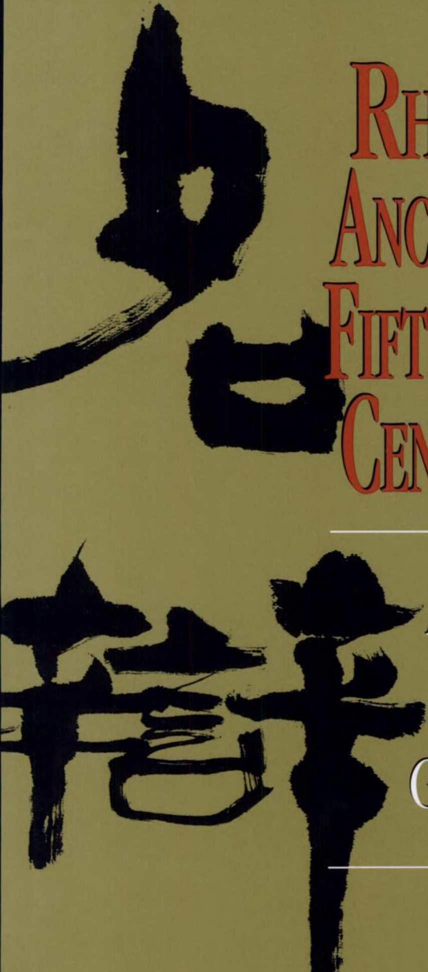

RHETORIC IN ANCIENT CHINA, FIFTH TO THIRD CENTURY B.C.E.

A Comparison with Classical Greek Rhetoric

Xing Lu

Rhetoric in Ancient China Fifth to Third Century B.C.E.

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吕行

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Editor's Preface

Is rhetoric a universal discipline, present in every culture and time, or is it a unique, historically situated invention that appeared in Greece and worked its way into a fitful relation with Western culture? Perhaps, if we are to be able to respect human cultural diversity and yet at the same time satisfy the needs of multicultural communication, we must answer "both" and sometimes more than "both."

Professor Xing Lu argues that the study of rhetoric is incomplete if it does not take into account the ways in which non-Western cultures have studied the human use of symbols. She brings her training in classical Chinese and her study of Western rhetoric to bear on the implicit, and sometimes explicit, views of human communication set forth in ancient Chinese texts written in the period when classical Greek rhetoric was formulated—the fifth to third century B.C.E. She finds that these Chinese texts on history, politics, ethics, and epistemology are rich with theoretical implications about language, persuasion, and argument. Although the ancient Chinese had no word for rhetoric as such, they had, according to Professor Lu, what amounted to a highly developed sense of rhetoric clustered in a set of key terms and texts and situated in the cultural traditions and historical practices of ancient China.

Professor Lu's book surveys ancient Chinese rhetorical theory, compares that theory with classical Greek rhetoric, and discusses the implications of Chinese patterns of communication for multicultural rhetoric. Professor Lu concludes her book with a call for the building of such a multicultural rhetoric, which, she writes, is crucial to "the survival of humankind." Her own contribution to the effort is a fascinating and compelling work of scholarship.

Thomas W. Benson

Preface

I was born and raised in China. Growing up during the so-called "Cultural Revolution" launched by Mao Zedong that took place between 1966 and 1976, I witnessed rhetorical practices of the "red guards" in the forms of oral debates, public speeches, and big-character posters intended to persuade, propagate, and provoke the mass audience. Without knowing much about the weight and impact of this massive and destructive movement, I was impressed by the power of language, means of persuasion, and eloquence of the Chinese people. I guess I unconsciously planted a seed for a career of rhetoric and communication at the time.

This book on classical Chinese rhetoric was conceived as a result of my experience as a graduate student at the University of Oregon. While reading and taking courses on Western rhetoric, I became fascinated by the role of the Western rhetorical tradition in shaping Western thought and culture. At the same time, however, I became increasingly frustrated by the lack of information on Chinese rhetoric, or, for that matter the other non-Western rhetorical traditions. Driven by a desire to trace my own rhetorical roots and to contribute to an intercultural understanding of rhetoric, I began to search for "a Chinese rhetoric." Evidence uncovered during the course of my research, along with a few previous studies, strongly indicated that China possesses a rich rhetorical tradition. Moreover, while retaining certain characteristics uniquely Chinese, Chinese rhetoric appears to share many striking similarities with the Greek rhetorical tradition.

Specifically, it is my hope in writing this book to contribute to the study of the history of rhetoric in several ways. First and foremost, my intention is to offer Western readers, as well as those Chinese readers who can read English, a more complete and authentic account of ancient Chinese rhetorical theories and practices. I will accomplish this task through an exhaustive survey and analysis of ancient Chinese texts on history, ethics, politics, and epistemology by Chinese thinkers from the fifth to third century B.C.E. In so doing, I wish to dispel certain misconceptions regarding Chinese rhetoric held by Western scholars. Such misconceptions tend to fall under the umbrella of Orientalism. I chose to compare classical Chinese rhetoric with classical Greek rhetoric in order to illuminate both Eastern and Western rhetorical traditions better. This study also aims to shed light on contemporary Chinese communication patterns and dynamics inherited from and affected by the Chinese rhetorical tradition. My final intention is to suggest a methodology for the pursuit of a multicultural rhetoric in order to enrich the scope of discursive possibilities and language art while enhancing the general understanding of diverse rhetorical experiences and concepts.

The first challenge I encountered in undertaking this ambitious project pertained to methodology. My training in Western rhetoric has helped me be more sensitive to rhetorical expressions and theories in Chinese texts and contexts, but at the same time, I am aware of the importance of not imposing Western rhetorical categories upon the Chinese tradition. To safeguard this tendency, I have embedded my analysis in the context of ancient China. As there are no explicitly identifiable works of ancient Chinese rhetoric, I refer to literary, historical, and philosophical works by classical Chinese writers. In order to understand as accurately as possible the rhetorical meanings embedded in these texts, I have interpreted the philosophical views and principles of the various thinkers in rhetorical terms and considered the social and cultural conditions under which each text was produced and in which each writer lived. When these texts and their authors are put into their proper social, political, and intellectual contexts, the rhetorical theories and practices identified therein become more meaningful and clear.

One particularly problematic area in the study of non-Western rhetoric is the issue of key terms. While it is more convenient simply to borrow the English word *rhetoric* in the discussion of the Chinese art of discourse, such a practice would run the risk of obscuring the authentic meaning of Chinese persuasive discourse and language art by imposing Western rhetorical assumptions upon the Chinese experience. To avoid this pitfall, I have surveyed the Chinese terms pertaining to speech, language, persuasion, and argumentation as they appear in their original texts. This methodology may pose certain challenges to Western readers but is linguistically and culturally more precise and helpful in capturing and explaining the Chinese rhetorical experience. Subsequently, I have compared the ancient Chinese rhetorical perspectives with those of the ancient Greeks. In fact, quite naturally, in the writing of this book, I have been made aware of various similarities and differences between Chinese and Greek rhetorical traditions. I consider such meaningful comparison a necessary component in the understanding and construction of a multicultural rhetoric which recognizes both culturally specific and transcultural elements of rhetoric.

According to conventional wisdom, Eastern ontology and epistemology favor integrated, holistic, and implicit modes of speech and argumentation, while Western ontology and epistemology give primacy to the discrete and explicit. This study attempts to follow intercultural hermeneutical models in that the conceptual construction and reconstruction of Chinese rhetorical studies will be guided by an integration of Chinese and Western methodological orientations rather than favoring one over the other. My ultimate purpose is to contribute to a multicultural vision of rhetoric residing in multiple forms of rhetoric, as well as in multiple modes of inquiry that are calibrated for diverse contexts and contents.

Acknowledgments

I am indebted to many people for the completion of this project, which was conceived during my time as a graduate student at the University of Oregon. I wish to thank my former professors Sonja Foss, Dominic LaRusso, Charley Leistner, and Carl Carmichael for opening my eyes to the scope and dimensions of rhetoric. My deepest appreciation goes to David Frank, who inspired, advised, and encouraged me in the completion of my dissertation, which amounted to an early version of this manuscript. Throughout the writing of this manuscript, which has undergone much expansion and revision, Professor Frank has offered his insights and invaluable suggestions for improvement. I am grateful to Judy Bowker, who kindly and generously offered to proofread my dissertation and was there when I needed help. Regarding the completion of this manuscript, I wish to thank my colleagues in the communication department at DePaul University for their kind and consistent support. Particularly, I want to thank my colleague Bruno Tebul for translating works of French language into English for me. I am especially grateful to Jacqueline Taylor, the former chair of the department, for her strong support and encouragement throughout my completion of the project. My gratitude also goes to the College of Arts and Sciences and the University Research Council at DePaul University for the travel grant to China to collect relevant materials for the project, as well as for granting me a one-year academic leave, without which I would not have completed the project in a timely manner.

I am very grateful to Professor Vernon Jensen, one of the pioneers on this subject, for his generous and consistent support since the beginning of this project. I am indebted to Mary Garrett, whose work on Chinese rhetoric inspired and encouraged me to venture further into the topic. With her impressive knowledge in Chinese philosophy and language, Professor Garrett provided invaluable suggestions for the improvement of the work from my dissertation to the current manuscript. I would also like to express my gratitude to Edward Schiappa, whose work in classical Greek rhetoric has informed my study of Chinese rhetoric. When I first contacted him about my dissertation, he kindly and generously sent me his work along with a list of helpful references. His works on Greek rhetoric have been

inspiring sources for me, and his suggestions for the improvement of this manuscript were very helpful and valuable. I appreciate especially Professor Martin Bernal's offer to read the entire manuscript. His solid knowledge of Chinese ancient history, philosophy, and language made his comments most valuable and suggestions most helpful. I am also thankful to Tara McKinney for her careful proofreading and excellent editing in the preparation of this manuscript.

In the course of my two trips to Beijing, I was privileged to consult with several Chinese scholars about this project. Among them I wish to thank Liu Baochen 劉寶臣, Li Jiangzhe 李江浙, and Wang Caimei 王采梅 from Beijing Academy of Social Sciences for their enthusiastic encouragement and insightful guidance. In particular, I wish to thank Sun Miao 孫淼 from Beijing University for giving me a copy of his book on the history of the Xia and Shang dynasties. I also appreciate very much the assistance I received from Professor Wang Keng 王鏗 of Beijing University concerning verification of the meanings of key classical Chinese terms in the texts under consideration. In addition, I wish to thank Warren Slesinger from the University of South Carolina Press for his enthusiastic response to my book proposal and confidence in my ability to complete the project. Thanks are also in order for Joyce Harrison and Bill Adams from the University of South Carolina Press for their fine editorial guidance.

I wish to express my profound gratitude to my husband, Gu Licheng (Richard) 顧利程, who is also a professor of Chinese language at Northwestern University, for his many sacrifices that made it possible for me to find the time to write. Moreover, I appreciate very much his assistance in the verification of translations from Chinese to English and for technically word processing most of the Chinese characters which appear in this book. Finally, I wish to thank my five-year-old daughter, Wendi Lulu Gu, for her love, patience, and understanding. Knowing "Mommy is working all the time," she has learned to entertain herself more than any five year old could be expected to.

Chinese Dynasties from Xia to the Warring States Period

Dates (B.C.E.)	Dynasties
21st–16th Century	Xia
16th–11th Century	Shang
1027–770	Zhou
722–481	Chun Qiu (the Spring Autumn)
475–221	Zhan Guo (the Warring States)

Chinese Schools of Thought and Major Thinkers

	Mingjia	Confucianism	Daoism	Mohism	Legalism
B.C.E.					
600	Deng Xi (546–501)	Confucius (551–479)	Laozi (500–?)		
500				Mozi (480–420)	
400	Hui Shi (380–320)	Mencius (390–305)			
			Zhuangzi (369–286)		
	Gong-sun Long (328–295)				
300		Xunzi (298–238)		Later Mohists (300–?)	
					Han Feizi (280–233)

Abbreviations

The abbreviations below are only applied to the editions of texts under consideration and editions of ancient texts relevant to the study. Full information of the primary sources is given in the bibliography.

Ancient Texts under Consideration

DDJ	*Dao De Jing* 道德經
DXZ	*Deng Xizi* 鄧析子
GSL	*Gong-Sun Longzi* 公孫龍子
GY	*Guo Yu* 國語
HF	*Han Feizi* 韓非子
LY	*Lun Yu* 論語
M	*Mengzi* 孟子
MB	*Mo Bian* 墨辯
SJ	*Shi Jing* 詩經
SS	*Shang Shu* 尙書
X	*Xunzi* 荀子
Z	*Zhuangzi* 莊子
ZGC	*Zhan Guo Ce* 戰國策
ZZ	*Zuo Zhuan* 左傳

Ancient Texts Relevant to the Study

DX	*Da Xue* 大學
HN	*Huai Nanzi* 淮南子
HS	*Han Shu* 漢書
L	*Liezi* 列子
LSCQ	*Lu Shi Chun Qiu* 呂氏春秋
S	*Sunzi* 孫子
SY	*Shuo Yuan* 說苑
YJ	*Yi Jing* 易經
ZL	*Zhou Li* 周禮
ZY	*Zhong Yong* 中庸

Rhetoric in Ancient China
Fifth to Third Century B.C.E.

Introduction

Ignorance and denial of non-Western cultures' rhetorical traditions have led to the mistaken notion that rhetoric is the sole property and invention of the West, fueling cultural prejudice and bigotry with regard to the intellectual histories of other cultures. In recovering the rhetorical traditions of non-Western cultures, we gain new information about rhetorical theories and practices, challenging the Eurocentric views of rhetoric and expanding our knowledge of the history of rhetoric in the process. This book informs rhetorical scholars about Chinese rhetorical experiences, expressions, and conceptualizations, assisting not only in assembling the missing pieces of the puzzle of rhetorical history but also in promoting understanding, recognition, and appreciation of diverse rhetorical practices and communication patterns.

The Western rhetorical tradition has been explored and surveyed in countless studies offering information about Western civilization, the Western development of thoughts and ideas, and Western theories of speech and argumentation. Moreover, these studies further our understanding of how people in Western cultures make sense of their world and derive meaning from their surroundings through symbolic creations and interactions. However, the study of human rhetoric is not complete if it does not include the rhetorical traditions of non-Western cultures that can offer both diverse and unified views of human experience in the formulation and use of symbols. This survey of classical Chinese rhetoric, in the context of ancient Chinese philosophy and history, is a serious attempt toward this end.

The history of rhetoric is conventionally believed to have begun in ancient Greece, with the first codification of rhetorical themes credited to Corax and Tisias in the fifth century B.C.E. Following the codification of rhetoric, the Greek rhetorical tradition developed along three streams of thought: technical rhetoric, sophistic rhetoric, and philosophical rhetoric, placing different emphasis on the effectiveness of speech, the speaker, and audience analysis (Kennedy 1980). The term *rhetoric* is defined in various ways. It is most commonly perceived, however, as the art of persuasion, the artistic use of oral and written expressions, for the purpose of changing thought and action at social, political, and individual levels.

In recent years some prominent scholars, such as Brian Vickers (1980, 471–74) and Vernon Jensen (1987, 219), have called the rhetorical scholars to explore the rhetoric of non-Western cultures both for disciplinary interest and for contemporary significance in rhetoric and communication. Moreover, challenges have been made to established modes of knowledge, and the field of rhetorical studies has gradually expanded its vision. For example, in his book *Black Athena* Martin Bernal (1987) has called for a critical examination of the Aryan Model, which views Greece and Europe as the cradle of civilization, along with a return to the Ancient Model rooted in Egyptian and Phoenician cultures. Similarly, the conventional belief that rhetoric was first invented by ancient Greeks has been challenged by Michael Fox (1983) in his study of ancient Egyptian rhetoric. Furthermore, since Robert Oliver's (1971) first account of Chinese rhetoric and communication, Vernon Jensen (1992) and Mary Garrett (1993) have continued to research Asian rhetoric, in general, and Chinese rhetoric, in particular.

