

Shamanic *Heng* 恆 ‘Constancy’

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This paper re-examines Arthur Waley’s hypothesis that Chinese *hēng* 恆 ‘constant, continuous’ was the name of a shamanic ‘stabilizing’ ritual.¹ Despite some graphic errors concerning 恆 and its variant 恒 (e.g., Shang oracle graphs for 恒 referred to a diviner named ‘Xuan’ and not ‘*hēng*’ divination as Waley supposed), his idea of an ancient *hēng* < *g’əng 恆 ‘stabilizing, perpetuating’ rite is essentially sound. Interdisciplinary corroboration comes from textual exegesis (e.g., a *Chuci* shaman divining about a sick person’s “*hēng* body”), historical linguistics (cf. *g’əng 恆 ‘constancy’ or *kəng 恆~恒 ‘increasing’ with *kǎng 梗 ‘a ritual to “prevent” calamities’), and comparative studies of shamanism (the 矢 ‘arrow’ graphic element in 疾 ‘sickness’ and 醫 ‘doctor’ compares with using “magic” arrows to cause/cure illness).

INTRODUCTION

Why was ancient Chinese shamanism associated with *hēng* 恆 ‘constancy?’ In a nebulous *Lunyu* (*Analects*) passage, Confucius quotes a Southern Saying about shamanic *hēng* 恆 and a possibly interpolated line

1. Thanks go to Paul Benedict, Lothar von Falkenhausen, Matthew Hanley, Axel Schuessler, and Wada Kan for commenting upon earlier versions of this paper. Abbreviations: ~ = alternate pronunciations or graphs, ‘ ’ = semantic meaning, “ ” = literal meaning. Modern Standard Chinese (“Mandarin”) is romanized in Pinyin, except in quotations, and Archaic Chinese is reconstructed according to Karlgren (1957), changing his ‘ glottal stop to ‘.

from the *Yijing* (*Book of Changes*) hexagram named Heng 恆:

子曰南人有言曰人而無恆不可以作巫醫善夫不恆其德或承之羞子曰不占而已矣 The Master said, “The southerners have a saying, ‘A person without *héng* 恆 cannot be a shaman-doctor.’ Good!” [The *Yijing* says: If they?/you?] Do not *héng* its power/virtue, then disgrace will be received. The Master said, “ [They?] simply do not divine.”

Owing to anti-shaman prejudices, Confucianist scholars have covered up the original meaning of this passage for over two thousand years. This is the earliest textual usage of *yī* < **i*əg 醫 ‘doctor’, now written 醫 with 酉 ‘wine’ but originally 醫 with 巫 ‘shaman’. The *Liji* version of this quote changed 巫醫 ‘shaman-doctor’ to 卜筮 ‘diviner’. Some commentators tried to explain the prerequisite *héng* < **g*’əng 恆 ‘constancy’ to mean morally ‘persevering’ (i.e., 恆心 ‘constant heart/mind’), however that is irrelevant for a shaman. Others tried to twist the syntax in order to make the Southern Saying refer to curing a 恆 ‘constant, persistent’ illness. The object *dé* < **tək* 德 in 不恆其德 “do not *héng* its power/virtue” was taken in the Confucianist sense of ‘virtue, character, moral rectitude’, however in the *Yijing*, it has a more concrete meaning of ‘latent spiritual power, virtuality’. Waley (1933, 1938) proposed *héng* 恆 ‘constancy’ was the name of a shamanic ‘stabilizing, perpetuating’ ritual. This makes literal sense of the Southern Saying and explains 不恆其德 as meaning ‘not perpetuate one’s potential good luck’ from a favorable divination.

The present paper takes another look at Waley’s shamanic *héng* ‘stabilizing, perpetuating’ hypotheses. The first section linguistically introduces the logographs 恆~恒 and the words *héng* < **g*’əng ‘constancy’ ~ *gēng* < **kəng* ‘increasing’. The second reviews Waley’s proposals about shamanic *héng* 恆 from his *Yijing* article and *Lunyu* transla-

tion. Section three analyzes details of his examples of *héng* 恆 in the *Yijing*, the Southern Sayings in the *Lunyu* and *Liji*, making divinations 恆吉 ‘*héng* auspicious’ in the *Shujing*, the *Zhouli*’s 巫恆 ‘shamanic *héng*’ ritual, and condemning 恆舞 ‘*héng* dancing’ as a 巫風 ‘shaman influence’ in the *Mozzi*. The fourth proposes additional examples of the *héng* 恆 “stabilizing” ritual: a shaman divining about a sick person’s 恆幹 ‘*héng* body?/village?’ in the *Chuci*, a *maladie initiatique* reinterpretation for Mencius saying sages are always 恆存 ‘*héng* in?’ sickness, *héng* 恆 bows and arrows in the *Zhouli*, early philosophers saying to have *héng* 恆 was supernatural, and graphic taboo reinterpretations of 常 ‘constant’ in early texts as originally being written 恆 ‘constant’. The last section summarizes data concerning the shamanic *héng* 恆 ritual and makes some general conclusions.

1 THE WORD HENG 恆

The linguistic history of *héng* < *g’əng 恆 ‘constancy’ ~ *gēng* < *kəng 恆 ‘increasing’ is divisible between 恆~恒 graphics §1.1, phonology §1.2, and semantics §1.3.

1.1 Graphics of 恆~恒

Logographic taboo complicated the history of 恆 literally from the moon in 𠄎 (depicting a new 月 ‘moon’ between 二 ‘two’ lines) to the 日 ‘sun’ in 恒. Table 1 shows changes of *gēng* 𠄎, *héng* 恆, and *xuān* 亘 logographs within 甲骨字 “oracle graphs” found on Shang dynasty (ca. 15th-11th cents. B.C.) divinations, 大篆 “greater seal” logographs used on Zhou dynasty (1122?-256 B.C.) bronzes, 小篆 “lesser seal” graphs standardized during the Qin dynasty (221-207 B.C.), and 隸字 “clerical logographs” of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 221).

Table 1 Logographic Evolution

	GENG	HENG	XUAN
GRAPHIC STYLE			
ORACLE		一	𠄎
BRONZE			
SEAL			
CLERICAL		恆~恒	𠄎

On Shang oracles, *kəng 𠄎 was written 𠄎 picturing the 夕~月 'moon' between 二 'two' lines (usually interpreted as 'heaven' and 'earth') or 𠄎 inside a 弓 'bow' (cf. 弦 'bowstring, crescent moon' §1.3 and shamanic archery §4.3). Every known oracle usage refers to the name 王𠄎 King Heng/Geng < *G'əng/*Kəng² who is identified (Li 1965, 3971) as Heng 恆, the second son of Ji 季, an ancestor of the Shang royal family (Karlgrén 1946, 336).³ The Zhou "greater seal" bronze graph 𠄎 for *kəng 𠄎 frequently occurred on bronze inscriptions as a proper name. Like 𠄎, 𠄎 pictured the 月 'moon' (with a stroke added in the center) between 二 'two'

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2. Shima's (1971, 377, 418) concordance of oracle inscriptions lists six occurrences of 𠄎 in variations of 貞之乎王𠄎 'made an inquiry to King Heng' and six of 𠄎 in 貞王𠄎易(御) 'inquired to King Heng and changed?/gave? (sacrifice?)'. Chen (1936, 535) claims King Heng 王恆 was a shaman because some oracle inscriptions graphically interchanged 王 'king' with 巫 'shaman' (e.g., Shaman Xian 巫咸 §3.4 was called King Xian 王咸).
3. Ji supposedly had three sons: Hai 該, Heng 恆, and Wei 微. The *Chuci's* 天問 "Heavenly Questions" (3.17b, tr. Hawkes 1985, 131) says Hai and Heng (but not "Dark Wei") inherited their father's 德 'power' "prowess" §3.1, and mentions the legend about Hai, the first herdsman, shamanically? "dancing with shield and plumes" after losing his oxen and oxherds.

lines. The earliest graph for *g'əng 恆 was the “greater seal” 𠄎 which elaborated 𠄎 with the ‘heart/mind’ radical 心 to distinguish psychological *g'əng 恆 ‘constancy, regularity’ (Mori 1970, 211 says moral ‘trustworthiness’) from astronomical *kəng 𠄎 ‘constancy’. The “lesser seal” graph 𠄎 for 𠄎 changed the 月 ‘moon’ into a 舟 ‘boat’, as did 𠄎 for 恆 with the ‘heart’ radical depicting a ‘boat’ “constantly” going between 二 ‘two’ riverbanks. The (ca. 100) *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (13B.14b) explains 𠄎 to be a graphic simile for:

The heart 心 (the will) crossing from the beginning till the end, as a 舟 boat does from 二 one bank to the other; the moral trip continued till one reaches the harbour. ([freely] tr. Wieger 1927, 28)

The *Shuowen* appends a pre-Qin Guwen 古文 “old writing” graph 𠄎 (cf. early graphs for *sǐ* 死 ‘death’ and *wū* 巫 ‘shaman’) picturing the 夕~月 ‘moon’ and quotes the *Shijing* (166, see §1.3).

