

# Discussion

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# Preface

## The Enigma of Daoism

Accounts of early Chinese philosophy have downplayed its religious matrices, creating an impression that, unlike other world cultures, China developed from a purely rational pragmatism.<sup>1</sup> Until recently, experts dated the rise of Daoist millenarianism to the fall of Western Han about the time of Christ and explained it traced it to growing Buddhist influences from the west (Mollier 2008: 94-97). This implies a contradiction between classical philosophy and the subsequent Daoist religious tradition. Yet this apparent disjunct may be an illusion attributable to Han suppression or marginalization of radical philosophies from pre-unification days.

The work attributed to Heguanzi 鶴冠子 the Pheasant Cap master, represents just such an ideology. Pheasant Cap outlines China's earliest known eschatology, not in the sense that the world will soon end but in anticipation of the dawning of a new world order, a re-starting of history's clock. He enunciates a proto-messianism of the kind that would inspire 'peasant rebellions' to end and re-start China's dynastic cycles from Qin to the present. His social ideals we still endeavor to realize in the world of today and tomorrow.

To understand the nature of Daoism, Livia Kohn and Harold D. Roth argue we must "begin by looking at identity as process" rather than a fixed substance (2002: 8).<sup>2</sup> Accordingly we will find in Pheasant Cap features of Daoist folk religion still current and those whose roots archaeology continues to trace further back in time.

Philosophy by its nature depends on reason. It strives to construct theoretical systems by which to live that either rationalize or refute religious beliefs. The humanist Confucius (Kongzi 孔子, 541-478 BCE) of Lu (Shandong) based his thinking on ancestor worship and belief in divine right to rule.<sup>3</sup> Laozi 老子, philosopher of the *Daodejing* 道德經 (Classic of the Way and its Virtue), remains an enigma. He like Zhuangzi is thought to come from the south.

In writings transmitted under the name of the Pheasant Cap master, the religious foundation of a supreme deity is explicitly presented. This mysterious figure from the climactic third century, who seems to emulate the role of 'night walker' in his perilous times, is both religious prophet and political philosopher.

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<sup>1</sup> Barrett 2008: vii—on prejudice, stemming perhaps from a Christian missionary and Confucian alliance that dismissed Daoist religion as “superstition and imposture.” Pregadio 2008a: xvi—on a false dichotomy of philosophy versus religion prevalent in Daoist studies.

<sup>2</sup> Loewe 1979: 98-101; Pregadio 2000: 94—Donald Harper and Sarah Allan question this divide. Harper points to “Warring States antecedents of later, so-called religious Daoism” (2001: 16). Allan argues for the inseparability of both forms of Daoism (2003: 285).

<sup>3</sup> Hereon it will generally be taken as read that persons and events earlier than, or contemporary with, Pheasant Cap and up to the end of Western Han are all ‘BCE.’

## 2 / DISCUSSION

From his dialogues, we know he was active in Zhao (south Shanxi to Hebei), in the mid-third century BCE. He was perhaps a refugee from Chu in the south.

Newly excavated texts, starting with the 1973 finds from an early Han tomb at Mawangdui, Hunan, followed by those at Shuihudi, Guodian and others more, are comparable in importance to the Dead Sea and Nag Hamadi scrolls for Biblical studies. They are revalidating the claims of ‘apocryphal’ books from China’s traditional corpus. Thus, the work of Pheasant Cap, long under suspicion as fake, is now re-emerging as a long-lost vital piece in the jigsaw of the Hundred Schools of pre-Qin philosophy.

In the years following Qin’s imperial unification of 221 BCE, Pheasant Cap may have been classed as secret and restricted to the emperor’s private reading, a trophy of conquest and an icon.<sup>4</sup> The work gives us an alternative view, from a rival state, of the apotheosis of political unity which sanctioned China’s emergent imperium.

This present study presents the first full translation and elucidation of Pheasant Cap Master in English. The challenge has been to translate a text which does not fit exactly into any known school but aspires to transcend them all. Lu Dian 陸佃 (1042-1102), its Northern Song dynasty commentator, admitted to some bafflement by the corrupt state of the text. In many cases difficulty of interpretation has been compounded by the novelty of thought. It may be called ‘Daoist’ in an ecumenical sense, but it articulates political programs of universal resonance.