Even within the realm of Greek rhetoric, a revised version of the history of rhetoric has been proposed. According to recent studies by Thomas Cole (1991), Edward Schiappa (1993), and Richard Enos (1993), respectively, various rhetorical sensibilities and practices existed in the fifth century B.C.E., before the time of Plato. Greek sophists, especially Protagoras and Gorgias, are credited with the earliest formulations of rhetoric, of arising in conjunction with the formulation of their political, rationalistic, and humanistic views. Other factors facilitating the conceptualization of Greek rhetoric prior to Plato are the production of written texts, a growing awareness of social and political needs, and the teaching of rhetoric as *techné.*(art, handbook) According to Schiappa, until Plato coined the term *rhêtorikê* in the fourth century B.C.E., rhetoric had not been conceptualized or treated as a separate discipline.[1]

The revised version of Greek rhetorical history suggests that the history of rhetoric does not necessarily begin with a well-defined, clearly demarcated disciplinary term such as *rhetoric.* Rather, rhetorical experiences, ideas, and sensibilities typically occur long before the conceptualization and codification of rhetoric. Oftentimes, in fact, rhetorical themes are embedded in texts which do not treat rhetoric as an explicit topic of discussion. In the case of Chinese rhetoric, for example, implicit rhetorical practices are contained in literary and historical texts. Ancient Chinese rhetorical theories, with the exception of those expounded by the Later Mohists, are embedded in works of ethics, epistemology, and statecraft. While the origins of Greek rhetoric are marked by the emergence of the word *rhêtorikê,* with and by its specific application to political and educational arenas, the origin of Chinese rhetoric cannot be pinpointed with such precision. There is, in fact, no single unified signifier, equivalent to the term *rhetoric,* in Chinese texts. This does not mean, however, that rhetoric did not exist in ancient China. In fact, the ancient Chinese had a well-developed sense of the power and impact of language in their social, political, and individual lives. Moreover, in the Chinese context, there are many terms whose meanings centered around language, speech, persuasion, and argumentation that have played a significant role in the formulation of the Chinese rhetorical experience. Consequently, the goal of this study is to make explicit certain rhetorical themes which have remained implicit in classical Chinese texts on history, ethics, politics, and epistemology. This explication will be made through a close examination of social and cultural contexts; identification of terms associated with language art, rational thinking, persuasion, and argumentation; as well as a careful scrutiny and analysis of rhetorical experience and conceptualization embedded in classical Chinese texts.

In the study of Western rhetoric, scholars typically attempt a clear definition of rhetorical terms. Such an approach may not be applicable to the study of Chinese rhetoric, however, since, to my knowledge, no such clearly phrased definitions are present in any of the Chinese texts. A more appropriate strategy is to identify contextual rhetorical meanings held by the Chinese. This is because, as Robert Scott has observed, "any definition of rhetoric that is taken as once-and-for-all is apt to be gravely misleading" (1973, 95). Scott asserts that "people generally have a sense of rhetoric." Furthermore, "this sense or feeling, which precedes any definition of rhetoric, is immediately rooted in experience" (82). Since people experience the world from various angles, no unified definition of rhetoric emerges. However, each culture will have a general sense of rhetoric based upon the culture's experiences with speech and language. According to Scott, the people of any given cultural setting will tend to have an embedded sense of rhetoric which pertains to that particular context. The task of a rhetorical scholar, then, is to remain open to the universal sense of rhetoric, as well as to the transformative power of a particular culture on the practice of rhetoric.

Indeed, the ancient Chinese appear to have had their own well-developed sense of rhetoric, revealed morphologically throughout primary Chinese texts in the following frequently used terms: *yan* 言 (language, speech); *ci* 辭 (mode of speech, artistic expressions); *jian* 諫 (advising, persuasion);

shui 說 (persuasion)/*shuo* 說 (explanation); *ming* 名 (naming); and *bian* 辯 (distinction, disputation, argumentation). Semantically, these terms often overlap in meaning, yet each term also serves a particular function in contextualizing and conceptualizing speech and persuasive discourse. For example, *shui* is associated with face-to-face persuasion while *ming* deals with the use of symbols in social and epistemological contexts. While each of the terms indicates some level of synchronic understanding and diachronic explanation regarding the ancient Chinese rhetorical experience, some terms follow an evolutionary process reflecting attempts on the part of the ancient Chinese consciously to transform rhetorical activities and events into theory and conceptualization.

While in most cases in the texts under consideration the terms *ci*, *jian*, *shui*, and *shuo* are used to refer to oral and written rhetorical practices, the term *yan* is used in reference to both rhetorical experiences and conceptualizations, while *ming* and *bian* are used more frequently as conceptual terms in theorizing and philosophizing language and speech. *Ming* literally means names and titles but conceptually means rational thinking or the use of language in relation to the representation of reality, law enforcement, social and political control, epistemology, and the transformation of cultural values. Given these various nuances of meaning, the standard translation of ming by contemporary Chinese scholars as "logic" is, in my opinion, inadequate. The term *bian*, encompassing to varying degrees the textual and contextual meanings of the other terms, may be perceived as a linchpin of Chinese theories of speech, persuasion, and argumentation. As such, it is used in general discussions of the use of language, modes of inquiry, rational thinking, and persuasion and argumentation in social and intellectual contexts.

While I do not intend to impose Western notions of rhetoric upon the Chinese experience, I do consider it useful to identify universally shared and yet culturally specific vocabulary and concepts, in the interest of promoting rhetorical studies cross-culturally, given the fact that misunderstanding often results from ignorance of otherness in cross-cultural rhetorical experience and conceptualization. In this regard, I will argue that the Western study of rhetoric is comparable to the Chinese *Ming Bian Xue* 名辯學, literally translated as "the Study of Naming (*Ming*) and Argumentation (*Bian*)," while it conceptually encompasses the study of language art, logic, persuasion, and argumentation. The domains of *ming* and *bian* at times overlap in the ancient Chinese texts, but each also has its own distinctive function, with *ming* aiming to seek truth and justice and *bian* concerning the art of discourse and persuasion. I will further argue that *ming* is in some sense similar to the Greek notion of *logos*, in that both are concerned with issues of language and epistemology, while *bian* shares some common ground with the Greek word *rhêtorikê*, in that both refer to argumentation, rationality, and the artistic use of language. *Ming* is not the perfect equivalent to *logos*, however, nor is *bian* the perfect equivalent to *rhêtorikê*. As the meaning of terms is always culturally specific, ancient Chinese and Greek thinkers would necessarily have attached their own linguistic and cultural understanding to such terms. Therefore, attempting to find exact cross-cultural correlations and linkages is futile.

Although ming bian was not a formalized discipline in ancient China by Western standards, notions of ming bian were expounded, developed, and directly applied to language usage, modes of argumentation, and methods of persuasion. As primary texts are introduced and analyzed, a consistent pattern or system of ming bian will emerge. What is more, grammatical and contextual similarities and differences between Chinese ming bian and Greek rhêtorikê will become apparent as comparisons are made between the two cultures and among respective thinkers. To help the reader with the transition in the use of terms in various linguistic and cultural contexts, I will use the phrase *Chinese rhetoric* initially in this project in reference to ancient Chinese speech patterns and conceptualizations of persuasion and argumentation, gradually replacing *rhetoric* with original Chinese terms, although at times I may also use English and Chinese terms interchangeably with qualification.

No system of rhetoric is born or develops in a vacuum. The meaning and interpretation of a people's rhetoric are always derived from and influenced by its social, political, and philosophical contexts. Ancient Chinese rhetorical theories and practices are reflections of, and functional responses to, cultural patterns and crises of ancient China. When analyses of such theories and practices are placed in their proper context, as will be done in this book, a portrait of ancient Chinese rhetoric can finally emerge.

Like the ancient Greeks before the fourth century B.C.E., the ancient Chinese had various rhetorical experiences, ranging from mythology to rationality, from orality to literacy, dating back to the Xia dynasty (approximately twenty-first century B.C.E). Moreover, like Greek thinkers from the fifth to third century B.C.E., ancient Chinese thinkers conceptualized the Chinese experience with language and discourse in moral, rational, dialectical, and psychological terms. Likewise, Chinese rhetorical sensibilities were called forth by social and cultural demands, and stabilized and perpetuated through increased literacy and the production of written texts. However, political structures and cultural forces in ancient China called for different rhetorical expressions and practices than those of ancient Greece, though, rhetorically speaking, some common ground does exist between the two cultures. The Chinese conceptualization of rhetoric reveals much about Chinese cosmology, epistemology, cultural values, and social demands.

From the Xia to Shang dynasties (approximately twenty-first to eleventh century B.C.E), the Chinese rhetorical experience was characterized by mythological and ritualistic communication in the form of the oral transmission of legends, along with rites of ancestor worship and divinations. Oral poetry was also a common means of communication for exchanging information and cultivating aesthetic pleasure. Ritualistic communication, often accompanied by music and performance, transmitted and perpetuated Chinese cultural values characterized by an emphasis on morality, order, and hierarchy. With increasing concern for human affairs, military expediencies, and the moral conduct of the rulers, persuasion between officials and kings, as well as between rulers and the masses, became a significant rhetorical activity. The most popular and effective persuasive appeals were made in reference to *tian ming* 天命, or the "Mandate of Heaven," which oversaw and controlled human affairs and possessed the authority to grant rewards and impose punishment according to the moral conduct of the rulers.

By the time of the Zhou dynasty (approximately eleventh to sixth century B.C.E.), an orderly society with an aristocratic ruling class had been well established. The widespread dissemination of *Zhou Li* 周禮 (the Rites of Zhou) played an essential role in strengthening cultural values, ensuring moral conduct, and reinforcing the social order. With increased literacy and the production of written texts, various forms of oral communication, including persuasive discourse in political and ritualistic settings, were documented and described. Awareness of the power and impact of language thus increased, while the rhetorical appeals expanded into the realm of morality and rationality.

By the time Chinese history had entered the arena of the Spring-Autumn and Warring States period (722–221 B.C.E.), dramatic social change had taken place, characterized by the decline of the aristocracy and the upward mobility of the lower-middle class, endless wars among autonomous states, social chaos, and a crisis in cultural values. Power struggles among the individual states and military expediency demanded skilled advisers and political consultants. Persuasive encounters between political consultants and the ruler were at the center of rhetorical activity. In response to political and social exigencies, the key players of those times proposed various recipes for restoring order and reconstructing Chinese society and culture. A central topic of discussion was the use of language and the impact of persuasion and argumentation in shaping and reshaping human thought and action. A relatively free environment for the expression of ideas promoted intellectual debates among the differing schools of thought, which in turn stimulated the formulation and conceptualization of language and persuasive discourse.

Ancient Chinese rhetorical experiences, as will be revealed through the examination and analysis of selected literary, historical, and philosophical texts, resulted in rich and varied persuasive and artistic expressions. Moral appeals made in reference to the Mandate of Heaven, the moral examples of sage kings, and prescribed humanistic principles, along with the psychological model of rewards and punishment, were the central features of ritualistic, interpersonal, and political communication. Rationality was played out both in abstract and logical arenas, as well as through metaphor, analogy, and historical examples, while emotional appeals were expressed primarily through rhetorical actions in the context of trusting relationships. As the ancient Chinese society moved from idealism to pragmatism, from freedom of expression to centralized and mechanistic means of control, utilitarian appeals became increasingly prevalent. The direct and straightforward pattern of communication previously perceived and practiced had become indirect and evasive, with its purpose more oriented toward manipulation than moral perfection.

Ancient Chinese rhetorical perspectives were not monolithic. Different schools of thoughts and individual thinkers emphasized different aspects of language, persuasion, and argumentation. The School of Ming represented by Deng Xi, Hui Shi, and Gong-sun Long was primarily concerned with issues of probability, relativism, and classification under the general umbrella of epistemology and social justice. Their views on ming bian were subsequently borrowed and developed by the Later Mohists. The School of Confucianism, represented by Confucius, Mencius, and Xunzi, concentrated on issues of morality, in particular the moral impact of speech and moral character of the speaker on the cultivation and transformation of ethical behavior and social order. Mozi, the founder of the School of Mohism, while sharing certain Confucian views regarding moral communication, attempted to develop a rational system of bian, which was in turn systemized and elaborated by the Later Mohists. The Daoists, Laozi and Zhuangzi, proposed an antirational and transcendental mode of philosophical and rhetorical inquiry, emphasizing the paradoxical and aesthetic nature of communication. Finally, Han Feizi, the Legalist, approached language, persuasion, and argumentation with a focus on strengthening centralized political power and offered acute insight into human psychology in persuasion. Through intimate and subtle interactions among these various schools and thinkers, in the criticism and responses to one another, the notions of yan, ming, and bian developed and expanded. In the articulation of their respective philosophical and rhetorical views, these ancient Chinese thinkers demonstrated their mastery of the art of Chinese rhetoric in oral persuasion as well as in their writings, where an array of rhetorical devices were employed, ranging from the metaphorical, anecdotal, analogical, and paradoxical to examples of chain reasoning, classification, and inferences.

The developmental path of philosophical and rhetorical perspectives in ancient China can be compared to a spiral composed of layers of connected and yet independent circles, each circle representing a school of thought with its own internal unity and consistency. Within this context, however, each thinker made his own unique contribution while maintaining his own philosophical identity. Such continuity and yet divergence of thought was achieved through the critical and interpretive interplay of thinkers both within and between the various schools of thought. In general, while a growing sophistication is evident in the understanding and use of language, involving a certain linguistic continuity, at the same time the refinement of rhetorical concepts can also be discerned.[2]

Careful scrutiny of certain Chinese historical, literary, and philosophical texts of the fifth through third century B.C.E. offers compelling evidence for an identifiable formulation of language and persuasive discourse at the conceptual level. Primary texts under consideration in this study include *Shi Jing* 詩經 (the Book of Odes); *Shang Shu* 尙書 (the Book of History); *Zuo Zhuan* 左傳 (Zuo Commentaries); *Guo Yu* 國語 (Discourse of the States); and *Zhan Guo Ce* 戰國策 (Intrigues). Selected philosophical works are by the following authors: Deng Xi 鄧析, Gong-sun Long 公孫龍, Confucius 孔子, Mencius 孟子, Xunzi 荀子, Laozi 老子, Zhuangzi 莊子, Mozi 墨子, the Later Mohists, and Han Feizi 韓非子.[3] Below is a chart of major texts, authors, and dates in the order to be examined in this study:

Texts	*Authors/Editors*	*Dates (B.C.E.)*
Shi Jing	anonymous	700–400
Shang Shu	anonymous	700–400
Zuo Zhuan	Zuo Qiuming	475–221
Guo Yu	Zuo Qiuming	475–221
Zhan Guo Ce	Liu Xiang	79–8
Deng Xizi	Deng Xi	546–501

Gong-sun Longzi	Gong-sun Long	325–250
Lun Yu	Kong Qiu (Confucius)	552–479
Mengzi	Meng Ke (Mencius)	390–305
Xunzi	Xun Kuan (Xunzi)	298–238
Dao De Jing	Laozi	around 500
Zhuangzi	Zhuang Zhou (Zhuangzi)	369–286
Mozi	Mo Di (Mozi)	480–420
Mo Bian	Later Mohists	300–250
Han Feizi	Han Fei	280–233

These texts and individual thinkers derive from five philosophical schools, namely: the Schools of Ming; Confucianism; Daoism; Mohism; and Legalism. In order to be included in this study, a school had to be recognized by prominent Chinese and Western historians as influential during the fifth through third century B.C.E., a watershed period in Chinese philosophical discourse. It should be noted that these philosophical schools were not consciously formulated by the founding generation of thinkers, but rather by historians of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E. to 220 C.E.).[4] What is more, the term *philosophy* did not originate with the Chinese themselves but was, rather, a translated English term to parallel with the study of Chinese ethics, logic, epistemology, and political science.[5] At any rate, texts under consideration are classical works of ancient China which record and describe persuasive activities, as well as addressing issues of ontology, epistemology, ethics, logic, language, and argumentation. More importantly, these texts, like the canonized texts of ancient Greece, defined and shaped the cultural and rhetorical traditions of China in subsequent years.

My interpretation of the meaning of Chinese rhetorical theories and practices will be based on the primary Chinese texts. However, certain secondary materials will also be considered in order to provide further information and shed light on contextual meanings. Three categories of secondary materials are used. The first group is comprised of texts produced during approximately the same time period as the primary texts. They are: *Da Xue* 大學 (Great Learning); *Zhong Yong* 中庸 (The Doctrine of the Mean); *Yi Jing* 易經 (Canon of Changes); *Liezi* 列子 (Liezi); *Sunzi* 孫子 (Sunzi); *Zhou Li* 周禮 (The Rites of Zhou); *Lu Shi Chun Qiu* 呂氏春秋 (Spring and Autumn of Mr. Lu); *Shi Ji* 史記 (Records of the Historian); *Han Shu* 漢書 (the Book of Han); *Shuo Yuan* 說苑 (the Garden of Talks), and *Huai Nanzi* 淮南子 (Huai Nanzi). The second group of secondary materials is made up of descriptive works of Chinese philosophy and logic authored by modern Chinese scholars. Finally, the third category derives from Western communication scholars and sinologists in the fields of Chinese culture, philosophy, history, and language. While gathering information and gleaning insights from these latter two groups, I remain aware that biases and misconceptions may be embedded or explicitly stated in the scholarship.

