the mind through this inner power, then there is also an extremely close relationship between the Way and the vital essence. As cosmic powers, both are spoken of in similar terms. Verse XXVI presents a summation of the basic teachings of *Inward Training* in which the closeness of these two concepts is demonstrated further:

如此德就會渐渐地自然的在你心中发展。如果你能将身体处于和宜的姿态且由此变得静。和宜的姿态是指练气思考的形态重复联结第十六节。所以似乎对内业的作者而言，德是一心智集中的质素跟随著静及练气思考自然产生它紧密相连于精
与道。有一方法表明精与道的关系，后者呈现生理上的素质与前者相关联，另一
道与德关系的表明方式是经过练气思考而找到宁静经过它存在人心的道得以显现。

所以如果德是心的高度集中和宁静的状态关联着生理上的素质，且如果道透过得
而得以展现然后在道与精之间也是关系紧密。如同宇宙力量，两者的语言述说相
似。第二十六节结论表達了《内业》的基本教义且进一步說明两观念的紧密关系:

1. That mysterious vital energy within the mind:
2. One moment it arrives, the next it departs.
3. So fine, there is nothing within it;
4. So vast, there is nothing outside it.
5. We lose it
6. Because of the harm caused by mental agitation.
7. When the mind can hold on to tranquility,
8. The Way will become naturally stabilized.
9. For people who have attained the Way
10. It permeates their pores and saturates their hair.
11. Within their chest, they remain unvanquished.
12. [Follow] this Way of restricting sense-desires
13. And the myriad things will not cause you harm.

1. 灵气在心，
2. 一来一逝。
3. 其细无内；
4. 其大无外。
5. 所以失之：
6. 以躁为害。
7. 心能执静，
8. 道将入定。
9. 得道之人：
10. 理（丞）烝「而」<屯>「毛」泄。
11. 匈（胸）中无败。
12. 節欲之道，
13. 萬物不害。
This passage describes the Way as a kind of mysterious vital energy, or vital essence, that comes to actually permeate your entire being, to penetrate the very pores of your skin, when you attain tranquility. This does not mean, however, that the text supports a materialistic conceptualization of the Way. Rather, the vital essence appears to be the crystallization of the more abstract power or force that is the Way within the energetic systems constituting the human being and the entire cosmos. This is borne out by the opening verse of *Inward Training*, which explains the vital essence as the generative principle within all phenomena. In this text the power of the Way to generate all things is thus manifested as the vital essence. Related to securing vital essence through the development of tranquility and inner power is the understanding of how the vital essence is actually generated within people. Verse VIII states that human beings generate it through the guiding of the vital energy. This guiding and circulating refines vital energy into vital essence, yet a recursive relationship exists between the two:

1. For those who preserve and naturally generate vital essence
2. On the outside a calmness will flourish.
3. Stored inside, we take it to be the well spring.
4. Floodlike, it harmonizes and equalizes
5. And we take it to be the fount of the vital energy.
6. When the fount is not dried up,
7. The four limbs are firm.
8. When the well spring is not drained,
9. Vital energy freely circulates through the nine apertures.
4. 浩然和平，
5. 以為氣淵。
6. 淵之不淵，
7. 四體乃固。
8. 泉之不竭，
9. 九竅遂<通>「達」。

Here the vital essence, which in verse VIII is generated by the guiding and circulating of the vital energy, is itself the source of the vital energy, its very “well spring”. Those who practice inner cultivation are able to generate vital essence and store it in the heart/mind “within their chests.” Associated with this is a psychological calmness and a physical vitality that is created by the harmonizing and equalizing effect of this pooling of vital essence. This then generates vital energy and assures that it is properly circulated throughout the various physiological pathways envisioned in the early Chinese medical systems. It is thus not surprising to find a seamless web in *Inward Training* connecting the psychological, physiological, and spiritual aspects of the human being. These spiritual aspects are often discussed in *Inward Training* in concepts and phrases closely related to the vital essence, the Way, and the inner power:

1. There is a numinous [mind] naturally residing within;
2. One moment it goes, the next it comes,
3. And no one is able to conceive of it.
4. If you lose it you are inevitably disordered;
5. If you attain it you are inevitably well ordered.
6. Diligently clean out its lodging place
7. And its vital essence will naturally arrive.
8. Still your attempts to imagine and conceive of it.
9. Relax your efforts to reflect on and control it.
10. Be reverent and diligent
11. And its vital essence will naturally stabilize.
12. Grasp it and don’t let go
13. Then the eyes and ears won’t overflow
14. And the mind will have nothing else to seek.
15. When a properly aligned mind resides within you,
16. The myriad things will be seen in their proper perspective.

1. 有神自在＜身＞。
2. 一往一來;
3. 莫之能思。
4. 失之必亂;
5. 得之必治。
6. 敬除其舍：
7. 精將自來。
8. ＜精＞靜想思之；
9. 寧念治之。
10. 嚴容畏敬：
11. 精將＜至＞「自」定。 
12. 得之而勿捨：
13. 耳目不淫，
14. 心無他圖。
15. 正心在中，
16. 萬物得度。

This important passage is from one of five verses in Inward Training in which the term shen, here translated as “numinous mind,” appears. In verses I and XIX it appears together with the term kuei (ghost, 鬼) and therein refers to the external spirits or numina of various things like mountains, rivers, and the ancestors. These spirits are the powers that descended into early Chinese shamans and shamanesses during their ritualized trances. Angus Graham argues that, by the time Inward Training was written in the fourth century B.C., these external powers, like the concept of the heavens, were becoming depersonalized. In the philosophical literature from this time on, the term shen “tends to be used as a stative verb rather than noun, of mysterious power and intelligence radiating from a person or thing.” The authors of Inward Training seem to make a distinction like Graham’s when, in verse XIX, they say:
By concentrating your vital breath as if numinous,
The myriad things will all be contained within you.

<博>「摶」氣如神，
萬物備存。

Here the phrase “as if numinous” is particularly noteworthy. The text speaks not of some internal numen or spirit but, rather, of a spiritlike or numinous power that can foreknow. It details how the practice of concentrating and refining vital energy into vital essence leads to the ability to divine the future without tortoise shells or milfoil stalks. This foreknowledge also occurs without relying on ghostly or numinous powers either outside or within oneself but, rather, because of “the utmost refinement of your essential vital energy.” So sages who have achieved this utmost refinement are numinous in that they, like the external spiritual powers, are filled with this vital essence. That the term *shen* is used to describe a quality of mind or a special type of awareness in verse XIX is indicated not only by this passage but by a critical discussion of how to experience the Way “that fills all under the heavens” in verse XIV. In talking about how one becomes released from the fixed perspective of an individual human being by using the word “Way,” the *Inward Training* authors state that there is a “mind within the mind” that is experienced when the mind is calm and well ordered:

这里的句子“如神的”特别值得注意。文本一些内部不是说神灵的，但更确切地说，一个像神灵的或如神的的力量，是可以预见的。它详细介绍了如何成为重要的精华浓缩和提炼重要的能源的做法导致无龟甲或筮草的能力神圣的未来。这预知不依靠神灵般的或超自然的权力，而外面或在自己，但也会发生，因为“您的必不可少的重要的能源极为细化。”因此，已经实现了这个极其细化的先贤是超自然的，因为它们，就像外部精神力量，都充满了这个重要的本质。
This verse suggests that the “mind within the mind” is a direct, nondual, awareness of the Way that resides within all human beings (it is “everywhere that people are, but people are unable to understand this”). This nondual awareness of the Way that constitutes the “mind within the mind” is also referred to in verse XIII as numinous. Hence I translate it as “numinous mind.” Just as the arrival of the numinous mind at its lodging place in the tranquil and purified mind in verse XIII establishes condition of psychological order, attaining the “mind within the mind” in verse XIV also establishes such order. That this special mind is described as “spiritlike” or “numinous” is perfectly logical: As a nondual awareness of the Way, it cannot be fathomed by the dualistic intellect and as such fits the famous quotation from the “Hsi-tz’u” commentary of the Book of Change: “Where yin and yang do not penetrate, we call it the numinous.”

这个术语是用来描述心理素质或特殊类型的第十九节意识，不仅通过这段话，但了如何体验在第四节“填补所有的天空下”的关键讨论表示，在谈论如何成为固定的角度，从一个个体的人使用”道”字，《内业》作者指出，有一个“在心中的心”，是经验丰富的平静的心，且治理良好的：

1. Within the mind there is yet another mind.
2. That mind within the mind: it is an awareness that precedes words.
3. Only after there is awareness does it take shape;
4. Only after it takes shape is there a word.
5. Only after there is a word is it implemented;
6. Only after it is implemented is there order.

1. 心之中又有心<馬>「焉」(3)。
2. 彼心之心<音>「意」以先言(4)。
3. 18. 形然后言；
4. 言然后使。
5. 使然后治。

This verse suggests that the “mind within the mind” is a direct, nondual, awareness of the Way that resides within all human beings (it is “everywhere that people are, but people are unable to understand this”). This nondual awareness of the Way that constitutes the “mind within the mind” is also referred to in verse XIII as numinous. Hence I translate it as “numinous mind.” Just as the arrival of the numinous mind at its lodging place in the tranquil and purified mind in verse XIII establishes condition of psychological order, attaining the “mind within the mind” in verse XIV also establishes such order. That this special mind is described as “spiritlike” or “numinous” is perfectly logical: As a nondual awareness of the Way, it cannot be fathomed by the dualistic intellect and as such fits the famous quotation from the “Hsi-tz’u” commentary of the Book of Change: “Where yin and yang do not penetrate, we call it the numinous.”
正如到来如神的心的宁静和纯净的心第十三节文中建立心理秩序条件的地方住宿实现“在心灵的思想”的第十四还设立上述命令”这一特殊的心被形容为“似神灵的”或“如神的”是完全合乎逻辑的：作为非二元的意识的方式，它不能被理解的二元智力，因此适合从《系辞》的名句评论：《周易》阴阳不穿透，我们把它称为如神的。”

It is further described as coming into and departing from consciousness, just as external spirits come into and depart from the mind of the shaman or from the ancestral temple. In terms of the various physiological forces that make up the human being and everything else within the cosmos, this nondual awareness is manifested as vital essence—the essential component of ghosts and spirits that dwell outside humans. Although in later texts like the Huai-nan Tzu the shen seems to be the locus of more prosaic aspects of awareness such as everyday perception, in Inward Training, only this more rarefied, mystical awareness is indicated by this term.

这进一步说明，进入和从意识出发，外部精神就像进入和离开的萨满的心灵，或从宗庙。使人类和其他一切宇宙内的各种生理力量而言，这非二元的意识表现为生命的本质，住外面的人对鬼神的必不可少的组成部分。虽然在后来的文本，如《淮南子》似乎更平淡无奇的外来培训方面的意识，如日常感知的轨迹，只是这更稀薄，这个词表示神秘的意识。

One final characteristic associated with this numinous mind in verse XII is its “illumined knowing”. This term refers to the ability immediately and intuitively to know all the myriad things. This ability derives from the fact that the numinous mind is the nondual awareness of the Way. Because this Way is inherent in all things, being aware of the Way imparts an immediate knowledge of the most foundational layer of every phenomenon perceived. This relates to the lines that begin verse XIX:

这如神的心在第十二节的最后一个特点是其“照亮所知”。此术语是指能力立即直观地知道所有的万物。这种能力源于事实的如神的心非二元的意识的方式。因为这样一来是一切事物所固有的，知道的方式，传授最基础层的每一个知觉现象的直接知识。这涉及到开头的第十九节的几行字：
1. By concentrating your vital breath as if numinous,
2. The myriad things xviii all be contained within you.

1. 「摶」気如神(2)，
2. 萬物備存。

All things are contained within those who realize the numinous mind because it is a nondual awareness of the Way. The Way not only is within all things, as the mysterious unifying foundation of the cosmos, but also contains all things.

所有的东西都包含在那些实现如神的心灵，因为它是一个非二元的意识的方式。的方式不仅是在所有的东西，如神秘的宇宙统一的基础，但也包含了所有的事情。
Inward Training

In the context of Early Daoism

Of course, these *Kuan-Tzu* chapters and the manuscripts from Ma-wang-tui failed to reach the status of “classic” (*ching*), and from a modern point of view, they may seem far less important than the *Lao-tzu*. The *Lao-tzu* is one of the most translated books in the world whereas the other texts have received relatively little attention. But the compilers of these texts cannot have known in advance that the *Lao-tzu* would win out in such spectacular fashion. If we wish to clarify the early history of the genre which the *Lao-tzu* represents, these other texts could turn out to be as useful as the *Lao Tao* itself.