Heng 恆 was the personal name (cf. §1.3) of Han dynasty Emperor Wen Di 文帝 (r. 179-156 B.C.), Tang Emperor Mu Zong 穆宗 (r. 821-825) and Song dynasty Emperor Zhen Zong 真宗 (r. 998-1023). Since writing an imperial name was strictly proscribed, 恆 was avoided for seven centuries during these dynasties. The Han taboo was most significant because that period was when classics destroyed in the 213 B.C. “Burning of the Books” were restored (Tsien 1962, 13-16). There are graphic and synonymic ways of avoiding a tabooed logograph, and *héng* 恆 was replaced in both: with its alternate graph 恒⁴ or with its synonym *cháng* <

4. Song dynasty (960-1279) scribes created another taboo variant 愴 without the bottom line (cf. *dǎ* 怛 ‘grieved’ without the top).

**d̥jang* 常 ‘constant, regular’ (v. §4.5). The moon goddess Heng E < *G’əng Ngā 恆娥 is a good example of 恆~恒~常 interchangeability. Her name was originally written Heng E 恆娥, but through invention of 姮 and 嫦 logographs (combining the 女 ‘woman’ radical with *xuān* 亘 and *cháng* 常 phonetics) owing to imperial taboo (Karlgren 1946, 266-7), it was changed to Heng E 姮娥 ~ Heng/Chang E 嫦娥.

This 恆 taboo replacement for 恆 has a disparate graphic history in Table 1. The oracle graph 𠄎 for 亘 pictures a spiral, sometimes without the horizontal line at the top. Shima (1971, 314-5) lists 87 occurrences of 𠄎 in oracle inscriptions, and most refer to the “Period I” diviner named Xuan 亘 (Rao 1959, 445-483, Keightley 1978, 31) who served King Wu Ding 武丁 (r. 1198?-1194? B. C.).⁵ The bronze “greater seal” graph 𠄎 for 亘 showed an elaborated spiral between 二 ‘two’ lines, interpreted as the primary form of *yuán* < **g̥i.wǎn* 垣 ‘wall, fence’. The spiral in “lesser seal” 𠄎 closely resembles the early graphs for 回 ‘revolve’; the Shuowen (13B.15a) says 𠄎 pictures 亘回 ‘revolving, turning’ and means 求回 ‘seeking around everywhere’. And in light of this revolving 日 ‘sun’ in the Han dynasty logograph 恆, *héng* 恆 orbited full-circle from the original ‘moon’.

1.2 Phonology of *G’əng ~ *Kəng

恆 has two pronunciations: *héng* < *ɣəng* < **g’əng* ‘constant, continual, common’ and *gèng* < *kəng* < **kəng* (~ 亘) ‘new moon, increas-

5. One of Xuan’s divinations (Rao 1959, 456) was to the Shang ancestor Qi 季 above. About a third of the other oracular 𠄎 occurrences are the name of a place (in Shanxi?), most frequently in divinations about battles with 雀 亘 ‘Qiao/Que and Xuan’.

ing (moon), reach everywhere’. After discussing traditional and new etymologies for *g’əng 恆 and *kəng 恆, the logographic uses of *kəng 恆 as a phonetic are analyzed.

What were the etymological derivations of *hēng* < *g’əng 恆 and *gèng* < *kəng 恆? Karlgren (1934, 62) placed *g’əng 恆 ‘constant, perpetual’ in an Archaic Chinese word family with ‘long, continuous’ meanings, and *kəng 恆 ‘extreme, limit’ in one with ‘boundary, extreme’ senses. The former ‘continuous, long’ family for *g’əng 恆 includes: *giwǎng 永 ‘long, constant, eternal’, *giwǎng 詠~咏 ‘(to draw out words =), chant, sing, carry on (a melody)’, *kiǔg 久 ‘long, long time’, and *kiǔg 疾 ‘chronic disease, remorse’. The latter ‘boundary, extreme’ word family for *kəng 恆 includes: *kiāng 疆 ‘limit, boundary, frontier’, *kiǎng 竟 ‘finish, end, in the end’,⁶ *kiǎng 境 ‘limit, boundary, region’, *g’iǔng 窮 ‘limit, extreme(ly)’, *kwāk 郭 ‘outer wall of a city’, *g’iək 極 ‘ridgepole, extreme, end’, *kwək 國 ‘state, country’, *giwək 域 ‘boundary, region, state’, and *giǔg 囿 ‘park’. These *-k and *-g finals can hardly be associated with the *-ng in *kəng 恆.

A new shamanic etymological possibility⁷ for *hēng* < *g’əng 恆 is

6. The *Fangyan* (6/47, 6.6a) defines the eastern and southern dialectal terms *gèng* < *k’əng 經~(經~恆 in some texts) and *d’ieng 筵 ‘bamboo divination rods’ as meaning *jìng* < *kiǎng 竟 ‘everywhere, end, extreme, completely, all’.

7. The word *hēng* < *g’ǎng 衡 ‘steelyard beam, balance, weigh, crosswise, even’ meant ‘arbiter, balancer, adjuster’ in honorary names of shamans (Karl-gren 1970, no. 1773), and Zhu Junsheng 朱駿声 (1788-1858) said it was interchangeable with *kəng ~ *g’əng 恆. Since early *g’əng 恆 ‘constant’ graphs connoted waxing and waning of the lunar cycle, Chan (1972, 116-7) asserts that Shaman Heng “was the one who could control the weather, or more specifically, the vegetation cycle.”

association with three special meanings of the word *gěng* < **kǎng* 梗 ‘thorny elm, thorn, stem, strong, straight, obstruct’: a ritual to ‘prevent’ calamities, an ‘effigy’, and a ‘proper name’. **Kǎng* 梗 meaning ‘obstruct’ was extended as the name of a ritual carried out to ‘prevent, block, ward off’ misfortunes or disasters (e.g., *Guanzi* 14.4b, *Zhouli* 8.2b, Biot 1851, 1: 158).⁸ **Kǎng* 梗 meant ‘(esp. wooden) effigy, spirit doll’ (e.g., *Zhuangzi* 7. 16a, Watson 1968, 22; *Zhanguo* 10.4a, 18.7b, Crump 1979, 183, 314). Karlgren (1968, no. 582) rejects **kǎng* 梗 as a loan logograph for **dziang* 像 ‘image, effigy’, and proposes a semantic extension from **kǎng* ‘a tree’ > ‘wood-block’ > ‘wooden image/effigy’ > ‘effigy’. A third explanation, given by Zhou (1979, 51-2), is that **Kǎng* 梗 was a proper name (e.g., *Zhouli* 24.23a-b, Biot 1851, 2:80). Since shamanic “wooden men” are well documented (e.g., Harvey 1937, 262, Eliade 1964, 246, Hultkrantz 1973, 33), the **g’əng* ~ **kəng* 恆 ritual could have associations with the **kǎng* 梗 ‘effigy’ (or a ‘preventative’ exorcism).

While the *xuān* < **siwan* 亘 taboo replacement is a grapho-phonetic element used in many common logographs (e.g., *xuān* 桓 ‘pillar’, *xuān* 暄 ‘sunshine, bask’, *xuān* 喧~諠 ‘noisy’, *xuān* 宣 ‘display, proclaim’, and *yuān* 垣 ‘wall, fence’), **kəng* 亘 is scarcely used as a phonetic other than in *héng* < **g’əng* 恆. This is not surprising because most Chinese

8. Although the *Zhouli* commentary of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200) notes **kǎng* 梗 means 亢, i.e., *kāng* < **k’āng* 抗 ‘resist, obstruct, ward off (esp. evil)’, Karlgren (1968, no. 581) says **kǎng* 梗 should not phonologically be **k’āng* 抗 ‘resist’, but **kǎng* ‘obstruct’, cognate with **kǎng* 哽 ‘obstruction in the throat, choke’. There could be a connection with the *Shijing* use of 梗 (257/3, tr. Karlgren 1950b, 221 “caused [the country] suffering unto this day”) which Mao glosses as 病 ‘sickness, suffering, distress’.

logographs acquired their modern radical-phonetic forms during the Han dynasty when Emperor Wen’s name Heng 恆 was tabooed. Three rare logographs with this 互 phonetic are of interest to shamanic *héng* rituals: *gēng* < **kəng* 拵 (with the ‘hand’ radical 手) ‘violently [shamanically?] strum’, *gēng* < **kəng* 緼~緼 (with ‘silk’ 糸) ‘rope’, and *gēng* < **kəng* 壙 (with ‘earth’ 土) ‘road [esp. during funerals]’.

First, *gēng* < **kəng* 緼~拵 is glossed by Wang Yi 王逸 (fl. 114-142) to mean ‘violently strum strings, twang’ in a *Chuci* 楚辭 poem (2.16b-17a, tr. Hawkes 1985, 113, cf. §4.1) about shamans dancing to music: “[緼瑟兮交鼓] Tighten the zither’s strings and smite them in unison!” Second, *gēng* < **kəng* 緼~緼 is a dialectal word for ‘(esp. big) rope’, but lacks any textual attestation, other than dictionaries like the *Shuowen* (12A.43b, 13A.32a) which distinguishes 拵 (with the ‘hand’ radical 手) ‘twang’ from 緼 (with the ‘silk’ radical 糸) ‘big rope’.⁹ ‘Rope’ could have a ‘string’ connection with ‘twang (a stringed instrument)’, or with the widespread shamanic tradition of ropes, strings, vines, etc. symbolizing a spiritual bridge (Lemoine 1988). Third, *gēng* < **kəng* 壙 only means ‘road, path’ in reference to pall bearing. Normally, a Chinese coffin with a corpse would never be put down on the ground, but two ritual texts (*Yili* 41.13a-b, tr. Steele 1917, 104, and *Liji* 19.18b, tr. Legge 1885, 2:338-90) use 壙 in giving exceptions to this mourning rule of “only to receive a message from the ruler” and when “the sun was eclipsed.”¹⁰ These earliest **kəng* 壙 ‘road’

9. This *gēng* < **kəng* 緼~緼 ‘rope’ could be cognate with *gèng* < **kāng* 緼 (‘silk’ radical and **kāng* 更 ‘change’ phonetic, cf. 梗 above) ‘well-rope’ or *gāng* < **kāng* 綱 ‘guiding rope (of a net)’. The shamanic use of the bow as a magical stringed instrument is discussed in §4.3.

