3. ATTITUDES TOWARDS Wen AND Wu: SOME INTERPRETATIONS AND QUESTIONS

A negative attitude to wu was related to complex social and ideological factors, and had even a mystical dimension. The Martial Principle was identifies with the Yin Force, with the realm of death and decline, whereas the Civil Principle was considered a manifestation of the Yang Force, and was related to life and growth. Hence, they complemented each other, but one was positive and the other negative in various respects.112

Such concepts were shared by Confucians and many Taoists. In the “Canon of the Great Peace” such an emphatic passage can be found:

“The Yang Force favours giving birth and growth, the Yin Force favours death. From the Yang Force originates the Way, and from the Yin Force originates punishment. From the Yang Force originates good [or right], so, the Yang spirits support it; from the Yin Force originates evil [or wrong], and the Yin spirits support it... The Yang Force is the head [i.e. is leading], the Yin Force constitutes the legs [i.e. is subdued]. Hence, a [true] ruler appreciates the Way and the Virtue, and deprecates punishments; from this [his] principles are taken. Mean man on the contrary deprecates the Way and the Virtus, and favours punishments, and also from this [his] principles are taken.”113

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112 For the relation of Yin and Yang Forces with military and educative activities, see the chapter “Monthly Regualtions” (Yue liang), in “The Records of Norms” (Li ji); Yin and Yang forces in relation to the human world are also described in “The Book of Changes” (Yi jing). For explicit formulations see: Han shu, juan 21, part 1, juan 25, quoted ed., pp. 971, 1291; Shi ji, juan 25, 27, quoted ed., pp. 1242–7, 1327, 1347; Bai hu tong de lun (Comprehensive discussion in the White Tiger Lodge), juan 3, sect. 8 (Wen zhi), in: Bai zi quan shu (Complete works of all masters), Hangzhou 1985, Zhejiang renmin Chubanshe, vol. 6, p. 7a; Tai ping jing jiao zhu, juan 18–34, He Yin Yang shun Dao fa, quoted ed., p. 12, juan 69, pp. 262–65; Han Fei zi, juan 6 (section 20), quoted ed., pp. 371–7; Hu qian jing (The officially approved tiger canon), juan 3, sect. 12, in: Zhongguo bingxue daxi, quoted ed., vol. 6, p. 57. This last book was written by Xu Tong (970–1011).

113 Tai ping jing, juan 18–34, sect. Lu shen zheng shen fa; quoted ed., p. 12.
The contemptuous approach to wu, which was inspired and popularized predominantly by Confucianism, and also supported by other schools, must not however be considered absolute. Side by side with this predominating tendency there was another one originating from the common people.

"While the Confucian writings and Chinese philosophy in general—wrote Wolfram Eberhard—regard all military activity as undesirable, though sometimes necessary, the material written for the common man and apparently also the material written by common men, extols wars, fighting and heroism".114

This can be seen in the enormous popularity of various stories which described wars and military heroes, such as the famous "Tale of the Three Kingdoms" (San guo yan yi), "Water Margins" (Shui hu zhuan), the "Complete Tale of Yue Fei" (Yue Fei quan zhuan) and dozens of others.115 In modern times they are partially substituted by movies on martial arts.116 Even in popular religious beliefs many military heroes, protectors from malignant spirits and disasters, achieved a significant position. The growth of the cult of Guan Yu, the hero of the "Tale of the Three Kingdoms", mentioned above, and his elevation to the rank of the "national god" of the Chinese is quite indicative.

Barnabas Csongor formulated an opinion that the military stories, popular in China since the Tang period, are predominantly related to the city folk.117 It can be queried, but a corresponding point of view was

114 W. Eberhard, Guilt and Sin in Traditional China, Taipei 1967, Rainbow Bridge Book Co., p. 82.
115 For an analysis of the principal military heroes see: R. Ruhlmann, Traditional Heroes in Chinese Popular Fiction. In: A.F. Wright ed., The Confucian Persuasions, Stanford 1960, Stanford University Press, pp. 141-76. At the beginning of our century V.M. ALekeev noticed that the topics from the "Tale of the Three Kingdoms" constitute some 70% of the repertoire of Chinese theatres. They were also popularized by the wood-cuts prepared for the New Year. Cfr. Kitajbskaja narodnaja kartina, quoted ed., p. 76.
116 Such movies were prohibited in the People's Republic of China for several decades. But when they were allowed at the beginning of the 1980's they became immediately the most popular movies, like books on similar stories. This fascination of youth with such topics was criticized many times in the official press in 1985. Cfr. Print "healthy books" publishers are told, "China Daily", Nov. 26, 1985; Books on martial arts attacked, "China Daily", Dec. 11, 1985. Such topics are very popular also among the Chinese living abroad.
117 This opinion was expressed in a personal discussion in July 1967 (Budapest). Borys Riftin has demonstrated that the origins of such martial stories as the "Tale of the Three Kingdoms" are much more complex. Among listeners of the professional story-tellers in the medieval cities there were usually numerous soldiers, what—he supposes— influenced topics being presented. On the other side, there were as
presented by Feng Youlan when he referred to the characteristics of peasants and merchants given in the “Lü’s Spring and Autumn Annals” (Lü shi chun qiu). Whereas farmers are primitive and simple and therefore always ready to accept commands, childlike and innocent and therefore unselfish, the merchants are corrupt, treacherous and selfish. The “scholars”, in his opinion, had an outlook essentially the same as the farmers. The two main trends in Chinese thought, Confucianism and Taoism, were, be wrote, the two poles of one and the same axis, both expressing the aspirations of farmers\textsuperscript{118}. This last statement has many weak points, but to a certain extent it is valid; the martial culture, seems to be more closely related to the city culture and found its main inspirations outside the realm of the old aristocratic, village–comunal and scholarly traditions.

Hence, Confucianism was a dominant value system of the ruling classes that justified the existing social and political order; within that order the ruled seemingly accepted the official ideology. In fact, however, they had another system of values which contradicted and complemented the official one, manifested predominantly in the popular city culture.

There also were significant differences in attitudes towards wu and wen among various regions in China, and among different ethnic groups. In the central regions the wen–oriented culture predominated, whereas in ancient “borderlands” wu had a much more elevated position. It can be seen in the northern regions of the pasture lands with war–oriented nomadic cultures as well as those of northern hunters\textsuperscript{119}. It is even more obvious in the case of the ancient Wu and Yue states, with their appreciation of war and a true cult of swords\textsuperscript{120}. Also in Vietnam, where many Yue


\textsuperscript{120} Cfr. L. Lancioti, Sword Casting and Related Legends in China, “East and West”, vol. 6, 1955, no. 2; Ja. V. Česnov, Istoričeskaja etnografija stran Indokitajs (Historical ethnography of Indochina), Moskva 1976, Nauka, p. 241; the same author, MIF o meče i načelo gosudarstvennosti v vostočnom Indokitaje (The myth of sword and the origins of statehood in east Indochina), in: Religija i mitologiija narodov Južnoin i Jugo–Vostočnoj Azii (Religion and mythology in South ans South–East Asia), Moskva 1970, Nauka.
people traditions were preserved, much more positive attitudes to war and its symbols can be found. In modern times the inhabitants of Hunan province were known for their bellicosity, and this was even more pronounced among Kejia (Hakka) Chinese ethnic groups, Tujia, Miao and other minorities. So, it is perhaps not accidental that the most renowned military treatises have some links with those regions: Sun Wu according to tradition wrote his treatise for the king of Yue, and Wu Qi served in the Chu state. Even the evolution of Legalism and its dominance in the Western, semi-barbaric Qin state could be linked to bellicose traditions of the Western region, different from those of the Central Plain.