早期道教的背景

当然，这些《管子》的章节和马王堆手稿没有达到“经典”（精）的境界，并从现代的角度来看，他们的重要性似乎远不如《老子》。《老子》一书相对其他书籍来说，是一个最被普遍翻译成其他语言的书，而其他书籍则受到相对较少的关注。这是各个书籍作者在编译这些书籍前始料未及的。如果我们想明了《老子》所代表时代文艺作品的早期历史，那么其他书籍则变的跟《老子》本身一样是有用。

WILLIAM BAXTER

This concluding chapter offers a new definition of Warring States and early Han Taoism derived from my earlier work on “Huang-Lao” Taoism and the present work on *Inward Training* and inner cultivation practice. The chapter’s central working hypothesis is that, even in the absence of evidence for a “Lao- Chuang” school of philosophical Taoism, a distinct group of people existed (who can justifiably be labeled Taoists because they followed and recommended to others an apophatic practice of breathing meditation aimed at the mystical realization of the Way and its integration into their daily lives. These people also created and transmitted a body of doctrinal texts that evolved over time in response to the changing circumstances in which the members of this “distinctive lineage” found themselves. For example, a political dimension gradually developed and employed ideas and methods culled from the other lineages encountered by Taoist thinkers at various state courts during this period.
This last chapter draws from my previous work "The Yellow Clan" as well as my present work, *The Inner Seeker* and *Inward Training*. It provides a new definition of early Taoism, marking a shift in the way we understand the origins and development of the school. The central idea is that, despite the lack of evidence for the existence of the Taoist school, a group of people did indeed exist who could be properly labeled as Taoists, as they practiced and propagated these ideas. These people created and spread self-contained theoretical texts that evolved over time, as their practices were refined through the years.

Thus the inner cultivation program, its experiential results, and the philosophy that developed from it are central to this new definition of Taoism in this early period. Moreover, *Inward Training* is the oldest extant source for this distinctive method of mystical self-cultivation, the evidence for which is found in all the major textual sources of early Taoism. Thus calling particular thinkers "Taoist" means that they followed a regimen of inner cultivation first enunciated in *Inward Training*. Labeling a particular text "Taoist" means that it exhibits evidence of this inner cultivation practice and the distinctive nexus of ideas that developed from it, especially a cosmology based on the Way as the underlying power of the human and natural worlds.

Toward a Definition of Early Taoism

It may surprise the nonspecialist reader that different scholars often define early Taoism
differently or that they question the existence of a clearly definable school or philosophical lineage that can be designated by this term. The problem derives in part from the fact that the term “Taoism” is used—and often uncritically so—not just for the sources explored in this book but for the rather complex religion that arose at the end of the second century A.D. and various tangential phenomena related to each. Although in the twentieth century scholars have distinguished between “Tao-chia” (or philosophical Taoism) and “Tao-chiao” (or religious Taoism), and have seen a great gulf between the two, in recent years scholars have realized that these categories obscure the fact that these two aspects of Taoism are related in a variety of complex ways hitherto not well understood. Indeed, when one becomes aware of the religious phenomena associated with the category “philosophical Taoism” many elements that contribute to this “great gulf” melt away. Like the term “mysticism,” the term “Taoism” must be carefully defined and its use equally carefully circumscribed, as Nathan Sivin argued in a seminal article written some twenty years ago.

关于早期道家的定义

非专家的读者可能感到惊讶，不同的学者往往把早期道家定义得不同，或学者们质疑，是否真的有明确可定义的学派或哲学派系可以被指定“道家”一词？这个问题部分源自于，事实上“道家”一词的被使用，不仅使用在本书探讨的思想源头——且也通常不太被区分地使用在源于公元二世纪底起，比较复杂的宗教；或表面上各与两者肤浅相关的各种现象。虽然在十二世纪学者们已经有辨识出“道家”与“道教”之别，并看出两者之间的巨大鸿沟。近年来学者也意识到，这两者都与“道”以各种复杂，迄今仍难以理解的方式交互影响。事实上，当一个人了解到宗教现象跟哲学道家的许多元素相关，则两者间巨大的鸿沟就消弭了。如那谈思文(Nathan Sivin)二十年前在他的文章所辩述的，“道家”一词就如同“神秘主义”一词，必须被仔细定义，以及被仔细限定它的范围。
Another difficulty in arriving at a definition of early Taoism, in light of the absence of evidence for a "Lao-Chuang" school, is the entire problem of precisely what constituted a school of philosophy in the pre-Han period. Before the work of the Han historian Ssu-ma T’ an, who delineated six “schools” (cha, 家) of thought in about 110 B.C, previous analyses of pre-Han thought were teacher based. That is, specific thinkers and their ideas were discussed, but little attempt was made to relate them together as followers of a particular school; even when this was obviously the case, as for the Confucians and Mohists. This kind of analysis occurs in the famous chapter 33 of the Chuang Tzu, “Tien-hsia” (All Under the Heavens, 天下), which discusses the ideas of MoTzu and a few followers, Chuang Tzu himself and then his friend the terminologist Hui Shih. However, even when several thinkers are grouped together, they are not treated as belonging to one “school.” Similar types of “teacher based” discussions are found in the Hsun Tzu, the Annals of Mr Lu and the Hui-nan Tzu. None of the analyses of thinkers before the time of Ssu-ma T’ an grouped them into “schools,” even when the individual thinkers were quite obviously related to one another intellectually, such as Confucius, Mencius, and Hsun Tzu.

司 司 司 司马谈 司马谈 司马谈 司马谈的六家

另一定义早期道家的困难,在于却乏”老庄学派”存在的证据,整个问题在于的前汉时期,是怎样精准定义并构成一个哲学学派。在汉朝史学家司马谈—于公元前 110 年定义六家思想,撰写六家这本著作之前,过去是以师生关系为基础分析前汉时期的思想。也就是说,特定的思想家及他们的思想被人们讨论,但纵使他们之间存在明
显的关系，也很少人会意图将他们之间的关连性做串连并归类为某特定学派，像是儒家与墨家。

这类的分析发生在著名的《庄子》第三十三章－《天下》，它讨论《墨子》与其部分追随者宋欣，尹文，彭蒙，田骈，及申涛，老聃，及谷邑，以及《庄子》本身和他的名家朋友惠施的思想。然而，即使一些思想家群组在一起，他们仍是不被视为属于某单一个学派。相同类型的以老师为基础的讨论，也可以在《荀子》、《吕氏春秋》和《淮南子》看到。即使有部分的个别思想家，他们的思维很明显的有互相关联性，例如孔子、孟子和荀子，但在司马谈时代之前，没有人将这些思想家做分析并归类成各个学派。

By contrast, Ssu-ma Tan, in his discourse on the essential ideas of the six schools that is now a colophon to the Records of the Grand Historian, delineated six schools of thought, apparently on the basis of their doctrines. These schools were Naturalists (yin yang), Confucians, Mohists, Terminologists (Ming-chia), Legalists (Fa-chia), and Taoists. Each group contained certain thinkers about whose identity he remained silent, although he certainly knew about them in view of what he and his son, Ssu-ma Chien (司馬遷), say in other sections of their monumental historical work. In recent years the very nature and existence of the schools distinguished by Ssu-ma Tan have been called into question. Do they actually refer to existing schools with a set series of texts and doctrines, of masters and disciples, and perhaps a specific geographic origin and continuing location? Many have assumed this to be the case. Or was he simply creating a new category into which he could place earlier teachers who themselves had no such category, group membership, or lineage designation?

相反的司马谈，在他的六家基本思想论述，现为《史记》的版权，依据他们显然不同的学说(教义)为基础，划定出六家的思想。这六家为阴阳，儒家，墨家，名家，法家以及道家。各家分别有其特定的思想家，但对于这些特定思想家的辨别，司马谈未发表言论，但从他跟他儿子司马迁的不朽的历史巨作中的其他章节，可以得知他显然是了解的。

近年来，司马谈所分辨的各家，其本质和存在性受到质疑。难道各家真指像现有的学校，具有一系列的文本、教条、老师和弟子，也或许各家有特定的起源地及延续的地
Edmund Ryden has significantly clarified this question by distinguishing two ways of analyzing philosophical schools. Adapting the definitions of the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913), he distinguishes between “synchronic” analyses and “diachronic” analyses. The former are like cross-sections frozen in time. They define each school in relation to the others at the moment in time that the synchronic analysis is created. Diachronic analyses often focus on one school and attempt to understand it from a developmental perspective as the teachings of generations of masters and disciples. In other words, diachronic analyses are based upon the nature and intellectual content of master-disciple lineages over time; synchronic analyses attempt to identify these lineages by the doctrines to which they subscribed (or by some other common factor) at a given point in time. Ryden argues that in identifying the “six schools” the project of Ssu-ma T’an was largely synchronic, although a diachronic element does enter in with the two “clearly identifiable groups” for him, namely, the Confucians and the Mohists. On the other hand, the later project of the Han historical bibliographer Pan Ku, who wrote his “Bibliographical Monograph” of the History of Former Han Dynasty in about AD. 55, was purely synchronic and related to the contents of the imperial library he was cataloguing more than to any extant intellectual lineages. According to Ryden, the problem arises when these two types of analyses are confused. Thus he suggests that, if we employ Ssu-ma T’an’s categories to define pre-Han Taoism, we are committing a fundamental “category error” ; we are mistaking his synchronic analysis for a diachronic one.
这些区别是有价值的，但实际状况是比他们欲带领我们相信的复杂。司马谈在选择”家”一字来意指他分的六个派别，意味着他同时有着”历时性”分析的观点。家通常是指家或家庭。这意味着，他认为他的六个派别为具有重要的宗族(世系)层面，其中老师和弟子按照家庭的模式运作。老师像是父母对他们的弟子，反过来则像是孩子们对他们的老师。这种模式确实是很古老的。这样的社会群体最早可在语中孔子作为其学生的知识和精神之父看到。

Moreover, a closer look at the Taoists indicates that they, as well as the Confucians and Mohists, had a powerful diachronic element about which Ssu-ma Tan cannot have been unaware. Ssu-ma Tan presents Taoism as decidedly syncretic: It adapts the best teachings of the other five groups of thinkers within a cosmology of the Way and its inner power. This syncretic form is similar to much of the Huai-nan Tzu and can justifiably be labeled “Huang-Lao,” a term found elsewhere in the Records of the Grand Historian. This was the Han term for the particular form of Syncretic Taoism then prevalent. Records, chapters 63 and 74, identify thinkers at the Chi-hsia Academy and elsewhere as Huang-Lao students. Furthermore, chapter 80 describes a lineage of Huang-Lao masters stretching for more than a century, down to the lifetime of Ssu-ma Tan. This latter analysis is clearly diachronic and
indicates that, while he used the term “Tao-chia” in a synchronic sense in his discussion of the six schools, he was aware that, as in the case of the Confucians and the Mohists, it also had a diachronic basis. Ssu-ma Tan is said to have been a student of a Huang-Lao master, so he evidently gained his knowledge of that tradition directly from someone within it.

So does this mean that we can talk about a Taoist school or that it is perhaps best simply to abandon the concept of philosophical schools and adapt the idea of lineages? But does that mean we should also abandon the term “Taoism”? Does this imply, as Angus Graham says, that most of Ssu-ma Tan’s schools were nothing more than “tendencies established retrospectively”? Was there nothing by which these six groups differentiated themselves?

此外,仔细看道家表明他们跟儒家以及墨家,都有着司马谈不可能没有察觉的强大历时性元素。司马谈表示道家是明确地调和的:在道的宇宙论以及其内在力量方面,它采用了其他五个学派思想家中最好的教诲。这个调和的形式类似《淮南子》并且可以被正当标示(归类)为”黄老”,“黄老”一词在《史记》某处提及。这是汉朝用于形容特定形式的调和道教的用语,并于随后普遍使用。《史记》六十三、七十四章记录,并辨认出稷下学派的思想家及在其他地方为黄老的学生。此外,第八十章描述了黄老大师的继受者绵延一个多世纪,直至司马谈的有生之年。后者显然是”历时性分析”并指出,当他在六家的讨论,用”断代性分析”的概念使用”道家”一词时,他也知道这也是有”历时性分析”的基础的,在儒家和墨家的例子中也一样。是有。司马谈据说是黄老大师的学生,所以显然他从某人那直接获得了黄老传统的知识。那么,这意味着我们可以谈论道家学派或者说,最好干脆放弃哲学学派的概念改采谱系思想传承的概念?但又意指我们应该也放弃”道家”一词?这是否暗示,如 格瑞翰( Graham)所说的,至多司马谈的所谓各家只有”追溯建立趋势”的意义而无其他意义?难道真的没有任何东西可以用来区分这六个学派?

Answering these questions requires that we distinguish two related issues. First, the concept of how a school is defined in the West. Second, the use of “philosophy” as a way to differentiate among groups of pre-Han thinkers. On the topic of schools, Ryden argues that Robert Kramers and Angus Graham both emphasize the diachronic sense of masters and disciples in a lineage that is maintained over generations. Kramers adds another sense of independent reflection developed in response to historical and social conditions. Both
conclude that the Confucians are what Graham—who adds the Mohists as well—calls a 
“true school.” In the West the word “school” has been defined largely in terms of 
Creek and medieval European models. Hence the New *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* entry 
includes three relevant definitions:

1. A body of people who have been taught by a particular philosopher . . . 

2. A group of people who are disciples of the same person or who share some principle, 
method, or style.

3. Originally, an organized body of teachers and scholars in one of the higher branches 
of study cultivated in medieval Europe constituting a university.