10. One other *Liji* 壙 ‘road’ usage (42.15a-b, tr. Legge 1885, 2:160) is: “Excepting

occurrences are comparable to death rituals of two cultures in southwest China. Eliade (1964, 441, 446) describes Lolo shamans accompanying coffins and reciting “the ritual of the road” and mentions a Moso funerary ceremony called the *Zhi-mā* ‘road desire’, where the shaman’s mission is “precisely to ‘open the road’.”¹¹ The shamanic usage of **kəng* 繩 ‘violently strum’ and the funeral association of **kəng* 壻 ‘road’ sound like shamanic **g’əng* 恆 rituals. There is even a ‘rope’-‘road’ parallel. Among the Tungus of Manchuria, a shaman’s initiation ceremony involves a decorated red string or thong called the *s’ij’im* ‘rope’ which Eliade (1964, 110) describes as “the ‘road’ along which the spirits will move.”¹²

1.3 Semantics of **Kəng* ~ **G’əng* 恆

Gəng < **kəng* 恆~瓦 has two meanings [called (α) and (β)] and *həng* < **g’əng* 恆 has eight [(a)-(h)]. In order to elucidate the sense in which Confucius (551-478 B.C.) quoted 恆 in the Southern Saying §3.2, earliest textual usages are cited for all ten, with special attention to the only extant pre-Confucian texts: the *Yijing* 易經 (*Book of Changes*), *Shujing* 書經 (*Book of Documents*), and *Shijing* 詩經 (*Book of Poetry*).

The two, though not necessarily mutually exclusive, meanings of

when following the carriage with the bier to the grave, and returning from it, one was not seen on the road with the mourning cap.”

11. Compare the Chinese exorcistical paper figures called *kāilūshén* 開路神 ‘clear the road spirit’ used in funeral processions and which are believed to have originated (de Groot 1910, 162, Doré 1914, 1:55-6) as symbolic replacements for exorcists.
12. Eliade (1964, 217, cf. 432) notes Buryat shamans (of the Alarsk region) use a red silk thread (and arrows §4.3) along which “the patient’s soul is supposed to re-enter its body.”

gèng < **kəng* 亘~恆 are:

(α) ‘new/crescent moon, waxing, increasing, continuing, advancing’

(β) ‘extend, (spread) everywhere, (reach) limit, complete, entire’.

Meaning (α) ‘new moon’, visible in the oracle and bronze graphs 亘 and 恆, was semantically extended to ‘waxing, increasing’. The only classical example of this sense is a *Shijing* description of blessings bestowed by ancestral spirits:

[如月之恆] Like the moon’s advancing to the full, [如日之升] like the rising of the sun, like the longevity of the Southern mountains, which are never injured, never falling, like the luxuriance of the fir and cypress, [無不爾或承] there is nothing that will not be (continued:) ever-lasting for you. (166/6, 9C.10a, tr. Karlgren 1950b, 110)

The (2nd cent. B.C.) Mao commentary glosses **kəng* 恆 as *xiān* < **g’ien* 弦 ‘bowstring (cf. 𦉳), crescent moon’,¹³ but as Chan (1972, 117) says, this “does not make much sense.” In this simile about the moon’s *gèng* < **kəng* 恆, the rhyming parallel is the sun’s *shēng* < **ʃiəng* 升 ‘rising’. Karlgren translates *huō* < **g’wək* 或 ‘some, sometimes, something, perhaps, possible’ in the last line as “(continued:) ever-lasting,” following Zheng Xuan’s 鄭玄 (127-200) gloss of 或 as its near-antonym *yǒu* < **giǔg* 有 ‘have, there is, exist’. (This same diversely interpretable 或承 ‘sometimes?/constantly? receive’ is used in the *Yijing* line quoted by Confucius in §3.1.) Meaning (β) ‘extend, everywhere’ generalizes the

13. The *Shuowen* (13A.32a, cf. above) quotes this *Shijing* line with 繩 ‘rope, bowstring?’. Canart (1979, 106) reasons that since the 弦 ‘crescent’ or ‘increasing moon’ is used for both waxing and waning, “it could be a symbol of strength as well as weakness, or greatness or of decadence.”

astronomical (α) ‘increasing moon’. The *Shijing* uses 恆~亘 to mean planting millet ‘continually, everywhere’¹⁴ in a description of Hou Ji 后稷 “Lord Millet,” the legendary inventor of Chinese agriculture.

He sent down (to the people) the fine cereals; there was black millet, double-kernelled black millet, millet with red sprouts, with white sprouts; [恆之秬秠] he extended over it (sc. the ground) the black millet and the double-kernelled, he reaped it, he (acred it =) took it by acres; [恆之稊芑] he extended over it the millet with red sprouts and with white, he carried them on the shoulder, he carried them on the back; with them he went home and initiated a sacrifice. (245/6, 17A.14b-15a, tr. Karlgren 1950b, 199)

The only early examples of *kəng 恆~亘 meaning (α) ‘new moon’ and (β) ‘everywhere’ are in the *Shijing*, and neither is clearly applicable to the Southern Saying about shaman-doctors.

The eight meanings of *hēng* < *g’əng 恆 are based upon a semantic core of ‘constant, continuous’¹⁵

- (a) ‘constant, continual, permanent, unchanging, invariable, eternal’
- (b) ‘personal name’
- (c) ‘name of ䷋, *Yijing* hexagram 32’
- (d) ‘place names’

14. Mao glosses *biān* < **pian* 遍 (written with radical 60 instead of 162) ‘everywhere, all together’ which is the name of a ‘comprehensive, catholic’ sacrifice to all the gods (*Shujing* 3.5a, Karlgren 1970, no. 1258).

15. These 恆 meanings cannot always be clearly demarcated. For example, 恆言 “*hēng* speech” has senses (e) and (f) in the *Mengzi* (4A/5, 7A.9a, tr. Lau 1970, 120 “common expression”) and *Liji* (1.20b, tr. Legge 1885, 1:68 “ordinary conversation”).

- (e) ‘ancient tradition, old, long-time, long-continued/-standing’
- (f) ‘constant, common, ordinary, normal, usual, regular, general’
- (g) ‘perseverance, constant/unchanging mind, single-minded’
- (h) ‘standard, fixed, regular, determined, certain’.

The basic meaning (a) ‘constant, continual, always’ is recorded in the *Shujing* (10.14b, 14.24b, tr. Karlgren 1950a, 27, 46) “are not regularly caught” and “If you constantly proclaim and say,” and the *Shijing* (207/4-5, 13A.25a, tr. Karlgren 1950b, 160) “do not constantly live at ease! ... do not constantly take ease and rest!” Meaning (b) ‘personal name’ nominalizes (a), in analogy with *Constance* or *Constantine*, both as a surname (e.g., King Heng 恆王 noted in §1.1) and a personal name (e.g., the murderer Chen Heng. 陳恆 whom Confucius criticized in *Lunyu* 14/22). *Héng* meaning (c) is the name of the *Yijing* hexagram ䷗ (“thunder” over “wind” trigrams), see §3.1. Meaning (d) ‘place names’ includes the holy Mt. Heng, Heng Shan 恆山, located between Hebei and Shanxi Provinces, the Heng River, Heng He 恆河, which flows in the same area,¹⁶ and other “constant” localities (e.g., Heng Province 恆州 in Hebei). Meaning (e) ‘ancient tradition’ may have been the original sense of the Southern Saying (or the shamanic *héng* ceremony §3.4), but is not textually attested until the (ca. 200 B.C.) *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳 (莊公 24, 6.6b, tr. Legge 1872, 107) “acc[ording] to the ancient custom.” *Héng* meaning (f) is ‘constant’ in the sense of ‘usual, common, ordinary’¹⁷ (cf. 常 in §4.5), the *Chunqiu*

16. Early references are found in the *Shujing* (e.g., 6.5a, Karlgren 1950a, 14). The northern and southern antipodes of ancient China were Mt. Hengs (e.g., *Liji* 13.24b, Legge 1885, 1,245), 恆山 (*héng* < *g’əng 恆) in the north and 衡山 (*héng* < *g’əng 衡) in the south. Besides the Heng River, Chinese 恆 is used to transliterate the *Ganges*.