Translation is considered the core of hermeneutics, as it is only through translation—whereby linguistic, grammatical, conceptual, and cultural knowledge are compared and negotiated—that the meanings of ancient texts can be deciphered, interpreted, and understood by readers across time and space. In the modern era translations of the Bible; Russian, French, and English literature; and Western scientific theories made possible worldwide communication and the sharing of human creativity and achievements in the humanities and sciences.

Translation in the traditional sense refers to the reproduction of the original meaning of a text by a translator who has competence in two languages. The guiding principle for the translator is fidelity or faithfulness to the original text. Yan Fu 嚴復, a well-known Chinese translator and translation theorist, articulated the following principles of translation: faithfulness, comprehensibility, and elegance (Huxley, 1923 Preface). Faithfulness, in his view, refers to accuracy in relation to the original meaning of the text. Comprehensibility refers to the appropriate use of language. Elegance concerns the stylistic and artistic choice of words. Of these three principles, faithfulness is considered of utmost concern to the translator, even at the expense of expressiveness and elegance. In Walter Benjamin's (1969) opinion, however, this emphasis on fidelity is no longer "serviceable." He argues for a revised theory of translation based upon the notion that translation is a process of interpretation rather than a mere reproduction of the original meaning. Accordingly, translation is not a one-to-one correspondence or mere substitution of words and sentences from one language into another. Therefore, a translator should be primarily concerned with "appropriation" as opposed to fidelity.

Interestingly enough, while Yan Fu advocated faithfulness as the guiding principle of translation, in his own translation of Thomas Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* he made accommodations to Chinese thought patterns, added his own creative interpretations, and omitted foreign terms which were offensive or unknown to Chinese readers (Xiao 1995). Another feature of Yan Fu's translation, according to Benjamin Schwartz (1964), is his deliberate use of classical Chinese language in conveying Western concepts and categories to appeal to the style-conscious Chinese literati. Judging from this and other examples, a work of translation ultimately reveals the translator's own perspective, intention, and skill in bridging two worldviews through his or her conscious choice of words. Indeed, the role of the translator is not simply that of a matchmaker of symbols from two different linguistic systems, but also that of a mediator, making sense of that which was previously alien and unintelligible through the medium of language and the convergence of two worlds. Achieving such a goal requires not only competence in both languages and familiarity with the subject matter at hand, but also sensitivity to the cultures of both the original author and the audience of the translation. A truly literal translation is impossible since, in the words of Susan Bassnett-McGuire, "The interlingual translation is bound to reflect the translator's own creative interpretation of the source language text" (1980, 80).

In his book *Western Approaches to Eastern Philosophy,* Troy Organ (1975, 12–13) highlights two assumptions he believes to be false regarding a scholar's competence in the study of Eastern culture. The first mistaken assumption, in his opinion, is that an Eastern philosopher is better qualified than his or her Western counterpart to interpret Eastern philosophy to the West; the second is that a scholar whose native language is the same as that of the original text is better qualified than a non-native speaker to interpret that text. David Hall and Roger Ames (1987) argue, similarly, that it is unrealistic to expect a scholar to possess both sinological and philosophical skills. While I agree to some extent with these arguments, I am generally of the opinion that a Western scholar with both linguistic competence in the target culture and training in both Western and Eastern thoughts is better qualified to interpret and translate Eastern texts than an Eastern scholar with little knowledge of Western thought and language. In other words, a bilingual and bicultural person is better prepared to translate and interpret the nuances of cross-cultural meanings in any given text and, therefore, more able to create a "fusion of horizons"(Gadamer, 1989). Instead of arguing for reduced scholarly expectations for those who engage in research requiring linguistic competence in a target culture, we should encourage a high degree of scholarly proficiency in a second or even third language in cross-cultural studies. In this way, such competence could not only serve as a research tool but also fulfill the more ambitious goal of true cross-cultural understanding. For this project my bilingual background enables me to translate and verify meanings embedded in ancient Chinese texts into the English language, while my bicultural experience makes me more aware of cultural and textual nuances in the subject matter before me.

Primary texts under consideration are read in their original classical Chinese language. The characters of classical Chinese still retain their features of pictography, self-explanation, ideography, pictophonetics, synonymy, and phonetic loaning as identified in modern Chinese. The Chinese language does not have grammatical features of number, case, gender, and inflections as do most Western languages. Although the word order or syntactical structure between English and modern Chinese is similar, classical Chinese often places the object before the verb. Furthermore, parts of speech are often used interchangeably. Another feature of classical Chinese is that one character can be used as a subject, verb, or object. Because of these features, the meanings in classical Chinese are highly abbreviated and contextual. Most primary Chinese texts under consideration in this study were reprinted and published in the 1990s in mainland China. Each version consists of the original text in classical Chinese as well as the translation in modern Chinese by Chinese experts of classical language. To ensure authenticity, I rely only upon the original meanings of the text in classical Chinese and I consult with the translated version when in doubt. Moreover, with the exception of certain well-established names in the English language, such as Confucius and Mencius, I use the pinyin system for the romanization of Chinese characters, as the system is relatively more economical than the Wade-Giles system and has been widely accepted in the field of sinology. To avoid confusion I place the original, unsimplified characters next to pinyin when they are first introduced, for the benefit of native Chinese readers and those who can read Chinese.[6]

A number of the selected texts are available in English translations. However, I will exercise caution when using such translations, especially those done by pioneer sinologists. This is because, as David Hall and Roger Ames point out, early sinologists often approached the translation of classical Chinese texts with a "rather naive, often theologically inspired agenda" (1987, 2). If, in my judgment, the English translation is faithful to the original and stylistically acceptable, I will use the available translation. If, however, the translation is inadequate, I will revise and formulate my own translations. For certain primary and secondary texts where there are no adequate translations available, I will offer my own translations, including Chinese characters whenever appropriate, so that bilingual readers of Chinese and English can verify the original meanings. Throughout this project, unless otherwise indicated, the translations are my own. However, when the meaning is ambiguous, the accuracy of my translations will be checked by collaboration with other Chinese scholars who possess competence in both languages.[7]

This project consists of ten chapters. Chapter 1 begins with a review and discussion of hermeneutical and multicultural principles that can guide us in interpreting, translating, and understanding texts, followed by a critique of the study of Chinese rhetoric by scholars from China and the United

States. Chapter 2 reviews the political transition and cultural forces of the pre-Qin period (before 221 B.C.E.) in ancient China, which provided the context for the different modes of communication and rhetorical practices. Chapter 3 identifies key terms and their linguistic meanings in the texts under consideration. The purpose of this identification and analysis is to reveal the original rhetorical meanings of Chinese texts as well as to demonstrate an evolution of vocabulary concerning speech and persuasive discourse. Chapter 4 introduces and analyzes rhetorical features and persuasive styles in five selected historical and literary texts. Patterns of persuasion and modes of rhetorical expressions will be identified in this chapter. Chapters 5 through 9 examine philosophical views and rhetorical perspectives articulated by individual thinkers from five major philosophical schools of ancient China. Chapter 10 builds a bridge between classical Chinese rhetoric and contemporary Chinese culture and communication patterns, summarizes main features of classical Chinese and classical Greek rhetorics, and discusses implications for a multicultural rhetoric.

CHAPTER 1

Perceptions and Methodology in the Study of Classical Chinese Rhetoric

In the past few decades attempts have been made by various Western communication scholars to introduce, explain, and explore classical Chinese rhetoric (Crump 1964; Garrett 1993a, 1993b; Jensen 1987, 1992; Kroll 1985–87). Though such preliminary studies are a valuable and informative step in the right direction, they are generally somewhat limited in their understanding of this ancient tradition. In order to assume a more authentic understanding on the subject, I will review current Western and Chinese scholarship in the field of classical Chinese rhetoric. In particular, I will identify and critique certain methodological problems related to research. In order to set the stage for these considerations, I will begin this chapter with a discussion of various modes of inquiry used in the interpretation and understanding of other cultures and cross-cultural texts.

Modes of Inquiry in Cross-Cultural Understandings

Orientalism and Occidentalism

In his thought-provoking book *Orientalism*, Edward Said claims that much of Western intellectual discourse on Eastern cultures suffers from Orientalism, defined as: "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and 'the Occident'" (1979, 2). According to Said, this Orient/Occident distinction derives from a Western projection of political dominance and academic authority in relation to the Orient. Furthermore, Oriental methodology employed in the study of the Orient reflects the problems of essentialism, dogmatism, and ethnocentrism, which tend to produce distorted and inaccurate views of non-Western people, ideas, and traditions. Though Said offers a brilliant critique of Western discourse on the Orient, suggesting that Orientalism projects a narrow view of Oriental cultures that has helped perpetuate racism and cultural stereotypes, he stops short of prescribing alternative ways of understanding non-Western cultures. He does, however, call for "an intellectual way of handling methodological problems" (110) in order to avoid the degeneration of knowledge, enlarge a discipline's claims, and celebrate human values.

Serious Western study of Chinese thought and culture did not take place until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the arrival of European missionaries.[1] Among them, Matteo Ricci, the first Westerner to translate Confucian works into Latin, made the greatest contribution toward introducing early Chinese thought to the West.[2] His journals, entitled *On the Propagation of Christianity Among the Chinese,* which were published in Latin, Italian, German, French, and Spanish, described the Chinese as extremely industrious and exemplary in manners and conduct. What is more, Ricci praised the Chinese for their progress and achievement in medicine, science, and technology and determined that Confucian and Christian doctrines were compatible (He and He 1985). Up to this point Western intellectuals had generally regarded China as a refined and enlightened civilization. In fact, the Western Enlightenment in Europe was informed in part by Chinese thought. For example, German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) and French thinker Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694–1778) had studied and been influenced by Confucianism. Both had a high regard for Chinese culture and civilization and considered China a model for the West in its moral philosophy, ontology, and epistemology (Leibniz 1977; Shen 1985).

The image of a civilized and prosperous China dissolved in the nineteenth century, however, as Westerners came to regard China as a weak, backward, and filthy country. According to Bernal (1987), this change in perspective coincided with the British Opium War on China (1840–1842) and rising racism in Europe. The stereotypical "Chinaman" was portrayed by Westerners as lazy, undesirable looking, and cruel. Early Chinese immigrants to the United States became objects of ridicule and stereotyping. For example, according to the Yellow Peril propaganda of the nineteenth century: "He [the Chinaman] talked 'funny' and was fond of eating a strange delicacy. . . . He became the neighborhood's Fu Manchu—the spooky crook, the bad guy, associated with murder and the darkness of night" (Takaki 1989, 241). Similarly, editors and malicious political cartoonists of the time ridiculed the Chinese as "cultural inferiors, physically grotesque, morally depraved, and carriers of the deadliest disease" (Choy, Choy, and Hom 1994, 102).[3] During this period a clear case for Western superiority and Oriental inferiority was made. China and Chinese culture were portrayed in negative and undesirable terms in Western discourse.

In the twentieth century, due to Western academic and political interests in East Asia, Western knowledge of China and Chinese culture has increased. Unfortunately, however, intellectual discourse regarding China and its relationship to the West has fallen into the dualistic and reductionist categories characteristic of Orientalism. In much of the scholarship that introduces Chinese philosophy, religion, and culture to the West, China is portrayed as a strange, different, and peculiar Other, while Occidental culture is viewed as normative. For example, Max Weber wrote that Western cultural phenomena lie "in a line of development having universal significance and value" (1976, 13). Clearly, Western scholars of this century still labor under the assumption that Western culture is at the core of universal values, civilization, and progress. Eastern culture, in contrast, is viewed as subordinate and inferior.

Orientalism has adversely affected Western perceptions of Chinese speech behavior, communication styles, and culture. In studies comparing Chinese language systems, thought patterns, and cultural characteristics with those of the West, Western scholars have systematically dichotomized and polarized Oriental and Occidental cultures. For example, the Chinese language is classified as an "isolating language" within the Western framework of historical linguistics. It is considered linguistically inferior and located outside the historical and developmental parameters of Western civilization (Becker 1986; Bernal 1987). Only European languages are deemed capable of producing scientific thought, while the Chinese language, symbolized by ideographic characters, is said to be limited in function to the mere representation of immediate experience. A language system such as that of the Chinese, according to Filmer S. C. Northrop (1944; 1946, 316), produces intuitive thought patterns which are unsystematic and disorderly. By contrast, Western languages, categorized as "postulational" or "logical," are considered relatively systematic and orderly.[4] The notion that Oriental thought processes are intuitive while Western ways of thinking are scientific and rational has, unfortunately, been widely accepted in Western academic circles.

To this day, anthropologists and communication scholars continue to superimpose dualistic and polarized categories of analysis upon Chinese cultural patterns and communication behaviors. Chinese culture as a whole is classified as "collectivistic" and "high context," while Western culture is viewed as "individualistic" and "low-context" (Gudykunst and Kim 1984; Hall 1976; Hofstede 1980; Hui and Triandis 1986). With regard to communication behaviors, Eastern cultures are said to: value silence; deprecate speech and avoid conflict; be more interested in relational messages; and use indirect modes of communication. Western cultures, on the other hand, are said to: value verbal exchange, in particular speech and argumentation; be more interested in utilitarian messages; and employ direct modes of communication (Scollon and Scollon 1995; Ting-Toomey 1988). Though, to some degree, these dichotomies are helpful in making assumptions and predictions of Eastern and Western cultures and communication, they also perpetuate simplistic views regarding both Western and Chinese language, culture, and communication. Furthermore, the portrayal of Chinese culture as wholly "other" has resulted in misunderstandings toward China in Sino-American relations and foreign policy (Fairbank 1974).

Western perceptions of Chinese rhetoric are, by and large, defined by the limits of Orientalism. Rhetoric is regarded as an invention of the West: Athens is considered the cradle of world civilization, with the ancient Greeks the founders of rhetorical discourse. Just as the claim is made that the Chinese language is incapable of producing science, it is also asserted that no non-Western culture, including that of the Chinese, is capable of producing rhetoric. In fact, in a well-studied text on the history of rhetoric, one prominent Western scholar explicitly denies the existence of any non-Western rhetorical traditions, stating that: "There is no evidence of an interest in rhetoric in the ancient civilizations of Babylon or Egypt, for instance, neither Africa nor Asia has to this day produced a rhetoric" (Murphy 1983, 3). As this example illustrates, rhetoric is viewed as the exclusive property of the West. Consequently, U.S. college textbooks on the history of rhetoric are limited almost exclusively to consideration of Western rhetorical traditions. Even *Rhetorica,* a journal whose expressed focus is the history of rhetoric, publishes few articles on Eastern rhetoric. It is not surprising, given this state of affairs, that Eastern rhetoric, in general, and Chinese rhetoric, in particular, remain unfamiliar subjects to many rhetorical scholars. Furthermore, non-Western rhetorical traditions are treated as either incorrigible or inferior. For example, "Current Western understandings of Confucius," according to Hall and Ames, "are the consequence of the mostly unconscious importation of philosophical and theological assumptions into primary translations that have served to introduce Confucius' thinking to the West" (1987, 7–8). These assumptions, which have seriously distorted the perceptions of Confucius's thinking, are associated with the mainstream of the Anglo-European classical tradition.