Important analyses of the original and its disparities have been undertaken by scholars in recent years, questioning the texts integrity (Graham 1989a, 1993, Peerenboom 1991, Defoort 1997). However, to produce an intelligible reading I have found it necessary to interpret it as an integral work and relate it to the bigger picture of the climactic third century.<sup>5</sup>

A coherent message then emerges: not a jumble of backward looking musings but a forward projection of history, culminating in both a warning and a hope for a new world order.<sup>6</sup> His universalism attracted the interest of Joseph Needham and others for his proto-scientific insights (1956: 2.547, 572-574). He provides a comprehensive narrative for the ideas of Laozi closer to his own time than any other so far.

China has long been known for its tradition of ancestor worship and obsession with fortune-telling, Laozi’s jibe on the folly of ‘foreknowledge’ notwithstanding (*Daodejing* 38). This is evident from the Shang oracle bones to the *Yijing* 易經 (Book of Changes) and almanacs found in Qin tombs such as at Shuihudi. (Kalinowski 1996: 62-72. Yates 2005: 15-43). Pheasant Cap himself

<sup>4</sup> Inner palace secrecy could explain why Pheasant Cap is not mentioned by historian Sima Qian. Jia Yi apparently knew the work, perhaps from his time at court, as I contend he drew on its chapter 12 for his *Xiaofu* (Owl Rhapsody), translated in App. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Defoort 1997: 134—“the treatise nevertheless seems to speak with one voice.”

<sup>6</sup> Mi 2002: 12—cites Pheasant Cap’s holistic vision (ch. 12).

speaks repeatedly of good- or ill-fortune, omens and signs. He tells us: “If you wish to know the future, examine the past” (ch. 7). Christopher Rand, writing of his work, notes:

Implied throughout is the ‘rationalist’ notion that the Way is not merely a feature of the past, but an outline of the future, an omni-potentiality which by man, through his own transformations (i.e. laws), may be realized in human society” (1980: 209).<sup>7</sup>

Over the past four millennia of Chinese empire, messianic prophets have repeatedly claimed a new mandate from above, not excluding the military option. In the last two centuries, utopian visions have inspired the populist Taiping, Boxer, and Maoist insurrections. Yet their underlying ideals can be traced back to classical philosophy before China became an empire.

Pheasant Cap predicts the dawning of a new age. His concept of time has affinity with Mircea Eliade’s myths of eternal return and an end to secular time. Ideas of cosmic ‘return’ and reversals of fortune pronounced by Laozi (25, 40) find ample practical exposition here (chs. 5, 10, 12-13).<sup>8</sup>

The Hundred Schools of classical Chinese philosophy met their end after imperial unification. The term itself was not coined in eulogy of pluralism but as a pejorative. For strict Confucian Xunzi 荀子 (313-238) of Zhao it meant heterodoxy or heresy, while liberal Zhuangzi 莊子 (fl. ca 300) used it to bewail the fragmentation of an idealized primeval unity.<sup>9</sup> Ironically the very ‘one world’ order that philosophers had longed for spelled the doom of their freedom to debate.

Centralization is conducive to censorship. This soon became obvious under Qin after it unified China in 221 BCE. More subtle and less known is the thought control exercised by Han and subsequent dynasties. Yet dissident thinking could never be entirely eliminated. It survived in Confucian classics, notably in the works of Mencius (Mengzi 孟子, 372-289) of Zou (northwestern Shandong). Mencius maintained the hereditary principle but upheld the right to rebel and overthrow tyrants whom he classed as ‘commoners’.

<sup>7</sup> Rand 1980: 209n92—Bauer 1976 “suggests that Taoism, at least in its religious form, was always directed towards the future... when guided into rebellious movements, naturally became allied with military thought and technique...” (124-28, 201, 205, 225) and “associates military activity and this future orientation in his description of the militaristic Ch’in take-over” (61-66). 218: “as one moves across the ‘frontier’ bracketed by the ‘primitivist’ and ‘rationalist’ persuasions in philosophical Taoism, a greater interfusion with the military matrix, as exemplified by the military treatises, is manifested.”

<sup>8</sup> Eliade 1971: 124—“The final catastrophe will put an end to history, hence will restore men to eternity and beatitude.” *Yijing*, Hexagram 24—“In Return we see Heaven and Earth’s heart.” *Daodjing* 14-16, 19, 28, 52, 58, 63, 80.

<sup>9</sup> *Xunzi* 21 (Jiebi): 425. *Zhuangzi* 33 (Tianxia): 1069—critiqued the Hundred Schools of philosophy but does not mention Confucianism. This may reflect Qin influence.