In the first two definitions, one idea predominates: that schools are defined by particular 
thinkers and their disciples. They may stretch across generations and so can be diachronic. 
They may also share some defining principle or method. And they are organized bodies. 
According to these definitions, Confucians and Mohists can be called schools. Each group 
had a founder and generations of disciples, and each group enunciated distinctive intellectual 
principles and methods. They also transmitted foundational texts containing these principles 
and methods. Furthermore the Mohists were well organized: They even had a system of 
tithing, in which a school member sent dues to a central authority.
If we restrict ourselves to meeting all three of these criteria, the early Taoists would fall short. Indeed, one of the difficulties in identifying a pre-Han form of Taoism is that its origins are truly obscure. Unlike Confucianism and the Mohism, Taoism does not have a single founder, despite the efforts of late Warring States members of this lineage to establish a founder in the figure of Lao Tan, reputed author of the *Lao Tzu*. Furthermore little is known about early Taoist organization. Although at best we can speculate about their having formed small communities to follow their distinctive inner cultivation practice, there is no clear evidence of a well-established social organization that extended over several generations. Nonetheless, this does not mean that Taoists lacked distinctive principles and methods or a body of texts in which they were transmitted.

1. 被同一个思想家教导的一群人

2. 被同一个人教导的一群人,或是分享原则、方法及风格。

3. 最初,中世纪欧洲在某一个高等研究分支(学术部门)培养出的一群有组织的老师及学者

在前两个定义,一个想法占主导地位:学派被特定的思想家和他的门生定义。他们可能横跨延续了几个世代,所以可以成为历时性的。他们也可能分享一些确定的原则或方法。他们是有组织团体。根据这些定义,儒家和墨家可以称之为学派。每个团体分别有一个创始人和好几代的弟子,每个团体都阐述其独特且具高深知识的原则及方法。他们也透过经句来传播包含这些原则及方法的基础书籍。此外,墨家更是组织良好:他们甚至有一个什一税的奉献系统,学派成员会寄送会费到中央当局。

如果我们限制自己完全符合这三个标准,早期的道家可能很快就殒落了。事实上,在分辨前汉时期型态的道家时,其中的一个困难在于它的起源事实上是模糊的。与儒家和墨家不同,道家没有一个单一的创始人。尽管战国后期道家学派的成员努力将老子(李耳,《老子》的作家)塑造为创始人。此外,知之甚少是早期道家的组织。虽然充其量我们可以推测他们已形成了小社群,遵循其独特的内在修炼方式。但是却没有一个延续好几个世代已经建立的完善社会组织之明确证据。尽管如此,这并不意味着,道家缺乏其独特的准则及方法或是一套他们所传播的主题。

The concept of schools of philosophy also needs reexamination. Although each of the groups defined by Ssu-ma Tan has its distinctive ideas, to define them by their ideas alone is to engage in a doctrine-based synchronic analysis that overemphasizes the importance of
philosophy. Early Confucians, for example, as Robert Eno demonstrates, did not merely read the *Analects*; they studied it with a teacher in the context of an entire program of learning and practice. It is often said that the Confucians thought about benevolence, the Mohists about universal love, the Taoists about the Way and so on. Yet this simplistic summary overlooks the other equally—if not more—important element: their distinctive techniques (*shu*, 術).

A closer examination of Ssu-ma Tan’s essay shows that his synchronic analysis is based not so much on doctrines as on techniques, practical methods. For example, “the techniques of the Naturalists magnify the importance of omens and proliferate avoidances and taboos, causing people to feel constrained and to fear many things. Nonetheless, one cannot fault how they prioritize the grand compliances of the four seasons.” And again,

The Confucians are erudite, yet they lack the essentials. They labor much but achieve little. That is why their doctrines are difficult to follow completely. Nonetheless, one cannot detract from the way they prioritize the various rituals between ruler and minister and father and son and how they enumerate the various distinctions between husband and wife and elder and younger.

儒家是博学的,但他们缺乏本质。他们花了很多任务夫，但收效甚微。这就是为什么他们的教义是很难去完全实行。然而，人们不能摆脱传统礼仪习俗中彼此间关系：如君臣，父子，以及他们如何列举夫妻间及长幼间的各项区别。
Notice that Ssu-ma Tan talks not about their ethical ideas but, rather, about their ritual practices. His discussions of the other four groups contain a similar emphasis on techniques. Technique is the principal focus of his analysis, not the philosophies that developed along with them and that support them. When the idea of a philosophical school is applied to these groupings, doctrine is emphasized at the expense of methods, thus doing them and ourselves a grave disservice.

Moreover, to emphasize ideas at the expense of techniques is to deemphasize the diachronic aspect. We can read ideas in a book, but we can learn techniques only with a teacher. I am no more a Taoist by virtue of reading the *Lao Tzu* than I am a physicist from reading Einstein’s *The Meaning of Relativity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950). As Donald Harper has shown, during the Warring States period medical literature had a widespread circulation that was not limited to physicians. The occupant of Ma-wang-tui tomb number three was not a physician; he was interested in medical works, as well as philosophical and astrological works, for his own edification. Techniques must be seen as a way to define pre-Han intellectual lineages, not just philosophical ideas alone.

Doing so helps solve two related problems in determining pre-Han intellectual lineages. During the latter part of the Warring States period, philosophical ideas began to be
exchanged between distinct traditions at state courts throughout what was then China. Intellectual lineages were no longer relatively hermetic traditions but show increasing evidence of the incorporation of ideas from other traditions. If we remain fixated on philosophical concepts as the sole criteria for identifying intellectual traditions, we are left having to demonstrate why, for example, the author of the “way of Heaven” chapter of the Chuang Tzu is not a Confucian because he approves of benevolence and rightness or why Hsun Tzu is not a Taoist because he approves of mental tranquility. The obvious answer in both cases is that these ideas are contained within a greater context shaped primarily by the distinctive techniques and use them to identify members of a given tradition, when such members incorporate ideas from other traditions we can place them in their proper contexts.

这样做有助于解决两个决定先汉知识谱系的相关问题。在战国时代后期,各家在传统上有鲜明区别的哲学思想开始在朝廷被交流,并在之后普遍传播于中国。

知识谱系相对地不再如传统那般封闭,但越来越多的证据显示各家思想有交融的情形。如果我么仍然执着于以单一标准去辨认知识体系的哲学观念,我们将表现出充满了疑惑。例如:《庄子”天道”》篇的作者并不是儒家,因为他认同仁和公正性。或是为什么荀子并不是道家,因为他认同儒家精神安宁。在这两个例子中,很明显的答案是这样的想法主要被体现在各个鲜明的”术”中,包含于各个学派之中,并且用以辨别各特定传统思想的成员。如果这些成员融入了其他传统学派的思想,我们可以把它们归类到适当的学派。

A second problem resolved by this use of techniques to identify lineages is that of change and development within traditions. When we look for diachronic evidence of schools that had a set body of philosophical ideas that did not evolve, as some have done, we are looking for something that did not exist. But if we alter our approach and focus on techniques, then we can be more open to changes in ideas that develop in the continued application over time of a relatively set body of practices. This is what should be done to arrive at an understanding of the nature of early Taoism.

第二个以”术”作为分辨知识谱系所解决的问题在传统思想中做变革与进化。当我们在寻找各学派历时性分析的证据时,有着一整套的已经发展出以及尚未发展出的哲学思想。我们正在寻找一些不存在的东西。但是,如果我们改变我们的方法并
聚焦于“术”，那么我们就可以与时俱进的在发展相关作法实务作法上，更加开放的转变我们的观念。这是认识早期道教本质所应该做的。

An examination of the various pre-Han groups identified by Ssu-ma T’an as schools demonstrates that each has a primary focus on techniques. Broadly stated, these are: for the Naturalists, coordinating the human polity with the greater patterns of the heavens and the earth; for the Confucians, maintaining proper ritual in the family and the state; for the Mohists, economizing state and family expenditures to maximize the benefit of available resources; for the Legalists, establishing the rule of law and the methods of maintaining adherence to it; for the Terminologists, the rectification of names; and, for the Taoists, the advocacy of mystical cultivation leading to uniting with the Way as the essential element of rulership.

检视司马谈所辨认出来的前汉各家，显示各家皆有其主要侧重的“术”。广义上来说，它们是：阴阳家，以天堂及地球的格局调和人类政体，协调人类政体与大格局的天地。儒家，主张维护家庭、国家的适当礼仪。墨家，主张节约家庭及国家的开支，并将可取得的资源做最有最大限度的运用。法家，主张建立法治以及维系严守法治的方法。名家，辨别名实，重在名正，道家，提倡神秘主义的修行以达到与道合一，齐万物。

From this perspective, it is to be expected that corollary methods and philosophical concepts will develop and evolve over time to suit different historical circumstances. Thus we should not be concerned that Ssu-ma T’an or the authors of the Huai-nan Tzu identified a syncretic program of rulership that integrated elements of Confucian teachings into a Taoist context while the Lao Tzu vehemently attacks such teachings. The important link between them is their shared mystical techniques and the insights into the nature of the world derived from them. For this reason, we should also not be concerned that Inward Training is virtually silent on the application of its inner cultivation practice to rulership, whereas for the Lao Tzu and a wide variety of Syncretic Taoist texts such an application is pivotal.

从这个观点来看，它是将随着时间的推移及发展，适应不同历史环境，而发展出的推论方法和哲学概念。因此，我们不应该担心，司马谈或是《淮南子》的作者，辨认出的是一套调合性的统治纲领，它结合了儒家学说以及道家背景，而《老子》强烈攻击这
样的教义。它们之间的重要链接,是他们共同的神秘”术”和洞察源自于这个神秘”术”的世界本质。由于这个原因,我们也不要担心,《内业》应用于内在修炼之
于统治者的地位几乎是无声。而对老子和各种各样的调和道家的文本,《内业》这
样的应用至关重要。

This analysis indicates that we should rely more heavily on techniques as the defining
characteristics for early Chinese groups of thinkers than the philosophies that arose from
them. It also indicates that, despite the lack of historical evidence for well-developed social
organization, distinctive lineages of thought did develop. These lineages of masters and
disciples exhibit a level of organization that justifies the label “school” only for the
Confucians and the Mohists. Yet, when these lineages are looked at from the standpoint of
shared techniques of mystical self-cultivation, a Taoist group can be distinguished as well.
Rather than call the group a school, why not a distinct tradition that consisted of several
master-disciple lineages that shared these common techniques?

这一分析指出,在定义中国早期思想家群组时,我们应该更加依赖于”术”,而非随
他们崛起的哲学。这也指出,尽管对于这个完善发展的社会组织缺乏历史证据,但是
鲜明的思想谱系确实已经发展出来。这些谱系的大师和弟子表现出的组织水平,只
证明标记出了儒家和墨家。然而,当这些谱系以其共通的”神秘主义自我修练术”
的角度被看待时,道家这个群体也就可以被辨别出来。与其称这些团体为”学派”,”
为何不称他为一个独特鲜明的传统,它们包括几个师徒传承的知识谱系,共享这些
常见的”术”?

THE “TECHNIQUES OF THE WAY”

The labels of the six groups identified by Ssu-ma T’an indicate that he derived them from
several different perspectives. Some of these groups are epitomized by a concept central to
their distinctive techniques (shu), such as the Naturalists (yin-yang), the Legalists (law), the
Terminologists (names). The Confucians are epitomized by the term that designated their
social group (literati: ju, 儒) and the Mohists by the name of their founder, MoTzu.
Significantly for our analysis, the Taoists are also epitomized by the central concept in their
shu: the goal of their distinctive methods of self-realization, the Way. While teachers in
each of the other five groups at times spoke of their “way” these, for the most part,
designated their programs of education and practice. For the Taoists, their specific inner
cultivation techniques were aimed at the direct realization of the Way, the unifying power
that pervades the entire cosmos. This seems to have been the basis for Ssu-ma T’an calling them the “Tao-chia.” But did he simply dream up this term by himself? Was there no basis for this in earlier teachings? There is no evidence that the early Taoists identified themselves by either of the Han historians’ labels, “Tao-chia” or “Huang-Lao,” or—for that matter—by the Wei and Chin (third-century AD) label of “Lao-Chuang.” If we keep this in mind we can avoid much of the confusion and controversy that has troubled traditional understanding of Taoism and recent scholarly attempts to clarify them. However, some evidence indicates that early Taoists may have defined themselves along lines not altogether dissimilar to those used by Ssu-ma T’an: They referred to their distinctive practices as the “techniques of the Way.”

Chapter 6 of the Chuang Tzu, “Ta-tsung shih” (The Teacher Who Is the Ultimate Ancestor), contains a dialogue between Confucius and his disciple Tzu-kung about three
masters who are able to see through life and death and live forgetful of themselves and one another. Having cultivated a high degree of numinous clarity, they symbolize selfless sages who “roam beyond the guidelines” while Confucius and Tzu-kung remain within them, “condemned by the sentence of heaven.” Confucius explains that they are able to do this because these extraordinary men forget about one another in the “techniques of the Way” (Tao-shu). It thus appears that these techniques are what gives them their numinous abilities, qualities that derive from their talent for forgetting themselves.