Thus changes in attitudes towards wen and wu, a more pronounced wen orientation of the official Confucian ideology and a more restricted interpretation of wu developing since the Tang period, have complex origins. They are related to the evolution of a bureaucratic gentry–state with its system of civil and military examinations, clearer separation of military duties from administrative ones, and the separation of military knowledge from literary education. An emphasis on wen seems to be a reaction of the village-oriented ruling class to the development of cities with their different culture. It was also, perhaps, a manifestation of the growing ethno-cultural Chinese identity, "chinese-ness" opposed to alien peoples and their ways of life, those considered "foreign", in particular from the North and dynasties established by them, and those from the South undergoing a sinicization process, but all much more favouring the wu element and military virtues.

Some elements of the military ethos were born in the army, and could be also inspired by the "foreign" ethnic groups, but they were integrated into the dominating Confucian ideology. Their impact on the entire cultural and organizational structure of the empire was, however, limited. Military formations performed various non-military duties and their commanders accepted a "civil style" of scholars right up to modern times.\footnote{It was noticed many times with great surprise by the Soviet advisers in China in the 1920's. See, for instance, A.I. Čerepanov, Zapiski voennogo sovetnika (Notes of a military adviser), Moskva 1964, Izdatelstvo Nauka, p. 216; I. Kazanin, V Stabe Bljuhera (In Blücher's headquarter), Moskva 1966, Izdatelstvo Nauka, 94–96, 132–4. The last author in the conclusion of his description of Chinese generals said: "And, of course, none of them was a true general, some of them had not even served in the army" (p. 96). Those non-military aspects of the Chinese armies of the 1920's were well presented by V. Vysogorec (V.E. Goriev) in: Kitajskaja armija; Očerki po osnovnym voprosam vooružennyh sil sovremennogo Kitaja (The Chinese army; An outline of the main problems of contemporary China's military forces), Moskva–Leningrad 1930, Gosizdat.}
A civil approach to the function of a commander grew out of the dominance of the Confucian values, the lack of a specific military ethos and the absence of a separate military class. A periodical appearance of hereditary soldiers, lower social groups which could be situated between slaves and the free population, did not change this situation, nor the presence, from time to time, of famous military heroes and commanders. Why neither the ancient Zhou aristocracy, nor medieval Sino–barbaric aristocracies ruling Northern China created a “chivalric” ethos is an open question. The fact is that on the disappearance of the Zhou aristocracy and with the evolution of the empire, social and cultural creativity were directed towards civil virtues, and civil bureaucrats who administered the country consciously prevented both the evolution of a military class and a complete functional separation of the army. Until the end of the 19th century there were many semi-military services at the disposal of various administrative bodies, but there was no separate army, as an organizational and cultural unit distinguished by its military values and style of life. More precisely, there were some elements of such a separation and the military styles, but they did not advance beyond the first stages of their development.

Lei Bolun, who analysed in detail many aspects of Chinese military traditions, pointed out that the absence of an army separated from the civil administration had important consequences for the life of the entire society: “the people” were not “civil” in the strict sense, and “there was no political life”. Thus he considered Chinese civilization a “non-military

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122 D.V. Putjata, a Russian colonel of the General Staff and a diplomat who spent many years in China paying careful attention to Chinese military forces, made an analysis of the military organization and concluded: “...a great number of troops does not signify the existence of an army”. Cf. D.V. Putjata, Kitaj; Očerki geografii, ekonomičeskogo sostojanija, administrativnogo i voennogo ustroistva Seredinnoj Imperii i voennogo značenija pograničnoj s Rosiej polosy (China; An outline of geographical conditions, economic state, administrative and military organization of the Middle State, and of the military significance of its border area with Russia, S. Peterburg 1895, Venenaja Tipografiya, p. 174. Other Russian travellers and officers quite often described with surprise a non-military way of life in Chinese garrisons lack of discipline, military training, etc. See, for instance, N.M. Pržewalski, O vozmožnoj vojne s Kitajem (On a possible war against China), Sbornik geografičeskih, topografičeskih i statističeskih materialov po Azii (Selected geographic, topographic and statistic materials on Asia), vol. 1, S. Peterburg 1883, Izdanie Voenno–Učenogo Komiteta Generalnogo Štaba, p. 296. D. Fedorov, Opvi voenno–statističeskoj opisanija ilijskogo kraja (The military and statistical description of the Ilı region), ed; by gen. Tihmenov, Taškent 1903, Izdanije Štaba Turkestanskogo Voennogo Okruga, p. 296. Similar opinions are found among Western observers. See: S.W. Williams, The Middle Kingdom, New York 1883, vol. 11, pp. 88–9.
culture”\textsuperscript{123}. This concept can be queried, although the lack of a clear distinction between soldiers and commoners, commanders and scholars, seems to be a real fact.

One could object that the imperial Chinese bureaucratic machine was divided into “civil” and “military” officials, but it was more a bureaucratic distinction of the positions within one apparatus than the institution of military staff in the modern Western sense. The “military officials” were quite often subordinate to the “civil officials” and usually performed various duties related to the maintenance of civil order. The conventional nature of this division is confirmed by the regular transfers from “civil” to “military” posts and \textit{vice versa}. Therefore, as Michael Loewe observed, in the Han period there was no social group of professional commanders, but only individual military figures\textsuperscript{124}. This situation did not change substantially right up to the 19th century\textsuperscript{125}. Our knowledge of these problems is, however, not sufficient yet.

\textsuperscript{123} Cfr. Lei Bolun, \textit{Zhongguo wenhua yu Zhongguode bing} (Chinese culture and Chinese military forces), Taipei (no year indicated) Wannian Qing Shudian, p. 126.


The evolution of standing armies during the period of Warring States was analysed by Yang Kuan. See his study and the book: \textit{Chunqiu Zhanguo jian fengjiande junshi zuzhi ke zhanzhengde bianhua} (The transformations of wars and the feudal military organization in the Chunqiu and the Zhanguo periods), “\textit{Lishi Jiaoxue}”, 1954, no. 4, pp. 7–13; \textit{Zhan guo shi} (The history of the Warring States period), Shanghai 1980 (the second revised edition). The development of the Chinese military systems is also described in a synthetic form in: Lei Bolun, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 1–69; Zhang Qiyun, \textit{Zhongguo junshi shiilue} (Outlines of Chinese military history), Taipei 1956, Zhonghua Wenhua Chuban Shiyue Weiyuanhui, ch. I, II.