If Orientalism is closely associated with and caused by Eurocentrism, the same essentialistic, dogmatic, and ethnocentric methodology can also be identified in Occidentalism, which is associated with and caused by Sinocentrism. Chinese perceptions of Westerners have in the past been negative. For example, the Chinese described Europeans and Americans as having "dazzling white flesh, high noses, and red hair," referring to them as "foreign devils," "big nose," or "barbarians" (Teng and Fairbank 1954, 20).[5] The Chinese emperor regarded himself as the Son of Heaven and thus the ruler of all humankind. As described by Ssu-yu Teng and John Fairbank in *China's Response to the West,* their collaboration on the practice of trade in the early nineteenth century, foreign rulers who wished to contact or trade with the Chinese Empire were first required "to enroll as tributaries, accept investiture, send envoys to perform the kotow (three kneelings and nine prostrations) before the Son of Heaven, and otherwise obey the regulations for tributary intercourse" (18–19). In a blatantly condescending letter sent by Emperor Qian Long to King George III in 1793, Qian-Long imposed the Chinese tributary framework upon Western nations: "the virtue and prestige of the Celestial Dynasty having spread far and wide, the kings of the myriad nations come by land and sea with all sorts of precious things. Consequently there is nothing we lack, as your principal envoy and others have themselves observed. We have never set much store on strange or ingenious objects, nor do we need any more of your country's manufactures . . ." (19). This example reveals an attitude of ethnocentrism on the part of the Chinese emperor. Even though in the seventeenth century the European Jesuits informed the Chinese that they were not at the center of the world, the ancient Chinese continued to regard themselves as the most civilized nation on earth. The Chinese characters for China mean "middle kingdom" or "country in the center."

Western religious traditions and ideas were also met with great suspicion and opposition when first introduced into China. Chinese scholars generally denounced Christianity. In addition, they attacked the Western-designed calendar, clock, cannon, and map for not adhering to Chinese standards, claiming that Western science had, in fact, originated in China (Teng and Fairbank 1954, 14–15). Although appreciation for Western science has since increased and twentieth-century Western philosophy and ideas have made their way into China, Western people, ideas, and cultures are still largely viewed as the Other and perceived with suspicion and stereotyping. For example, Chinese textbooks only teach schoolchildren that the foreign devils bullied the Chinese people and looted their motherland. The contributions made by "foreign devils" to Chinese development of science and technology are largely ignored. In addition, some Chinese intellectuals still regard Chinese culture as superior to Western culture.

For a better understanding between peoples and cultures, it is necessary to critique and evaluate discourse which has until now been subject to the limitations of Orientalism, on the one hand, and Occidentalism, on the other. Both Eastern and Western scholars need to challenge their own biases and assumptions of Eastern and Western cultures. Both need to learn from each other, not only in terms of subject matter but also in efforts to construct appropriate modes of inquiry.

Hermeneutics

Strictly speaking, this project engages hermeneutics in the translation and interpretation of classical Chinese texts for the purpose of understanding classical Chinese rhetoric. In general terms, hermeneutics, from the Greek *hermêneia,* meaning "interpretation," is a discipline concerned with the interpretation of historical texts. The discipline originated with the interpretation of canonical texts across cultures, for example, the Buddhist Pali Canon, the Bible, the Qur'an, the Greek Classics, and Confucian and Daoist works. Clearly, hermeneutics involves linguistic translation along with the contextualization of historical, cultural, and social conditions relevant to the deciphering of ancient texts. In this sense, "hermeneutics belongs to the realm of opinion, or rhetoric, rather than to the realm of truth, or philosophy" (Bruns 1992, 46). Michel Foucault (1975, xvi–xvii) characterizes such interpretation as "commentary" that, at its best, transmits and restates seemingly old and silent discourse in the form of comprehensible contemporary language.

Hermeneutical theory was developed by a group of German philosophers. Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), the father of modern hermeneutics, first framed the discipline as "the art of understanding." Such understanding, according to Schleiermacher, goes beyond simply making sense of an original text. Most essentially, it is a reconstructive process undertaken by the interpreter. This is accomplished by "reexperiencing the mental processes of the text's author" (Palmer 1969, 86). For Schleiermacher, true understanding is contextual, taking place in a circle known as the hermeneutical circle, the area of shared understanding between the speaker and the hearer. In order to complete the hermeneutical circle, the speaker and hearer must share both the language and subject of a discourse.

Following Schleiermacher, Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911) regarded hermeneutics as a process of reconstructing and reexperiencing the author's world. He approached hermeneutics as a methodology concerned with epistemology, conceptualizing and recovering historical consciousness, and understanding the author's inner world and sociohistorical life. Understanding, for Dilthey, is not a cognitive function of the mind, but a reexperiencing of the world as lived and experienced by the original author. Such understanding opens the interpreter to the world of an individual and a culture, in addition to promoting understanding of one's own environment and culture. The central concern of hermeneutics for Dilthey is the notion of "historicality," which defines humans as dependent upon the particulars of history for self-understanding. More importantly, for Dilthey, "history is ultimately a series of worldviews, and we have no firm and fixed standards of judgment for seeing the superiority of one worldview over another" (Palmer 1969, 117). In other words, meaning is historically and culturally relative, being in relation to specific cultural contexts and the perspective of the interpreter.

While Dilthey provided the notion of historicality, Martin Heidegger proposed a hermeneutical theory of self-understanding related to process and outcome. For Heidegger (1962), interpretation is never a presuppositionless process. Rather, it is rooted in a prestructure which holds an imprint of already established ideological preconceptions. That is, interpretation does not take place in an ideological vacuum but is subject to the preconceptions of the interpreter who sees things through certain ideational lenses, revealed in his or her choice of and approach to the texts. Hermeneutics, in Heidegger's view, is the ontological and phenomenological structure of understanding. Accordingly, the skewed interpretation of texts is unavoidable.

Perhaps the most well known thinker in the development of hermeneutical theory is Hans-Georg Gadamer, who defines the realm of hermeneutics as philosophy that encompasses the dimension of dialectics and the whole human experience of the universal world. Gadamer agrees with Heidegger that interpretation begins with preconceptions. Furthermore, any one, in his opinion, who tries to understand a text is, in fact, projecting his or her own perspective and judgment. However, Gadamer points out, "the important thing is to be aware of one's own bias so that the text can present itself in all its otherness and thus assert its own truth against one's own fore-meanings" (1989, 269). To advance the knowledge of a discipline, according to Gadamer, new and rival projects must emerge to provoke questions and make new inquiries. "This constant process of new projects constitutes the movement of understanding and interpretation" (267). The task of hermeneutics, then, is not simply reconstruction or restoration, but the integration of competing perspectives. Though still addressing himself primarily to the elite discourse within the European mode of inquiry, Gadamer notes, "the keys to understanding are not manipulation and control but participation and openness, not knowledge but experience, not methodology, but dialectic" (in Palmer 1969, 215). Hermeneutics, for Gadamer, is a philosophical inquiry and comprehensive understanding of human experience in historical, linguistic, and dialectical domains.

In any event, scholarship on hermeneutics has illuminated our understanding of the art of translation and interpretation. From Schleiermacher to Gadamer, hermeneutics has evolved from a tool for understanding canonical texts to a mode of inquiry that recognizes universal and particular experience. It acknowledges the interpreter's competence and subjectivity in the reconstruction of the original texts, as well as celebrating universal values and the fulfillment of human experience. Basically, two trends can be discerned in the hermeneutical theories described above: 1) historical hermeneutics, represented by Schleiermacher and Dilthey, which focuses on a reconstruction of meaning approximating the intended meaning of the original author for the original audience; and 2) scriptural hermeneutics, articulated by Heidegger and Gadamer, which is more interested in appropriating the original meaning for a modern audience and relating it to contemporary questions. Historical hermeneutics is, in my opinion, helpful in recovering the original meaning of the text, while scriptural hermeneutics allows critical assessment of the relevance of the text to us today. Michael LaFargue argues that historical and scriptural hermeneutics cannot be truly set apart as the historical hermeneutics itself has embodied these two functions. In his words, "First, historical hermeneutics can help us critically evaluate traditional ideas by tracing these ideas to the originating experiences that gave rise to them." Secondly, "it makes possible a fully explicit, rational, public discussion concerning the contemporary relevance of any given classic" (1994, 8–9). Given the above description, historical hermeneutics includes both descriptive and interpretative function of the original meaning and an engagement with critical and evaluative method for contemporary significance. In the case of classical Chinese rhetoric, the historical hermeneutics is employed to identify the rhetorical experience and conceptualizations of the ancient Chinese in response to the social context and cultural forces in which they lived. At the same time, this tradition is made explicit and intellectually apprehensible through the examination of primary texts and comparison with classical Greek rhetoric. Moreover, the recovery of this tradition illuminates both our understanding of contemporary rhetoric and our understanding of Chinese communication behavior.

Anthropological Approaches

Hermeneutical questions are also much debated in the field of anthropology and cultural studies where issues of cross-cultural understanding and interpretation are of utmost concern. One view espoused in these disciplines, similar to scriptural hermeneutics, is that the interpreter makes sense of the foreign culture based on his or her own knowledge, perspective, and contemporary stand. Clifford Geertz calls such an approach an "actor orientation," meaning that, for example, "descriptions of Berber, Jewish, or French culture must be cast in terms of the constructions we imagine Berbers, Jews, or Frenchmen to place upon what they live through, the formulae they use to define what happens to them" (1973, 15). In other words, according to Geertz, "we began with our own interpretation of what our informants are up to, or think they are up to, and then systematize this" (15). This means the interpreter's own cultural assumptions, values, and concerns are used as the framework and basis for understanding and interpreting other cultures. For Geertz, the primary challenge in interpreting other cultures is not to describe and discover cultural meaning in its texts and contexts, but to analyze and evaluate such meanings against the interpreter's own value system and cultural orientation. In his words, "Cultural analysis is (or should be) guessing at meaning, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from better guesses, not discovering the continent of meaning and mapping out its bodiless landscape" (15). However, because of the Western domination and colonization of intellectual discourse since the nineteenth century, European students generally "interpreted other societies in terms derived from European culture, very often at the cost of extreme distortion, and frequently also in an unflattering light" (Taylor 1985, 124). Similarly, biased descriptions and distortions of Western people and culture can be found in Chinese texts such as the 1996 best-seller in China *China Can Say No.*[6] Clearly, the hermeneutical studies, both Eastern and Western, have not been value-free. Cultures are classified as good or bad, inferior or desirable, primitive or civilized. Scholars from dominant cultures are, thus, invited to criticize and correct nondominant cultures. Such practices should be understood as expressions of superiority and ethnocentrism rather than as genuine attempts at scholarly enquiry. Taylor argues that "the values of one culture are frequently not replicable in another; we can find nothing exactly corresponding to them" (1985, 120). On a related note, James Clifford, a cultural anthropologist, contends that the evaluative approach to cross-cultural interpretation reinforces dichotomizing and essentializing modes of thought. He suggests that "all dichotomizing concepts should probably be held in suspicion, whether they be the West-rest (Third World) split or developed-undeveloped, modern-premodern." We should therefore "attempt to think of cultures not as organically unified or traditionally continuous but rather as a negotiated, present process" (1988, 273).

An alternative approach to cross-cultural interpretation advocated by Peter Winch in his essay "Understanding a Primitive Society" is to interpret the culture on its own terms, adopting the view and language of the target culture, and describing situational and contextual meanings specific to the culture. In Winch's study of the African Azande culture, for example, he discovered that the criteria of rationality commonly shared by Western society cannot be applied to the Azande practice of consulting oracles. He suggests that we seek "a way of looking at things which goes beyond our previous way in that it has in some way taken account of and incorporated the other way that members of S have of looking at things" (1964, 317). In the case of classical Chinese rhetoric, Western conceptions of rhetoric should not be used as criteria for the interpretation and conclusion of Chinese rhetoric. A truly authentic meaning of Chinese rhetoric can only be generated by the examination of how the ancient Chinese perceived their world and addressed their problems through the Chinese rhetorical experience and concepts.

When an interpreter explains the texts of other cultures, he or she introduces different cultural norms and ways of doing things to the reader of the target language. In this way other possibilities for making sense of the world and human life are normalized. Thus, hermeneutical experience is, in effect, intercultural experience, through which one learns to appreciate other cultures while increasing one's own self-understanding. Being a native Chinese, I study my own culture in this case; however, in doing this research, I am also engaged in cross-cultural learning. After all, the ancient Chinese culture in many ways is a different culture from today's. Moreover, I present and introduce Chinese rhetorical experience and concepts to Western readers through English language, which in and of itself is a cross-cultural experience and construction. The fulfillment of hermeneutics is the illumination and enlightenment of human experience through cross-cultural interpretation and understanding, whether of texts, specifically, or cultures, in general. According to Winch, "What we may learn by studying other cultures are not merely possibilities of different ways of doing things. . . . More importantly we may learn different possibilities of making sense of human life, different ideas about the possible importance that the carrying out of certain activities may take on for a man, trying to contemplate the sense of his life as a whole" (1964, 312). The study of Chinese rhetoric is an attempt to capture and analyze rhetorical possibilities as they made sense for the ancient Chinese and may provide insights for non-Chinese readers.

Multiculturalism

Canon building becomes a central issue in academic discourse. In the field of rhetorical studies what has been canonized is Greek rhetoric. Such canonization has political implications, for as Toni Morrison contends, "Canon building is Empire building. Canon defense is national-defense, Canon debate, whatever the terrain, nature and range (of criticism, of history, of the history of knowledge, of the definition of language, the universality of aesthetic principles, the sociology of art, the humanistic imagination), is the clash of cultures" (1989, 8). In the West canon building in rhetoric, art, and literature amounts to the production and perpetuation of European presumptions, along with attempts made to universalize them. This approach is seriously flawed in that non-Western ideas are made to fit into Western disciplinary and intellectual categories.

In the late twentieth century ever-expanding awareness of the importance of multiculturalism and commitment to cultural diversity has resisted and challenged the monocultural and ethnocentric practice of canon building. Multiculturalism, according to Peter Caws, is "the enrichment of the self through acquaintance with and cultivation of what is found to be the most rewarding in all the human products and practices with which one comes in contact" (1994, 372). In the words of David Goldberg, a multicultural mode of inquiry "explores the assertive foundations of disciplines, scrutinizing the boundaries of subjects, conceived as agents and disciplines" (1994, 2). In other words, multiculturalism challenges, resists, and critically evaluates canon building and hegemony in academic discourse.

Caws makes a good connection between multiculturalism and hermeneutics. For him, the hermeneutical experience is one of identity transformation for the interpreter. In the process of interpreting a foreign text, one is engaged in interactions with others and with the world at large. In Caws's words, movement toward a multicultural identity makes possible "the enlargement of individual horizons"(1994, 382). In his article "Identity: Cultural, Transcultural, and Multicultural," Caws concludes that "the challenge to anyone who seeks to work in these directions is to be at once informed about the world, accepting of the stranger, and open to the new—to be, in short, an individual with an identity unconstrained by cultural particularity or prejudice" (1994, 386).[7] From ancient times to the present, a number of scholars have dedicated their lives to the task of translating and interpreting the works of cultures other than their own. Some have embraced cultures that are "originally alien to them and have made elements of these cultures chosen aspects of their identities" (Caws 1994, 384). Such multicultural experience promotes creativity, transformation, and, ultimately, enlightenment.

The notion of multiculturalism has elevated the hermeneutical enterprise from the interpretation of canonical texts to the discovery of multicultural rhetorical meanings and a critique of the dominant discourse in rhetorical studies. As LaFargue argues,

> Hermeneutics could become an important tool for intercultural understanding, and a crucial first step in critical evaluation of the various cultural traditions of the world. But it can only do this if it ceases to be understood primarily as a means of colonizing traditional texts, bringing them under the hegemony of the worldview and values of either the conservative or the radical interpreter. . . . If we dropped the idea of a canon, hermeneutics could become a truly universal science and art, applying the same principles to all human discourse whatsoever." (1994, 42–43)

Here LaFargue suggests a construction and engagement of multicultural hermeneutics, which can be defined as an essential ingredient in scrutinizing and assessing already canonized texts as well as an essential tool for discovering and claiming value and legitimacy for works of philosophy or literature from nondominant cultures. It is an instrument to promote cross-cultural understanding and the reduction of ethnocentrism. It aims to create a pluralistic, diverse, and multiversioned world experience and reflections of the experience, and, more importantly, to accept and appreciate our kaleidoscopic world through the introduction and analysis of multicultural texts. The study of Chinese rhetoric is intended as a challenge to existing and accepted canons of rhetorical history by applying the standard of multicultural hermeneutics.

Traditional hermeneutical methods, and approach to the study of non-Western texts, have unfortunately furthered the cause of Orientalism. Multicultural hermeneutics calls for an end to the tendency of seeing ideas, traditions, and people from other cultures as wholly "other" and a development of an attitude of appreciation for perceived cultural differences. While the whole project employs and aims to achieve multicultural hermeneutics in general, the next section, in particular, is a critique of Western perceptions of Chinese rhetoric that exemplify the influence of Orientalism.