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Over a thousand years later, in the Song dynasty, Mencius was institutionalized as a pillar of state Confucianism. Yet his subversive challenge to absolute rule prompted Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328-1398), the founder of the Ming, to command an expurgated edition in 1394. His own son Zhu Di 朱棣, the Yongle Emperor (r. 1403-1424) restored it thus implicitly justifying his own successful rebellion against his nephew the Jianwen Emperor.<sup>10</sup>

Pheasant Cap's alternative *weltanschauung* was never fully realized, although the unification he anticipated was soon achieved, albeit by a hostile Qin. Unlike Confucius and Mencius who upheld the right of hereditary succession, Pheasant Cap followed Mozi 墨子 (ca. 478- ca. 392) in advocating promotion by merit. In principle, this could require abdication of rulers in favor of someone more worthy. Graham labels this challenge to the hereditary principle "political heresy" (1989: 292-96; Allan 2010; Pines 2010).<sup>11</sup> Pheasant Cap is such a heretic but perforce makes exceptions for hereditary succession by the virtuous (chs. 11, 15).

For its part, patriarchal Confucianism as enshrined by the Han imperial house had to accept co-existence with meritocracy necessary to curb the recidivist barons. They achieved this through the adoption of the quasi-legalist system of public examinations for office in 165 BCE.

Mencius argued from historical precedent that revolution required a mandate from Heaven. Shang (ca. 1766-1123) had claimed descent from a mystic 'dark bird' (*xuanniao* 玄鳥), swallow or phoenix. Zhou's mandate (ca. 1122-255) depended on 'virtue' (K.C. Chang 1976: 167, 192-94. *Shijing*: Shangsong 'Xuanniao'). Confucius, following prolonged breakdown of central power, expected a sign from Heaven in the shape of phoenix or unicorn.<sup>12</sup> Pheasant Cap identifies them as harbingers of the new order (ch. 8).

In this light, Pheasant Cap can be seen, like Mencius, as a prophet dedicated to the reformation of a corrupt world. He too believed in divine

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<sup>10</sup> Goodrich 1976: 957—In 1394, the founding Ming emperor Taizu commanded Liu Sanwu to censor the *Mengzi*, resulting in "the expunction of eighty-five sections" deemed subversive; 363—Emperor Yongle ordered the full, unexpurgated version re-issued ca. 1411.

<sup>11</sup> *Guanzi* 26 (Jie): 156—"Humane is he, so he does not inherit kingship; Righteous, so at seventy he hands over the government (retires)." Defoort 2004: 53 argues that Mozi's promotion of worthies thesis (8: Shangxian A) "does not focus on this topic" of abdication.

<sup>12</sup> *Lunyu* 9 (Zihan): 8—"The Master said: 'The Phoenix bird has not arrived, the Yellow River has not spewed forth its chart. I am finished!'" Interestingly, 'phoenix divination' (*huangji* 鶯乩) is the term for latterday planchette. Davis 2002: 155. *Lunyu* 20 (Yaoyue): 3—"The Master said: 'If you don't know mandate, you have no way to be a gentleman.'" *Guanzi* 20 (Xiaokuang): 127—"Formerly when men received the mandate, dragons and tortoises arrived, the Yellow River emitted a chart, the Luo River emitted writing, Earth emitted a Rider in Yellow (Chenghuang)..." The *Zuo zhuan* commentary to the *Chunqiu*, reputedly edited by Confucius, explains the death of a Unicorn in 481 was an omen that the time of the Sage King had not yet arrived. (Han) Kong Congzi (Jiwen) attributes to Confucius a lament on the capture of the unicorn two years before his own death.

providence and hence in the re-unification of an intact polity ordained from remote antiquity. These quasi-theological tenets that underpin classical philosophy have been obscured by a modernist interpretation of Confucianism as simply agnostic moralism and Daoism as mysticism or superstition. Pheasant Cap may help connect philosophy from the classic age of the Warring States to the belief system more fully attested from imperial times.

## The Star God of Grand Unity

Cosmology developed from the need to determine positional orientation and especially the direction of marching in military operations. Animal symbols were useful to signal correct alignments and to co-ordinate these with the stars. The Dark Warrior (Xuanwu 玄武), emblem of the north, is symbolized by snake and tortoise. In a depiction, attributed to Wu Daozi (ca. 750. Fig. 1), a haloed pole-wielding figure is seen in the sky among the stars by the Dipper.