For a description of functions of the \textit{wu} officials in the early imperial period see: An Zuozhang, Xiong Tieji, \textit{Qin Han guanzhi shigao} (A history of the Han and Qin official system), Jinan 1984, Qi Lu Shushe, pp. 233–60.

\textsuperscript{125} Cf. Puštata, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 172; Barabaš, \textit{Zapiska o Marečuri Generalnogo Štaba Polkovnika Barabaša} (Notes on Manchuria by the colonel of the General Staff Barabaš), “\textit{Sbornik geografických...}”, vol. I, pp. 76, 94. Attempts to separate a profession commanding staff were made in the New Army organized by Yuan Shikai, and later on in Guomindang’s army. They were initiated again after the founding of the People’s Republic, but each time political events, wars and other factors stopped changes and military commanders were burdened with political, administrative and productive functions, especially pronounced when they took power in the entire state or in regions. The last attempts were undertaken in the early 1980’s when the previous Maoist model was rejected.
The integration of administrative and military institutions seems to be related to a strong tradition of combining productive and military functions, those of farmers and soldiers, in one indivisible whole (coined in the principle *min bing he yi*). Such ideas fascinated Chinese thinkers from ancient to most recent times, and underlie almost every attempt at reforms. Only the organizational forms have changed. The separation of military functions from civil ones and the elaboration of a military ethos to match that of the West were among the main tasks of military reformers at the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries.

Another factor was the tradition of appointing military commanders to administer border-lands, current from the Shang period to our century. It contributed to an integration of military and civil elements of the state apparatus, as did the tradition of establishing new dynasties by military conquest, and transforming leaders of the victorious army into civil

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126 For a description of this principle see: Zhang Qiyun, *Zhongguo junshi shi* (An outline of the Chinese military history), Taipei, 1956, ch. I. His concept of the original distinction of soldiers from farmers is, however, dubious.

127 The most influential were concepts of the ideal integral organization of peasantry described in the book "The Norms of the Zhou Dynasty" (Zhou li), being a compilation from the older texts finally edited in the 1st century B.C. But it is significant, that a similar tradition of administrative—military organization of the population existed also among the northern peoples. Thus the periodic reappearance of such an organization among the peasantry and the ruling class (as the Manchu Eight Banners Army) had various cultural inspirations. The last attempts to include the military service in an integral productive organization of the people and productive and public labour functions to the army were attempted by Mao Zedong and his adherents in the years 1957–1975. It was expressed in the most condensed form in Mao’s letter to Lin Biao dated May 7th, 1966, but published only one year later. The political role of the army could be related to this tradition. For a description of the Maoist military model see: J. Gittings, *The Role of the Chinese Army*, New York–London 1967, Oxford University Press.

128 For a description of this process see: R.L. Powell, *The Rise of Chinese Military Power*, Princeton 1955, Princeton University Press; K. Gawlikowski, *Chiny wobec Europy; Reformy wojskowe XIX wieku* (China’s encounter with Europe; The military reforms of the 19th century), Wroclaw–Warszawa 1979, Ossolineum. It is, however, significant that the new military prestige was created in a traditional way: by an emphasis on education and transformation of the soldiers into semi-scholars, or by an emphasis on the ideological and political role of the army. See: Rossov, *Vooruzonnye sily Kitaja v period preobrazovanij, 1906 g.* (Chinese military forces in the period of transformations, 1906), Harbin 1906, Izdanie Štaba Vojsk Dalnego Vostoka, p. 103; *Gege jiaolian jiaoyu yaoxing* (The essentials of education of individual soldiers), Baoding 1922; *Geming junren xuzhi* (Knowledge necessary for revolutionary soldiers), (an undated publication of an early Guomindang army); Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen), *Junren jingshen jiaoyu* (Spiritual educations of the military men) Shanghai 1926, Minzhi Shuju.
rulers. Why all those social, regional, ethnic and institutional forces were unable to crate and impose on the society an alternate ideology, more favouring wu, is another open question.

Perhaps one of the most important reasons was recognition by the Confucianists of the necessity of wu and ability to integrate various elements of opposing ideologies. Thus, the attitude of Confucian scholars to the wen and wu dichotomy should not be over-simplified on the basis of their well-known appreciation for wen, and often negative judgements on wu. They recognised that in certain periods and in some regions the wu element should dominate. It was justified by the general concept that wu serves wen and promotes justice. Hence, the School of Strategy (bing jia) disappeared in the Han period, being incorporated into the syncretic imperial Confucianism. As Herbert Franke pointed out, later works on military subjects were written by Confucian scholars. The tradition of combining literary education and administrative knowledge with military arts originates, in fact, from Confucius, who in his school taught the "six arts", which included archery and charioteering.

Early Confucianists acknowledged the weak points of wen, and tried to complement it with something else. It was mentioned above that the ideal "nobleman" has to combine wen—education with natural characteristics, otherwise he could become merely a "bookish scholar". Norms of propriety (li) were also considered complementary to wen. Yan Yuan, one of Confucius's most cherished pupils, said about his master: "He widened [my mind] with wen, and restricted [my behaviour] with li". In a similar manner the Civil Principle was balanced by its indispensable lower-ranking partner, the Martial Principle, although the precise role of the latter was a subject of controversy.

Some scholars recognised its importance, whereas others tended to play this down. This tendency became manifest more openly after the Han period, although even before, at least since the times of Mencius, it had been developing. In addition to social reasons described above, a particular political factor has to be mentioned. Perhaps in this manner idealistic scholars opposed the policy of conquests and an excessive implementation of punishments and cruelty of the state, and propagated instead an idea of a utopian Confucian state of prosperity, benevolence and justice. A development of this tendency within Confucianism was related to the grow-

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ing influence of Legalism, and to the incorporation of its elements into the later syncretic ideology of the empire. Negative attitudes to wu, propagated by the ruling class, served as well to preserve the existing political order, to prevent rebellions of the population and to justify in a more profound manner suppression of the “barbarians” and struggle against foreign invaders.

Thus, these two tendencies within Confucianism could co-exist and complement each other. The realistic, oppressive or even aggressive “hawkish” orientations, and idealistic, anti-militaristic ones—all served the empire, or the states created on its ruins. The first increased military potential and pacified the population by force, the others propagated an idealised image of the empire (or the state pretending to embody its re-creation), increased confidence in its ideology and the political system in spite of the “temporal”, or “local” abuses, and the “inevitable periods of chaos”.