Western Perceptions of Classical Chinese Rhetoric

Western scholars have identified four themes common to ancient Chinese rhetoric. First, they have identified and classified a number of ancient Chinese persuasive practitioners. Second, they have analyzed some primary texts with literary and aesthetic interests. Third, they have described modes of argumentation found in ancient Chinese texts. And fourth, they have identified in a broad sense characteristic patterns of ancient Chinese speech and communication. All these studies are helpful and show a genuine effort and interest by Western scholars in understanding this ancient tradition. While such studies provided a starting point for an understanding of ancient Chinese rhetoric, they are limited in their breadth and depth.

The first area of research is focused on the identification and recognition of Chinese rhetorical practice through the naming of various persuaders and their rhetorical activities in general terms. For example, James Crump and John Dreher offer the following description of *you shui* 游說 (traveling persuaders) in fourth-century-B.C.E. China: "Adept in persuasion, quick of wit, owing no allegiance to anything beyond their own aggrandizement, these men traveled the empire professing loyalty to first this prince, then that, turning one against the other with cleverly turned argument. While admittedly interested only in their own fortunes, these You-shwei [*you shui*] have had far-reaching effects on history . . ." (1951, 16).

The term *you shui* is often used interchangeably with *bian shi* 辯士 or *bian zhe* 辯者.[8] Both terms refer to debators and persuasive practitioners in ancient China. The word shi in ancient Chinese refers to learned and skilled men who "began to be known more for their rhetoric than for their philosophy" (Crump 1964, 8). They were said to be constantly acting as envoys and always using the talent of persuasion. In Crump's opinion, the best English translation for the Chinese word *shi* is the word *rhetor* (9). In his book *Intrigues: Studies of Chan-kuo Ts'e* Crump offers a general description of rhetorical practice during the Warring States period, making the point that the persuasive skills demonstrated by these shi very much resemble those of sophists in ancient Greece.

A more extensive review of ancient Chinese speech patterns and rhetorical activities is provided by Robert Oliver in his landmark book *Communication and Culture in Ancient India and China*. Oliver (1971, 84) identifies three types of rhetoricians in ancient China: 1) talkers of books or storytellers; 2) professional mediators of disputes at the feudal courts; and 3) diplomatic agents. In fact, the most influential group of ancient Chinese rhetors not included in this list is made up of prominent philosophers and thinkers who acted as you shui for political consultation for the rulers and bian shi in debates over issues of moral, epistemological, and social concern in the fifth through third century B.C.E. As J. L. Kroll observes, "Disputation took place both between philosophical schools and within a single tradition. These debates were held in different settings, either in private circumstances (sometimes through an intermediary) and 'in the lanes,' that is in public" (1985–87, 121).

These limited accounts of ancient Chinese rhetorical practices, however incomplete, demonstrate that China did have a tradition of oral persuasive discourse, called for by the need to address social, cultural, and philosophical questions and, for some, by the desire for personal gains. This line of research has challenged the erroneous assertion that China lacked a rhetorical tradition and has promoted scholarly interests in the study of Chinese rhetoric. Unfortunately, however, understanding of Chinese rhetoric remains very general, lacking substantial supporting evidence and specific descriptions in cultural contexts. Serious attention has not yet been paid to rhetorical theories associated with varied philosophical orientations in their cultural and historical contexts. In an effort to begin to rectify this situation, later chapters of this project aim to expand our knowledge and understanding of Chinese rhetoric through an extensive identification and analysis of rhetorical activities engaged in by bian shi and you shui.

The second area of research examines ceremonial speeches, aesthetic rhapsodies, and narratives in selected primary and translated Chinese literary and historical works (Crawford 1963; Egan 1977; Hart 1984; Lu 1994; Saussy 1993; Watson 1962). These studies provide rich data on Chinese rhetorical practice and are helpful attempts toward conceptualizing Chinese rhetoric. However, they are limited in their overemphasis on literary and aesthetic criticism and their interest in written language at the expense of oral speech. Consequently, such studies offer useful information on Chinese language and stylistic writing but fail to identify theories of rhetoric and communication and to offer specific explanations of the cultural and philosophical orientation that affect rhetorical practice.

The third category of research on Chinese rhetoric characterizes modes of argumentation and persuasive strategies of ancient Chinese rhetoricians. In the early studies on logic and reasoning of the ancient Chinese, analogic reasoning and chain-reasoning are identified as the two distinctive modes of thinking (Bodde 1983; Cikoski 1975). To continue these efforts, Garrett (1983) delineates four primary modes of argumentation: 1) argument by authority; 2) argument by a deductive chain; 3) argument from consequence; and 4) argument by comparisons. Jensen (1992) agrees with Garrett that the ancient Chinese used strategies of argumentation by authority, analogy, and examples but finds them generally lacking in the area of deductive reasoning process in their argument.[9] Kroll offers more specific categories of argumentation and persuasion employed by the ancient Chinese: "inference by analogy"; "thesis and antithesis"; "paradox and dilemmas"; "comparing things and joining objects of the same kind"; and "the method of [discussing] advantages and disadvantages." In Kroll's (1985–87) opinion, these methods are primarily forms of indirect argumentation and persuasion which were most commonly found in preimperial and imperial diplomatic practices.

This group of scholarship has contributed to the study of classical Chinese rhetoric by classifying and analyzing Chinese rhetorical practices, specifically in the area of argumentation. Nevertheless, the focus is placed on specific modes of argumentation rather than providing cultural and textual analysis for the engagement of such modes. More importantly, these studies emphasize the ways in which Chinese modes of argumentation differ from Western modes, at the expense of examining the similarities between the two. In addition, they tend to treat Chinese rhetoric as a monolithic tradition rather than reflecting the varied philosophical perspectives of a given time period. A serious attempt to conceptualize classical Chinese rhetoric requires a more comprehensive examination of cultural contexts, as well as historical, literary, and philosophical works.

The fourth category of research reflects a certain orientalistic tendency to conceptualize Chinese rhetoric and communication. In general, Chinese rhetoric is said to be characterized by an emphasis on harmony, deprecation of speeches, and lack of logic. Such perceptions may derive from Western scholars' "prestructural" (Heidegger 1962) and "action orientation" (Geetze 1973) approaches to the study of non-Western cultures. Instead of letting the text "assert its own truth against one's own fore-meaning" or dialectically questioning the conventional interpretations of Chinese texts, various ethnocentric assumptions are made and Western categories of intellectual discourse are superimposed upon Chinese culture and philosophy. Such an orientation is excusable in these early stages of cross-cultural explorations; however, it tends to produce and perpetuate stereotypes of Chinese culture and communication. In order to clarify various misconceptions of Chinese rhetoric made by Western scholars and to pursue the goals of multicultural hermeneutics, it is necessary to evaluate and critique Western perceptions and myths of Chinese rhetoric.

Myth #1: Chinese Rhetoric Is Characterized by Harmony

Western scholars believe the purpose of Chinese rhetoric is to achieve harmony. As Jensen notes, "a central value of East Asian cultures is the desire for harmony, oneness with nature and with other human beings—with all of life" (1987, 223). This desire for harmony is not limited in scope to ancient Chinese culture but is also the goal in modern China. Whether under socialist and communist influence, as in the People's Republic of China, or within the context of democratic and capitalist concerns, as in Taiwan, the traditional respect for authority, unity, and harmony is still maintained by those of Chinese heritage (Kincaid 1987).

As harmony is believed to be the primary cultural value of ancient and contemporary China, it is, likewise, regarded as the overriding concern of Chinese rhetoric. In comparing communication goals, East and West, Donald Cushman and Lawrence Kincaid note that "an Eastern perspective emphasizes selflessness and submission to central authority as an institutional means for achieving unity and harmony between man and nature as the principle goal of communication" (1987, 9). Oliver shares this view of the function of Chinese communication, asserting that "the primary function of discourse is not to enhance the welfare of the individual speaker or listener but to promote harmony" (1971, 261). Unlike a Greek orator who imposes his will on his audience, "the role of the speaker is much less emphasized in the rhetoric of India or China, where harmony rather than victory is often the goal" (Kennedy 1980, 10).

Clearly, such generalizations about Chinese rhetoric as a means to maintain and promote social harmony contain a kernel of truth. However, they do not reflect the complex and varied nature of Chinese culture. China has a recorded history of three thousand years, and throughout this long time span Chinese cultural values are represented by different schools of thought at different times in history. When Western scholars overgeneralize about Chinese rhetoric, they are often unclear as to the time period and school of thought under consideration as well as the social context in which the rhetoric of harmony is initiated and emphasized. In fact, ancient Chinese history is a mosaic of ideological, philosophical, and cultural diversity. For example, historians of the period of Spring-Autumn and Warring States 春秋戰國 (722–481 B.C.E.) recorded intense conflicts between and within ancient Chinese states and philosophical schools. Clearly, conflict, wars, and dissent were not absent in ancient Chinese culture and tradition. Speech patterns at the time may demonstrate more characteristics of confrontation and conflict than harmony.

It cannot be overstated that such generalizations regarding Chinese rhetoric are based on the Western assumptions of Chinese culture rather than on a close examination and interpretation of rhetorical texts and contexts. Moreover, such studies seem to lack clear criteria for determining what constitutes harmonious rhetoric. Hence, we are told that harmony is emphasized in China, but we are not told how harmony is achieved and maintained in the rhetorical sense. If harmony is achieved by submission to authority, as Kincaid, Oliver, and Jensen contend, is it true harmony or harmony at the expense of truth and individuality? If the latter, should we call it harmony or conflict in disguise? These questions should be researched more thoroughly before generalizations are made regarding Chinese rhetoric.

Myth #2: Speech in China Is Deprecated

Western scholars contend that Chinese rhetoric is not systematized and conceptualized because the Chinese deprecate speech and denounce eloquence. According to Oliver, in ancient China "loud talk and abusive language were considered poor behavior" (1971, 98). Conversely, slow talk and silence are valued in Chinese society. Jensen concludes that eloquence, argumentation, and speaking in general are deprecated in China, as they are associated with very negative connotations such as "shallowness, superficiality, untrustworthy cleverness, pretentiousness, pride, hypocrisy, and flattery" (1987, 221).

This is not a complete picture of Chinese rhetoric. In fact, a close examination of selected literary, historical, and philosophical works would demonstrate that speech in ancient China was highly valued and encouraged. Speakers enjoyed impressive reputations and played important roles in politics and education. They were considered wise men or social elites and enjoyed a high level of trust and respectability. Argumentation and debates were common among philosophers and bian shi. Debates occurred over moral and epistemological issues as well as over military strategies and foreign policies. Numerous examples of vigorous debates and persuasive speeches can be found in recorded and re-created texts produced between 500 and 200 B.C.E. Some of these speeches will be examined in chapter 4. It is fair to say that Chinese philosophers valued speech as much as the ancient Greeks and that they were eloquent speakers and rhetoricians. As Wing-tsit Chan records: "Few have shut themselves up in an ivory tower to write long treaties on philosophy or any theoretical subject. . . . the teachings of Confucius, Lao Tzu [Laozi], and others are found in conversations" (1967, 17). In Confucius's works, in particular his *Analects*, a strong emphasis on critical thinking and self-expression through questions and answers can be discerned that is, in some sense, similar to Socratic dialogue.

The literal translation of *speech* in Chinese is *yan* 言. The ancient Chinese often made distinction between different kinds of yan, such as *chang yan* 昌言 (beautiful speech) and *shi yan* 食言 (hypercritical speech) (*SS*, 26–27, 59).[10] Confucius taught his students to practice *xin yan* 信言 (trustworthy speech) and disliked *qiao yan* 巧言 (clever speech) (*LY* 13.20.134; 15.6.158; 15.27.160; 17.17.178). Mencius discussed and advocated *shan yan* 善言 (good speech) and *ren yan* 仁言 (benevolent speech) (*M* 14b.32.244; 13a.14.307). The criticism of speech was often targeted at those clever and hypercritical speeches that were considered manipulative and demoralizing. As Confucius said in his *Analects*, "I dislike men who argue with glib tongues" (*LY* 11.25.114). Clearly, ancient Chinese philosophers did condemn false or flowery speeches; however, they did so without condemning rhetoric in general. A careful reading of original philosophical texts will lead us to the conclusion that what is deprecated by ancient Chinese philosophers is not speech in general but rather glib speakers or speakers with flowery and empty words. Even in today's China, eloquent speakers who use embellishment and flowery words in their speeches are judged as glib, boastful, shallow, and untrustworthy. Those who speak with substance, wisdom, appropriateness, and humor are highly appreciated and respected. Generalizations made by Western scholars regarding the Chinese attitude toward speech fail to account for situation and social context, audience, and the manner of speech. Such generalizations are based on superficial and segmented interpretations of Chinese philosophical works as well as on Western perceptions of the role and function of speech and argumentation in ancient Chinese culture.

Myth #3: Chinese Rhetoric Is Not Interested in Logic

In the Western rhetorical tradition, rhetoric is clearly identified and closely related to logic. Western scholars are generally of the opinion that speeches in ancient China do not have the component of logic. Alfred Forke concludes in his study "The Chinese Sophists" that "The Chinese mind has never risen above these rudiments and developed a complete system of logic" (1901/2), 5). Subsequent scholars have, to their detriment, followed the lead of Northrop (1946), who held that the Chinese were "intuitive" and could not use Western logic. Echoing Forke's and Northrop's claims, Oliver writes, "the ancient East has not been much interested in logic, which necessarily correlated unlike elements, nor has it favored either definition or classification as aids to clear thought" (1971, 10). The reason for this, in Oliver's view, is "precisely because intuitive insight was considered to be the superior means of perceiving truth. Asian rhetoric, therefore, did not presume logical argument but the explication of self-evident propositions" (259). On a related note, Carl Becker (1986) attributes the so-called lack of logic in Eastern cultures to "the inabilities to make fine distinctions and abstractions" and "lack of logical rules and constraints" (84) inherent in the Chinese language.

The ancient Chinese may not have formulated a theory of logic resembling the Aristotelian logical system; however, examples of persuasion and argumentation by definition, analogy, and deduction abound in ancient Chinese texts. A case can be made, therefore, that the ancient Chinese were masters of their own "logic." In fact, the Chinese Mingjia (School of Ming) is well known among Chinese thinkers for its theory of logic and rational thinking. What is more, the School of Mohism is credited with the formulation of a logical system of speech and argumentation, as will be demonstrated in chapter 7; while intuition, rooted primarily in Daoism, is an important mode of inquiry in China. Other schools of thought, including Confucianism, have also manifested strong rationalistic orientations.

Arguing against the position that the Chinese lack an interest in logic, Chung-ying Cheng claims, "there is nothing in Chinese language which prevents the Chinese mind from developing logical thinking or formulating logical principles" (1969, 336). Similarly, Garrett concludes in her dissertation on Chinese Mohist logic that "self-conscious restriction [on the part of the Later Mohists] to deduction in all areas, including 'disputation' and ethical decision-making, was surely due, as in the Western case, to the striking success of hypothetico-deductive reasoning in demonstrating causal relations for their problems in physics, optics, and mechanics" (1983, 341). Furthermore, Chinese logic is discussed and employed in the works of Xunzi, Mozi, and even Confucius. For example, Ernest Richard Hughes argues that the Confucian concept of *ren* 仁 (benevolence) usually understood in moralistic terms, is essentially a deductively formulated theory, a syllogism: "Man can live well in society: we men of Lu State and its neighbors are men: therefore, we must be socially minded, i.e., man-to-man-ly (*Jen*)" (1967, 97). Similarly, in studying Xunzi's theory of argumentation, Antonio S. Cua points out: "A careful examination of some passages in other essays also suggests an awareness of the distinction between deductive, inductive, and analogical inferences" (1983, 867). Indeed, the Chinese system of logic does not replicate the Greek logical system; however, to claim that China has not produced a logical system is to succumb to the faulty logic of Orientalism.

Clearly, the ancient Chinese practiced rhetoric, utilized logic, and engaged in argumentation. If Western rhetorical scholars are truly to understand Chinese rhetoric, they will need to study it on its own terms, with an analysis rooted in ancient Chinese cultural texts and context. Currently the distorting influence of Orientalism is apparent in Western studies of Chinese rhetoric. Given the unfortunate fact that Chinese rhetoric is judged and evaluated by Western standards of rhetoric, it is perceived as radically Other. The same problem exists in the study of Chinese philosophy. Troy Organ (1975) notes that Western philosophers generally attempt to superimpose Western philosophical categories upon Eastern concepts without considering the difference between the two cultures. Such an approach leads to an oversimplification of Eastern philosophy, supporting the ethnocentric assumption that Eastern philosophy is inferior to Western philosophy. This state of affairs can best be understood through an analysis of how Orientalism affects Western research methodologies.