This same term is used in the dialogue from Annals of Mr. Lii we examined in chapter 1, in which the Chi-hsia Taoist T’ien P’ien teaches the “techniques of the Way” to the king of Ch’i. Although few explicit inner cultivation methods are presented here, their presence is implied when T’ien urges the king to draw resources from within himself and then adds, “There is nothing about governing in my words, yet they can be used to attain [the ability to] govern.” The author of this essay continues, “This is what Ancestor P’eng used to be long-lived.” Thus the teachings of T’ien P’ien here imply not just an awareness of inner cultivation but a suggestion of its links to early macrobiotic hygiene theories, whose symbol was Ancestor P’eng, and the beginnings of its application to rulership. One can imagine how such an application might have actually occurred through dialogues such as this one.

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Another well-known use of the term “techniques of the Way” occurs in *Chuang Tzu* 33, “All Under the Heavens.” In this chapter the author contrasts the comprehensive “techniques of the Way” symbolizing the Syncretic Taoist techniques and philosophies that he and his group advocated with the limited “techniques of one corner” (*fang-shu*, 44), which retain only a portion of this comprehensive knowledge. The analysis proceeds from here to demonstrate the strengths and weaknesses of each of the six groups of teachers. The “techniques of the Way” advocated here are aimed at developing “inner sageliness and outer kingliness” and so contain an important element of inner cultivation. Chapters 15 and parts of chapters 12-14 are by the same group of thinkers and provide further detail on the specifics of such a practice. (The evidence for inner cultivation in chapter 15 was analyzed here in chapter 4.) While the authors of these Syncretist chapters conceived of their program as following the comprehensive “Way of the heavens and the earth” (*t’ien-ti chih Tao*, 天地之道), it is clear that they also conceived of its practice as adhering to the “techniques of the Way.”

The term “techniques of the Way” is also used in seven passages in the *Huai-nan Tzu*, the Syncretic Taoist text written under the aegis of Liu An, the second king of Huai-nan, and presented to his nephew, the Han emperor Wu, in 139 B.C. Two of these are versions of the passage from the *Chuang Tzu* 6 and *Annals of Mr. Lii* 7.8 already discussed. In these as well as the rest, the “techniques of the Way” refer to inner cultivation practices. For example, chapter 2, “Chu-chen” (The Primeval Reality, 俶真), explains:
Sages internally cultivate the “techniques of the Way” and do not externally adorn
themselves with benevolence and rightness. They do not know what objects are suitable to
the eyes and ears and they wander in the harmony of their numen and vital essence.

道术这个术语也用在《淮南子》书中的七个段落。《淮南子》是由刘安赞助撰写
并提交给他的侄子汉武帝(刘彻,公元前 139 年)调和道家思想的书籍。其中两个段
落已经分别是《庄子》第六章以及《吕氏春秋》第七及第八章讨论过。这里与其他
剩余的部份,有关于”道术”都是指内在修练的实践。

例如:《叔真》第二章解释说:

圣人内在修练”道术”,而非于外在装饰其仁善之心以及廉正公正-他们不知道什
么对象宜视、宜听。他们徜徉于内在引导力量和生命所需要素的和谐。

In chapter 11, “Chi-su” (Placing Customs on a Par, 齐俗), the “techniques of the
Way” are seen as objective practices that can continue from generation to generation just as
can the equally objective measures of the balance beam and water-level. They can continue
regardless of whether they are mastered in a given generation and so “we cannot place
exclusive dependence on human talents but the ‘techniques of the Way’ may be
impartially practiced.” Chapter 13, “Fan-lun” (A Far-reaching Discussion, 氾輪 ),
argues that those who have penetrated the Way can empty their minds of emotions and
desires because they restrict them according to the “techniques of the Way.” And so these
“sages have a balanced mind and a relaxed awareness. Their numen and vital essence are
maintained internally and there is no thing that is sufficient to delude them.” In chapter 14,
“Ch’uan-yen” (Inquiring Words, 詮言) we read that:

在《齐俗》第一章第一节,”道术”被视为可以一代又一代持续客观实践的,就如同
可以被公平、客观衡量的光束及水位一样。无论他被哪个特定的世代掌控,他都可
以延续下去。我们不能单独的依赖人们的天份,但是道术需要公平地被实践。

.第一章第三节泛论,认为洞察了解”道”的人,可以放空情绪及欲望,因为他透过”
道术”限制了他们。所以这些圣人有着平衡的心智以及轻松的了悟。他们内在引
the “techniques of the Way” cannot be used to advance and seek fame but can be used to withdraw and cultivate the person. They cannot be used to attain benefit but can be used to avoid harm. Therefore sages do not seek fame for their conduct nor look for praise for their wisdom. They follow and comply with what is naturally so [tzu-jun] and their selves have nothing to which they are joined.

“道术”是无法用于追求及提升名望的,但是可以用于退隐及陶冶个人,他无法用于实现利益但可以用来防止受到危害。因此,圣人不以追求他们的名望品行受到好评,也不期望人们赞扬他的才智。他们遵循自然以及无为。

The final passage in “Inquiring Words” talks about the excellent talents of worthy people that include benevolence, wisdom, courage, and strength but are completely insufficient for ruling the country. For that one must comply with the “techniques of the Way.” Details follow in which the aligned circulation of the vital breath is seen as the practice to limit desire and perception and allow one to order the person and nourish the nature. From these examples, it is clear that the “techniques of the Way” for the Huai-nan Tzu authors were the apophatic inner cultivation practices advocated first in Inward Training.

诠言最后一段,谈到了无愧于人民的优秀人才,其中包括仁善之心,智能,勇气和力量,但是完全没有能力统治国家。对于必须遵循道术的人来说,具体的情况如下,关键在于限制欲望及感知,允许一个人去命令他人并滋养自然。从这些例子,很显然地说《淮南子》作者所称的道术是内在修养的实践,首重于《内业》。

Of course the Taoists did not have a copyright on the term “techniques of the Way,” just as they did not have one on the word “Tao.” I have found two uses of this phrase in Confucian sources, one in the Hsun Tzu and one in a Confucian essay in the Annals of Mr. Lu. But the evidence is strong of a consistent and a predominant use of the “techniques of the Way” in Taoist sources from the Chuang Tzu to the Huai-nan Tzu., where it refers to the techniques of inner cultivation. When combined with the evidence for the presence of inner cultivation techniques in a wide variety of early Taoist sources, this suggests the strong possibility that their authors were people who all followed the “techniques of the Way.”
These techniques then become a critical element in a diachronic analysis of early Taoism, from which follow important implications for the synchronic analysis of Ssu-ma T’an.

当然,道家思想者对于”道术”这个名词并没有版权,就如同他们对于”道”这个字也没有版权一样。从儒家的来源,我发现了两个地方使用这句话,一个是在荀子和一个是在《吕氏春秋》中的儒家杂文。但道家思想者使用”道术”是源自于《庄子》及《淮南子》的证据具有充分的一致性和显著性,因为在这两本书中都谈论内在修养术。当在广泛多样的早期道家思想出处中整合内在修养术存在的证据,这推出这些书籍的作者很有可能是道术的遵循者。这个”术”随后成为早期对道家思想进行历时性分析的关键元素。这个”从”也从中重要的涉及中司马谈的断代性分析。

As mentioned above, when Ssu-ma T’an presented his synchronic analysis of the six schools, he compared them on the basis of their techniques. In view of the possibility that he studied in a Huang-Lao lineage, he was most likely familiar with their distinctive techniques and presented his understanding of them— their superiority— in his discourse. Since he worked in the imperial archives after the Huai-nan Tzu had been presented to the emperor Wu in 139 B.C., he may have read that work. This possibility is enhanced by the closeness of his summary of Taoism to much of the content of the Huai-nan Tzu; thus it is likely that he also drew his understanding of distinctive Taoist techniques from this work as well as from his Huang-Lao teachers. It is therefore also possible that he coined

如上所述,当司马谈提出了他已断代性分析提出六家,他以六家个别的”术”为基础来比较他们。鉴于这种可能性,他研究了黄老的知识谱系,他最有有可能熟悉道家独特的”术”并且用他的语言介绍他对道家的理解以及道家的优越。由于他研究儒安提交《淮南子》给他的侄子汉武帝(刘彻,公元前 139 年)之后,曾经在宫廷的档案室工作,因此他可能拜读过这本大作。这个可能性大增是基于他所汇总的道家思想与淮南子的内容极为相似。因此,他也可能从《淮南子》一书以及他的黄老教师们为基础,描绘出对独特道家道术的理解。

the term “Tao-chia” to refer to the broadly conceived intellectual tradition of those who practiced the “techniques of the Way.” His use was synchronic, but it was based on the diachronic import of the closely related term “Tao-shu.” Therefore, because his
synchronic use had a diachronic basis, the term “Taoist” can be used to refer to the people who practiced the “techniques of the Way,” and these techniques can justifiably be used as a basis for identifying textual sources of early Taoism.

The relevance of this for determining the significance of *Inward Training* in the early history of Taoism cannot be overemphasized. If the essential defining characteristic in the diachronic analysis of an early Taoist tradition is that its members all practiced the “techniques of the Way” — a term that encompasses apophatic inner cultivation practice aimed at a mystical realization of the Way and its integration into everyday — then *Inward Training* which contains the earliest extant expression of this practice, must be regarded as one of the foundations of Taoism. So although this scenario may not represent a social phenomenon clearly definable as a philosophical school with a rigid set of doctrines that remained relatively fixed over time, it suggests strongly that early Taoism was made of a number of closely related master-disciple lineages, all of whom followed a common inner cultivation practice first enunciated in *Inward Training*. This is the most logical way to account for the considerable evidence for inner cultivation practice in early Taoist works and in the classifications of Ssu-ma T’an.

因此,也有可能是他创造了”道家”一词,用以谈论那些广泛架构道家传统并实践道术的人。他所使用的是断代性分析,但架构在历时分析的基础上引进高度相关的字眼”道术”。因此,因为他断代性分析的使用具备有历时分析的基础,”道家思想者”这个字眼,可以用来指那些实践”道术”的人。这个”术”可以名正言顺地被用来作为确定早期道家文本来源的基础。有关于决定内业在道家早期历史的重要性,不能被过度强调。如果道家所有成员都实践道术,对于道家传统的历时性分析的特征定义是必要的。内业这个术语,它包括以内在修练的实践,并以神秘的方式来实现道并且与每日的生活相互结合。包含现存最早表达的这种做法,必须被视为道教的基础之一。所以,虽然这种情况可能并不代表一种可明确定义为有一套严格学说(教义)的哲学学派,并与时俱进的社会现象。但是,它强烈表明早期道家是由数个有紧密关系且具备师徒传承关系的知识谱系所组成的。所有首先阐述内业思想并遵循实践一般内在修练的人。这是最合乎逻辑的方式用以解释,大量关于早期道家内在修行实践确实运行的证据,以及司马谈各家的分类方法。
Inward Training AND THE Lao Tzu

One question that emerges from these arguments is how Inward Training is related to the Lao Tzu. As seen above, this relationship is quite close. According to William Baxter, both are part of a distinctive genre of early Taoist literature, and the present analysis demonstrates a commonality of mystical practice, mystical experience, and mystical philosophy between the two works. The principal difference between the two—in addition to the greater length and metaphysical tendency in the Lao Tzu—is that Inward Training does not exhibit the interest in political matters that so dominates its more famous companion.

《内业》与《老子》

从这些争辩中产生出一个问题即《内业》与《老子》是如何产生关系。如上所述,这种关系是相当密切的。据威廉巴克斯特(William Baxter),两者都是早期道家文学独特文艺作品的一部分,而现今的分析显示出两者之间神秘作法、神秘经验及神秘哲学的共通性。而他们两者之间的主要区别在于，《老子》倾向抽象的形上学(冥契哲学),而内业在它主要的著作中并未显示出对政治事务的兴趣,因此使两者之间的结伴变得更知名。

The date of the Lao Tzu has been debated vigorously during the twentieth century, and those who insist on the traditional sixth-century B.C. date are now in a clear minority. Based largely on the fact that other thinkers do not seem to be aware of the work before Lao Tzu is mentioned by Hsun Tzu—who probably first encountered his text during the decade he spent at the Chi-hsia Academy, beginning in about 275 B.C.—the consensus among Western sinologists is to follow Ch’ien Mu’s theory that the received recensions of the Lao Tzu date from no earlier than about the year 300 B.C.

《老子》一书是何时著作的在二十世纪一直争论不休,坚持传统说法即公元六世纪的一派,很显然地在现今已成为少数派。以大量的论据为基础,在荀子提及《老子》一书前,其他的思想学家似乎并不知道《老子》这本着作的存在。荀子可能是第一个于公元前 275 年开始花了十年的时间在其文本中研究稷下学派的人。在西方汉学家的共识,是按照钱穆的理论,即《老子》一书的修订本不早于公元前 300 年左右。
The approximate date of 300 B.C. for the Kuo-tien Lao Tzu parallels seems to support Ch’ien’s dating. It is important to remember that their testimony does not necessarily prove the existence of a complete Lao Tzu at this time but, rather, attests to the attempt to establish written works similar to the Lao Tzu that apply inner cultivation to political life.