17. Sense (f) ‘common’ acquired a demeaning nuance of ‘petty’, e.g., “Those who

commentaries (*Zuo zhuan* 昭公 17, 48.10a, *Guliang zhuan* 哀公 14, 20.16a, Legge 1872, 668, 834) use 恆 to describe ‘unusual’ omens in 525 and 483 B.C.: a comet and a *lín* 麟 “Chinese unicorn.” Meaning (g) ‘perseverance’, a psychological extension of (a) ‘constant’ to mean ‘constant/unchanging mind, single-hearted/-minded’, is the standard Confucianist interpretation of the *héng* 恆 necessary for a shaman-doctor §3.2. Namely, *héngxīn* 恆心 “constant heart/mind” ‘perseverance, constancy of purpose, steadfastness’ which was first recorded (ca. 290 B.C.) in a statement by Mencius:

Only a Gentleman can have a [恆心] constant heart in spite of a lack of [恆產] constant means of support. The people, on the other hand, will not have constant hearts if they are without constant means. Lacking constant hearts, they will go astray and fall into excesses, stopping at nothing. (1A/7, 1B.6a, tr. Lau 1970, 58)¹⁸

Meaning (h) ‘standard, fixed, determined’ is a later specialization of (a) ‘constant’ or (e) ‘traditional’, for example, the *Chuci* (14.4b, tr. Hawkes 1985, 265) “fixed custom.”

Three of the above eight meanings could conceivably apply to the *héng* 恆 said to be necessary for shaman-doctors: (a) ‘constancy, permanence’, (e) ‘ancient tradition/ritual’ (perhaps signifying ‘heredity’ among Chinese shamans, Waley 1955, 10), or (g) ‘perseverance’, but neither (e) nor

can be swayed with offers of gain or reformed by a babble of words,” *Zhuangzi* (9.19b, tr. Watson 1968, 326) says, “are mere idiots, simpletons, the [恆民] commonest sort of men!”

18. This *Mengzi* passage (reworded in 3A/3, 5A.6b-7a, Lau 1970, 97) is similar to the *Daodejing* (49, cf. §4.5) “The sage has no [常心] constant heart/mind.” The *Hanfeizi* (8.3a, tr. Liao 1939, 250) says: “By nature the people [有恆] follow certain constant principles, considering crookedness crooked and straightness straight.”

(g) is attested in pre-Confucian texts. Having linguistically introduced *hēng* ~ *gèng* 恆 in this section, hypotheses about *hēng* rituals are presented below.

2 WALEY'S PROPOSALS

Arthur Waley (1889-1966), one of the foremost interpreters of Chinese and Japanese literature, mentioned the idea of a shamanic *hēng* 恆 ritual in his 1933 *Yijing* article and 1938 *Lunyu* translation. Since both references are fairly short, they are quoted in full.

2.1 The *Yijing* 易經 Premise

Waley's paper on the *Yijing* (*Book of Changes*) says this about hexagram number 32, Heng 恆 [see §3.1]:

§32 is particularly interesting in that it explains a passage in the *Analects* of Confucius that has hitherto remained completely obscure:

不恆其德或承之羞 'If you do not stabilize your "virtue," Disgrace will overtake you.'

The moral words, such as virtue, justice, etc., have, as I have pointed out, a slightly different colouring in the earlier stages of human society. 德 in early Chinese means not virtue in the sense of moral rectitude, but rather, so to speak, the stock of credit that a man has at the bank of fortune. Such a stock is built up by the correct carrying out of ritual, and above all by the securing of favourable omens. If for example I consult the tortoise and get a favourable response, that is my [*de* 德]. It is my potential good luck. But it remains like an uncashed cheque unless I take the right steps to convert it into a *fu* 福, a material blessing. Like an

uncashed cheque, a [*de*] is a dangerous thing to leave about. It may fall into other hands, be put to someone else's account. Moreover, an omen is regarded as in itself a momentary, evanescent thing. Like silver-prints, it requires 'fixing'. Otherwise it will refer only to the moment at which it was secured. Omen-takers all over the world are careful both to 'fix' and to secure for themselves their [*de*], their *virtus*. Omen-objects, which have given a favourable result, are nailed to trees, buried, locked up. I think it is some 'stabilizing' rite of this kind that the term *hêng* 恆 implies. Let us now turn to *Analects* XIII, 22 [§3.2]:

"The people of the south have a saying, 'It takes *hêng* to make even a soothsayer or medicine-man.' It's quite true. 'If you do not stabilize your virtue, disgrace will overtake you.'"

Confucius adds 不占而已矣, which has completely baffled his interpreters. Surely the meaning is 'It is not enough merely to get an omen,' one must also *hêng* 'stabilize it'. And if such a rule applies even to inferior arts like those of the diviner and medicine-man, Confucius asks, how much the more does it apply to the seeker after [*de*] in the moral sense? Surely he too must 'make constant' his initial striving!

What sort of rite does the term *hêng* imply, and what is the history of the character 恆? In the old script it consists of the moon 月 between two lines. The primary meaning is the crescent moon, as in *Ode* 166 月之恆 [§1.3]. But the usual meaning is 'continuing from one point to another' and so 'stable, fixed, perpetual'. I suggest, then, that *hêng* was originally a rite performed at the first appearance of the new moon and directed towards making a favourable condition of affairs last 'all through' the lunar month. A good omen

was required for a single act, such as making a sacrifice. But for permanent undertakings it was indispensable that the omen should be 恆吉, not only auspicious, but favourable ‘all through’ the period for which it was required. We have some evidence that the typical stabilizing rite consisted in drawing concentric circles or a spiral round the omen-objects. In common practice the element *hēng* is often written 亘, in old script a spiral or two concentric circles between two lines. Throughout the ancient world new foundations whether of camps, cities or villages, were ‘stabilized’ by drawing spirals or circles round them. As in ancient Germany so to-day in the Balkans a circular furrow is ploughed round new settlements. The Romans galloped the maze-dance, Troica, round the walls of new cities. On the Oracle Bones we constantly find 占亘 ‘The tortoise was consulted with regard to the rite 亘.’ (e.g. [*Tieyun Canggui* 鐵雲藏龜] I, fol. 6b). It should be mentioned that some modern interpreters of the Bones take the second character in such combinations as the name of the diviner. This theory involves great difficulties. (1933, 136-7)

He cites the *Shujing* “Luo Gao” (§3.3) as exemplifying this 恆吉 “constant auspiciousness,” notes *dē* < **tək* 德 ‘power, virtue’ was cognate with *zhí* < **d’iək* 直 meaning ‘to plant’,¹⁹ and says the “analogy between the omen that will fulfill itself in good luck and the seed that will bring plenty is obvious enough.”

The main flaw in Waley’s hypotheses about the *hēng* rite is

19. This *zhí* < **d’iək* 直 ‘straight’ was a graphic loan for *zhí* < **d’iək* 殖 ‘fat, fatten, prosper, plant, cultivate’ or *zhí* < **iək* 植 ‘to sow/plant (early)’.

graphic. Because of spiraling 亘 graphs, he supposed that the ritual involved the culturally widespread practice of drawing concentric circles around omen-objects. But using 亘 for 𠄎 in 𠄎 was a 2nd cent. B.C. Han dynasty taboo (discussed in §1.1) and thus irrelevant to 12th cent. B.C. Shang oracle inscriptions. Waley said reading the oracular 占亘 as ‘the diviner Xuan’ “involves great difficulties” and mistook it to mean ‘divination about the *heng* ritual’.²⁰

2.2 The Lunyu 論語 Notes

Waley reiterated his idea five years later in translating the Confucian *Analects*:

The Master said, The men of the south have a saying, Without stability a man will not even make a good *shaman* or witch-doctor. Well said! Of the maxim; if you do not stabilize an act of [*de*] 德, you will get evil by it (instead of good), the Master said, They (i.e. soothsayers) do not simply read the omens. (13/22, 13.9a, tr. Waley 1938, 177)

He notes the *Liji* (§3.2) has “diviner by the yarrow stalks” for “*shaman* or witch-doctor,” and says: “To ‘read the omens’ is the first step in any undertaking,” comparable with *inaugurate*. Waley believes the Southern Saying is a play on *hêng* meaning “a rite for stabilizing, perpetuating the power of good omens and auspicious actions” and “steadfast, in the moral sense.” His Additional Notes say:

It seems clear that *hêng* was the name of a ritual. Cf. [*Zhouli*

20. Even though three oracle occurrences of 亘 (Shima 1971, 315) are in 示亘 ‘sacrificed to Xuan’, the majority are clearly notations of the diviner’s name and unrelated to 𠄎.

§3.4], ch. 50: “If a great calamity befalls the land, then send for *wu* (shamans) and perform the *wu-hêng* (shamanistic *hêng* ceremony).” The explanations given by [Zheng Xuan] and other [Zhouli] commentators are forced and unconvincing. [Mozi §3.5] (XXXII, Forke’s translation, p. 371) quotes from a “book of the former kings”: “to perform the *hêng* dance in the palace is called yielding to the influence of shamans.” To dance *hêng* ‘continually’ (which is the usual interpretation) makes poor sense. I would also suggest that the words ‘ill, *hêng*, not die’ in the *Book of Changes*, section 16 [§3.1], mean “If anyone is ill, perform the *hêng* rite and he will not die.” The saying of the “men of the south” (i.e. of [Chu]?) is also quoted [sic] in Section 32 of the *Changes*. (1938, 249)

Although Waley briefly discussed shamanism in his (1955) translation of “The Nine Songs,” he never returned to the shamanic *hêng* hypothesis. The classical citations above sound like feasible evidence of a *hêng* rite, and they are analyzed in the next section.

3 WALEY’S EXAMPLES

Six textual examples are mentioned above in support of the shamanic *hêng* hypothesis: *hêng* in the *Yijing* §3.1, *Lunyu* and *Liji* versions of the Southern Saying §3.2, 恆吉 ‘*hêng* auspiciousness’ in the *Shujing* §3.3, the 巫恆 ‘shamanic *hêng* ceremony’ in the *Zhouli* §3.4, and shamanic 恆舞 ‘*hêng* dancing’ in the *Mozi* §3.5.