Western Approach to the Study of Chinese Rhetoric

Ancient Chinese rhetoric deserves careful analysis, yet it must be studied in its own context and on its own terms. Analytical research methodologies reveal information about the particular elements of a rhetorical system but may, in the process, produce an incomplete account of the whole. Conversely, contextual research reveals much about rhetorical systems as a whole but may obscure accounts of particular elements of those systems. Both modes of inquiry, analytical and contextual, are necessary for a full understanding of any given rhetorical system. As Western scholars are trained in European modes of inquiry, which emphasize analysis and taxonomy, they face imposing challenges in choosing appropriate modes of inquiry for the study of rhetoric cross-culturally. Such challenges are rooted in the Western tendency to separate, compartmentalize, and polarize (Kincaid 1987).

Geoffrey Ernest Richard Lloyd has brought out the fact that Greek speculative thought is characterized by polarities. In his words, "The attempt to classify, or otherwise account for, other things in terms of pairs of opposites is a feature of a great many theories and explanations which appear in various branches of early Greek philosophy and medicine" (1966, 26). Such early Greek thought patterns and mode of inquiry have formed the basis of Western academic research. Western rhetoric, conventionally believed to have been codified as early as 467 B.C.E. by Corax and Tisias, has long been regarded as a discipline unto itself, though attempts were made to incorporate rhetoric into the fields of ethics, politics, and education.[11] Furthermore, Western communication theories have tended to focus on one aspect of analysis rather than on connecting discrete aspects to other related elements. In other words, Western study of rhetoric and communication has been primarily analytical, to the detriment of holistic understanding. Kincaid urges scholars of intercultural communication to avoid polarities, noting that "the part and whole ultimately cannot be separated. One way to say this is that there is no part and whole but rather one part/whole. Each 'one' defines the other, and indeed is the other" (1987, 332). Western scholars have made generalizations about ancient Chinese rhetoric on the basis of decontextualized analysis. Consequently, they have tended to overlook the cultural mosaics (the whole) out of which Chinese rhetorical practices emerge.

Although some Western scholars are seemingly aware of the intermingling of Chinese rhetoric with Chinese philosophy, language, and culture, they nonetheless tend to be guided by an analytical approach, employing the disciplinary framework of Western rhetoric in their search for a Chinese rhetoric. In order to recover ancient Chinese rhetoric, Western scholars will need to have some knowledge of the Chinese language as well as an in-depth understanding of Chinese habits of mind. An examination of the Western literature on Chinese rhetoric reveals two primary problems with the existing research: 1) an overemphasis on analytical and definitional mode of inquiry; and 2) a dependency on translations.

An Overemphasis on Analytical and Definitional Mode of Inquiry

Western habits of mind have revealed much useful knowledge about the universe, but an overemphasis on analysis greatly limits the vision of the Western scholar. Kincaid observes that Western analytical and conceptual approaches to the study of non-Western cultures have created obstacles to the study of communication. In his words, "One of the major obstacles of the general system approach to communication has always been the lack of an appropriate research methodology to study social phenomena holistically. It is conceptually obvious to Western scholars that there is indeed a whole to which the parts studied correspond, but the entire analytical and conceptual apparatus itself has always acted as an obstacle to a clear understanding of this insight" (1987, 332).

In Asia, particularly in China, thought and speech patterns tend toward the holistic and contextualized. The ancient Chinese culture was a highly contextualized constellation of political intrigue, art, and philosophical expression within which ideas and concepts were not explicitly codified or systematized. Consequently, rhetoric was never officially codified as a separate discipline by Chinese scholars. This is not because rhetoric is perceived as unimportant. On the contrary, as Jensen observes: "[Rhetoric] was so important that it was intertwined with, inseparable from philosophy, religion, ethics, psychology, politics, and social relations" (1987, 219).

Western scholars tend to study Chinese rhetoric through an Occidental lens, looking for explicit theories, concepts, and statements about rhetoric in the works of Chinese philosophers rather than locating implicit senses and meanings of rhetoric in the contexts of Chinese philosophy, history, and society. The works of Jensen and Oliver illustrate this Western tendency to compartmentalize and categorize. For example, Jensen (1987) identifies six points of emphasis common to Daoist rhetoric, listing them in the following order: speech deprecation, argument condemnation, denouncement of knowledge, avoidance of critical thinking, respect for authority, and emphasis on ethics. This listing is accurate and helpful but lacks an account of relevant context in which these characteristics occur. Basically, Jensen's interpretation of the characteristics of Daoist rhetoric is derived from segments of works by Laozi and Zhuangzi and by reading the texts literally. Furthermore, his conclusions are reached by a mode of inquiry characterized by categorization and analysis. Jensen's analysis would have been more complete if he had first accounted for the metaphorical and paradoxical nature of Daoism.

The Daoist perspective on rhetoric is rooted in its philosophical orientation: namely *wu wei* 無爲, meaning to speak and act without artificiality and superficiality. Both Laozi and Zhuangzi condemned "glib tongues" and "flowery speeches," claiming such behavior did not conform to the essence of the Dao 道 (the Way). Furthermore, since Daoist writings are paradoxical and metaphorical in nature, the utterances of Laozi and Zhuangzi should not be taken literally. Jensen's literal reading of Daoism, along with his Western tendency to search for explicit meaning, may have led him to the conclusion that Daoism condemns speech and argumentation.

To his credit, Oliver appears to be sensitive to the paradoxical and contextual nature of Dao. He notes, "For of one thing Lao Tzu [Laozi] was certain: to break truth into separable fragments is to destroy it. Nothing has meaning except in context—and context is all-inclusive" (1971, 245). Yet Oliver's treatment of Daoist rhetoric fails to connect clearly Daoism with rhetoric, perpetuating the vision of rhetoric as a separate entity. Consequently, he is left to conclude that the "rhetorical implications of Daoism" are vague and mystical (240–45). Given the Western preference for clarity and explicitness, Oliver's conclusions imply a certain rhetoric deficit within Daoism.

Another unfortunate habit of inquiry in the Western study of rhetoric is the search for definitions and equivalence. Western scholars of Chinese rhetoric typically seek to find Western equivalents for certain Chinese terms. Key terms, such as *rhetoric, sophist,* and *logic,* are not clearly compared with Chinese terms or adequately contextualized.

While the word *rhetoric* was defined by Aristotle as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (*Rhetoric* 1355b27), no exact equivalent for the word exists in the Chinese language. A number of related words, however, are used in classical Chinese texts to capture and conceptualize persuasive behaviors and speech theories, and these will be discussed in chapter 3. In most studies of Chinese speech and persuasive discourse, the English translation of the Greek word for rhetoric is used to describe Chinese speech. This practice may obscure the textual and cultural meanings of ancient Chinese discourse. Western scholars seem generally unaware of the danger of failing to give serious consideration to original Chinese terms relating to the notion of rhetoric. Their assumptions about the meaning and scope of rhetoric lead them to the conclusion that China has no rhetorical tradition or that such a tradition is completely unlike Western rhetoric.

Sophist is another word that causes confusion in the study of Chinese rhetoric. Again, no direct translation, conveying the Greek sense of the word, exists in the Chinese language.[12] Without an equivalent for the word *sophist,* Western rhetorical scholars have tended to assume that ancient China has no tradition of sophistry. In his book *Les fondements philosophiques de la rhétorique chez les sophistes grecs et chez les sophistes chinois* (1985), Jean-Paul Reding claims that China has no tradition of sophistry because there is no counterpart in Chinese texts that contains the meaning of the Greek sophistry. However, a group of people engaged in similar activities as the Greek sophists did exist in ancient China: they were known as *Mingjia* 名家, the School of Ming.[13] The two groups shared some common interests and engaged in similar sophistic activities. Nevertheless, I do not mean to imply that Mingjia are the equivalent of sophists, for the two groups also differ in many ways called upon by the different social and cultural conditions they lived in.

The term *logic* has also been problematic in Chinese rhetorical studies. In the Western tradition, *logic* generally refers to the formal logical system set by Aristotle, which entails deductive and inductive reasoning processes. In the Chinese language, the direct translation for *logic* is *luo ji* 邏輯, a transliteration of the English word *logic,* defined as "the law of reasoning" in the Chinese dictionary. This definition is broader than its Western counterpart, in that it may include other forms of reasoning, such as analogical reasoning processes. The term *logic* may not carry all the connotated meanings of the Chinese *luo ji.* The term *luo ji* is never used in classical Chinese texts. However, Chinese words associated with the classical Greek meaning of *logos* do exist. They are *tui* 推 (inference); *gu* 故 (cause and because); *li* 理 (reason, principles used as basis for classification); and *lei* 類 (classification). The fact that such terms are unfamiliar to many Western scholars may have contributed to Oliver's assertion that China lacks a logical rhetorical tradition.

The problem of applying English terms to the analysis of Chinese concepts is not unique to the field of rhetorical studies. As Hall and Ames observe, "To settle upon an English equivalent for each major concept and then pursue the analysis through the equivalent rather than the original term is unquestionably the most problematic methodological pitfall of Western interpretation of Chinese philosophy" (1987, 41). This is true for the simple reason that an English equivalent may not accurately capture depth and nuances of the original concept.

A Dependency on Translation

The second obstacle encountered by Western scholars in their study of Chinese rhetoric is the problem of translation. As many Western scholars do not read or understand the Chinese language, they turn to translations for an understanding of Chinese rhetoric. Anyone who attempts to translate and interpret Chinese classical texts is confronting a difficult challenge and therefore deserves respect. A true sense of fidelity may never be reached in translation, since in many ways translation is an interpretation and recreation by the translator of the author's original meaning. Nevertheless, when the translation is done by a word-for-word or literal technique without considering or providing cultural and linguistic contexts to help gain the authentic meaning, anyone reading the translation is likely to be led to an incomplete or weak understanding of the original meaning. Moreover, when a scholar depends on such translations and verification with the original texts is impossible, he or she runs the risk of misinterpreting and drawing inaccurate conclusions of the original meanings. This is especially the case with the translation and interpretation of Daoist texts.

In both Jensen's and Oliver's works, Laozi's *Dao De Jing* 道德經 is quoted as a primary support for their understanding of Daoist rhetoric. For example, Jensen appropriates the following translation of Laozi by Lin Yutang: "A good man does not argue; he who argues is not a good man." The Chinese reads as follows: *shan zhe bu bian, bian zhe bu shan* 善者不辯,辯者不善. In this verse the word "argue" is the literal translation of the Chinese word *bian* 辯. By reading this literal translation, one is easily led to believe that Laozi condemns rhetoric or separates rhetoric from ethics, while the contextual meaning for *bian* here does not simply mean "argue." A careful reading of *Dao De Jing* suggests that the term *bian* embodies the meanings "embellishment of words," "making distinctions," and "disputing for a particular position." From Laozi's philosophical and rhetorical perspective, a person engaging in such bian activities lacks moral substance and is unable to bridge, harmonize, and transcend different points of view. When *bian* is literally translated as "argue," the connotative and contextual meanings of the word are lost. By taking the translation at its face value, it is easy to conclude that speech and argumentation are deprecated and condemned in the Daoist treatment of Chinese rhetoric.

When translation is not faithful to the original, a scholar who depends on such translation runs even greater risk of drawing inaccurate conclusions. For example, Oliver asserts that "*Tao-Teh-Ching* [Dao De Jing] seemingly renounces rhetoric and even communication itself" (1971, 238). He supports this assertion by quoting the translation as follows: "In much talk there is weariness. It is best to keep silent." The original Chinese is *Yan duo shu qiong, bu ru shou zhong* 言多數窮,不如守中. In this version the Chinese word *shou zhong* 守中 is mistranslated as "keep silent." A more accurate translation would be "to maintain moderation." Therefore, the translation should read: "Too much talk creates emptiness; it is better to maintain moderation." This revised translation is based on an understanding of the linguistic meaning and philosophical context of Daoism. In the linguistic sense, the classical meaning of *shou* 守 is "keep" or "maintaining," while the classical meaning of *zhong* 中 is "middle" or "appropriateness." In the philosophical sense, the central idea of Daoism is to maintain balance and appropriateness. Overreacting or talking too much will lead to the opposite effect. The translation of *shou zhong* as "keeping silent" may have resulted from the translator's preconceptions about Eastern speech patterns. In any case, the translation of *shou zhong* as "keeping silent" as opposed to "maintaining appropriateness" obviously leads to a very different understanding of Daoist rhetoric. Laozi suggests we maintain appropriateness, similar to the Greek notion of *kairos*, in the adaptation of rhetorical situations.

The above examples illustrate the point that when key words or sentences are mistranslated or taken out of context, scholars are led to unfounded or inaccurate conclusions about Chinese rhetoric. Unfortunately, non-Chinese speaking readers and researchers are subject to such problems when working with translations. Consequently, they are likely to conclude that Laozi condemned all forms of rhetoric, speech, and argumentation, while overlooking the embedded meaning in the *Dao De Jing* regarding appropriateness and artistic choice in speech and argumentation. The same problem occurs with translations of texts from other cultures. For example, it occurred with non-Greek-speaking readers with regard to the translation of Aristotle's definition of rhetoric in his *Rhetoric* (Conley 1979).

The first generation of rhetorical scholars has called the attention of Western rhetorical scholars to the rhetorical practices of the ancient Chinese, and their works provide historians of rhetoric with a useful beginning. The second generation will need to develop modes of inquiry designed to account for the religious, philosophical, and rhetorical configurations of ancient Chinese culture. Such scholars will need to broaden their modes of inquiry, as well as developing a certain cautious skepticism when citing secondary sources or translations. Ideally, a scholar can avoid the problem of faulty translation if he or she reads both the language of the translation and the language of the original text.

Treatment of Chinese Rhetoric by Chinese Scholars

Although the first attempt by the Chinese to explore foreign land can be traced back to 138 B.C.E., most imported cultures and religious traditions were assimilated into the Chinese culture.[14] Serious study of European culture, thought, and philosophy did not begin until the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century when a group of Western-educated intellectuals began to introduce modern Western ideas and philosophy through the translation of texts and propagation of scientific thought.[15] These intellectuals compared traditional Chinese cultural values to modern Western science and technology, concluding that Chinese culture was spiritually oriented while Western culture was scientifically oriented.

Such comparisons polarized the two cultures. The controversy over the future of China centered on whether it should integrate traditional Chinese values with those of the West or simply adopt Western scientific methods and ways of thinking. Hu Shi 胡適, the American-trained historian of Chinese philosophy who was strongly influenced by the thinking of John Dewey and Thomas Huxley, advocated the adoption of Western scientific methods. Hu's opponents, Liang Qichao 梁启超 and Liang Shuming 梁漱溟, who were moderates in their position of political reforms and cultural change, critically examined the strengths and weaknesses of Western culture while upholding the value of Chinese culture and tradition (Chen 1985; Kwok 1965; Schwartz 1972).

This debate over culture and tradition has also been reflected in the study of Chinese persuasive discourse and speech theory in subsequent years. In particular, two lines of research on Chinese rhetoric can be identified in modern scholarship. One line, influenced by a concern for contextual understanding, treats Chinese rhetoric as a part of Chinese philosophy.[16] The other line of research, influenced by the trend toward Western analytical and definitional modes of inquiry, has attempted to conceptualize the discipline under the original Chinese notion of *ming* 名 (naming) and the Western notion of logic (luo ji in Chinese).[17] Because of the language barrier and a general lack of scholarly exchange between China and the West, Chinese works on the study of ming have not been introduced to the West; at the same time, Chinese scholars have not fully embraced or understood the study of rhetoric in the West.

The first line of research by modern Chinese scholars recognized the roles and activities of Chinese bian shi in the historical works of Chinese philosophy. As Hou Wailu and his colleagues describe it, "In the 5th century B.C.E., it was common practice for ordinary people to discuss or talk about politics. In this kind of speech practice, the idea of *ming* (naming) and *bian* 辯 (distinction, argumentation) emerged. The School of Ming was therefore formed. The idea of *ming bian* developed in the period of *bai jia zheng ming* 百家爭鳴 (contentions of one hundred schools of thought) and became popular in the Warring State Period" (403–221 B.C.E.).[18] Hou believes that the School of Ming was primarily composed of logicians and became one of the major philosophical schools in ancient China. In Hou's works, ming and bian were not treated as separate disciplines or areas of study but as an integrated part of the Chinese philosophical tradition as a whole.