In concluding these remarks on Chinese thought the general outlook can be presented as follow. Confucianism (and Moism) appreciated wen, and tolerated wu only as its support, or as means to protect or restore the order based on virtues, whereas the Legalists emphasised wu, and negated Confucian virtues and their concept of wen, or tried to combine those two elements in a particular way. The Strategists took an intermediate position between these two schools, although they were closer to the Confucianists, and many of them presented opinions similar to the Confucian if not identical. Their particular contribution to the theory of wen and wu was an idea of functional separation of the army in the field from the state apparatus, the first managed mainly by wu principles, the second mainly by wen principles, with a combination of both of them in the course of military campaigns and in the functions of the commander. They also introduced to wu an important element of deception. The Taoists rejected both wen and wu. All schools of the classical Chinese philosophy, with the sole exception of Legalism, condemned war and military means, although in various ways and for different reasons. And all of them, again with the exception of the Legalists, developed some metaphysical or magical concepts of wen and wu (the Strategists limited themselves only to wu elaboration). In the popular thought an ambivalent approach can be found; the Confucian concepts increased in influence, but side by side grew up a fascination for military virtues. The folk martiality emphasised the mystical aspects for wen and wu originating from Taoism (the cult of inscription sent by Heaven, magic gymnastics, etc.).

The Buddhist thought, with its emphasis on protection of life and pacifism, certainly contributed to the prevalence of civil virtues and condemnation of struggle, although it also inspired development of individual
fighting techniques and popularised cult of some "military figures". Buddhism was omitted here, since it is not related directly to the classic Chinese thought analysed here.

4. THE DEEPER SIGNIFICANCES OF WEN AND WU; THEIR CORRESPONDENCES AND POSITION IN WORLD-ORDER

The meanings of wen and wu are as a matter of fact even more complex than one might conclude from the description given above. This is due to the complicated system of their correspondences. Some of them have been mentioned here, others not. A presentation of all of them in detail will need a special study devoted to them. So here, only a synthetic and rather superficial description will be given.

Whereas in the West the concept of continuity of time and space was the most significant, common to different cultures, reflected, for instance, in calculating time from a certain point: from the creation of the world, from the first olympiade, ab urbe condita or from the birth of Jesus, the Chinese elaborated another concept. They emphasised not continuity but segmentation of space and time, each segment having its own nature (essence, qi) determined by the domination or proportion of Yang and Yin, and by characteristics of the Five Elements. Owing to the concept of "organism" all phenomena of the world, and all parts of the cosmic order were divided into homogeneous kinds, and related to each other by constant principles of changes. The corner-stone of this system was unity of space and time in each respective segment.


Since the Civil Principle was identified with the life-giving Yang Force, it had Yang correspondences, such as Heaven, East and South, Spring and Summer; its magical numbers were odd, nine in particular, and it corresponded to the Round Shape. In a more precise way, wen was identified with the "small Yang" i.e. with its growth, that is with East, Spring, Wood, and it corresponded to the Left Side and the virtue of Benevolence (ren). It was patronised by the Wenchang star constellation and Jupiter (Suixing). Its magical being was the Green Dragon, its creatures were scaly, its magical number was eight (or three), and its colour green-blue. It has however some relations also to the South, to its Fire element, the Red Bird and red colour.

The Martial Social Principles was on the other hand identified with the Yin Force, therefore with Earth, with the North and the West, Autumn and Winter; its magical numbers were even, six in particular, and it corresponded to the Square Shape. It was identified with death, decline, the end, therefore also with achieving success. In a more precise way military affairs were identified with the "small Yin", i.e. with the essence of growing Yin but with still present Yang, hence, with the West, Metal and Autumn, hairy creatures, the Right Side and Righteousness (or Dutifulness, yi). It was patronized by Venus (the planet Taibo) responsible for military actions (and the Moon overseeing punishments); its magical being was White Tiger, and its colour was white. It has however close relations with the North, Winter, with Mercury (Shuixing), therefore with the Black Warrior (a tortoise fighting with a snake, Xuan Wu), therefore with the black colour. 133

133 Cfr. "The Book of Norms" (Li ji), chapter 4 (Yue ling) and similar descriptions of seasonal activities with their correspondences in "The Book of Master Guan" (Guan zi), "Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals" (Lü shì chun qiu), "The Norms of Zhou" (Zhou li). See also "The Book of Changes" (Yi jing), hexagrame 1 and 2, Appendix 3; "The Historical Records" (Shi ji), juan 23-27; "The History of the Han Dynasty" (Han shu), juan 26-27; "A String of Pearls on the Spring and Autumn Annals" (Chun qiu fan lu), chapter Wu xing; "The History of the Later Han Dynasty" (Hou Han shu), zhi, sect. 5, 8, 9; "The Canon of the Great Peace" (Tai ping jing), juan 65, 66, 69; Hu qian jing, juan 1, 11, 12.

Hence, a warrior in Chinese literature and popular images was quite often presented as a strong, hairy man, with a sword (a symbol of Metal). His ideal virtues were Righteousness and devotion to his duties, and he aimed at the restoration of justice (all these constitute various meanings of yi). He must be brave, and often is described as vehement, and these spiritual characteristics were located in the liver, which was an organ corresponding to Metal. His ability "to fly", i.e. to leap over walls, onto the roof of a house, to jump to incredible heights during a struggle and fight in the air, was emphasised and military actions were in various ways related to wind, since Tiger was the lord of winds, as Dragon was the lord of rains. He was also compared to a tiger, and a struggle to the use of fangs and claws, as a scholar was compared to a dragon, and literature to scales of fish and their subtle designs. The colour white was a symbol and expression of mourning, which corresponded to the very nature of war and results of military activity. So, those complicated and sometimes confused correspondences constitutes a backbone of social archetypes, images of the main figures of the ruling elite: scholars and warriors, or in a more general sense literary and martial personages and those two kinds of activity.

It seems, however, that military activity was identified with specific elements of the cosmic order in a more precise manner than education, canons and literary activity. It was, perhaps, related to a much wider field of wen. Even wu, as mentioned above, was quite often divided, especially in later texts, into two branches with their particular correspondences, i.e. in military actions in a proper sense, and executions or other kinds of punishments (or trickery, sophisticated plans, and so on).

There were also many other correspondences which are omitted here,

"Mythological beings" mentioned in the text have at least three meanings: they denote star constellations which supervise their respective parts of space; they indicate true mythical creatures which embody characteristics ascribed to their respective parts of the world and "govern" them; they are conventional names of directions, four cardinal points of the compass. In addition to those, these names were used in military texts as conventional names for various elements of terrain.