Baxter’s approximate date of 400 B.C. for the Lao Tzu is also not necessarily in conflict with Chien’s dating. His conclusions are based on his finding that the Lao Tzu preserves some of the rhymes of the Book of Poetry that are lost by the time of the Chu Tzu and the inner chapters of Chuang Tzu. As he concludes, “Given that these texts are generally dated to the late fourth early third century B.C.E., it is linguistically quite plausible to date the bulk of the Lao Tzu to the mid or early fourth century, a view that agrees with traditional scholarship.” Taken together with the testimony from Kuo-tien, Baxter’s findings suggest that works that we might call “proto-Lao Tzu” could have begun to have been compiled around the middle of the fourth century B.C. This is also the case for Inward Training. Yet there is also some evidence that they are based upon an even older oral tradition.

Victor Mair has suggested that, because the text is largely in the form of verse, the Lao Tzu was probably transmitted orally for some time before being written down, since rhymed and unrhymed metrical verse is recited and memorized more easily than prose. Michael LaFargue agrees and has analyzed how the composers of the written text assembled the
independent units of verse to form the work as we now know it. LaFargue asserts that those who created and transmitted the units of verse and later assembled them into a complete composition were probably members of a community, whom he prefers to identify simply as “Laoists” after the lead of A. C. Graham. There is no particular reason to doubt a theory as general as this, but with Further research it may become possible to speak with more precision about this community, which, at the very least, amounts to one early Taoist lineage.

With regard to works of this vintage, dating is extremely problematic, especially when we take into account the possibility that they are based upon an earlier oral tradition and may contain strata written at different times. So too is the attempt to specify the geographic region in which they were produced. LaoTzu has been linked to both Chu, the traditional ascription that started with Ssu-ma Chien (and now supported by the Kuo-tien find from the old Chu capital region), and Chi by recent scholars such as Chien Mu. These are also the two possible locations for Inward Training. The closeness in philosophy and literary form of these two works and the significance of Inward Training as the earliest extant statement of inner cultivation theory— the “techniques of the Way”— invite a comparison of their relative dates, even though this comparison cannot yield conclusions, only hypotheses.

关于这些著作的年份,要定义一个切确的日期是很困难的。尤其是当我们考虑到他很可能是根据更先前的口头传统,并可能包含各阶层于不同的时间撰写。所以尝试要具体指明他们产生的地理区域,也是很困难的。老子的起源地分别被链接到楚与齐。从司马迁开始的传统归属,将《老子》归属到楚国（现在因为郭店《老子》一
Nevertheless, for many reasons Inward Training should be considered an earlier work than the Lao Tzu. These reasons can be grouped under three headings: literary, logical, and philosophical. As for the literary reasons, while both works are characteristic of a distinct genre of apochryphal Taoist philosophical verse, the Lao Tzu is a much more sophisticated compilation (as seen in chapter 1). Virtually all of the verses of Inward Training are simply verses, with few of the additional compositional devices found in the Lao Tzu that weave together independent verses and aphorisms, as identified by LaFargue. For this reason, it seems clear that the compilation of Inward Training represents an earlier attempt at compiling and arranging independent units of verse from an oral tradition.

The second group of reasons emerge from the logical priority of inner cultivation practice, which is shared by both works. The cultivation of mystical states of consciousness is the priority in Inward Training; their application to governing is the priority in the Lao Tzu. It seems logical that the cultivation of these states must precede their application to government for the proponents of the Lao Tzu. If the master-disciple lineage(s) that produced these works were not primarily able to achieve these states, then how could they teach them to others, especially rulers who might be extremely unhappy if these practices proved less rewarding than promised?

Second group reason源于,在这两本著作中,关于内在修炼在逻辑上的优先性。培养神秘的心理状态是《内业》优先注重的。而将他们应用于治理则是《老子》所注重的。这似乎是合乎逻辑的,培养这些心态在时序上是早于《老子》所提倡的将他们应用于政府治理。如果撰写出这两本着作的师生关系知识谱系无法达到这样的心理状态,
The Kuo-tien *Lao Tzu* parallels seem to confirm such a movement from inner cultivation to politics. Compared to the received *Lao Tzu*, a significantly higher percentage of the passages in the Kuo-tien *Lao Tzu* parallels are devoted to self-cultivation. LaFargue groups together all the *Lao Tzu* chapters on this topic, assigning sixteen of the eighty-one (almost 20 percent) to this group. Yet the Kuo-tien parallels include eight of LaFargue’s self-cultivation passages in their total of twenty-nine parallels (almost 28 percent) with the *Lao Tzu*. Moreover, LaFargue’s total ignores a significant grouping of verses in the Kuo-tien material, those commending inner cultivation to the ruler as part of the arts of rulership. Since the first ten passages of the first bundle of *Lao Tzu* parallels from Kuo-tien all do this and none of these are in LaFargue’s self-cultivation list, these comparative percentages are extremely conservative. Now, if these Kuo-tien parallels are interpreted not as extracts from a complete *Lao Tzu* but as a kind of “proto-*Lao Tzu*,” then they represent an interim state between the pure inner cultivation practice of *Inward Training* and the more heavily politicized inner cultivation of the received *Lao Tzu*.

Furthermore, *Inward Training* contains none of the polemical attacks on other non-Taoist lineages that are found in the *Lao Tzu*. For example, verses 18, 19, and 38 contain strong criticisms of the Confucians, and verse 75 takes a swipe at the Yangists, “who value life” (*kuei-sheng*, 貴生) but are inferior to those who do not act for the purpose of living. This
suggests that the *Lao Tzu* took shape—or at least these verses did—at a time of contention between its proponents and the followers of Confucius and Yang Chu, when its creators were beginning to define their ideas in contradistinction to those of other thinkers. Little evidence of such contention appears before the second half of the fourth century B.C., when advocates of different lineages began to compete for government sanction at local courts or debated one another at Chi-hsia. The absence of such polemical ideas in *Inward Training* is further indication of its greater antiquity.

此外，《内业》并未对其他在《老子》书中所发现的非道家谱系进行论战。例如，《道德经》第十八,十九和三十八节,对于儒家有着强烈批评,以及《道德经》七十五节对于杨朱学派的贵生思想也有强烈批评。这意味着《老子》(或者是说至少《道德经》做到了)体现,当他的创造者开始定义并区别自家思想与其他思想家之间的差异时,其拥护者与儒家及杨朱学派间也进行各自论点的争论。少数证据显示这样的争论在公元前第四世纪下半前进行着,此外,各知识谱系的提倡者开始竞争以争取地方政府支持或是与其他门派在稷下进行争论。《内业》在这些思想争论中缺席,更显示出它是存在于更早的时代。

The third group of reasons to consider *Inward Training* an earlier work than the *Lao Tzu* is philosophical. When the key ideas of the two works are compared, it is clear, first, that *Inward Training* speaks of both the Way and inner power (Tao and Te) and links the two together in verse XVII. These ideas are so important to the *Lao Tzu* that the text has also been called the *Tao Te ching* and has traditionally been divided into Tao and Te sections. The occurrence of these two terms together often indicates a source’s debt to the *Lao Tzu*, but it is also possible that the *Lao Tzu* itself drew these defining terms from *inward Training*. Without presuming which work is earlier, all that can be said here is that authors of one of these works must have been familiar with the other, or at least with its key ideas, if the borrowing occurred before orally transmitted verses in each of them was composed into a written text.

第三组将内业》视为比《老子》更早的著作的原因是哲学。当比较这两本着作的主要思想时,首先,《内业》讲的是道与德并与于”《道德经》”第十七篇将两者链接在一起。这个思想位于《老子》而言非常重要,而这文本也被称之为道德经,而且传统上被归类为道与德两部。当道德这两个字同时出现时,通常表示源自于《老子》
If the *Lao Tzu* were the basis for *Inward Training*, then a comparison of the two would yield several features that seem rather odd. First, *Inward Training* is devoid of any of the distinctive metaphors of the *Lao Tzu*, such as the empty vessel, the Profound Mirror, the valley spirit, the Unadorned, and the Unhewn. It is clear from prior analyses that both texts have similar ideas about the Way and about spiritual cultivation, which are encoded in these metaphors. If *Inward Training* were derivative, then why would it omit such important metaphors? We cannot fall back on such “school-based” explanations as Fung Yu-lan’s that *Inward Training* and the other “Techniques of the Mind” texts are a combination of “Lao-Chuang” and “Huang-Lao.”

In addition, although *Inward Training* exhorts the apophatic mystical practice of emptying out the mind, it never uses the term “emptiness” (*hsu*) to refer to it. This suggests that it has not yet been influenced by the distinct locutions and rhetoric of the *Lao Tzu*, as the absence of the latter’s distinctive metaphors also does. Further, the fact that *Lao Tzu*’s idea of nonaction is also not found in *Inward Training*, but is suggested—at least in part—by the idea of numinous transformation in verse IX, provides further evidence that *Inward Training* was written before the important ideas of the *Lao Tzu* were crystallized. This is suggested yet again by the general observation that the concepts of the Way and inner power in *Inward Training* are much less abstract than in the *Lao Tzu*. All these factors lead to the conjecture that *Inward Training* was not based on the *Lao Tzu* but contains an earlier formulation of ideas that became the core teachings of the latter, such as the Way, inner power, emptiness, nonaction, tranquility, and so on.
Furthermore, while *Inward Training* does not use the term “emptiness,” it refers to its underlying meditative experience by its own unique metaphor of “cleaning out the lodging place of the numinous.” Such a metaphor is a most interesting image, for it suggests an external temple that is being cleansed in preparation for the descent of some divinity to receive a sacrifice or perhaps the purification of a shaman in preparation for serving as a medium for some divinity. This provides evidence, as Graham has succinctly put it, “that the meditation practiced privately and recommended to rulers as an arcanum of government descends directly from the trance of the professional shaman.” Scholars including Kristopher Schipper and Isabelle Robinet have suggested shamanistic origins for early Taoist religious experience, and Jordan Paper has developed a theory as to how early Taoist mysticism may have evolved from shamanistic roots. Although surviving evidence is insufficient to arrive at a definitive conclusion about this hypothesis, metaphors such as this one from *Inward Training* strongly

此外，尽管《内业》告诫神秘主义实践需净空心灵。但是它从来没有使用“虚”这个术语来指他。这暗示《内业》还没有受到《老子》鲜明的用语及词令所影响。而其独特的隐喻也是没有受到《老子》的影响。此外，事实上《老子》的无为思想在《内业》中并未被发现，但是，猜测至少有一部分以思想变形的形式存在于《道德经》第九章，这也进一步证明了内业的撰写是在《老子》重要思想被具体化之前。这是再次暗示着，依如一般观察在《内业》关于道德（the Way and inner power）的概念较老子抽象。这些因素导致人们猜测《内业》并不是根据《老子》撰写而成，但却包含了早期的思想架构，并在后来发展成道、德、放空、无为、平终等教导后人的思想核心。
suggest that such a process occurred. If it did, it would furnish further evidence of the chronological priority of inner cultivation practice and, hence, of *Inward Training*.

如果有,由此,它会依照时间排列记载顺序,提供《内业》中关于内在修练的进一步证据。

That this distinctive metaphor of sweeping clean the lodging place of the numinous— the only one in *Inward Training*— is not found in the *Lao Tzu* shows that the latter was not based directly on the former. *Techniques of the Mind* I does contain it, a strong reason for concluding that it was based directly on *Inward Training*. But our identification of inner cultivation as the critical core of early Taoism indicates that texts containing this practice need not include identical formulations to show influence on one another. The commonality of mystical techniques and mystical ideas offers strong evidence that the two works are closely related, and the absence of just one metaphor is not terribly significant. However, the absence in *Inward Training* of an entire set of metaphors and distinctive locutions from the *Lao Tzu* makes it more likely that it is the earlier of the two works. And their many parallels suggest that both are likely to have come from the same master-disciple lineage or, at least, from two closely related ones.

这种”打扫如神的精气住所”的独特隐喻,只出现在《内业》文本中,并没有在《老子》文本中发现。显示出后者并不是直接以前者为基础。而《内业》文本”《心术》第一章”确实包含了”打扫如神的精气住所”这个独特隐喻,所以这是一个可以推论是直接以《内业》为基础的强烈理由。但是,我们的鉴定内在修练作为早期道家重要的核心,表示,这本书籍已经包含了这样的修练,并不需要包含相同的构思以证显示对其他门派的影响。神秘术和神秘思想的共同性在于提供了这两本着作具有强烈关联性的有力证据,而单纯只有一个隐喻不存在,并不具有重大性。然而,
The presence of strong indications that both works were based on earlier oral traditions makes the problem of textual priority particularly difficult to resolve. Perhaps the intellectual parallels between the two derived more from their common practice and from their having descended from a shared lineage of master and disciples that conceived of this practice according to the ideas in both works. Perhaps this common lineage split into many regional branches, each associated with one of these texts. However, even if this is the case, it does not substantially change the fact that the ideas contained in the *Lao Tzu* appear to constitute an elaboration of those contained in *Inward Training*. Therefore, *Inward Training* brings us closer to the very origins of the philosophy and practice that defines Taoism in its formative period.