The majority of Chinese scholars seem to agree that the School of Ming was characterized by an emphasis on logic and argumentation, in both theory and practice. However, few scholars make a connection or distinction between the notions of ming and bian, being instead solely interested in group composition and the nature of group activities. As Fung described, the School of Ming "originated from men who had specialized in the art of debate, and who used their talents on behalf of clients engaged in lawsuits. Through their tricks of sophistry, we are told, they were able to turn right into wrong, and wrong into right" (1952, xxxiii). This group of individuals is often compared to Greek sophists, though, interestingly enough, the label given them by Chinese scholars was *gui bian zhe* 詭辯者 (deceitful debater), as opposed to wise man or rhetorician. Because of the negative connotations associated with this group of rhetors and the condemnation they received from Confucianists and Daoists in ancient times, they are often dismissed as "glib tongues" and "manipulators" in Chinese historical records. This line of research shares much in common with research by Western scholars on Greek sophists in that both recognize and identify rhetorical activities engaged in by a particular group of people who used words and arguments for the purpose of deception.

While the first group of Chinese scholars used the terms *bian shi, bian zhe,* and *Mingjia* interchangeably, thus mixing rhetorical activity with a school of thought, the second line of research under consideration centers on the definition of *ming,* treating Mingjia as a distinctive school of thought with the formulation of philosophical inquiry and speech theories. Although the discussion of ming originates with Confucius's notion of *zheng ming* 正名 (the rectification of names) and was developed by subsequent thinkers such as Mozi and Xunzi, the term is primarily associated with both Mingjia and the School of Mohism, referring to the discussion of logic, argumentation, and metaphysics.[19] According to Zhang, "*ming* refers not only to argumentation, but to a theory of expressing thoughts and confirming truth. It is the method of setting up an argumentation" (1982, 560). Similarly, Yu Yu (1959) contends that Mingjia was interested in logic and argumentation, identifying the following three functions of ming: 1) to discriminate things; 2) to express one's opinion; and 3) to infer truth and falsehood. These three functions of ming echo Lao's summary on the characteristics of ming as it was distinguished from other schools: "Mingjia [the School of Ming] is concerned with the question of epistemology. It has three main characteristics. First, in terms of topics, Mingjia pursues questions of logic and metaphysics instead of politics and ethics. Second, in terms of making arguments, Mingjia relies on reasoning, logic or metaphysical theory rather than historical and cultural evidence. Third, Mingjia has formulated its own theory and belongs to early metaphysics. Its practice is more of sophistry" (1984, 380). To many Chinese scholars the concept of ming is equivalent to the Western notion of logic. Thus, for example, some Chinese scholars have described their studies of the School of Ming as histories of "logic in the

Pre-Qin period" (Wen 1983; Zhou and Liu 1984). Ironically, the Chinese translation of *logic, luo ji,* is a borrowed Western term and concept, having never appeared or been used in ancient Chinese writings.

Although scholarship on Mingjia and the notion of ming by Chinese scholars offers helpful information on the group and their rhetorical interests, problems exist with such studies. As these scholars are historians of Chinese philosophy, their studies focus more on the composition and personality of the school than on attempting to codify Chinese rhetoric. Their studies are primarily interested in providing definitions of ming rather than examining rhetoric in connection with literary and philosophical works. They provide superficial discussion of logic and argumentation, and fail to offer an exploration of ethics, emotions, or worldviews as related to the use and function of rhetoric. In general, contemporary Chinese scholars are primarily interested in describing and interpreting the theories by antiquities rather than in critiquing these theories and advancing new theories. Moreover, some scholars seem unaware of the Western rhetorical tradition, giving little attention to rhetorical theories by Western philosophers. No attempts have been made to compare Chinese rhetoric with Greek rhetoric in a systematic fashion. Like their Western counterparts, Chinese scholars seem to have some difficulty with the definitions of rhetorical terms in the two languages, the approach to codifying Chinese rhetoric, and the translation from Chinese to English or vice versa. For example, translation of the ancient Chinese word *ming* as "logic" may contribute to the general confusion. For this reason we must avoid the tendency to use Western conceptual terms to describe the experiences and perceptions of non-Western cultures without careful consideration and critical examination. Using a foreign concept to replace an indigenous one is a form of cultural imperialism in which certain original meanings are lost or misinterpreted. In this case, Chinese scholars themselves employ foreign terms, rather than having them imposed.

Both Western and Chinese rhetorical scholars have made important translations, provided valuable information, and generated thought-provoking ideas in their initial studies of Chinese rhetoric or ming bian. However, such studies should be broadened and deepened. Western scholars need to acknowledge their own biases in interpreting Chinese culture and communication patterns, constantly questioning and challenging their own perceptions and opening new discoveries and findings. Chinese scholars, on the other hand, need to expand their vision of ming bian through a close examination of ancient texts featuring actual speech patterns and persuasive practices, thereby conceptualizing ming bian on Chinese terms rather than on Western ones. A comparison between Chinese and Western rhetorical traditions should be pursued in order to generate more insights for ideas of human rhetoric. Both groups of scholars have a lot to learn from cross-cultural exchange. It is important to conduct scholarly dialogue on neutral, equal, and intelligible bases and to promote intellectual conversations that result in a mutual recognition of similarities and differences in rhetorical theories and practices.

Both groups should be aware and critical of the problems of Orientalism and Occidentalism in their academic pursuits. Both should engage in multicultural hermeneutics in order to generate multicultural meanings. Such a hermeneutical orientation would not seek to canonize any particular texts, but would instead recognize and celebrate diverse human experiences and cultural knowledge through translation and interpretation of cross-cultural discourse and texts. This new understanding of rhetoric starts with an appreciation of the ways in which different cultures perceive, define, and discuss rhetoric. It begins with an understanding of the realm, role, and function of rhetorical concepts derived and addressed to cultural forces and social contexts. The next chapter reviews the cultural context and rhetorical practices in the pre-Qin period (before 221 B.C.E.), which laid the background for philosophical and rhetorical conceptualizations and formulations.

CHAPTER 2

Cultural Contexts and Rhetorical Practices of the Pre-Qin Period

In his study of Greek rhetoric before Aristotle, Richard Enos argues that the political shift toward democracy and increasing demands for power in the fifth century B.C.E. provided environment and exigencies for the formulation of Greek rhetoric. Enos criticizes the tendency of overlooking such historical contexts in the interpretation of Greek rhetoric in the current scholarship. He believes the social and political forces are vitally important ingredients in that they not only provide a grounding for the occurrence of rhetorical activities but also offer explanations of how the concept of rhetoric evolves over time (Enos 1993). Likewise, the Chinese rhetorical tradition developed over time in response to the sociopolitical and cultural dynamics and exigencies in ancient China. Moreover, like the Greek rhetorical tradition, the Chinese rhetorical tradition went through a gradual evolution of consciousness from mythical to rational modes of thought and expressions with the social and political demands and the emergence of literary works. Without knowledge of the ancient Chinese cosmology, cultural transitions, and rhetorical practices, a meaningful understanding and interpretation of Chinese rhetorical tradition cannot be reached. This chapter aims to familiarize the reader with Chinese thought pattern, value system, and forms of discourse formulated and practiced in the ancient Chinese cultural and social contexts.

In particular, this chapter will examine cultural contexts and major forms of rhetorical practices from the twenty-first century B.C.E., the beginning of the Xia 夏 dynasty to 221 B.C.E., the time of the unification of China by the emperor of the Qin 秦 dynasty, historically known as the pre-Qin period. Although the project will focus primarily on the fifth to third century B.C.E., what transpired prior to this period in ancient Chinese history greatly influenced the subsequent thinking and speech patterns. An examination of Chinese culture during this period will help us understand its rhetorical tradition, both in terms of its development over time and significance at a particular historical moment.

This historical and cultural review will unfold in chronological order. In particular, I will examine ancient Chinese cultural values and types of communication in the Xia and Shang 商 dynasties (approximately twenty-first to eleventh century B.C.E.) viewed through the lens of Chinese mythology, divination, and ancestor worship. I will then identify three general types of communication: poetry, speeches, and government decrees in the Zhou 周 dynasty (approximately eleventh–eighth century B.C.E.). Finally, I will move to a review of the vigorous Chun Qiu Zhan Guo 春秋戰國 (the Spring-Autumn and Warring States) period (eighth–third century B.C.E.). As in Greece in the fifth through fourth century B.C.E., this period was the golden age in Chinese history with regard to the production of literary and historical texts as well as the formulation of philosophical and rhetorical theories. Selected literary, historical, and philosophical texts produced in this time period will be introduced and analyzed throughout the rest of this book. Thus, an understanding of the cultural dynamics, communication practices, and various worldviews characteristic of the pre-Qin period is crucial to our understanding of the Chinese rhetorical tradition as a whole. The purpose of this chapter is to situate classical Chinese rhetorical theories and practices in their cultural contexts in order, ultimately, to arrive at the deepest possible understanding of such theories and practices.

The Xia Dynasty

Historians generally divide Chinese history into ancient (twenty-first century B.C.E.–1840 C.E.) and modern (1840–present) periods. The Xia dynasty (approximately twenty-first to sixteenth century B.C.E.), established by a legendary cultural hero by the name of Yu 禹, is believed to be the first Chinese dynasty. While some Western historians have doubts about its existence, speculating that its history was a mere reconstruction and fabrication by the later texts, Chinese historians seemed unanimously to agree that the Xia dynasty did exist. Although archaeological efforts have failed to provide written materials dating to the Xia dynasty, based on the description of the Xia dynasty given in the pre-Qin texts, they suggest that Xia possessed basic forms of agriculture and animal husbandry. There could also have been institutionalized slavery during this time, with a clear class division between the rich and the poor, indicated by the quantity and value of sacrificial items buried with the dead (Sun 1987; Zhang Chuanxi 1991). For example, *Shang Shu* (the Book of Documents) has documented some segments of Xia military and political structures along with various official speeches. Therein the Xia ruling class is described as ferocious and ruthless toward its people; the last two Xia kings are considered the cruelest and most corrupt.[1] The Xia dynasty endured for 471 years and was replaced in the eighteenth century B.C.E. by one of the Eastern tribes, Shang, also known as Yin 殷.

Mythology

Just as mythic expression was characteristic of Greek culture from Homeric times to the fifth century B.C.E., ancient China from the Xia to Shang dynasties (twenty-first to eleventh century B.C.E.) was preoccupied with its belief in myth and spirituality. Although our knowledge on the historical Xia is limited, much information of a mythic and legendary nature has survived to the present. Myth and legends are sacred stories created collectively in order to infuse life with meaning. In the telling and retelling of its myths and legends a culture transmits its knowledge, makes sense of its environment, and establishes its values and cosmology. China is no exception to this rule; its myths and legends establish ancestral lineage and origins, promote cultural heroes, and explore the creation of the universe.[2]

In general, Chinese myths and legends fall into three general categories. The first type of myth illustrates the relationship between human and nature, celebrating human power in conquering nature and exploring harmonious and disharmonious interactions between the two.[3] This type of mythology may explain why Chinese philosophy emphasizes concrete human relationships with nature and among themselves as opposed to the more abstract relationships between humans and divinity characteristic of Western philosophy.

The second type of mythology glorifies cultural heroes, praising their wisdom, courage, and morality. One well-known legend is *Da Yu zhi shui* 大禹治水 (Da Yu conquers the flood). Different versions of the story can be found in a number of pre-Qin and Han texts,[4] the earliest in *Shang Shu*. According to this version, during the rule of Yao 堯 and Shun 舜, a devastating flood threatened human lives and nature. King Yao ordered Gun 鯀, a tribal leader, to conquer the flood. Gun built a dam to prevent water from flooding in, but without success. Consequently, Shun, the Lord of the Xia tribe, executed Gun and ordered his son Yu 禹 to succeed where his father had failed. Yu worked hard for thirteen years—so hard, in fact, that not once during all that time did he return home, not even when passing by his house. Finally, with the assistance of new technology, Yu managed to channel the water into the sea and conquered the flood problem. In gratitude, Shun ceded Yu his throne and Yu became the first king of the Xia dynasty. This story, referred to by Derk Bodde (1961) as "the euhemerized version," instilled in the Chinese an everlasting zeal for eulogizing their leaders along with blind faith in their moral character. In this way legendary Chinese heroes were rationalized, moralized, and euhemerized. No longer were they mythical figures, but real-life heroes, used for the persuasive and didactic purpose of teaching and strengthening moral and cultural values.[5]

The third feature of Chinese mythology is the symbolic portrayal of animals in connection with legendary figures. This is especially characteristic of the Shang and Zhou dynasties, following the Xia dynasty. Animals were perceived as carrying the spirits of sage kings, ancestors, cultural heroes, and monsters. As informed by Chang, "nine out of ten among the ancient sages in Chinese legends were euhemerized versions of animal deities" (1976, 174). This feature of Chinese mythology should not be reductionistically understood as a mere personification of animals, but rather as a blurring of the lines between animals and legendary figures who were honored and empowered. It was believed that the souls of cultural heroes and ancestors never died. Instead they transformed into animals, exerting invisible power over the living. The overwhelming use of animals in mythical images and texts was prevalent in historical and literary writings of the pre-Qin period. Sacred meaning was attributed to animals, and they were used as central components and rhetorical devices in fables and anecdotes.

We have little knowledge on how such myths and legends were communicated among the common people in the Xia dynasty. It is possible that the writing system was formed during this time period. However, given the fact that we have no attested Xia texts, it is reasonable to assume that myths and legends were transmitted orally, in which case memory and repetition must have played important roles. It is generally agreed in the scholarship on oral tradition that the roles of the speaker and listener were passively to remember the story so as to tell and retell it over and over, rather than critically to pass judgment upon it (Gill 1994; Havelock 1963; Ong 1982). As the ruling class of the Xia dynasty enjoyed a sophisticated level of music and dance, it is likely that the myths and legends of the time were sung along with music and dance on ritualistic occasions (Sun 1987).

This public performing of stories through music and dance is a distinctive feature of an oral tradition. In this context, combining music and body movement with storytelling aids the process of memorization while entertaining the audience. Thereby the performer becomes a transmitter of cultural knowledge.[6]

The Shang Dynasty

Judging from archaeological evidence, the Shang dynasty, also known as the Yin dynasty (approximately sixteenth–eleventh century B.C.E.), was remarkably civilized in its economic and cultural affairs. Although archaeologists have discovered written symbols dating to the Xia dynasty, there is insufficient evidence to suggest that such symbols are forms of language used for communication. The earliest traces of China's written language called *jia gu wen* 甲骨文 (shell-bone script, due to the fact that it was inscribed on oracle bones) is believed to be from the Shang dynasty.[7] According to Chang (1980), *jia gu wen* was the language used by all members of the Shang dynasty. There is no evidence suggesting even the slightest degree of linguistic diversity during that time. Among the three thousand characters inscribed on oracle bones, approximately one thousand are still identifiable and are being used today. Despite efforts throughout history from Qin Shi Huang 秦始皇 to Mao Zedong 毛澤東 to simplify China's written language, certain characters still retain their original pictographic and ideographic forms, resembling the actual objects named.[8] At any rate, the discovery of the shell-bone scripts has revealed much about Chinese consciousness during the Shang dynasty, wherein symbols representing the objective world were created and utilized. This important discovery also provides valuable information about Shang culture and its modes of communication, characterized by ancestor worship, divination, oral poetry, and political persuasion.

Ancestor Worship

Still carrying traces of the predominantly mythic worldview characteristic of the Xia dynasty, the people of the Shang, or Yin, dynasty were known for their spiritual and religious orientation to life. Anthropological evidence suggests a general perception of human spirits as immortal and ubiquitous, as in animals, in nature, and in the deceased. Myth, according to Ernst Cassirer, "is an offspring of emotion and its emotional background imbues all its productions with its own specific color" (1944, 82). The emotional background of the Shang people was what Cassirer would refer to as "sympathetic," as opposed to theoretical and practical. This sympathetic attitude allowed for participation in the spirit world and harmonious relations with nature.