3.1 Heng 恆 in the *Yijing*

The *Book of Changes* or *Yijing* 易經 is doubly important to the shamanic *hêng* 恆 hypothesis.²¹ Confucius quotes the Southern Saying with the *Yijing* hexagram ䷛ named Heng 恆 “Duration”²² and Waley

proposes an example of shamanic *hēng* healing from *Yijing* hexagram 16.

Confucius cites the Southern Saying §3.2 along with *Yijing* “six/nine” (i.e., Yin/Yang) interpretations for Heng ䷟ hexagram (number 32 of the 64) lines: “nine” (Yang) for the third line in the *Lunyu* version, plus “six” (Yin) for the fifth in the *Liji*. Both these exegeses use *hēng* < *g’əng 恆 with *dé* < *tək 德 ‘(spiritual) power, virtue, quality, character’, as do interpretations for the first and last lines of Heng:

Six at the beginning means: [浚恆貞凶無利] Seeking duration too hastily brings misfortune persistently. Nothing that would further ... Nine in the third place means: [不恆其德或承之羞貞吝] He who does not give duration to his character meets with disgrace.²³

Persistent humiliation ... Six in the fifth place means: [恆其德貞婦人吉夫子凶] Giving duration to one’s character through perseverance. This is good fortune for a woman, misfortune for a man.

Six at the top means: [振恆凶] Restlessness as an enduring condition

21. In addition, the *Liji* version of this quote says *hēng* is necessary to be a 卜筮 ‘diviner’ (instead of a shaman-doctor) and *shì* < *d’iad 筮 specifies *Yijing*-style ‘sortilege, divination with milfoil stalks’.

22. The Heng 恆 hexagram is translated as “Duration” (Baynes) or “Permanence” (Govinda, both from Wilhelm’s “*Die Dauer*”), “Constancy” (Sung, Whincup, Wu), “The Long Enduring” (Blofeld), “Long Duration” (Douglas), or “Continuing” (Wing).

23. Besides Wilhelm’s “not give duration to his character,” 不恆其德 is translated as “not continuously maintain his virtue” (Legge), “inconstant in his virtue” (Creel), “not consistently virtuous” (Blofeld), “not maintain his virtue in an unwavering manner” (Douglas), “not keep to his station” (Whincup), and “Not constant, his virtue” (Wu).

brings misfortune. (4.5b-6b, tr. Wilhelm 1967, 127-9)

Two linguistic problems with the Heng hexagram lines supposedly quoted by Confucius are: (1) What does 恆其德 'to *héng* one's/its power/virtue' mean? (2) Does the resultant *huò* 或 mean 'sometimes' or 'always'?

(1) What does 恆其德 'héng one's/its power/virtue' mean? The third line says to not 恆其德 will result in disgrace/trouble (*xiū* < **snjōg* 羞 'shame, disgrace'), and the fifth says to 恆其德 is fortunate for women but not men. Wang Yinzhi 王引之 (1766-1834) thinks 恆其德 means: "having method in speech and constancy in action." Waley §2.1 interpreted it to mean 'stabilize one's potential good luck from a favorable divination'. Although he did not mention the difference between a woman and a man 恆其德 'héng'ing one's power', it could imply that the ritual was more efficacious for a shamaness than a shaman (cf. §5.2). "The first sorcerers were women, sorceresses," says Wu (1991, 133), construing that "the inquiry requires a woman, a wife's intuition and intelligence."

(2) Does *huò* 或 mean 'sometimes' or 'always' in the Yijing quote? The alleged result of 不恆其德 'to not *héng* one's/its power/virtue' is to 或承之羞 'sometimes?/always? receive disgrace'. Huang Kan 皇侃 (488-545) proposed *huò* < **g'wək* 或 'some, perhaps, possible, somehow' means *chāng* < **djang* 常 'constant, usual' (cf. §4.5). It seems contradictory for 'sometimes' to mean 'constantly', but Huang gave two supporting examples. The ancient *Shijing* §1.3 usage of 恆 for 'increasing (moon)' is followed (166, tr. Karlgren) by 無不爾或承 "There is nothing that will not be (continued:) everlasting for you." And some *Daodejing* texts (including the Heshang Gong version) write 或 as 常 'constant, forever' in (4, tr. Chan 1963, 105) 湛兮似或存 "Deep and still, it appears to exist forever." Zheng

(1971, 32-3) agrees the Heshang *Daodejing* text with 常 ‘constantly’ (or the variant **kjǔng* 久 ‘long, long-time’, cf. below) makes better sense than 或 ‘sometimes’.²⁴

Yijing commentaries to the Heng hexagram associate *hēng* < **g’əng* 恆 with its synonym *jǔ* < **kjǔng* 久 ‘old, long, long-lasting’. The 序卦 “Sequence” says:

[夫婦之道不可以不久也故受之以恆恆者久也] The way of husband and wife must not be other than long-lasting. Hence there follows the hexagram of Duration. Duration means long-lasting. (9.13a, tr. Wilhelm 1967, 545)

The 雜卦 “Miscellaneous Notes” section (9.15b, tr. Wilhelm 1967, 546) defines 恆 as 久, “Duration means that which lasts long.” And the 彖傳 “Commentary on the Decision” (4.5a-b, tr. Wilhelm 1967, 546) explains this circularly with *hēng*: “The course of heaven and earth is [恆久而不已] enduring and long and never ends” and “If we [觀其所恆] meditate on what gives duration to a thing, we can understand the nature of heaven and earth and of all beings.” In the *Book of Changes* (and the world of change), 恆 ‘constancy, duration’ is uncommon, but these *Yijing* commen-

24. These mutually antithetical 或 meanings typify the Chinese semantic field which Dong (1937) discovered from 反訓 “contradictory glosses.” For example, *nǎng* < **nāng* 曩 is defined as 久 ‘long ago, formerly’ in the *Erya*, but as 不久 ‘not long ago’ in the *Shuowen* (Higuchi 1976, 29-30). Zheng (1971, 27-28) discusses *Daodejing* textual variants of **kjǔng* 久 ‘old, long, long-time’, **giǔng* 又 ‘repeat, moreover’, and **giǔng* 有 ‘have, there is’ for **g’wək* 或 ‘some, perhaps, possible, maybe, in some way’. Other texts use **g’wək* 或 (~**giwək* 域 ‘territory’) as a loan for **giǔng* 又 or **giǔng* 有, but owing to the **g* and **k* differences, Karlgren (1968, no. 494) concludes this is all “exceedingly difficult” and prefers the idea that **g’wək* 或 was being used in its basic sense of ‘in some way, perchance’.

taries describe it as practically divine intelligence, cf. §4.4.

Besides Heng (number 32), the original *Yijing* corpus mentions *héng* 恆 in three other hexagrams (5, 16, 37),²⁵ and Waley §2.2 quotes six/Yin in the fifth line of hexagram 16. This passage (2.37a) literally says: 疾恆不死 “ill/sick *héng* not die.” Many commentators flip-flop 疾恆 ‘ill *héng*’ into 恆疾 ‘*héng* ill, i.e., constant/chronic illness’, thus (tr. Wilhelm 1967, 71) “Persistently ill, and still does not die.” Waley’s 疾恆不死 reading of “If anyone is ill, perform the *héng* rite and he/she will not die” makes better linguistic sense than the traditional inverted explanation, and it is consistent with Chinese traditions of shamanic healing (de Groot 1910, 1182-1233, Unschuld 1985, 37-46).

Even making wide allowances for interpreting the *Yijing*’s lapidary language, its pre-Confucian textual corpus seems to support Waley’s idea of a shamanic *g’əng 恆 healing ritual with supernatural *tək 德 ‘power’ and *lǐed 利 ‘benefits’.

25. The usages in 5 and 37 resemble the 利 and 行 associations for the Heng hexagram above. Yang in the first line of hexagram 5 says: (2.2a, tr. Wilhelm 1967, 25) “Waiting in the meadow. [利用恆] It furthers one to abide in what endures. No blame.” And the “Image” of 37 explains: (4.16b, tr. Wilhelm 1967, 144) “Thus the superior man has substance in his words [而行有恆] and duration in his way of life.” In addition, *héng* 恆 is frequently used in *Yijing* commentaries. Two usages (1.14b, 4.32b, tr. Wilhelm 1967, 381, 601) quote Confucius: “[進退無恆] In advance or retreat no sustained perseverance avails, except that one must not depart from one’s nature” and “[立心勿恆凶] He does not keep his heart constantly steady. Misfortune.” Both these *héng* usages are ‘inconstantly’ negative, 無恆 ‘no constancy’ and 勿恆 ‘not constant’, comparable with the 不恆其德 ‘not *héng* one’s power/virtue’ above.

3.2 The Southern Sayings

There are different versions of the Southern Saying in the circa 450 B.C. *Lunyu* and the circa 50 B.C. *Liji*. Both are quoted, analyzed, and compared below.