这强大迹象的存在,这两本着作都是建构于早期口述传统,这也使得人们很难去解答两者中何者较早开始撰写成书。可能两者间具有智能的相似之处,可能是由他们一般的践行所衍生出,也可能共同的来自于根据这两本着作的思想,去建构实践方法的具备师徒体系关系的知识谱系。也许这个共同的知识谱系分裂成许多的区域分支,并分别与这两本著作为之一具备关联性。然而,即使是这样的话,它不会大幅度改变《老子》所蕴含的思想似乎精巧的架构于内业所蕴含的思想的事实。因此,《内业》引领我们更接近道家在发展时期特有的哲学起源及定义道家的践行方式。
Inward Training AND THE “LORE OF THE WAY”

Up to this point, the present discussion has focused on two types of influences within early Taoism, technical and textual. In the case of Inward Training, the former predominates. As mentioned above, the distinctive mystical techniques presented in Inward Training exerted a powerful influence throughout early Taoism. This is not to say that this influence came directly from the text of Inward Training but, rather, that it came from the transmission from master to disciples of the inner cultivation practice found in Inward Training. Nonetheless, the text of Inward Training is not without its own influence as well.

The first place to look for signs of this influence is in the three other “Techniques of the Mind” works. Signs of this influence are most extensive in Techniques of the Mind I but are present in Techniques of the Mind II as well. In addition, sections from two verses of Inward Training are reproduced almost verbatim in early Taoist works of the third and second centuries B.C.

As already seen, lines 3-8 of verse XIX are repeated in Chuang Tzu 23, “Keng-sang Ch’u.” They are also found, with a number of variants, in the section “Ming hsing” (Names and Forms, 名刑) in the Sixteen Canons of the Ma-wang-tui Four Classics, as well as in Techniques of the Mind I. The lines in question refer to concentrating
and unifying: mental concentration on one thing, which is an essential element of inner
cultivation practice. In the *Sixteen Canons* and *Techniques of the Mind I*, such a
concentration is recommended to the ruler as an important aspect of the arts of governing.

正如已经看到的,内业第十九篇第三到八行,在《庄子》第二十三章《庚桑楚》被重
复着。其中在王堆出土的四部经典(《黄帝四经》)其中《十六经》的《名刑》章节
以及《心术》第一章都也有被发现存在一些不同的版本。问题提到聚焦及统一:聚
精会神,这是一个内在修炼的基本要素。《十六经》以及《心术》第一章这样的所
提到的聚焦,被用来建议统治者,将其视为统治艺术的一个重要面向。 Another related and important aspect of the arts of governing is the application of the idea of
maintaining or holding fast to the One, or the Way. Verse XIV in *Inward Training* talks
about how the Way, which interferences the heavens and the earth, is realized through an
awareness that precedes words deep within the “mind within the mind” that yields a
release from the limited individual perspective. Lines 4-9 from this verse, which speak of
this release, are repeated almost verbatim (in whole or in part) in five other sources: the
“Ch’ eng-fa” (Perfecting Standards, 成法 ) essay in the Ching-fa of the four Classics;
*Techniques of the Mind I*; *Chuang Tzu* 15 (“Fixed Ideas”); *Huai-nan Tzu* (“The
Original Way”); and the “Tao-yuan” (Source That Is the Way, 道原) essay of the *Wen
Tzu*. In all these contexts except the *Chuang Tzu*, the subject is similar: the implications for
rulership of attaining the One and then holding fast to it. In other words, these passages
demonstrate how the mystical experience of attaining the One yields practical benefits for
the ruler. For example, in “Perfecting Standards,” Li Hei advises the Yellow Emperor that
“maintaining the One” (shou-i) is the foundation of rulership because “the traces of the
One reach throughout the heavens and the earth and the guiding principles (li) of the One
stretch throughout the four seas.” This is based on the idea that all things have the Way
within them as their essential guiding principle and so “to grasp the One is to understand
the many.” This application of the mystical “techniques of the Way” to the arts of
rulership is an important development in the early Taoist tradition and is one of the essential
defining characteristics of Syncretic Taoism.

另一个攸关于统治艺术的重要面向是思想维持的应用,或是坚持齐一或是道。《内
业》第十四章所提及道如何运行,这混入了天地,他是透过了解深深蕴含在”心灵
深处”的前人语汇去体现,这些语汇是来自于有限的个人观点。由《内业》的第九
行提到了这些语汇的来源,几乎是(全部或是部份)逐字地被转载于其他五个来源,包
含:在《黄帝四经》中<经法>中的散文─《成法》; 《心术》第一章《庄子》第十五篇《刻意》; 《淮南子》第一篇《原道》;以及《文子》的《道原》。在这些文章脉络中,除了《庄子》,主题都是相似:使统治者地位达到齐一并快速掌握的蕴含。换句话说,这些段落展示如何达到齐一并对统治者产生实际效益的神秘经验。例如,李海在建议黄帝,守一是统治的基础,因为”要达到守一需要延着经由天地以及通诸四海的准则来达”。这是基于万物皆有其道的想法作为其基本指导原则,因此,把握其一就可以了解到其他的。这个神秘道术之于统治艺术的应用对于早期道家传统是一个重要的发展,也是调和道家的其中一个基本特征。

Combining this with the evidence that a great deal of inner cultivation practice was transmitted through the literary form of tetrasyllabic verse leads to further insights into the nature of the early Taoist tradition. The verses of Inward Training were part of this genre of “Taoist wisdom poetry,” which could be transmitted orally, quoted imperfectly and inserted into different literary and historical contexts. This genre is governed by certain rhetorical structures—such as that used for stages of meditation (mentioned in chapter 4) and the ones identified by Baxter in his analysis of the Lao Tzu—and contains certain characteristic locutions—such as the “maintaining the One” pattern in the Lao Tzu and Inward Training. With further research it may be possible to find more examples of this genre (for example, the teachings of Kuan-yin in Chuang Tzu 33) and to further specify its distinctive literary features. This effort promises a clearer understanding of the Lao Tzu, Inward Training, and the very origins of Taoism. Indeed, William Baxter concludes:

将他与大量内修是透过四个音节韵文的文学形式传播的证据结合的做法,让我们更进一步的洞察早期道家传统的本质。《内业》的韵文是这种”道家智能韵文”文艺类型作品的一部份,可以透过口头、不完整的引用、插入不同类型的文学作品及历史背景的方式来传播。这种文艺作品的类型受到某些特定修辞结构所支配,举例来说,用于冥想阶段(第四章提到),以及那些巴克斯特(Baxter)在他对《老子》分析所确认的一包含某些特有的语言风格,举例来说《老子》及《内业》的特殊用语守一。随着进一步研究,有可能找到更多这种文艺作品类型的例子(例如,《庄子》第三十三章并进一步说明其特色鲜明的文学特色。这些努力让《老子》、《内业》以及道家各类起源得到更清楚的理解。事实上,威廉巴克斯特(William Baxter)的结论是:
The existence of other texts with similar characteristics, such as certain chapters of the *Kuan Tzu*, has been recognized for some time; but the canonical status of the *Lao Tzu* may have tended to hide the importance of these similarities. Study of these sometimes obscure texts may clarify the history of the *Lao Tzu* more than comparison with other texts which happen to have been recognized as classics. Certainly the development of the genre which the *Lao Tzu* represents cannot be studied from the *Lao Tzu* alone. A reasonable conjecture would be that the *Lao Tzu* and similar texts emerged from a distinctive tradition of philosophical verse with strong oral elements and little concept of individual authorship.

有相似文字的其他书籍存在，如《管子》中的某些章节，已确认有一段时间，但《老子》的权威地位可能倾向于隐藏这些重要的相似性。有时与其去研究阅读那些被认为是经典的文本，不如去阅读晦涩的文本，可能更能澄清《老子》的历史。无疑地，《老子》所表现出来的文艺作品类型，他的发展历程不能只透过阅读《老子》来得知。一个合理的猜想是老陶及类似的文本从特殊传统哲学的韵文涌现，这些雅文具有较强的口头元素和一点点个人著作权概念。

This distinctive Taoist wisdom poetry and the “techniques of the Way” it transmitted together constitute what might be called the “lore of the Way.” This lore probably also included stories of early Taoist adepts with numinous characteristics such as those in the *Chuang Tzu* and incisive comments from early teachers in this tradition, at times remembered imperfectly. Thus many of the figures who appear in the most narrative-filled of the early Taoist texts, the *Chuang Tzu,* may have been real or legendary personages about whom stories arose that were included in this lore. This would include the figures touched upon in this book such as Kuang Cheng-tzu, Keng-sang Chu, Nan-kuo Tzu-chi, Nan-jung Chu, and Tien Pien. This distinctive lore was transmitted widely throughout China in the fourth, third, and second centuries B.C. and formed the basis for the variations and political applications of Taoism that developed during these centuries. This techniques-based definition of an early Taoist tradition and its literary genre now allows us to offer a broader perspective with political as well as mystical aspects, always keeping in mind the role in it of *Inward Training.*

具鲜明道家思想智能的诗歌和道术，共同传播构成了所谓的道学。道学可能也包括早期道家所熟悉的具备神秘特征的故事，如《庄子》及来自于这个传统思想的老师的精辟评论，有时候是不完整的被记得。因此，许多出现在早期道家著作的人物，如《庄子》，可能是真实的或传说中的人物被编撰在道学的故事中。涉及到这本书的人物包括：广成子、庚桑处、南郭子期、南荣书，田骈。这个特殊的道学在公元前二到
A NEW APPROACH TO THE EVOLUTION OF EARLY TAOISM

Having moved into a “post-Lao-Chuang” world in which we can no longer use the Lao Tzu and the “inner chapters” of Chuang Tzu as the basis from which to evaluate other early Taoist textual sources, a world in which we can no longer talk with our former confidence about the six “schools” of early Chinese philosophy, how are we to sort through and organize the wide variety of these early Taoist texts and determine their intellectual filiations? If “Lao-Chuang” is a Wei-Chin (third-century A.D.) label and “Huang-Lao” is a Han dynasty (second-century B.C.) label, what are the intellectual filiations of the Lao Tzu, the Chuang Tzu, and the Kuan Tzu? Having concluded that to label the Four Classics as the product of a “Tao-Fa” school presupposes the existence of a Taoist (Lao-Chuang) school and a Legalist school, both of which have been recently challenged, how are we to categorize this important work whose discovery at Ma-wang-tui a quarter of a century ago began the profound questioning of our assumptions about early Taoism that have left us in this predicament?

早期道家演化的一个新方法。进入到"后老庄"世界，我们可以不再使用《老子》和老庄《内篇》做为从中评估其他早期道教的文本来源基础。一个可以不再需要与我们先前那般有自信的谈论有关早期中国哲学六家思想的世界。我们如何透过排序和组织这些广泛且各式各样的早期道教文本,并确定他们的知识关系呢?如果老庄代表的是魏晋,黄老代表的是汉朝,老子、庄子及管子又是代表哪个知识体系?得出的结论认为,将四经视为道法家的产物,是以道家(老庄)、法家存在为前提,而这两者最近都被质疑,我们对这个在马王堆发现的重要著作如何进行分类呢?四分之一个
As seen in earlier chapters, despite the absence of organized schools of Lao-Chuang and Huang-Lao philosophy, there is incontrovertible evidence of a pre-Han Taoist textual tradition that has heretofore been categorized according to these labels. In their absence, some scholars refer to a variety of separate lineages that produced each of the textual sources of early Taoism, calling them “Laoists,” “Chuangists,” “Huang-Laoists,” and so forth. But this severely underplays the clear connections that pervade this literature. Edmund Ryden suggests another alternative, which seems reasonable (except for the apparent equation of Taoism and Huang-Lao):

Rather than assign *Laozi* to one school and the *Huangdi sijing* [Huangti ssu-ching, the Four Classics] to another because they do not have exactly the same philosophy, it is truer to their historical origins to describe both as early Daoism or Huanglao. Instead of creating a bewildering array of schools it is better to talk of one lineage with distinct voices.

与其将《老子》归类为一个学派,将《黄帝四经》归类为另一个学派,因为他们确实没有完全一样的哲理。更真实的是他们的历史渊源都是共同来自于早期道家或黄老。与其创建一个让人眼花缭乱的学派,不如谈论一个具有鲜明语义的知识谱系。

The way to best accomplish this is to focus on shared techniques, not just doctrines. It is possible to identify a distinct practice of self-cultivation common to all the authors of the textual sources of early Taoism and to use this as the basis for developing a minimal definition of the essential characteristics of this tradition in order to classify each of its
If we lacked historical information on any of the foundational figures of the Confucian tradition but had its texts— the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, the *Hsun Tzu*, the *Li chi* (Record of Rites), and so forth— how could we establish that they were related to one another and formed part of the same intellectual tradition?

完成它最好的方式是聚焦于共享的术,而不仅仅是学说。它可以识别不同道家文本作者间,共同的内在修练实践方式,并用此作为发展出一个用来定义这个传统的最小本质特征的依据,并用来对这些源头做分类。如果我们将这些儒家传统的创办人缺乏历史信息,但却有其文本──《论语》、《孟子》、《荀子》、《礼记》等等。他们是彼此相关的并形成部份相同的知识传统,我们如何建立一套分类模式?