It is significant however that in some early sources the tiger did not yet represent military abilities and virtues but merely symbolized a "great man", a "nobleman". Cfr. Lun yu, book 12, sect. 8; Yi jing, the explanation of the hexagram no. 49, Wilhelm's translation, quoted ed., p. 192. Cfr. also note 13 in this text. In the explanation to the hexagram no. 1 one can find however the identification of dragon with Heaven and tiger with Earth (Wilhelm's translation, p. 9), which in antiquity patronized military activity (demonstrated by military sacrifices to she altar). The identification of warriors with tiger--nature is certainly of the pre--Han origin (cfr. Shi jing, part III, book III, ode 9, sect. 4; Legge's translation, p. 558).
and various incoherences or contradictions. For instance, an identification of *wen* and *wu* with celestial bodies, a problem of great importance for the traditional China, is unclear and confusing, since many of them were indicated as patronizing martial and literary activities. The *Wenchang* constellation is composed of the six stars of *Ursa Major*, and the Green Dragon is a name for the seven star constellations of the East; the Sun is an embodiment of Light and enlightenment but its relations to *wen* are unclear, although the Moon was clearly identified with punishments; and in addition to them we have Jupiter, which "governs" the East and Wood, i.e. literature. The South was identified with Yang, but many of the mythological figures or beings related to that region have a martial nature. The most prominent among them was Chi You, a mythological southern rebel, who struggled against the Yellow Emperor, invented weapons of war and in antiquity was even considered a God of War.\(^{134}\)

*Wen*, as was mentioned above, was identified with the Middle Country, and *wu* with barbarians\(^ {135}\), but other statements can also be found that *wen* was born in the East and spread south, and that the sage-rulers who created civilization were born in the East\(^ {136}\). Perhaps it was related to various concepts of China; some of them emphasised the division into the Five Parts of the world, with the Middle Country in the centre; some used the belt structure with the zones of growing wilderness surrounding the central capital area; still others concentrate on the separation of northern and western barbarian territories from the lands of the Middle Country situated in the south-eastern part, while still others considered China as composed of the Four Parts\(^ {137}\). Thus, the East could mean merely an eastern part of the Middle Country.

Generally speaking, Yang represented hardness and Yin softness, but Metal has as its quality (*de*) hardness, and Water softness. So, *wu* could be considered a combination of hardness with softness\(^ {138}\). But there were

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\(^{134}\) He was identified with a comet. Cfr. *Han shu*, juan 26, quoted ed., p. 1293. For his God of War position see: *Shi ji*, juan 28, quoted ed., p. 1367.


\(^{138}\) In Sunzi’s treatise on the art of war military forces are compared to water and stones, and a combination of these two characteristics, hardness and softness, can be easily detected from his recommendation for struggle. It is a leitmotif of the tradi-
various complications: Autumn with its Metal characteristics, the "small Yin" with some Yang elements still present was recommended for military actions, and Winter, the "great Yin", was recommended for punishments and executions\textsuperscript{139}. On the other hand, Winter and Water corresponded to trickery, the darkest part of military arts\textsuperscript{140}, and there were various concepts of military actions: those which were based on force and those which were based on softness, and on overcoming force by softness. The first had their roots in Sunzi's theory, and the second in Laozi's concepts.

The number nine was generally considered a high expression of the Yang Force, but it was also ascribed to Metal, and thus could also be considered a \textit{wu} number\textsuperscript{141} side by side with six, and so on. Chinese dialectics, which included complicated principles of transformations, of overcoming one element by another, or of originating one from another, increases still more the complexity of those mythicized meanings. For instance, the Yin Force and its social expression \textit{wu} was generally considered to be related to death and decline, but, as mentioned above, also to "harvesting", to reaping the results of previous Yang activity and success. So, it was natural that Wen Wang by his policy based on \textit{wen} promoted the growth of the Zhou state, but only Wu Wang, by the use of \textit{wu}, could achieve a final victory over the Shang dynasty and establish a new Zhou dynasty. Hence there are statements that Yin originates from Yang and Yang originates from Yin, that Yang governs Yin and Yin governs Yang. Thus Tang Zhen could write:

"Military methods (\textit{bing}) constitute the gate of death, but in reality they are the gate of life for the world"\textsuperscript{142}.

And similar formulations can be found in many treatises. This can help to understand why it was so easy to combine \textit{wen} and \textit{wu} principles not only in politics but also in mythicized expressions. For instance, in

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\textsuperscript{139} Cfr. Yang Guoyong, \textit{Liu Bocheng yong bing yaozhi} (Military directives of Liu Bocheng), Kunming 1985, Yunnan Renmin Chubanshe, p. 52. In a contemporary article on a famous chess player Xie Xiaoxun, his art is characterised "as insipid as water and as soft as cotton; but water can extinguish fire, and softness conquers hardness". \textit{Chess: The Secret of Longevity}, "Peking Review" July 21, 1968, p. 34.

\textsuperscript{140} It can be seen in the constant use of the number six, or six by six, the highest concentration of the Yin power, in the texts related to trickery, as for instance, the well-known "Thirty Six Tricks" (\textit{San shi liu ji}). Cfr. also Shi ji, juan 27, quoted ed., p. 1320; commentary, p. 1308, note 2.

\textsuperscript{141} Cfr. \textit{Li ji}, juan 4, (\textit{Yue ling}), sect. 3, part 1; Legge's translation, p. 283.

\textsuperscript{142} \textit{Qian shu}, juan 2, part 2, sect. \textit{Quan xue}; quoted ed., p. 175.
the description of stars which compose the *Wenchang* constellation patronizing *wen*, individual stars are presented as patronizing military activities.\footnote{Cfr. *Shi ji*, juan 27, quoted ed., pp. 1293–4.}

Many of those contradictions and incoherences are related to a particular Chinese intellectual tradition. Usually the texts of different ages, written by various persons and belonging to contradicting regional cultures, and concepts contained in those texts, were quoted and presented side by side without any attempt to harmonize them, to create a coherent system; so, the antique concepts were preserved, even when they contradicted new ones which evolved later on.

The problem of time, mentioned above, deserves particular attention, since for the Chinese it was a factor of the greatest importance and had close relations to the *wen* and *wu* elements. In China there was a strong tendency to imagine time changes as cycles which repeat historical periods as the seasons follow each other in the year cycle. So, in later times one can find a description of the historical process as a sequence of *wen* and *wu* epochs, periods of "order" (*zhì*) and unity, and periods of "disorder" (*luàn*), wars, and division of China. Hence, in the "Book of Liu", ascribed to Liu Hua (514–565), *wen* and *wu* are described in the following way.