The *Liji* 禮記 (Ritual Record) explains: “The army marches with red bird in front, dark warrior behind, green dragon on left, white tiger on right and Beckoner (Zhaoyao 招搖) above” (1, Quli-shang: 43-44; 6). Pheasant Cap pairs these directions with cardinal points and seasons (chs. 10, 12, 17). ‘Beckoner’ at the Dipper handle tip is the star which directs everything (chs. 4-6, 8-10, 17).

The Guodian creation myth puts Grand Unity first, followed by water, which precede both Heaven and Earth. The complete sequence goes: Grand Unity > water > Heaven > Earth > divine luminaries > shade and sunlight (yinyang) > hot and cold > wet and dry > the year > myriad things or beings.

Pheasant Cap ascribes the creation of water to Heaven (ch. 8). The genesis of five agents in the archaic *Shujing* 書經 (Book of Documents; Vast Plan) and *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Han) give this sequence which the latter pairs alternately odd and even with Heaven and Earth:<sup>13</sup> Heavenly one creates water; Earthly two creates fire; Heavenly three creates wood; Earthly four creates metal; Heavenly five creates earth...

This elemental sequence chimes with Laozi’s exaltation of water.<sup>14</sup> It was superseded by the five-agents production cycle defined by Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca. 179-104) of Guangchuan (southern Hebei). It starts with wood and ends with water, each generating its notional offspring: wood> fire> earth> metal> water.<sup>15</sup> This is the sequence set to Pheasant Cap’s four seasons, except

<sup>13</sup> *Shangshu* 2 (Hongfan). *Hanshu* 27 (Wuxing zhi shang); 1328. *Yijing* (Xici shang 9) also assigns one to ten as Heaven and Earth in odds and evens respectively. Its (Shuogua 5) eight trigram sequence starts from thunder and wood for spring in the east like Dong Zhongshu’s five agent producton cycle. Schwartz (1985: 357) faults the common ‘five elements’ translation for failing to reflect their dynamic nature.

<sup>14</sup> *Daodejing* 8, 78. *Guanzi* 39 (Shuidi 水地) ‘Water and Earth’.

<sup>15</sup> *Chunqiu Fanlu* 10 (Wuxing dui), 13 (Wuxing xiasheng).

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for earth at the end, but mutual production is not mentioned (ch. 10).

Xunzi, who criticized Laozi for passivity, saw Grand Unity's embodiment in ritual 'propriety', not water, as the prime factor in the cosmos.<sup>16</sup> Propriety (*li* 禮), which covers ritual observances and morality, is a homophone in Chinese for rational 'principle' (*li* 理). 'Principle' had evolved as a separate word by around 300. Xunzi interprets it as 'cultured rationality' (*wenli* 文理). His standpoint may be compared to Graeco-Roman stoic agnosticism.<sup>17</sup>

Xunzi's genesis goes: Grand Unity > propriety > Heaven and Earth > sun and moon > four seasons > planets and stars > rivers—myriad things. The *Liji* adds an indubitably supernatural appendage: Grand Unity > propriety > Heaven and Earth > shade and sunlight (yin-yang) > four seasons > demons and gods.<sup>18</sup>

The pioneering almanac encyclopedia of Qin premier Lü Buwei 呂不韋, prefaced in 239, expressed a more epicurean view. Instead of ritual, he bestows pride of place on music, a synonym for joy (*yue* 樂) "born from degree and measure rooted in Grand Unity," equated with the Way:<sup>19</sup> "Grand Unity is the Way's degree and measure embodied in music—two Forces, shade and sunlight..."

Confucius had paired music with ritual propriety in the six arts of his educational curriculum. Together they were essential for reforming the world and of cosmic significance. Pheasant Cap's thinking on the social function of music aligns with Confucius and Lü Buwei, rather than with Mozi who condemned music as inherently wasteful. His equates musical tones with calendrical organization in a vision is of bureaucracy functioning like celestial clockwork or a neo-Platonic 'music of the spheres.' Mozi saw the rotation of Heaven as proof of its impartial justice. For Pheasant Cap this was also a paradigm of change and cyclical return.

Confucians are notoriously reticent in theological matters. By contrast Pheasant Cap, more in the manner of the *Shujing* (Yuxia Shu) or Yellow Emperor (Huangdi 黃帝) texts, features a dialogue between god and man or demi-god (ch. 10).<sup>20</sup> Unlike the playful dialogues of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Book

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<sup>16</sup> *Xunzi* 17 (Tianlun): 343—"Laozi had insight into contraction but no insight into extension."