First, by identifying key concepts, isolating the important technical terms of each text and seeing whether they were repeated in any of the others. Doing so would show that such notions as benevolence, rightness, wisdom, and ritual are found— and play important roles— in all these works. It would also show that the concept of human nature was a central concern in the *Mencius* and the *Hsun Tzu*, but that there was considerable disagreement between them on just what human nature consisted of. But the fact of these disagreements would not lead to the conclusion that these texts were not related. Evidence would reveal that the practice of the proper performance of rituals, both in the state and the family, was critical to all these works and that the five human relationships as the field in which these rituals could be practiced were also central. Finally, it would become clear that a common concern for the cultivation of the ethical qualities developed through the process of attempting to fulfill our deepest inner tendencies and motivations.

首先,确定主要思想,区分出每个文本中重要的术语,并看他们在哪些文本中重复出现。这样做便会显示出,出现在这些文本占有重要地位的一仁、义、礼、智的概念。这也显示出,对人类本性的概念是《孟子》及《荀子》的中心思想,但他们彼此间对于人类本质包括什么也有许多分歧。但这些分歧并不会导致出这些文本彼此间并没有关系的结论。有证据表明,适当表现”礼”的作法,无论是在国家和家庭,在这些著作中都是至关重要的,而「五伦」(君臣、父子、夫妇、兄弟、朋友)的关系,也是在”礼”这个领域所建行的中心思想。最后,它会变得清晰,一个共同关注的
We would also pay attention to which of the texts quoted material from which others. We
would then come to see that the *Analects* seemed to be the earliest because the others quote
it and it does not quote the others. This process would lead to the conclusion that such a
tradition did, in fact, exist. It developed and evolved over time and any given text produced
within it would not completely agree with any other on a particular topic. But their
provenance from one and the same tradition would be proved because a significant number
of ideas, themes, and practices persisted in all the texts and formed a defining pattern that
could be used to confirm their relationships to one another.

Such an analysis comprises identifying a “semantic core” within the texts of this tradition.
It consists of the central ideas, themes, and—most important—the practices attested to in
all the texts of this tradition. This is precisely what I have been doing with early Taoism.

In a recent article I argued that the categories used by several scholars of the *Chuang Tzu*
to identify its distinct philosophical voices and determine their filiation can be expanded to
form a basis for developing a broad, yet precise conceptualization of all of early Taoism. Kuan Feng, Angus Graham, and Liu Hsiao-Kan have all developed similar schemes to analyze the *Chuang Tzu*, although they have disagreements especially about how to date and classify certain of its chapters. The methodology they use to identify the various strata of the *Chuang Tzu* represents a type of literary criticism in which shared technical terms, parallel or identical phrases, and common grammatical structures are the criteria for the inclusion of material in their distinct categories of authorial voices or ideologies. In addition, all three scholars develop arguments about the relationships between these strata and other early Taoist sources, and a careful reading of their works shows that they do so by simply extending this methodology. Thus, for example, all identify a distinct stratum of the *Chuang Tzu* in chapters 8-11 and then demonstrate how its basic viewpoint is close to that of the *Lao Tzu*. Their basic assumption is that the repeated occurrence of certain groupings of technical terms in several different texts has a significance for identifying important philosophical relationships among these texts.

Drawing from them and adding a few observations of my own, I propose the theory of three aspects of early Taoism mentioned in the Introduction to this book: Individualist, Primitivist, and Syncretist. All three aspects share a common cosmology of the Way and its inner power...
and a common inner cultivation practice. Where they differ is in the area of political thought. The individualist sources have little or none, the Primitivist sources advocate a minimalist government of “nonaction” within small agrarian communities, and the Syncretist sources favor a complex, hierarchically organized government that attempts to establish its political institutions to parallel the greater patterns of the heavens and the earth. It should be clear from these definitions that the one thing all three aspects have in common is the “techniques of the Way” and the philosophical insights that developed from their practice. Placing these techniques in a political context or recommending them as an “arcanum of government,” as Graham has put it, in no way entails that the resultant philosophy be categorized as anything other than Taoist.

The theory of these aspects is, in turn, based on identifying a “semantic pattern” of technical terms that form three distinctive categories: cosmology, inner cultivation, and political thought. These can now be refined further based on the evidence for inner cultivation practice presented in this book.

The category of cosmology includes such familiar mystical ideas as Tao and Te, nonaction (wu-wei, 無為), formlessness (wu-hsing, 無形), the vital essence (ching, 精), the Way of...
the heavens (t’ien chih Tao, 天之道), and the Way of the heavens and the earth (t’ien chih Tao, 天地之道). Under the category of inner cultivation can be added such mystical goals as attaining tranquility (ching, 靜), cultivating emptiness (hsu, 虛), achieving desirelessness (wu-yu, 無欲), and selflessness (wu-ssu, 無私), and merging with the Way (t’ung yu Tao, 同於道), and related phrases such as “attaining the One” (te Tao, 得道) and attaining the empty Way (te hsu Tao,得虛道). These goals are based on such apophatic practices as circulating the vital breath (hsing ch’i,行氣), eliminating desires and emotions, restricting thought and perception, “maintaining the One” (shou-i,守一), and related phrases in this distinct locution, developing inner power, and refining the vital essence. These practices are included under such rubric terms as nourishing the numen/numinous (yang-shen, 養神) and nourishing the innate nature (yang-hsing, 楊性).

The final category of political thought is dominated by the technical terminology of the early Han Syncretists. It includes such concepts as non-action (wu-wei, 無為), which they share with the Primitivists and Individualists, spontaneous response (ying,應), adaptation (yin,因), compliance (hsu,循), suitability (i,宜) and, for certain texts, the use of elements of Legalist and Confucian political and social thought. These latter ideas are unique to the Syncretists.

These categories of ideas and practices are not meant to be inclusive, and they are in need of further refinement. They are presented to begin the process through which this might occur. Furthermore, it is important to remember that it is not the random occurrence of one or
several of these ideas in a given work that merits identifying it as a Taoist text of whatever aspect but, rather, the presence of a distinctive pattern of these ideas grounded in inner cultivation practice. Indeed, inner cultivation is the basis for the other two categories. The application of the “techniques of the Way” in order to “nourish the numinous” and “merge with the Great Pervader” is fundamental to all of pre- and early Han Taoism, both its apolitical and political forms. In this light, the significance of *Inward Training* as the earliest extant expression of these distinctive mystical techniques can no longer be overlooked.

This theory does not mean to suggest that some actual intellectual lineages referred to themselves by these labels of Individualist, Primitivist, and Syncretist. These labels are essentially heuristic devices to organize the panoply of early Taoist texts and viewpoints in as flexible a way as possible. However, the central role of the technical terminology of inner cultivation practice in these three general categories can best be explained by theorizing that the texts that contain it must have been produced in a series of related master-disciple lineages that all followed and promulgated this central practice. Thus these three general philosophical orientations must have had a basis in social groupings of teachers and students who pursued this practice and transmitted the “lore of the Way” that developed along with it.

这种理论并不意味,一些实际存在的知识谱系把自己归类为个人主义、原生主义和调和主义。这些卷标基本上都是启发式的组件,用尽其可能个灵活的方式来组成整套早期道观点的文本及观点。然而,这三个一般性的分类中,内在修炼中术语所扮演的核心角色是可以被理论化的解释,即:包含这些术语的文本应该是被一群奉行师
This way of defining early Taoism is specific enough to differentiate this tradition from the others mentioned by Ssu-ma T’ an and yet flexible enough to accommodate the differences among textual sources without losing sight of their larger context. It can both provide a basis for synchronic analyses as well as help identify the presence of a diachronic basis for the tradition. It can help us stay clear of retrospectively projecting later categories such as “Lao-Chuang” and “Huang-Lao” onto earlier texts and thinkers yet still account for why such terms gained currency. It can serve as the basis for identifying lineage groups within these aspects by locating specific combinations of technical terms that are consistent within them. Using this basis, it may be possible in the future to distinguish Ch’i Taoists from Ch’u Taoists or to determine which group the Taoist authors in the Annals of Mr. Lii were part of. Finally, it can demonstrate contrasts between early Taoists and the practitioners of macrobiotic hygiene with whom they shared technical terminology and an interest in breath cultivation practice.

这套区分早期道家之于其他门派的方法与司马谈所提到的方法比较,具有特殊性而且还具有足够的灵活性,以适应不同来源之间的文本,并且不会在广大的文章脉络中失去他们的视线。它可以同时提供断代分析的基础,同时也帮助确定这个传统是否存在一个历时分析的基础。它可以帮助我们在透过回顾去映像之后的类别时保持清晰,例如:老庄、黄到更早的文本及思想家,依然靠着运用这些文字来作文章。藉由查找在这些文本中具一致性的特定组合术语,它可以被视为用以确认这个谱系群体的基础。使用这个基础,也许可能在未来未来区分齐道家思想者及周道家思想者,或是用以决定在《吕氏春秋》中哪个组道家作者是其中的一部份。最后,它可以显示出早期道家思想者与长生实践者之间的对比,长生实践者与人分享长寿术语及呼吸修炼实践的兴趣。
In this new picture of the history of early Taoism, *Inward Training* assumes a significance that has not heretofore been appreciated: It is the oldest extant expression of the distinctive mystical practice and philosophy that is the basis of the entire tradition from its obscure origins to the time of the *Huai-nan Tzu* in the mid-second century B.C. But if this is the case, why is so little known about this work and so much about the text that has stood for over two millenia as the foundational text of Taoism, the *Lao Tzu*? In the process of answering this question, I hope to clarify some of the historical and social circumstances in which this tradition developed. This answer is somewhat provisional and is thus not a conclusion but, rather, a set of hypotheses that, in the future, can lead to more definitive conclusions.

The process of answering to the question why the *Lao Tzu*, among all the early texts of Taoism, gained ascendancy has benefited greatly from the insights of A. C. Graham in his article exploring the origins and development of the legend that Lao Tan, a historical figure in the biography of Confucius, was also the author of the *Lao Tzu*. Graham argues that the legend originated with the Confucian story that Confucius received instruction in proper ritual forms from a Chou archivist named Lao Tan. The book that came to be known as the *Lao Tzu* began circulating early in the third century B.C. Hsun Tzu is the first to cite one of its key doctrines under the name of Lao Tzu, and, as mentioned above, it is likely that he encountered the work at Chi-hsia by about 275 B.C. The earliest datable testimony that associates Lao Tan with the *Lao Tzu* appears in the Syncretic Taoist essay from *Annals of Mr. Lü* 17.7, “Pu-erh” (Not Two, 不二). It states that “Lao Tan valued yielding” and
places him immediately before Confucius at the head of a line of mainly Taoist teachers that includes KuanYin, Lieh Tzu, and Tien Pien. It is only after this time that Lao Tan and Lao Tzu become, in the narratives of the Chuang Tzu, spokesmen for the ideas now found in the text of the Lao Tzu. This occurs particularly in the Chuang Tzu, chapters 21-23 and 27. The mainly Syncretist chapters 12-14 also contain some vexed evidence of this in the dialogues between Confucius and Lao Tan. Although it is clear from this evidence that the linking of Lao Tan with the Lao Tzu occurred by the middle of the third century B.C., Graham argues that this linkage was put to polemical use only in the Han dynasty.

回答为什么《老子》在所有道家早期文献中获得优势并受益甚大这个问题的程序,洞悉格瑞翰(A. C. Graham)探讨这个传说的起源及发展的一篇文章中, 老聃——一个在孔子传记中的历史人物,也是《老子》的作者。格瑞翰认为这个传说起源于孔子的故事,孔子的儒家以一个合乎传统的礼仪形式中收到周案卷保管人老聃的指令。这本书,后来被称为《老子》,并早在公元前三世纪开始流传。荀子是第一个以《老子》的名义引用其主要学说的人,而且,如上所述,他很可能是在公元前275年在稷下学派偶遇这本着作。最早可确定证明《老子》与老聃具关联性,并出现在神秘道家散文的日期出现在《吕氏春秋》的《不二》。它指出, 老聃的价值产生了而且很快的将他放在主要道家宗师的头一行,并在孔子之前,包括関尹,李子,及田骈。只有在此之后, 老聃和《老子》才成为”在狭义的庄子” 现今《老子》文本中所发现的思想的代言人。特别发生在《庄子》第二十一到二十三章以及第二十七章。第十二到十四章主要调和论的章节也包含孔子与老聃的对话也包含一些对这个议题争论不休的证据。

虽然这个证据很清楚的表明,将老聃与《老子》联系在一起是发生于公元前三个世纪中,格瑞翰(Graham)认为,这种联系仅用于投入汉代的论战。

He believes that the Taoists of the early Han, who were then vying with the Confucians, created this legend as an act of “one-upmanship” demonstrating the superiority of their own founder over that of their main rivals:

The writing of the Lao Tzu in his [Lao Tan’s] name would consolidate his status as a Taoist sage. By the and century B.C., when the Taoist school took shape among the Six Schools as the strongest rival of the Confucians, in urgent need of providing itself
retrospectively with a founder, Lao Tan would present himself as a very suitable candidate. On this hypothesis, it would hardly matter whether the obscure instructor in the rites was a historical person or a Confucian invention to point to the lesson that even the greatest must be willing to learn. The importance of Lao Tan would begin with his transformation by Taoist legend.