Round things and square objects have different characteristics related to their shape, and a boat and a chariot have different uses, one serving for crossing water, the other for land, but they are equally useful. Human actions are also different in various seasons of the year. Similar is the use of *wen* and *wu*. During the periods of wars, when swords glitter, *wen* yields precedence to *wu*; when weapons are put away and rites and music flourish, then *wu* yields precedence to *wen*. When the country is disunited and fears predominate it is impossible to put away *wu*; but when the country is united it is improper not to use *wen*. *Wen* and *wu* have different qualities but both are equally useful. Each kind of official, military and civil, serves its purpose at the appropriate time. *Wen* serves for the flourishing of order, and *wu* serves for the suppression of the enemies. For the establishment of a great peace in China, *wen* served as a basis, but without the implementation of *wu* the armies could not be put away. Then rituals and righteousness could be re-established and the music of the ancient dynasties could be performed. Hence it is said that the times of order and chaos differ, but various abilities have to be used according to the tasks. At the end of the text the author complains that in his time those who use *wu* do not know *wen* and *vice versa*. Each of these elements has its strong and weak points, and he advocated a simultaneous use of *wen* and *wu*.\footnote{*Liu zi*, juan 6 (sect. 28), quoted ed., pp. 168–9.
Tang Zhen who lived at the time of the Manchu conquest stated that even within one dynastic period there was a division into stages of order and chaos. He calculated that the first lasts some eleven or twelve generations and the second eighteen or nineteen

The idea of the simultaneous use of both elements, advocated by Liu Hua, is not new, of course, and was promoted by the Legalists, Strategists, and some Confucian scholars, although in various interpretations. The most popular seems to be the principle: "the country is ordered by wen, the world is settled by wu"\textsuperscript{146}, i.e., the state borders and the entire international order (of subordination or equality) are decided and protected by wu. Sometimes this principle was formulated in another time-pattern. There was a saying: "when wen rises to the Ultimate Point, the world will be tranquilized; when wu reaches the eight edges [of the world], everything will be settled"\textsuperscript{147}.

Mencius, the greatest Confucian sage–teacher after the founder of the School, supposed that every five hundred years a sage is born, a sage–teacher or a sage–ruler, who can restore order and morality in the world\textsuperscript{148}. So, the periods of order, or following the Way, inevitably intermingle with the periods of growing disorder, wars, oppressions and in-justice, of contradicting the Way. Such a sequence of declining dynasties, with the virtuous founder who reestablishes order and harmony followed by less perfect rulers and in the end by despots, who are in turn overthrown by a new sage–ruler with the Mandate of Heaven, can be detected in the canonical "Book of Documents" and other Confucian scriptures.

It seems, however, that this was more a cycle of declining order than a sequence of equally treated epochs of order and disorder, coming one after another as day comes after night. Such concepts were popularised later on, when there was a richer experience of epochs of unity and disunity of the empire, peace and stability, and foreign invasions and civil wars. The great popularity of such opinions is proved by the initial phrases of the "Tale of the Three Kingdoms", where one can read that the "world", i.e. China, being a long time united–must be divided, and remaining a long time divided–must be united again\textsuperscript{149}. Therefore, all efforts of its heroes to re-establish the unity of China are condemned to

\textsuperscript{145} Qian shu, juan 1, part 2, Xian jun; quoted ed., p. 66.
\textsuperscript{146} Wu Yue chun qiu (Spring and Autumn annals of the Wu and Yue states), juan 1; Bai bu congshu jicheng, Taipei, Yiwen Yinshuguan, p. 10b.
\textsuperscript{147} Cao Guangzhai, Hebei wulin gushi (Stories on the military heroes from the Hebei province), Beijing 1985, Zhongguo Minjian Wenyi Chubanshe.
\textsuperscript{148} Meng zi, juan 4; Zhu zi ji cheng ed., p. 183.
\textsuperscript{149} Sanguo yan yi, sect. 1.
failure, from the very beginning, as in a Greek tragedy, since they were acting during the time of division. It can be mentioned that such successive epochs are related to Yin and Yang, *wen* and *wu*, not only by their nature, but also through numerical symbols: Yang corresponds to the odd numbers, and Yin to even numbers. So, unity can not be achieved when the time of the number "one" passed.

The idea that power over a state can be acquired only by military force, but that the state must be governed by civil means, was also known from antiquity. It was expressed in a metaphor: the power is acquired "sitting on the horse", but to rule the country the emperor must "get down from the horse". This concept was combined however with another one of Confucian origin: the root of victory is *wen*, therefore one has to demonstrate perfect rule, create an army fighting for justice and then one can eventually achieve final victory. Such ideas fascinated Chinese politicians even in the 20th century. They directed the activity of Sun Zhongshan and the attempts of Mao Zedong to create Red Bases from which a final victory could be achieved. Therefore, time relations between *wen* and *wu* are rather complicated, and cannot be reduced to a simple sequence of *wen* and *wu* epochs.

*Wen* could however be combined in a cycle not only with *wu*. Another sequence of ten periods was mentioned above, found in the "Canon of the Great Peace". Zou Yan, a philosopher of the 4th century B.C., elaborated a theory which combined the Five Elements with dynamic epochs, following each other as seasons of the year. Thus the Xia reign was an epoch of Wood, i.e. *wen*, Shang of Metal, i.e. *wu*, Zhou of Fire (distribution of *wen*), Qin of Water (distribution of *wu*). The Han dynasty returned to Earth and re-established balance among them. Sima Qian (145?–87?) described two cyclical concepts in which *wen* is mentioned. One of them combines in a cycle the periods of "sophisticated forms", or

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151 Cfr. Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, quoted ed., pp. 136–8. During the Han period this concept was modified and Metal was ascribed to the Xia dynasty, Water to Shang, and Wood (i.e. *wen*) to the Zhou dynasty. Cfr. *Han shu*, juan 21, part 2, quoted ed., pp. 1012–6. And the cycles initiate from the mythological rulers.
"culture" (wen) with the periods of "natural characteristics" (zhi). Thus the Xia reign was a period of wen, Shang of zhi, and this was followed again by wen appreciated by the Zhou dynasty\(^ {152} \). So, Confucius continued its wen tradition. Quite often both these elements were interpreted in a Confucian way rather as two indispensable elements of kingly rule\(^ {153} \).

Another cyclical concept became, however, more popular. According to Sima Qian the Xia dynasty based its rule on "sincerity" (zhong), the Shang dynasty on "reverence" (jing) and the Zhou dynasty on wen. Each of these elements is ambivalent, and in excess results in negative consequences: "sincerity" led to wildness (rudeness), therefore the situation was improved by introducing "reverence"; "reverence" led to the cult of demons, therefore it was substituted by wen, culture and education, but it in turn led to falsehood, to a merely external application of norms of propriety. So the return to "sincerity" became necessary, which was carried out by the Han rulers\(^ {154} \).

To conclude these remarks related to Chinese concepts of history the most famous canonical book can be quoted: "The Book of Changes". Notwithstanding the lack of direct references to wen and \( \) one can find there the description of periods of peace and of chaos, inter-


\(^ {153} \) Cfr. Yan tie lun, juan 1 (sect. 4); quoted ed., p. 52; see also similar opinions from the other antique sources quoted by the author in the note no. 23, p. 57.