Communication with the spiritual world took the form of ancestor worship and divination. Worshiping ancestors was the core of religious and social life of the ancient Chinese. It was their belief that death imbued the departed with more spiritual power than they possessed while alive. By consulting their deceased ancestors for advice and asking for blessings and protection, the living were able to keep the lines of communication open. Ancestor worship was a structured ritualistic and symbolic practice of filial piety accompanied by music and performance. It involved the sacrifice of animals, the offering of food and wine, the burning of incense, prayers, and kow towing in order from the eldest to the youngest. The head of the family was given the highest honor, that of talking "directly" to the spirits of the ancestors.[9]

As the family expanded, the ritualistic performance of ancestor worship prescribed the roles and functions of kinship and family ties. In this way, kinship structure and hierarchy were established. In addition, since ancestor worship took place within the relatively narrow context of the family, it tended to strengthen family cohesiveness while weakening the general sense of social responsibility. As Laurence Thompson notes on this point, "The ancestral cult was the one universal religious institution, but by ensuring the exclusiveness of each tsu [ancestor] it fastened on the nation a system of closely knit in-group units, each of which claimed the major share of each individual's loyalties and efforts at the expense of a larger social consciousness" (1979, 44). A prevalent Western misconception is that China is a collectivistic society; in fact, it is collectivistic only in the context of in-groups, such as extended families and circles of friends, not in the context of society and state. Despite efforts made by Confucius to extend familial loyalties to the social context, Chinese consciousness remains fundamentally familial with a limited collective function, or what I like to call a system of extended individualism.

In addition to ancestors, the people of the Shang dynasty worshiped a supernatural being referred to as *shang di* 上帝 (High God). Unlike the Western God who is perceived as the Creator of the universe, the Chinese conception of shang di is similar to the conception of the Hebrew prophet in the Old Testament who has feelings and purpose, who oversees and controls political affairs. The will of shang di was known as *tian ming* 天命 (the Mandate of Heaven). The earliest form of the character *tian* was anthropomorphic in the shape of with a square on the top of "human" symbolizing an impersonal, all-powerful deity. *Ming* means destiny. According to the Mandate of Heaven, if a ruler acted morally and virtuously in governing his country and serving his people, he would be supported and assisted by Heaven. If, on the other hand, he chose evil over good, Heaven would replace him with a moral and virtuous leader. This theory of Heaven's Mandate has been used throughout Chinese history to legitimize the overthrow of allegedly unvirtuous rulers and the establishment of new regimes. One speech given by the first emperor of Shang, recorded in *Shang Shu,* exemplified this notion:

> The king said, listen, my people. It is not because I dare to provoke chaos, it is because the king of Xia has committed so many crimes, the God of Heaven ordered me to punish him. Now you may say that our king does not show mercy for us; that he missed good seasons for farming in order to fight against Xia. I understand what you mean, but the king of Xia is guilty. I am fearful of the High God; I dare not act against his Will. Now you may ask what crime the King of Xia has committed. He labored and exploited Xia people so harshly that people do not respect him and refuse to cooperate with him. They ask when this sun will fall. Xia King's conduct is so ferocious that I must send a punitive expedition against him. (*SS "tang shi,"* 58–59)

In this way the notion of Heaven's Mandate set up moral justification and a rhetorical appeal for establishing or overthrowing power: good must rule and evil must be punished.

The belief in shang di, whose divine message was conveyed through the tribal king's worship of and sacrifices to his ancestors, led to the establishment of a social hierarchy. According to David Keightley, this tribal level of ancestor worship in the quest for success in war, hunting, and agriculture "provided powerful psychological and ideological support for the political dominance of the Shang kings." Furthermore, "the king's ability to determine through divination, and influence through prayer and sacrifice, the will of the ancestral spirits legitimized the concentration of political power in his person. . . . It was the king who made fruitful harvest and victories possible by the sacrifice he offered, the rituals he performed, and the divinations he made" (1978, 212–12). The king's role as the only channel for communication with shang di gave him absolute power in the social hierarchy, similar to the roles of the pope and church fathers in the Middle Ages in Europe. Indeed, throughout Chinese history the perception has been that political leaders, kings, and emperors were in possession of some divine power and noble spirit. Consequently, such people were treated with great reverence, trust, and respect by their loyal subjects as the living God. Their lives were considered exemplary and were used as moral appeals in persuasion.

Divination

The desire to understand natural and supernatural forces, along with filial responsibility for ancestors, led the ancient Chinese to the practice of divination and its use as a form of communication with spirits. The art of divination supposedly originated in the Xia dynasty, achieving widespread popular appeal by the Shang dynasty. The practice involved burning bones to produce crack lines to be read and interpreted by the augur. Part of the ceremony involved addressing one's ancestors through the rituals of animal sacrifice and ceremonial speeches, called *zhu ci* 祝辭 (prayerful speech to gods and ghosts). The person delivering the speech was referred to as *zhu guan* 祝官, or *bu guan* 卜官. The terms of every divination, including relevant dates, requests made, and results, would be recorded on shell-bone scripts, which served as government archives. The language used for recording the event of divination, of which there were four types, was called *bu ci* 卜辭 (oracle inscriptions): 1) *qian ci* 前辭 (previous speech) for recording times and names; 2) *ming ci* 命辭 (naming speech) for recording the subject of divination; 3) *zhan ci* 占辭 (divining speech) for demonstrating the result of divination; and 4) *yan ci* 驗辭 (checking speech) for recording whether divination had any effect (Sun 1987, 660–61). Given the weighty responsibilities entailed in divination, it is reasonable to conclude that augurs and zhu guan, or the diviner, acting as a medium or spokesman for the spirits, must have possessed well-developed oral and written communication skills and a facility for interpreting signs. Such an individual must also have gained the trust and respect of the tribal ruler or head of the family. Although little is known about the lives of augurs and zhu guan, it is likely that they were the elites of society and, more importantly, the first trained "rhetoricians" in China.

Both Shang divination and ancestor worship were ritualistic performances signifying the value and meaning of Shang culture. Ritual, as defined by Ann Gill, is "a means by which oral humans make sense of their environment; a means of transforming certain aspects of experiences, creating patterns of meaning for a people" (1994, 84). Shang rituals reinforced the mythic and spiritual orientation of the times. Modes of communication of the Shang dynasty created kinship and social hierarchies which in turn prescribed codes of conduct for speech and action.

Oral Poetry

According to Eric Havelock (1982), Homeric poetry was a common form of ritualistic and political communication from the eighth through fifth century B.C.E. in Greece. Through the means of narration, repetition, performance, and rhyme and rhythm, Homeric poetry served as living and collective memory of the Greek culture and civilization. Similarly, the Shang culture was rich in its production of ballads, folk songs, and poems, whose roots can be traced to as early as the Xia dynasty. Oral poetry originated with the working class, who produced songs resembling the sounds of their work. Such poems, composed of no more than four characters with one syllable for each character, were arranged with consideration to produce rhymes and rhythms especially suited to memorization and chanting. Their contents ranged from descriptions of life experiences to expressions of feelings. Their purpose originally was to reduce fatigue and exchange information regarding work skills but gradually moved to maintain and reinforce cultural values as they were accepted by the ruling class. The oral poems then were sung and performed on ritualistic occasions, serving the functions of creating moral codes, unifying people, making aesthetic appeals, and transmitting cultural information.

In particular, the oral poetry of the Shang dynasty was an important means of communication at ceremonies of divination and ancestor worship. During these religious activities the diviner would say prayers, sing songs, and dance to music. The altar of worship became the center of ritualistic performance and cultural symbol making. Singing and dancing were the means of communication to shang di and the ancestors. The content of this type of oral poem was centered around praising tribal leaders for their heroic deeds and expressing wishes for a better life. Some oral poems inscribed on shell bones served as records of divination. For example, *yao ci* 爻辭 (Symbols of Prediction) in *Yi Jing* 易經 (the Book of Change) recorded historical events in the form of songs and poems.

A well-known collection of oral poems, produced for the purpose of divination and ancestor worship in the Shang dynasty, is *Shang Song* 商頌 (Eulogies of Shang), recorded in *Shi Jing* (the Book of Odes). Two types of songs are present in *Shang Song:* one type describes rituals and settings of worship; the other praises the heroic deeds of Shang kings. Unlike the oral poems improvised by working-class people, these poems, carefully crafted by highly educated diviners or religious seers, were indicative of the increasing aesthetic and moral consciousness of the Shang people, along with the marked division between literate and illiterate classes. In any case, oral poetry produced in the Shang dynasty served as an important means of communication among the common people, in ritualistic settings relating to the spirits of ancestors and shang di, and in transmitting Shang history to subsequent generations. In this way, the Shang tradition of oral poetry laid the foundation for the well-structured and highly artistic poems produced in the Zhou dynasty.

Political Persuasion

With the establishment of the Shang dynasty's *shi guan wen hua* 史官文化 (official culture), the position of *shi guan* 史官 (historiographer) was created. Shi guan were in charge of recording historical events, legends, and general knowledge. More specifically, their responsibilities included *ji yan* 記言 (recording speeches) and *ji shi* 記事 (recording events). The speeches recorded were those given by kings, conversations between kings and ministers, government proclamations, and requests from dukes and subordinates. Events recorded were major events occurring at the time, imperial genealogical information, and political or military actions taken by the king. *Shang Shu* is the first book in Chinese history to record both speeches and events. Although it was produced during the Zhou dynasty, its pages document various persuasive encounters between the king and ministers of the Shang dynasty.

The Shang dynasty possessed an established political structure and hierarchical system of government. Shang kings held absolute power. Below them were the *xiang* 相 (ministers) and *qing da fu* 卿大夫 (high officials) who advised the king to follow the Mandate of Heaven, act virtuously toward his people, and perform properly at ceremonies of divination and ancestor worship. Such advisory activity was called *jian* 諫 (advising). *Shang Shu* records a few such jian activities given by ministers. For example, in one situation a xiang by the name of Zhu Yi came to the king after hearing that the tribe of Zhou had taken over one of the Shang states. Zhu Yi's response to the king was as follows:

> The Son of Heaven, the Will of Heaven, seems to have stopped bestowing its blessings upon us. Even wise men and the spirit of the turtle cannot tell the sign or omen. It is not the previous king who does not assist us, but your majesty who has abused power and is living a luxurious life that has offended Heaven. So Heaven will abandon us by not letting us have good harvests. Your majesty failed to understand and follow the Law of Heaven. Today your people all want you to resign. They ask why Heaven does not send down its punishment. The Mandate of Heaven will no longer shine on us. Now what are you going to do? (*SS "xi bo kan li,"* 82)

On hearing this, the king of Shang asked, "Isn't my life destined to be blessed by Heaven?" Zhu Yi responded, "well, you made so many mistakes. You are lazy, sluggish, and bureaucratic. How can you ask Heaven for its blessing? Yi Shang will be destroyed. You should take charge of state affairs and make sincere efforts on behalf of your people" (83). Although this example does not reveal whether or not the king took his minister's advice, it illustrates a style of direct and confrontational persuasion employed by the ministers, as well as their boldness in speaking their minds about the king's wrongdoings. The mode of communication was direct and candid, aiming at helping the king with his moral weakness. Such discourse was clearly driven by a concern that the Mandate of Heaven be upheld in a sense of moral responsibility to the ruler and his subjects.

At this point in Chinese history, Chinese cosmology was still fundamentally spiritual and mythical in nature; the Chinese mode of communication was still largely oral, although it is possible that there was an intricate interplay between speech and writing. To summarize, four types of social and cultural discourse were employed at the time: 1) mythic discourse, used to share myths and legends among tribal members; 2) ritualistic discourse, enacted by heads of families at ceremonies honoring their ancestor; 3) spiritual discourse, conveyed through divination to shang di and ancestor spirits; and 4) political discourse, employed in the giving of advice and consultation between the kings and ministers. These four types of discourse revealed much about the ancient Chinese cosmology, cultural views, and religious practices. In addition, they offered spiritual comfort, strengthened communal bonds, expedited political concerns, and furthered ritualistic propriety in both the Xia and Shang dynasties. Since, as far as we know, no distinct group of "rhetoricians" emerged during these times, we can assume that those who utilized or facilitated the aforementioned types of discourse were most likely poets, performers, religious leaders, and high officials who were masters of oral speech and written language as well as models of cultural codes. These social elites continued to play crucial roles in defining Chinese thought pattern, modes of communication, and cultural orientations in subsequent dynasties.

The Zhou Dynasty

According to H. Homer Dubs (1951), the Shang people were conquered by tribesmen from western China in 1027 B.C.E., establishing the Zhou dynasty, which was regarded as the ideal society by Confucius in terms of its devout observation of rites and rituals, as well as for its strict adherence to prescribed *Zhou Li* 周禮 (the Rites of Zhou). Socially and economically it was a feudal society divided into several hundred vassal states. The emperor of Zhou had supreme power over these states, but each had autonomous power, had its own land, and military troops.

The Worldview

While the cultural tradition of ancestor worship and divination were preserved and practiced during the Zhou dynasty, they were no longer the only forms of communication nor the only culturally celebrated values. In fact, the domain of moral judgment switched from that of Heavenly Mandate to the realm of human-prescribed codes of conduct. Whereas in the Shang dynasty shang di was perceived as having ultimate power over human affairs and its spirit was thought to infuse and inspire Shang ancestors, the people of Zhou perceived shang di and the ancestors in separate spheres. While still believing in the notion of Heavenly Mandate, they regarded the living king, referred to as *tian zi* 天子 (the Son of Heaven), rather than dead ancestors, as the ultimate rulers of human affairs. According to this view, the king would enact the Will of Heaven through his morally responsible actions. *De* 德 (virtue) became the ultimate criterion for evaluating royal behavior, while *li* 禮 (rites) became important political and ideological means of control.

In addition to ancestor worship, Zhou people also practiced *ba gua* 八卦 (eight diagrams), a method of divination guided by *Zhou Yi* 周易 or *Yi Jing* 易經 (the Book of Change), which approached the universe from philosophical and metaphysical orientations. By means of various combinations and multiples of hexagramic symbols, representing "the processes of change inherent in the transformations, influences, confrontations, dominances, harmonizations, reconciliations, oppositions, and so on, of specific experiences" (Cheng 1987, 41), practitioners of ba gua were able to interpret experiences of cosmic, political, and human proportions. As a result, the purpose of divination greatly changed from the quest for fortune, predictions about the weather, and information concerning the outcome of military expeditions to acquiring insights into how to live a balanced life and become a moral person. Generally speaking, the shift was from reliance upon external and uncontrollable outcomes to a focus on the internal and controllable inner world of spirituality.

During the Zhou dynasty, with a shift in the mode of communication away from a primarily oral tradition toward a combination of oral and written traditions, thought patterns became more abstract and rational. Discursive styles changed from mythic and spiritual to poetic, moral, and official. Oral poetry evolved into well-structured and refined poetic expressions. Formal speeches and official decrees became popular in the arena of political persuasion and moral teaching.

Poems

The Zhou dynasty is regarded as a watershed period for the production of written texts. Major texts produced during this period were *Shi Jing* 詩經 (the Book of Odes), *Shang Shu* 尙書 (the Book of History), *Yi Jing*, and possibly *Zhou Li* 周禮 (the Rites of Zhou). Despite concern among Chinese historians and Western sinologists regarding the originality, authenticity, and dating of these texts, they continue to be used as primary resources in the study of the Zhou dynasty by both groups of scholars. *Shi Jing*, a collection of poems and songs produced from the eleventh to seventh century B.C.E., is believed to be the first text produced in the Zhou dynasty. In a manner similar to that of Homeric poems of the eighth century B.C.E. in Greece, some of the poems and songs were sung by blind musicians on public occasions involving ritual sacrifice, feasting, farming ceremonies, and meetings between ministers.

Unlike the role of the bard in ancient Greek culture, who re-created and improvised poems and songs for special occasions, Chinese performers of the Zhou dynasty were required to follow certain prescribed forms. As in ancient Greece, a person's ability to recite and compose poems was associated with great learning and nobility. The poems were written on various themes ranging from advice to the king to expressions of political intrigues and frustration, from descriptions of grant ceremonies to glorification of the dynasty. Some poems were composed by government officials in order to praise the virtues and success of the kings of Zhou, as well as to portray them as Heavenly Mandated rulers. For example, Duke Zhou, the king regent, composed a poem in his worship and sacrifice for the late King Wen of Zhou:

> Solemn and pure the ancestral temple stands.
> The princes aiding in the service move
> With reverent harmony. The numerous bands
> Of officers their rapt devotion prove.
> All these the virtues of King Wen pursue;
> And while they think of him on high in heaven,
> With grace and dignity they haste to do

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