As seen in the present analysis of the concept of an early Taoist “school,” the early Taoists— unlike the Confucians, Mohists, and Yangists— did not originally have one person who could serve as the historical founder of their tradition. Hence they were at a disadvantage in an era when argumentation from historical precedent was one of the primary proofs for the veracity of any position advocated at a local court. Identifying their founder with the man who taught Confucius accomplished this purpose. However, contra Graham, there is no evidence that this attribution was not put to polemical use at the time of its first appearance, in the debates among the retainers of the Ch’in prime minister Lu Pu-wei that led to the writing of the *Annals of Mr. Lii* in about 239 B.C.

如同所见到的,目前对早期道家概念的分析,道家与儒家、墨家及杨朱学派不同,道家起初并没有一个人物可以视为这个历史传统的创始人。因此,他们处于不利地位的时代,当时当地朝廷提倡从历史先例得到论证,是主张任何真实性地位的其中一个主要证据。找出道家创办者与教导孔子的人都达到这个目的。找出他们的创始人与该名男子谁教孔子完成了这一目的。

然而, 格瑞翰(Graham)持反对意见,没有证据显示这种归属第一次亮相时,并没有被用于当时的争论中,秦朝宰相吕不韦家臣间的辩论导致大约在公元前239年写作《吕氏春秋》。
Although space limitations prevent us from going into detail here, if the categories of Taoist thought and practice developed here are applied to the Annals of Mr. Lii, it is possible to identify some of its chapters—including chapter 17—as the products of a Syncretic Taoist lineage. Thus there were Taoists at the court of Lu Pu-wei. Moreover, Graham provides additional evidence linking the legend of Lao Tan to Ch’in: the story of the Chou historiographer Tan, who is said to have predicted the rise of the Ch’in in about 350 B.C. He suggests that this linking was made by “admirers of the Lao Tzu” who wished to win it the favor of the Ch’in state, which, after 239 B.C., became increasingly hostile to philosophers. This provides further testimony connecting the creation of the legend of Lao Tan as the author of the Lao Tzu with Taoists in the state of Ch’in, perhaps those who had survived the dispersal of the intellectual academy of Prime Minister Lii Pu-wei.

This gives us an important date in the history of early Taoism. C. 239 B.C. is when we find concrete evidence of the Taoists’ attempt to create a lineage rivaling that of the Confucians. This has many important implications.

The attempt to establish Lao Tan as the author of the Lao Tzu implies the development of a distinctive self-identity as the tradition that began with this teacher and this work. From this point on, while other minor lineages may have still persisted, the main tradition of the
Taoists is carried forth by the people who believe in this founding legend. This self-identity carries over strongly into the Syncretic Taoism of the early Han that is found in the Huai-nan Tzu and from this point on continues into the later Han origins of the institutionalized Taoist religion. The entire self-understanding of early Han Huang-Lao teachers is based strongly on the teachings of Lao Tan found in the Lao Tzu. This can be seen by the frequent quotation of this text throughout the Huai-nan Tzu introduced by the phrase “Lao Tzu said.” It is a canonical text for the Huai-nan Tzu; canon implies a school in all senses of the word that were explored above, a school that can truly rival the Confucians. It should come as no surprise then that evidence of the importance of the Lao Tzu emerges in the depiction of Taoism by Ssu-ma T’an.

Thus one principal reason that the Lao Tzu gained ascendency as the foundational work of Taoism was for this polemical purpose. However, this does not answer the question of why this work, among all other extant texts in this tradition, was exalted. Although this question cannot be answered with complete certainty because we know so little about the historical contexts in which other early Taoist sources on rulership were created, it is apparent that the Lao Tzu gained ascendency because it applied mystical teachings to the arena of politics. To survive in the intellectual world of late Warring States China, texts and their proponents needed to have a pervasive political dimension, particularly relevant to the concerns of ruling. Thus Inward Training survived not as a separate work but in a collection devoted mainly to political and economic thought, the Kuan Tzu. And it is ironic that the Chuang Tzu, filled with some of the most wonderful mystical and apolitical narratives ever created by human beings, survived, not because of these but because of the political teachings of its final, Syncretist stratum. This is not intended to denigrate the renowned beauty of the mystical poetry of the Lao Tzu, only to say that Inward Training contains mystical poetry every bit as beautiful as that in the Lao Tzu. That it did not gain the fame of the Lao Tzu is due primarily
Thus the origin of a self-conscious Taoist “school” can be traced in both the synchronic and diachronic senses to this legend of Lao Tan established by at least 239 B.C. Before this point, several relatively closely related lineage groups were based on the mystical techniques of inner cultivation enunciated in Inward Training. The origins of this practice remain obscure. As Graham and others have asserted, there is good reason to see them as developing from the trances of early shamans, but where and when remain a mystery. There is, however, a reasonable amount of circumstantial evidence to locate an earlier focal point for them in Ch’i. Inward Training is included in the Kuan Tzu collection, which originated there. Chuang Tzu is said to have visited Ch’i and the most important of the “inner chapters” of the work that bears his name, the “Essay on Seeing Things as Equal,” shows possible influence of the Chi-hsia teacher T’ien P’ien, if the testimony to his ideas in chapter of this work is to be believed. Ch’ien Mu and others have argued that the Lao Tzu first affects the intellectual world of early China in Ch’i. And the basic intellectual
framework of the inner cultivation practice in Inward Training shares much with the ideas of the early Chinese physicians who were well represented in Ch’i.

Therefore, Daoist自觉的根源, 可以同时透过断代性分析及历时分析追溯到公元前 239 年所建立的老聃传说。在此之前, 有比较密切之谱系群组, 以内在修炼的神秘术为基础发表在《内业》中。这种做法的起源仍不清楚。正如格瑞翰(Graham)等人宣称, 有充分的理由看到他们是由早期黄教僧人发展出来的, 但何时何地仍是一个谜。然而, 有一些合理数量的间接证据, 找出他们在更早是位于齐。《内业》包含于管子的收藏, 它起源于那里。据说庄子拜访过齐, 著作中最重要的内篇有他的名字, 《庄子》 《齐物论》显示对稷下学派老师田骈的影响, 如果证明他在这本书中第 33 章的想法是可以相信的。钱穆等人等人认为, 《老子》第一个影响的知识世界是早期中国的齐国。《内业》书中内在修炼行的基本的知识框架与早期中国的医生分享了许多想法, 这些人在齐都有很好的表现。

The Ch’u origins of Taoist mysticism cannot be discounted either. In addition to the legend that associates the Lao Tao with Ch’u, Allyn Rickett has argued that many of the early Taoist textual sources contain distinctive rhyme patterns that some think can be associated with Ch’u. Furthermore, the recently discovered Kuo-tien tomb that yielded the Lao Tzu parallels discussed above is located in the part of Hupei province that once was home to the capital of the state of Ch’u, which existed until its conquest by Ch’in in 278 B.C. And then there is the collection of poetry with shamanistic and mystical content associated with this area, the Elegies of Ch’u. All these point to Ch’u origins of Taoist mysticism. if the four “Techniques of the Mind” texts included in the Ch’i collection Kuan Tao contain distinctive Ch’u rhyme patterns, this could suggest that the origins or early development of the Taoist tradition in Ch’i owes much to Ch’u adepts who came there during the fourth century B.C. to attend the courts of the early Ch’i kings.

根源于楚国的神秘道家也是同等重要。除了老子与周关系的传说之外, 伟伦里基特(Allyn Rickett)认为, 许多的早期道家原文的来源都包含独特的韵律模式, 有人认为可能与楚国有关。此外, 最近所发现的郭店墓所挖掘出的《老子》, 类似于上面的讨论, 位于湖北省的一部份, 他曾经是楚国的旧都, 存在直到公元前 278 年被秦国征服为止。之后就有这个区域有关黄教僧人以及神秘主义的诗歌──《楚辞》的收藏。
The fact that a distinctive literary genre within the early Taoist tradition can now be identified has further implications for its historical origins. The transmission of the practices and philosophy of inner cultivation in regular, often tetrasyllabic and rhymed metrical verse that formed distinct units suggests that, before early Taoist texts like *Inward Training* and the *Lao Tzu* were written down, they were transmitted orally within lineages of masters and disciples. Thus this early “lore of the Way” may reach back in time well before it was recorded in written form in the mid-fourth century B.C. That it remained in this distinct form indicates that a certain amount of oral transmission occurred after the first written texts were created. This lore—both oral and written—was probably taught by a master to students and constituted a core of the teachings they carried with them when they finished their study and went elsewhere to teach on their own. In their new situations, they could apply their teachings on mystical self-cultivation, and they often did so in the intellectual context demanded by the times—advice to local rulers on how to govern effectively. Hence the later developments of Primitivist and Syncretist aspects to early Taoism incorporate inner cultivation teachings. These teachings appear in various forms, sometimes in tetrasyllabic verse, sometimes in prose explications, sometimes in set rhetorical structures. Sometimes they are attributed to Taoist masters, both legendary and historical. Sometimes they remain apochryphal. What is surprising is the evidence as to how widespread their influence was; occurring in works from *Inward Training* to the *Huai-nan Tzu* and spanning over two centuries.

Much work is yet to be done to complete our tentative picture of early Taoism in this “post-Lao-Chuang” world. Further research is needed to clarify the close relationship between the early Taoists and the practitioners of physical and macrobiotic hygiene. More work is also needed to see how the “cult of immortality” relates to these groupings, although the historical testimony regarding such a cult does not appear particularly strong. Further research should explore the possible historical relevance of the many narratives from the “lore of the Way” within the *Chuang Tzu*. Yet further research should examine the nature of the mystical practices and mystical experiences in the Taoist religion, which seem—at first glance—to have striking parallels with those in *Inward Training* and other sources of early Taoism examined in this book. Finally, further research is needed into how the theories presented early affect the attempt to find possible historical connections between the early Taoist tradition identified here and the origins of the institutionalized Taoist religion at the end of the Han.
事实上，一个早期道家传统独特的文学体裁，现在可以被视为进一步影响了它的历史渊源。这些内在修炼方法和哲学的传播，经常以四音节和韵律诗形成一个独特的单位。推论早期道家文本，如《内业》与《老子》被以文本方式写下前，他们是在师徒谱系中进行口头传承。因此，这个早期道学，可能追溯到公元前四世纪中以书面形式记录之前。它保留这一独特的形式表明，一定数量的口头传播发生在第一次以撰写书面文本之后。这个文学，包含口头和书面传播，可能由一个师傅教导学生的方式进行，并构成他们随身携带的核心教义。当他们完成了修业，便会去其他地方自行教导这门学问。在他们的新情况，他们可以将他们的教诲运用在神秘自我修炼上，因为时代的需要，在知识方面他们经常这样做—他们建议统治者如何有效地治理。因此，后来所发展的以各种形式出现，有时在四音节的诗，有时以散文阐述，有时用以系列夸张的架构，有时他们都归因于道教大师，包含传说中与历史记载的。有时，他们仍然是作者不明的。令人惊讶的是他们如何广泛发挥其影响力的证据，是发生于从内业到淮南子跨越了两个世纪的著作中。要完成我们暂时在老庄世界晚期的早期道家面貌，还有许多任务作仍有待完成。需要进一步研究，以厘清早期道家与长生实践者之间紧密的关系。还需要更多的工作来看是怎么看不朽门派，如何涉及到这些分组，虽然历史见证对这个门派并不显得尤为强烈。进一步的研究应探讨可能《庄子》中有关道学的相关叙事。然而，进一步的研究应研究道教中神秘作法及神秘经验的本质，这似乎乍看之下与《内业》及其他源自此书的早期道教研究有惊人的相似之处。最后，还需要进一步研究本文中所呈现的理论如何试图去找到可能连接本书所述早期道家传统及汉末道教设立的根源的历史。

If this book prompts all or even some of this research to be undertaken, then it may result in our finally gaining a more complete picture of the origins and development of a unified Taoist tradition encompassing both its early and later forms, and this experiment in “textual archaeology” will have been worthwhile. Regardless of whether this takes place, the past quarter century of research and debate about the origins of Taoism ensures that we can never again see Taoist philosophy in the same way. In this new era of understanding of the origins of Taoism, the pivotal role of this beautiful and simple collection of Taoist poetic verse entitled Inward Training must now be acknowledged.
如果本书促使提示所有或甚至一些研究预计开始进行,那么就可能让我们终将获得一个统一的道家,包含早期及晚期道家之起源及发展的更完整的面貌。而这种文字考古的试验将是值得的。不管这是否发生,过去四分之一世纪关于道家起源的研究和争论,使我们确信不可能再以同样的方式看到道家哲学。在这个认识道家起源的新时代,《内业》这本美丽并简单搜集道家诗文的著作,占有举足轻重的地位必须被承认。