① In the *Lunyu* 論語 or *Analects*, Confucius quotes and praises the Southern Saying that “A person without *héng* 恆 cannot be a shaman-doctor” and then indirectly quotes and explains the *Yijing*’s Heng 恆 hexagram above:

[子曰南人有言曰人而無恆不可以作巫醫善夫不恆其德或承之蓋子曰不占而已矣] The Master said, The men of the south have a saying, Without stability a man will not even make a good *shaman* or witch-doctor. Well said! Of the maxim; if you do not stabilize an act of [*de*] 德, you will get evil by it (instead of good), the Master said, They (i.e. soothsayers) do not simply read the omens. (13/22, 13.9a, tr. Waley 1938, 177)

This *Lunyu* context is the *terminus a quo* for the words *nánrén* 南人 ‘southern people’ and *yī* 醫~醫 ‘doctor’. However, since Pre-Confucian texts do not use either,²⁶ they are semantically unsettled. For the former *nánrén* ‘southern people’ term, “south” during the time of Confucius typically referred to the states of Chu 楚, Wu 吳, and Yue 越. All three were associated with shamanism, particularly Chu (Zhang 1988, 405-10), and Waley §2.2 suggests 南人 means ‘people from Chu’ (cf. *Chuci* 4.24b).²⁷

26. On Shang oracle inscriptions, Yan (1950, 21) notes various ‘sickness, illness’ graphs (e.g., 病 or 疾) have been identified, but neither 醫 ‘doctor’ nor 藥 ‘herb, medicine’ have.

The Southern Saying may relate with a regional difference in Chinese shamanism (Kitagawa 1977, 360, Kagan 1980, 3); northern Chinese shamans are said to have specialized in interpreting dreams and bringing rain, southern ones in medical healing and exorcism. At first glance, the latter word $yī$ 醫 ‘doctor, physician, heal, cure, medicine’ seems to be written with a typical radical-phonetic logograph combining the 酉 “wine radical” (meaning ‘medicinal wine, liquid medicine’²⁸) with a $yī$ 毘 ‘emphatic/grammatical word’ phonetic. However, the incompatible Archaic Chinese $*-r$ and $*-g$ finals (as reconstructed by Karlgren) show that $yī < *iər$ 毘 (combining $yī < *iər$ 医 ‘quiver’ and 扌 ‘hand holding a lance’) was not the phonetic indicator in $yī < *iəg$ 醫 ‘doctor’. Furthermore, paleography reveals that the 醫 ‘doctor’ logograph with 酉 ‘wine’ was originally written 醫 with 巫 ‘shaman’. This ancient $yī < *iəg$ 醫 ‘doctor’ ideographically depicted a shaman-doctor in the act of exorcistical healing with (矢 ‘arrows’ in) a 医 ‘quiver’, a 扌 ‘hand holding a lance’, and a $wū < *m̥iwo$ 巫 ‘shaman’. It is feasible that a single 醫 ‘[shaman] doctor’ graph could have been the original writing of 巫醫 ‘shaman-doctor’ in the Southern Saying, perhaps later clarified into two graphs by scribes.

27. The *Lunyu* commentary ascribed to Kong Anguo 孔安國 (ca. 156-74 B.C.) glosses 南人 as 南國之人 ‘people from southern states’, cf. the *Shijing* using 南國 (259/2, 263/1) to mean ‘southern states’ or (204/6) ‘Chu’. Two unsupported interpretations of 南人 are the name (“Southman”) of a Shang dynasty divination minister (the *Lunyu* commentary of Shen Tao 沈涛, fl. 1832) or “southern hunchbacks” who served as musicians and diviners (Katō 1960, 70-3). A group of *Shijing* poems is titled *nān* 南, and following the hypothesis that it meant ‘southern songs, shamanic music’, Chan (1972, 69) believes “*nan* is closely connected with shamanism.”

28. Cf. Greek *hippocras*. Veith (1966, 151-3) and Zhou (1979, 37-42) discuss medicinal wines, potions, and tinctures. The *Zhouli* (5.12a) uses 醫 pronounced $yī < *iəg$ to mean ‘sweet wine’.

A secondary problem with the Southern Saying being the oldest extant $yī < *iǝg$ 醫~醫 'doctor' usage is whether $wūyī < *mīwo'iǝg$ 巫醫 meant 'shaman-doctor' or 'either a shaman or a doctor'. Was it one profession or two? Grammatically, $wūyī$ 巫醫 "shaman doctor" can be parsed as a modified noun phrase 'shaman-doctor, i.e., medicine-man' or as a compound phrase 'shaman and/or doctor'. The former $wūyī$ 巫醫 sense of 'shaman-doctor, witch-doctor, faith healer' (Yan 1950, 251, Zhou 1979, 31-2) is favored by a few *Lunyu* commentators (e.g., Zhang Shi 張枘 [1133-1180] glosses it as "a specialist at healing rituals") and two translators ("a wu-i" [de Groot], "a shaman-medicine-man" [Chan]). The latter 'a shaman or a doctor' meaning is accepted by more commentators and interpreters²⁹ (e.g., Zhu Xi 朱喜 [1130-1200] differentiates shamans exorcising demons and doctors curing sickness). Judging from textual evidence, the former interpretation is surely correct. *Lunyu* commentators found many early examples of $wūyī$ 巫醫 meaning 'shaman-/witch-doctor' but none discriminating two professions 'shaman or doctor'.³⁰ In

29. Most $wūyī$ translations take the Southern Saying to mean "a person without *héng* cannot be 'either a shaman or a doctor.'" Compare "either a wizard or a doctor" (Legge), "habile devin ou bon médecin" (Couvreur), "a soothsayer or medicine-man" (Waley, §2.1), "neither a soothsayer nor a doctor" (Fung), "neither a *wu* nor a physician" (Giles), and "a good wizard or physician" (Creel).

30. Unambiguous $wūyī$ 巫醫 'shaman-doctor' examples are found in the *Mozi* (15.1b, cf. §3.5), *Hanshu* (25A.1220), *Shuoyuan* (19.22b), *Guanzi* (1.6b), and *Lüshi chunqiu* (3.5a). The closest commentators come to demonstrating two professions are texts contrasting the two words $wū$ 巫 'shaman' and $yī$ 醫 'doctor', e.g., the *Zuo zhuan* (成公 10, 26.29a-30b, Legge 1872, 374), *Huainanzi* (16.14b), *Shiji* (105.2794), and *Baopuzi* (5.4b, Ware 1966, 104). Further evidence that 巫醫 "shaman doctor" meant 'medicine-man' are the official titles Yi-Wu 醫巫 "Doctor Shaman" (e.g., *Hanshu* 49.2288) and Wu-Ma 巫馬 "Shaman (of the) Horses" (e.g., *Zhouli* 28.12b-13a, cf. §3.4) as well as the proper names Wu-Yi 巫醫 'Shaman Doctor' (e.g., *Hou Hanshu* 82A.2710) and Wu-Ma 巫馬 (e.g., *Lunyu*

addition to texts indicating that *wūyī* < **m̥iwo*²*iəg* 巫醫 originally meant ‘medicine-man/-woman’, there is the well-documented ancient Chinese belief that demons caused sickness (de Groot 1910, Tseng 1972, Kagan 1980, Unschuld 1980, Mathieu 1987).

Lunyu scholars suspect the above *Yijing* quote with the Southern Saying is a textual interpolation and not an authentic saying of Confucius (Creel 1951, 216, Whincup 1986, 20). The *Lunyu* has the two earliest textual allusions to the *Yijing*: an indirect quote of the Heng hexagram in 13/22 and the *yì* 易 ‘(Book of) Changes?’ mentioned by Confucius in 7/16.³¹ Confucius’s two *héng* 恆 quotes in 13/22 appear to be similar passages which were edited together. The formulaic *zǐyǔ* 子曰 ‘[the] Master said’ (i.e. pidgin “Confucius say”), which often appears at the beginning of *Lunyu* sections, seems misplaced because it comes before the Southern Saying but after the *Yijing* quote.³² The *Lunyu* commentary of

7.10a).

31. A possible textual variant of *yì* 亦 ‘also, besides’ for *yì* 易 ‘change, [Book of] Changes’ casts doubt on the reference in 7/16 (Dubs 1928, 90). The standard Gu text quotes Confucius to say (tr. Legge 1893, 200) “If some years were added to my life, I would give fifty [覺易] to the study of the *Yi*[*jing*], and then I might come to be without great faults.” But for the preferred Lu text, the (583) *Jingdianshiwen* (24.8a) notes 魯讀易為亦 “The Lu [version] reads 易 as 亦,” which can be interpreted as a pronunciation gloss of “reads *yì* < *i̯ək* < **d̥i̯ək* 易 ‘change, [i.e., *Book of*] *Changes*’ instead of *yì* < *i̯ə*- < **d̥i̯əg* 易 ‘easy’” or as a textual alteration of “reads *yì* 易 ‘change’ as *yì* 亦 ‘also,’” to make the Gu version support the *Yijing*. The *Shiji* (47.1937, tr. Dubs 1928, 83) quotes Confucius in the former reading “I should be master of the *Book of Changes*,” while Waley (1938, 126) translates following the latter “I believe that after all I should be fairly free from error.”

32. The syntax is: “子曰, southern quote, comment. *Yijing* quote, 子曰, comment.” Cf. the *Liji* version of the Southern Saying which uses two ‘say’ words for quotations, quoting the *Shijing* with 云, but the *Shujing* and *Yijing* with 曰.

Di Shengcurai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728) explains this irregularity as meaning the Southern Saying was originally separate from the *Yijing* quote. Confucius may have known both as proverbs, or a disciple could have appended the *Yijing* line into the *Lunyu* text as an explanation of the Southern Saying.