<sup>17</sup> *Xunzi* 19 (Lilun): 379-80—"All ritual starts from Grand Unity. Heaven and Earth through it are joined." He traces the union of cultured refinement (*wen*) and rational principle (*li*) to Grand Unity.

<sup>18</sup> *Liji* 9 (Liyun): 382—"propriety is necessarily rooted in Great [Grand] Unity which divides into Heaven and Earth." See also *Kongzi jiyu* 7 (Liyun): 9a.

<sup>19</sup> *Lüshi Chunqiu* 5.2 (Dayue):—3ab defines Grand Unity as the source of *yin* and *yang* from which everything grows.

<sup>20</sup> *Shiji* 1 (Wudi):—Sima Qian relates the deeds of the 'five emperors' of prehistory that Confucians deign to mention. *MWD Shilu jing* (Chengfa): 72—a dialogue on law be-

of Master Zhuang), this is retold in earnest. It oversteps the bounds of philosophy into rhetoric and revelatory religion.

Field researcher Stephan Feuchtwang remarked: “Revelations are the exclusive source of Daoism. They are Daoism’s claim on the imperial state” (2001: 164. Cf. Seidel 1983: 336-42. Csikszentmihalyi 2002: 92). If so, Pheasant Cap may be said to encompass the epitome of Daoism. He combines revelatory teachings and correlative reasoning with recourse to Mozi’s triple sources of evidence: ancient precedent, contemporary experience, and utility (Graham 1989: 37).

Grand Unity (*Taiyi* 太一), the Great Monad and Great One, is both god and abstract concept. He is closely associated with both the celestial pole and Dipper constellation. He is thought to be shown in a late Han engraving enthroned in the Dipper. Above his head rises a long-tailed pheasant while on the other side a water dragon looks down. (Fig. 2).

Grand Unity, long invoked through Daoist divination and spirit writing, is the divine presence at the heart of Pheasant Cap (chs. 10-11). He embodies in anthropomorphic form the ideal of unity, known philosophically from the Han dynasty as Grand Polarity or Great Ultimate (*taiji* 太極), integrator of the opposites ‘shade and sunlight’ (*yinyang* 陰陽). Luo Bi (1139-1189), antiquarian of Southern Song, equates them:<sup>21</sup> “Grand Polarity is Grand Unity... The Way gets it to make Grand Unity. Heaven gets it to make Heavenly Unity. God-emperors get it to make imperial unity. Myriad beings without exception receive it and call it mandate.”

The star of Grand Unity is now located due to axial precession, not at the celestial pole of ‘Purple Tenuity’ (*Ziwei* 紫微) as formerly, but between it and the Dipper.<sup>22</sup> Grand Unity exhibits a circumpolar rotation reflecting in the timing of its positions both the earth’s axial rotation and solar orbit.<sup>23</sup>

This enables astrologists, by observing the position of Great Unity’s star, to determine the outcome of earthly events and wars. They track its movements through a box grid of ‘nine palaces’ (*jingong* 九宮).<sup>24</sup> Grand Unity gave its name to methods of calculation, as well as astrological treatises.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Mori 2002: 170. Yates 2005: 24 n34. Gesterkamp 2011: 36. *Chunqiu Fanlu* 77 (Xuntian zhi dao) 92:—“The center is Heaven and Earth’s Great Pole (*daji* 大極).” Luo Bi: *Lushi* ‘Road History’ (Fahui 1, Lun Taiji): 1a-b.

<sup>22</sup> *Huainanzi* 3 (Tianwen): 5a : “The Purple Palace is Grand Unity’s abode, Xuanyuan (a seventeen star constellation north of the Dipper) is the Heavenly Princess’s lodge.”

<sup>23</sup> Needham 1959: 3.260-61; 250 on identity of Zhaoyao star. 260-61 tentatively identifies Tianyi and Taiyi with stars in Draco.

<sup>24</sup> The Han-dynasty apocryphon on the *Yijing* known as *Yirei* (Weft of the Changes) (Qian Zaodu): 3b states—“So Taiyi takes their numbers to move through the Nine Palaces [of space]...” (Han) Zheng Xuan [Kangcheng] comments: “Taiyi is the north Constellations”

Pheasant Cap interprets the revolutions of the Dipper, whose ‘handle’ points in different directions at sunset, as a seasonal clock (chs. 5, 17).<sup>26</sup> From this he extrapolates a solar calendar of 360 days (a sum conveniently divisible by all integers except 7) to apportion the reporting periods of his cosmically attuned bureaucracy (ch. 9). Intercalary days, not mentioned by Pheasant Cap, were traditionally inserted to reconcile the ideal number of three hundred and sixty, used by farmers for their twenty-four fifteen day periods, with the actual annual total of approximately 365.25 days. The notional 360 accords with six bi-monthly cycles of sixty days formed by the combination of the ten heavenly stems (*tian'gan* 天干) and twelve earthly branches (*dizhi* 地支).