Krol indicates that this concept was in fact earlier and similar ideas were current in many ancient books, for instance in the "Records of Norms" (Li ji) and in the "Discussion in the Hall of White Tiger" (Bai hu tong), and were shared by Dong Zhongshu. Cfr. Krol, op. cit., pp. 86–88; Tjan Tjoe Som, Po Hu T’ung. The Comprehensive Discussion in the White Tiger Hall, Leiden 1952, vol. 2, p. 555, note 9; Wang Liqi, Yan tie lun..., op. cit., p. 52, and 55–6 (note 14).
mingled with periods of changes. In the explanations to the hexagram no.
11 (Tai) the following statement is given:

"[With] the little gone and the great come, good fortune and success [are
granted]. It is so when Heaven and Earth unite, and all things and creatures
communicate [freely, i.e. are in harmony]. The upper and lower [social classes,
i.e. ruling and ruled] unite and they have the same will. Inside the Yang [prevails]
and Outside the Yin [remains]. [Thus] the Interior is strong and the Exterior
follows [it]. Inside the noble men [rule] and Outside the people of low moral
standing [obey]. The way of the noblemen flourishes, and the way of the low
people decays. [But in the end protective] walls fall back into the moat and
the destiny is chaos".\(^{155}\)

The explanation to the hexagram no. 12 (Pi) presents the opposite state
of the world.

"The evil of the rebels and usurpers [prevails], and the correctness of the noble
men is harmed. The great are gone and the little come. [It is so when] Heaven
and Earth are disunited and all things and creatures cannot communicate. The
upper and lower [social classes, i.e. ruling and ruled] are disunited, and in the
world there are no vassal countries [i.e. no king’s rule is recognised]. Inside
the Yin [dominates] and Outside the Yang [is dispersed]. The Interior is weak
and the Exterior is strong. The people of low standing [rule] the Interior and
the noble men remain on the Exterior. The way of the low people flourishes
and the way of the noblemen decays... [But] evil must come to an end, it can-
not last forever".\(^{156}\)

This philosophical vision of the world and the cosmic order is related
to the fatal cycle of the growth of peace and universal harmony, its in-
evitable decline, and the outbreak of wars, domination of force and chaos,
although at the time of writing of this book the names of wen and wu
were not used yet for those periods.

5. THE EVOLUTION OF THE WEN AND WU CONCEPTS: SEVERAL HYPOTHESES

Thus, another question can be posed: when did the wen and wu idea
evolve and the concept of such polarity appear in Chinese thought? In

\(^{155}\) Shang Binghe, Zhou yi Shang shi xue, quoted ed., pp. 75–79. Legge’s and
Wilhelm’s translations were used to some extend. Cf. “Sacred Books of China”, Part

\(^{156}\) Shang Binghe, op. cit., pp. 79–83; J. Legge, op. cit., pp. 8–5; R. Wilhelm,
op. cit., pp. 52–5. Both translations were used here to a certain extent; Legge’s transla-
tion seems too literal, and Wilhelm’s too free, well suited to the common reader’s needs
but not exact enough.
the "History of the Later Han Dynasty" (*Hou Han shu*) the following significant passage can be found:

"The Three Sovereigns had no *wen*, [at their time] the knots were tied for administrative work; from the Five Emperors' time books started to appear, but only during the reign of the Three Kings writing the books become popular. Tricks and falsehood started to develop. Hence seals were introduced to restrict the growth of immorality".\(^{157}\)

The Three Sovereigns mentioned here are obviously Fu Xi, Nü Wa and Shen Nong; the Three Kings refer to the founders of the three dynasties: Yu the Great of Xia, Cheng Tang of Shang, and Wen Wang of Zhou.\(^{158}\) *Wen* signifies here merely writing and books, although other elements of its meaning are not completely excluded as the last part of the passage indicates. This statement remains in accordance with opinions contained in other antique sources, that writing appeared during the reign of Huangdi, as did the military arts introduced by him, and weapons invented by his opponent Chi You. There is, however, another statement ascribed to Confucius, that *wen* appeared only during the Zhou period\(^{159}\). In this passage from the "Confucian Analects" (*Lun yu*) *wen* means, perhaps, elegance and education in virtues and norms, based on canonical scriptures. In the "Bamboo Annals" (*Zhu zhu ji nian*), on the other hand, *wen* and *wu* principles are raised to the level of eternal elements of statehood, although they are again related to Huangdi. A mysterious Heavenly Old Man said to him: When the ruler likes *wen*, phoenixes arrive (to his capital, an omen of his virtues and prosperity of the country); when he admires *wu*, they go away\(^{160}\). So, one faces two contradicting approaches. One presents *wen* and *wu* principles as eternal, known to the founders of Chinese statehood. The other relates *wen* and *wu* to the historical development of culture, to the evolution of script and canons and also to the production of weapons, knowledge of military arts, introduction of punishments, etc.

It is significant that antique sources state that the first division of officials was made according to the Four Seasons. Those of the Spring duties

\(^{157}\) *Hou Han shu*, *zhi* 9; Beijing 1975, Zhonghua Shuju edition, p. 3205.


\(^{160}\) *Zhu shu ji nian*, juan 1; Wang Yizhi, *Zi shu san shi er zhong* (Thirty two books of the masters), 1913, Yuwen Shuju, p. 2a.
performed some educative functions, and those of Autumn and Winter military and punitive functions, but there was no division of the state officials into wen and wu categories. This can be seen in the "Book of Documents", the "Book of Zhou Norms", the "Historical Records" and many others. Perhaps it reflects a feeling that the system of wen and wu state duties is relatively new, and therefore was not projected onto remote antiquity as was the case with many other elements of culture.

Ancient books do not allow us to date precisely when wen and wu first appeared as distinct concepts. In the "Confucian Analects" wu is not used as a term for military affairs or virtues (although wen is present); it is used there as a proper name, usually for Wu Wang. It is present however in the "Zuo's Commentary" in its full meaning, and is often used in the "Book of Songs". For instance, in the ode "The sixth month" which describes the Northern expedition of the Xuan Wang reing (827–782 B.C.), this characterisation of Jie Fu, a commander, is given:

"The war carriages move safely,
Nice balanced, before and behind.
Their four steeds are strong,
Both strong and well trained [...] Jie Fu has Peace and Martial virtues,
A pattern to all vassal states".

The Chinese phrase wen wu Jie Fu is translated here as "Jie Fu has Peace and Martial virtues" since it was interpreted in this way by commentaries, although the contents of wen and wu is not specified there and can be interpreted in various ways, such as "benevolent and martial Jie Fu", "pacific and martial", etc.

In an ode used as a prayer to the ancestors of aristocratic houses, ascribed to Wu Wang (11th? century B.S.) and originally addressed to his father Wen Wang or to Hou Ji, a mythological ancestor of the Zhou house, similar characteristics are emphasised.

"O great and august Father,
Protect me, your filial son!
Wise and bright were officials,
Peaceful and Martial was the ruler,
Even Heaven was given some rest
[it should not have to worry about men]
Prosperity was ensured for the descendants".