② The version of the Southern Saying in the *Liji* 禮記 or *Record of Ritual* is longer than the one in the *Lunyu* above:

[子曰南人有言曰人而無恆不可以為卜筮古之遺言與龜筮猶不能知也而況於人乎詩云我龜既厭不我告猶兌命曰爵無乃惡德民立而正事純而祭祀是為不敬事煩則亂事神則難易曰不恆其德或承之羞恆其德慎婦人吉夫子凶] The Master said, ‘The people of the south have a saying that “A man without constancy cannot be a diviner either with the tortoise-shell or the stalks.” This was probably a saying handed down from antiquity. If such a man cannot know the tortoise-shell and stalks, how much less can he know other men? It is said in the *Book of Poetry* (II, v, ode 1, 3) “Our tortoise-shells are wearied out, And will not tell us anything about the plans.” The Charge to [Yue] says (*Shu*[*jing*], IV, VIII, sect. 2, 5, 11), “Dignities should not be conferred on men of evil practices. (If they be), how can the people set themselves to correct their ways? If this be sought merely by sacrifices, it will be disrespectful (to the spirits). When affairs come to be troublesome, there ensues disorder; when the spirits are served so, difficulties ensue.” It is said in the [*Yijing*], “When one does not continuously maintain his virtue, some will impute it to him as a disgrace;—(in the position indicated in the Hexagram.) When one does maintain his virtue continuously (in the other

position indicated), this will be fortunate in a wife, but in a husband evil.” (55.18a-b, tr. Legge 1885, 2:363-4)

This version makes five changes from the *Lunyu*: writing *bǔshì* 卜筮 ‘diviner’ instead of *wūyī* 巫醫 ‘shaman-doctor’, giving a different comment and adding a description by Confucius, quoting the *Shijing*, misquoting the *Shujing*, and citing an additional line from the *Yijing*.

First, instead of saying *héng* 恆 is essential 作巫醫 ‘to make/be a shaman-doctor’, the *Liji* has 為卜筮 ‘to be/make a diviner’. *Bǔshì* 卜筮 ‘diviner, augur’ compounds *bǔ* < **puk* 卜 ‘divine by bone or shell, scapulimancy or plastronomy’ and *shì* < **d’iad* 筮 (**t̪idok* 竹 ‘bamboo’ over **m̪iwo* 巫 ‘shaman’) ‘divine by milfoil stalks, sortilege’. Most commentators take the *Liji*’s 卜筮 ‘diviner’ to be a corruption of the older *Lunyu*’s 巫醫 ‘shaman-doctor’, with two exceptions. Huang Kan believes both versions are correct because Confucius quoted the saying in different terms, and Jiang Sheng 江聲 (1721-1799) thinks 卜筮 ‘diviner’ is right because the *Yijing* quote concerns divination. The *Lunyu* version is preferable, but even if the *Liji* is followed, it is not critical to the meaning of *héng* 恆, because in ancient China, shamans were both doctors and diviners. Second, Confucius is quoted to call the southern proverb “probably a ‘saying handed down’ from antiquity,” and to rhetorically ask “If one cannot know after divining with tortoise-shell and stalks, how much less can one know about other people?” Neither of these is found in the *Lunyu* version which has 善夫 “well said!” instead.

Third, the *Liji* correctly quotes a *Shijing* ode (195/3, 12B.16b, tr. Karlgren 1950b, 142) criticizing royal diviners: “Our tortoises are (satiat-

ed =) weary, they do not tell us the (proper) plans.” Fourth, the *Liji* quotes the 兌命 “Charge to Yue,” but differently from the fabricated *Shujing* chapter with this name (17/16-22, 10.5a-6a, tr. Legge 1865, 256-8).³³ This *Shujing* “Charge to Yue” section is part of the so-called Guwen 古文 “ancient text” forgery dating from the 3rd-4th centuries A.D. (cf. §3.5), and was clearly plagiarized from the 1st? century B.C. *Liji* quote. Fifth, besides quoting the third line of the *Yijing* 恆 Heng hexagram, as in the *Lunyu*, the *Liji* adds a quote from the fifth line. Both are identical with the *Yijing* text in §3.1.

Based on these differences between the two versions of the Southern Saying, most modern commentators agree that the earlier *Lunyu* account is preferable to that in the *Liji*. But even if we accept the *Lunyu* version as authentic, two fundamental questions remain about the meanings of *héng* 恆 ‘constant’ and *bùzhān* 不占 ‘do not divine’.

(1) What did *héng* 恆 ‘constant’ mean? The Southern Saying has a syntactically double negative that someone 無恆 ‘without constancy’ 不可 ‘cannot’ be a shaman-doctor. But who/what needs to be ‘constant?’: the divination?, the doctor?, the patient?, the illness? The oldest interpretation is that a shaman-doctor should be ‘morally steadfast’, the Kong Anguo

33. The initial clause in the *Liji* quote (“Dignities ... ways?”) is similar with *Shujing* 17/16 (“Dignities may not be conferred on men of evil practices, but only on men of worth”), and the last (“If this ... ensue”) is almost like 17/22 (“Officiousness in sacrifices is called irreverence; ceremonies when burdensome lead to disorder. To serve the spirits in this way is difficult”); but the middle phrase (“Anxious thought about what will be good should precede your movements ... Let your mind rest in its proper objects, and the affairs of your government will be pure”) of *Shujing* 17/17-21 is not found in the *Liji*.

text says if one is inconstant in 德 'power, virtue', then misfortune will occur. Another early commentator, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200) takes the Southern Saying to mean 'inconstant' sick people (with transitory illnesses?) cannot be cured—but this is nullified by the absence of a grammatical object. Many Confucianists (e.g., Zhao Liangyou 趙良猷, fl. 1799) have moralistically interpreted 恆 in the sense of *héngxīn* 恆心 'constant heart/mind, perseverance, constancy of purpose' [see meaning (g) in §1.3]:³⁴ thus interpreting the Southern Saying to mean 'inconstant' people should not be employed as shaman-doctors. Waley, however, proposes *héng* 恆 was the name of a ritual to 'stabilize' favorable divinations.

(2) What did Confucius mean by *bùzhān* 不占 'do not divine?' His *Lunyu* comment that the Southern Saying is 善夫 'good!, well said!' is clearer than his *Yijing* interpretation that someone/something 不占而已矣 'simply does not divine'.³⁵ Three explanations for this understood subject are: inconstant people 'cannot divine' the future (Zheng Xuan), an inconstant person's sickness 'cannot be divined' (Zhao Liangyou), or one should 'not (wait) to divine' about the future (Zhang Shi). Waley §2.1 interprets 'It is not enough merely to get a favorable divination (about illness?), one must also *héng* "stabilize" it'.

34. The *Lunheng* (19.11a), taking 恆 in its §1.3 meaning (f) 'common, ordinary', uses 恆醫 to mean 'ordinary doctor', "For minor illnesses, ordinary doctors are all capable, but for critical diseases, it requires a Bian Qiao [an 'excellent doctor' exemplar] to do any good."

35. Cf. these translations: "This arises simply from not attending to the prognostication" (Legge), "On ne réfléchit pas (sur ces paroles), et de la vient tout le mal" (Couvreur), "All because he did not calculate beforehand" (Fung), "It is not sufficient to divine" (Creel).

The above analysis shows that even if we disregard both the *Lunyu's Yijing* quote as an interpolation and the *Liji* differences as a later plagiarism, there is no reason to doubt the Southern Saying's authenticity. This proverb is the oldest Chinese reference to doctors and shamanic healing.

3.3 恆吉 Heng Auspiciousness

The (ca. 11th-10th? cent. B.C.) “Luo Gao” 洛誥 (Announcement about Luo) chapter of the *Shujing* describes making divinations 恆吉 ‘*hēng* auspicious’ and a promise to 和恆 ‘harmonize and *hēng*’ the people. Waley mentioned the former in §2.1, but, since they occur together, his hypothesis should be applicable to both.³⁶

Duke Zhou 周公 makes tortoise-shell divinations that recommend building the new Zhou capital at Luo (i.e., Luoyang in Henan), and sends them to King Cheng 成王 (r. 1115?-1079? B.C.).

When he had fixed the site, [孚來來視予卜休恆吉] he sent a messenger to come; and he has come to show me the grace and constant auspiciousness of the oracles. We two men have both verified (sc. the reading of the oracles). (15.16b, tr. Karlgren 1950a, 51-2)

36. Another *Shujing* chapter (洪範 “Great Plan,” ca. 5th-3rd cents. B.C., 12.22a-b, tr. Karlgren 1950a, 33) uses *hēng* 恆 in describing tortoise-shell and milfoil divinations (cf. *Lunheng* 14.8a-b) about weather as being either 休微 ‘lucky’ (cf. 卜休 above) for 時 ‘seasonable’ weather or 咎微 ‘unlucky’ for 恆 ‘constant’ weather. Although this contrast seems to give 恆 a meaning of ‘constant, unchanging’ weather, the divination context suggests the *hēng* ritual. Note the similarity between the fifth unlucky divination of 蒙恆風若 “(blindness =) stupidity-constant wind responds to it” and *hēng* dancing 恆舞 being called a 巫風 “shaman wind/style” in §3.5.