Pheasant Cap ascribes these ancient calendrical symbols to the invention of writing by the Yellow Emperor minister Cangjie, his hero of law and hence of the Way (chs. 7, 13. Fig. 3). They do in fact go back to the earliest known Chinese script on Shang oracle bones where they set royal ancestral titles by alternating matrilineages and synchronize their sacrifices (K.C. Chang 1976: 79ff, 88).

The power of Grand Unity is believed to manifest itself primarily through the Dipper constellation, the seven stars in Ursa Major (the ‘Great She-Bear’) nightly seen to orbit the North Pole. Daoism reckons them as nine, of which two are now said to be invisible.<sup>27</sup> Pheasant Cap’s account appears to accord with this total of nine (ch. 4) which matches his theology of Nine Augustans (Jiuhuang 九皇. Chs. 9-10). Their statues are paraded on their birthday in wildly spirit-rocked sedan-chairs by Cantonese and Hokkien communities.<sup>28</sup>

Zhang Jizong 張繼宗 (fl. 1700), Celestial Master of Zhengyi ‘Correct Unity’, describes Grand Unity (Taiyi 泰壹) as a quasi-historical earthly ruler “able to

god’s name.” He cites the *Xingjing*: “Heavenly Unity and Grand Unity are energy-ruling gods.” (Tang) Zhu Suiliang cites a school of Taiyi diviners in his commentary on *Shiji* 67 on astrologers. Needham 1980, 5d. 465-468 on Taiyi rotation.

<sup>25</sup> Needham et al. 1959: 3.663 on Taiyi abacus and calculation methods 77, 140. 201. 716—lists *Taiji Jinjing Shi* ‘Grand Unity’s Golden Mirror Divining Board Manual,’ attr. (Tang) Wang Ximing 王希明, alias Danyuanzi 丹元子.

<sup>26</sup> *Huangdi Neijing Lingshu* 77 (Jiugong bafeng): 114-16—details the seasonal rotation of Grand Unity through the Nine Palaces and Eight Winds. If we calculate 40.6 for ‘46 days’ x 7, and 40.5 for ‘45 days’ x 2, assuming a degree of copyist scribal error, we get an annual total of 365.2 days. For translations, see Ki 1985; Wu 1993.

<sup>27</sup> Late Ming prose epic *Fengshen Yanyi*, 99 (Jiangziya Guiguo Fengshen) 862-863—enfiefs Jinling Holy Mother as Dipper Mother with nine stars: 1. Heaven Fort (Tiangan 天罡), 2. Civil Tune (Wenqu 文曲), 3. Martial Tune (Wuqu 武曲), 4. Left Aid (Zuofu 左輔), 5. Right Support (Youbi 右弼), 6. Breaker of Armies (Pojun 破軍), 7. Heaven Wolf (Tianlang 天狼), 8. Huge Gate (Jumen 巨門) and 9. Beckoner (Zhaoyao 招搖). Robinet 2008: 225-26—(Tang) *Bu tiangang fei diji jing* (Scripture of Treading the Dipper, Flying Earth’s Bounds; DZ 1316.1ab); Werner 1922: 144-45.

<sup>28</sup> Werner 1922: 142-44; Shen 1979: 71-73; Chamberlain 1983: 70-71. Feuchtwang 2001: 128—‘Great Unity’ in a Daoist temple festival ritual near Taipei.

maintain great equality under Heaven and attune universal grand galactic energy,” echoing Pheasant Cap (ch. 10). “He holds law’s cable and is constantly present. He ruled four hundred years and more, then weary of dust and noise with sons Du and Zhang retired to Heaven’s Central Mountain.”<sup>29</sup> This is Hindu-Buddhist Mt Sumeru, the cosmic axis.

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<sup>29</sup> *Lidai shenxian tongjian* 1: 2.4b. 4.9a—“Grand Unity’s (Taiyi 太乙) essence is true mystery’s soul. If a man knows how to keep it, he then may meet with the truth.” (2.4b).