162 Shi jing, part II, book III, ode 3, sect. 5; Legge's translation p. 283, modified.
163 Shi jing, part IV, book I (ii), ode (Yong); Legge's translation, p. 590, modified.
Such use of *wen* and *wu* in the meaning of peace—giving and martial virtues seems to be the original form of the concept. In Shang bone inscriptions *wen* was used in the sense “peaceful”, “favouring peace”, and *wu* in the sense of “bellicose”, “brave in waging war”. Hu Houxuan and Wang Guiming are of the opinion that *wu* did not have in this period the general meaning of “military affairs”\(^{164}\). Wang indicates that such significance had rather “horse”, a character read now *ma*\(^{165}\). The characters *wen* and *wu* were however used in the names of Shang kings. Therefore their appearance in the names of the founders of Zhou dynasty was not a new invention. One can doubt that they had in early Zhou period the meaning ascribed to them in the “Book of Norms”, where the phrase can be found: “Wen Wang ruled by *wen* and Wu Wang succeeded by *wu*”\(^{166}\). The phrase “truly having *wen* and *wu* qualities”, from a song which according to tradition was composed in Wu Wang’s army during the campaign against the last Shang ruler\(^{167}\), reflects perhaps better the early stage of *wen* and *wu* concept.

At the very end of the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period (5th–3rd centuries B.C.) the more abstract meanings evolved and *wen* and *wu* concepts were enlarged, developed into principles of government, and were combined with the Yang and Yin Forces. Further development into two spheres of human activity, the evolution of a complex system of correspondences, etc. appeared, perhaps, in the Han period and the following centuries. This process was however quite complicated, since the *wen* element was, it seems, developed earlier, and acquired its abstract meanings first, while *wu* followed as its counterpart. This process was related to the formation of syncretic Confucian ideology in the Han time and on the other hand to the bureaucratic practice of the divi-


sion of the state apparatus into *wen* and *wu* categories, substantiated by the imperial sinocentric ideology.

Such a hypothetical development is confirmed not only by narrative and political texts, but also by historical studies. For instance, Hu Houxuan demonstrated that during the Shang period there was no division into civil and military duties, they were performed by the same person\(^{168}\). In his opinion in that period *wen* and *wu* had not yet been elevated to the level of the two principles of government, or social functions\(^{169}\). Zhou Shuye indicates that the division of duties into *wen* and *wu* started to appear in the state apparatus only in the Spring and Autumn Period\(^{170}\). Those two categories of officials were distinguished in the empire from its very beginning, but only in the following centuries a stricter specialisation appeared\(^{171}\). It seems reasonable to suppose that the evolution of sophisticated philosophical concepts raising the *wen* and *wu* elements to a mystical level and transforming them into the fundamental elements of the world—order, and the subsequent tendencies to narrow their meanings, were related to changes in the political organization of the state which embodied the world—order.

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In concluding these remarks on *wen* and *wu* the problem of terminology should be faced. In the Chinese texts the two characters are used without any accompanying elements. So, the name "Social Principles" is a matter of convention. They can be called "elements", as in N.I. Konrad's works; this was not done here in order to avoid confusion with the Five Elements. The term Social Principles indicates that both are closely related to the social world, although they also have a cosmic dimension. It corresponds to the Chinese terms the "Civil Way" and the "Martial Way"

\(^{168}\) Hu Houxuan, *Yindaide shi wei wuguan shuo* (On *shi* as military official during the Yin period), (a revised version) in: Hu Houxuan ed., *Quanguo Shang shi xueshu taolunhui lunwen ji* (Collected papers of the All-Chinese conference on Shang history), "Yindu Xuegang" (zeng gang) 1985, February, p. 195.

\(^{169}\) Personal communication, May 1986.


\(^{171}\) Wang Yuquan's opinion, personal communication, May 1986.
(wen wu dao), which are fundamental for their political applications, although some other meanings, as for instance, the "spheres", "factors", "potentials", and so on, are left aside.

This division of the social world into the wen and wu spheres was a basic Weltanschauung stereotype that allowed the Chinese to organize their political structures, to perceive, classify and interpret their social experience. During more than two millenia the state rulers (who were not merely political leaders), the heads of the local administration, and even gods, were accompanied in popular images (and often in reality) by their civil and military attendants. The supreme power was the power over wen and wu. Even space and time and various natural phenomena had their martial or civil characteristics.

Even now the southern part of Peking is divided into the "Venerating Wen" (chong wen) and the "Displaying Wu" (xuan wu) districts. It is related to the names of the old gates of the capital, which in its plan reflected fundamental cosmological concepts. Hence, the South–Eastern "Gate of Venerating Wen" had in the Northern side the corresponding "Gate of Establishing Peace" (An Ding Men), beyond which was the main military training square during the Qing period (1644–1911). And the South–Western "Gate of the Displaying of Wu" had on the Northern, "back side" of the city, a corresponding "Gate of Victory by Virtue" (De Sheng Men). Similar elements and correspondences can be found, of course, in the plan of the imperial palace and names of its pavilions.

This study is an attempt to present the basic meanings of the wen and wu principles and their interrelations, which were not easily brought to the consciousness of scholars and common people in all their complexity, but which shaped their thinking and determined their actions, inspired the cultural archetypes which they shared, and were also implicit in their way of life and images of society. Hence, they were rarely fully described or analysed, being either "obvious truths" or elements fundamental to the traditional Chinese ethos but not consciously recognised as such.

The distinguishing of the two cosmic forces Yang and Yin, and a corresponding division of the social world into the Interior (nei) and the Exterior (wai), into wen and wu spheres of social life, with different principles of behaviour, formed a basic Weltanschauung stereotype of the traditional Chinese culture. This stereotype originated, perhaps, from village and clan commune experience, and such a world-view was projected afterwards onto the state, and was combined with two ancient aristocratic virtues. It allowed the Chinese to perceive, classify and interpret their experience and organize their political structures.
Glossary

an
An Ding Men
bao
ben
bing
bing jia
bing zhe gui dao ye
bing zhi shi
ci zhang
cheng wen
da luan
da tong
da yi tong
da
da
de
De Sheng Men
de xing
Hua
jing
jun zi
le
li
li
luan
ma
min bing he yi
nei
ning
Ning Wang
qi
qing wen
ren
shang wu xiu wen
shen li
sheng cheng wen, wei zhi yin
sheng wen
shi
shi fa
Shuixing
Suixing
Taibo
tai yi
ti
tian
tian wen
wai
wen
wen
Wenchang
wen dao
wen fa
wen hua
wen miao
wen shi
wen shi, wen jiao ye
wen wu dao
wen wu Jie Fu
wen xue
wu
wu
wu bei
wu miao
wu se cheng wen er bu luan
xiang
xing wen
Xuan Wu
xuan wu
yan
yan yu
yi
yong
yuan qi
zheng₁
zheng₂
zheng dao
zheng shi
zhi
zhi₁
zhong
Zhongguo
zi