There is a problem with how to parse *būxiū* < **pukXiōg* 卜休 ‘divination/oracle rest/luck/blessing’ and 恆吉 ‘*hēng* auspicious’ (Karlgren 1970, no. 1771). The Kong Anguo text takes 卜休恆吉 as two coordinated phrases: 卜休 ‘happiness of the oracles’ and 恆吉 ‘constant auspiciousness (of the site)’. Cai Chen 蔡沈 (1167-1230) sees 卜休恆吉 as a single phrase meaning ‘the grace and constant auspiciousness of the oracles’.³⁷

After thanking Zhou for his advice, King Cheng obscurely promises to 和恆 ‘harmonize and *hēng*’ all the people, saying:

You, prince, are a bright protector to me, young man. You set forth a grandly illustrious [德] virtue, and make me, little child, extol the virtuous deeds of Wen and Wu; (I shall) receive and respond to Heaven’s charge, [和恆四方民居師] unite and reach to all the people of the myriad states and the four quarters, and reside in the (new) capital. (15.21b, tr. Karlgren 1950a, 52)

This 和恆 translation of “unite and reach to” takes *hé* < **g’wā* 和 ‘harmony, concord’ and *hēng* 恆—as a loan for 亙 ‘everywhere, all over’ (cf. *Shijing* 245, §1.3)—to be transitive verbs meaning ‘uniting and (extending over =) reaching to all the people’. Karlgren based his interpretation upon a preceding context (5.8b, 1950a, 49) that says the new capital was strategically established at Luo in order to allow the king to “manage the government in the centre of the land.” However, depending upon the meanings of *jū* < **kjo* 居 ‘reside, settle, tranquil’ and *shī* < **sjər* 師 ‘the

37. The excavation of a divination book from a Chu tomb at Mashan (Hubei-sheng 1985, see Zhang 1988, 409-10) confirms this phrase. Two of its most common 驗辭 Verification Sentences are 占之吉 “auspiciousness of divination” and 占之恆貞吉 “*hēng* correct/test [see §4.1] auspiciousness of divination.”

people, multitude, army, capital, master' (cf. §3.4), Karlgren (1970, no. 1772) cites other feasible readings by Kong Anguo "to harmonize and (perpetuate =) forever preserve the people of the (myriad states and) the four quarters, and (cause to dwell =) settle their multitudes," and Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (1869-1936) "to harmonize everywhere (such) people of the four quarters who settle in the capital."

3.4 巫恆 Shamanic Heng

The *Zhouli* 周禮 (*Ritual of Zhou*) describes a *wūhéng* 巫恆 rite (Hayashi 1967, 208) among duties of the Siwu 司巫 "Manager/Director of Shamans,"

The Managers of the Mediums are in charge of the policies and orders issued to the many mediums. [若國干旱則師巫而舞雩] When the country suffers a great drought, they [師 cf. §3.3] lead the mediums in dancing the rain-making ritual (*yu*). [國有大災則師巫而造巫恆] When the country suffers a great calamity, they lead the mediums in enacting the traditional practices of mediums (*wū-héng*). (26.7b-8a, tr. von Falkenhausen 1989a, 5)

Since the verb in this key phrase 造巫恆 with *wūhéng* is *zào* < *dz'ōg 造 'do, make, enact, construct, perfect' ~ *cāo* < *ts'ōg 造 'go to (esp. offer sacrifice), go and appear', it can either be read as 'do/make Shaman Heng' or 'go to Shaman Heng'. The commentary of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200) quotes Du Zichun 杜子春 (d. 58?) that 巫恆 means the 常處 "customary location" where assembled shamans awaited orders, but Zheng instead says 恆 means *jiǔ* < *kiǔg 久 'long (time), long-continued/-standing, ancient, enduring' and 巫恆 means 先巫之故事 'ancient services/ceremonies of former shamans'. He interprets *zào* 造 "enacting" to mean the *wūhéng* ritual 當案視所施為 "should be enacted in the[ancient]model."

Even though Waley §2.2 said Zheng’s explanation is “forced and unconvincing,” it is contextually possible.³⁸ Von Falkenhausen (1989b, 5) notes Du’s reading “does violence to the word order,” and supports Zheng’s 恆 ‘long-continued’ interpretation with the *Shiji* (6.1379) listing shamans from Jing 荆 (i.e., Chu) “who enshrine ... the [巫先] *wuxian*.” Chen (1936, 535) says King Heng 王恆 or Shaman Heng 巫恆 was the name of a shaman divinity. Assuming the *wūhéng* 巫恆 ritual to have been named after a person, Chan (1972, 116) reads *cāo* 造 ‘go to (esp. sacrifice)’, translating “the Chief Shaman of the state would lead the other minor shamans to go to Wu Hēng 巫恆 (Shaman Hēng), in case of disaster.”

Besides reading *wūhéng* 巫恆 as “traditional practices of shamans” or a proper name “Wu Heng,” another facile interpretation takes 恆 to be a miscopy of 威. The commentary of Sun Zhirang 孫治讓 (1848-1908) quotes Wang Zhong 汪中 (1745-1794) that Wu Heng 巫恆 is a textual error for Wu Xian 巫咸, “Shaman Xian,” a legendary shamanic ancestor.³⁹ As an early shaman, Wu Xian ties in with Zheng’s 先巫 “former shamans” gloss above (cf. below).

This 司巫 “Manager of Shamans” *Zhouli* section is followed by ones for 男巫 “Male Shamans” and 女巫 “Female Shamans.” Duties listed

38. Von Falkenhausen (1989a, 13) notes 巫恆 implies the shamans “had a rich stock of time-honored ritual knowledge at their disposal.” Zheng’s interpretation is followed by other translators: “les pratiques consacrées de la sorcellerie” (Biot, felicitously taking advantage of *consacré* meaning ‘consecrated, hallowed’ or ‘accepted, established, habitual’), “old and customary Wu-ist practices” (de Groot), and “the rites consecrated by long usage” (Giles).

39. The *Shujing* (16.20a, tr. Karlgren 1950a, 61) says Wu Xian “directed the royal house” during the reign (trad. 1637-1563 B.C.) of King Tai Wu 太戊.

for the males include healing rituals to *zhāo* 招 ‘summon, beckon, invoke, proclaim’ (cf. 招梗 §1.2) good fortune and *mǐ* 弭 ‘repress, ban’ bad fortune:

[春招弭以除疾病] In the spring, they make proclamations and issue bans so as to remove sickness and disease. [王弔則與祝前] When the king offers condolence, they together with the invocators precede him. (26.10a, tr. von Falkenhausen 1989b, 6, cf. de Groot 1910, 1189, Biot 1851, 2:103-4)

Zheng says *zhāo* 招 refers to “proclaiming” good fortune, and disagrees with Du that *mǐ* < **mǐār* 弭 (弓 ‘bow’ and 耳 ‘ear’) ‘bow tip, stop, repress’ means *mí* < **mǐār* 彌 ‘complete, fulfill, stop’ (see §4.3), instead interpreting **mǐār* 弭 as *mǐ* < **mǐār* 敕 ‘pacify, tranquilize, settle, complete, achieve’. Both readings are feasible in this context: **mǐār* 弭 was a graphic loan (Karlgren 1970, no. 1600) for ‘stop, repress’ and ‘pacify, put to rest’. Rain dances and exorcistical prayers are listed among the duties of shamanesses:

[旱嘆則舞雩] when there is a drought or scorching heat, they dance in the rain-making ritual (*yu*). [若王后弔則與祝前] When the queen offers condolence, they together with the invocators precede her. (26.10b, tr. von Falkenhausen 1989a, 6)

Wūhēng 巫恆 ‘shamanic *hēng* ritual’ is paralleled by *wǔyǔ* 舞雩 with *wǔ* < **mǐwo* 舞 ‘dance’ and *yǔ* < **gǐwo* 雩 ‘rain making ritual’ (cf. *yǔ* < **gǐwo* 雨 ‘rain’, Eberhard 1968, 315). **Mǐwo* 巫 ‘shaman’ and **mǐwo* 舞 ‘dance’

40. Benedict (1976, 186, 1986, 42-3) sees **bǐwo* > *mǐu* 巫 ‘shaman, magician’ coming from Sino-Tibetan **ba* < Proto-Sino-Tibetan **(a-)ba* (cf. Written Tibetan *ba-po* ‘magician, sorcerer, conjurer’, Kachin *ba* ~ *džāba* ~ *tšyāba* ‘to divine’ and *sāba* ‘divination, augury’). He proposes Proto-Tai borrowed **hmo* (<? **mo*) < **mɔɔʰ* ‘sorcerer, magician’, a lower class contrast with Proto-Tai **hmɔɔʰ* ‘ruling class, priesthood’.

were cognate, and “dancing” was linguistically “shamanic” §3.5.⁴⁰

During condolence visits, these male and female shamans were said to 與祝前 “with the invocators precede” the king and queen, and Zheng notes some early manuscripts have *xiān* < **siən* 先 ‘walk before, lead’ (~ *xiān* < **siən* 先 ‘before, former’) instead of *qián* < **dz’ian* 前 ‘before, former, precede’. There is little semantic difference, but the 先 variant could relate with Zheng’s 先巫 “former shamans” explanation of the *wūhéng* 巫恆 rite. On the other hand, Zhou (1979, 27) theorizes this 先 could mean ‘pray/dance in front of’ or even 先知 ‘foreknowledge’.⁴¹

Zhouli descriptions of the *wūhéng* 巫恆 anti-disaster ritual, parallel with the *wǔyǔ* 舞雩 rain dance, reveal a later stage of institutionalized shamanic *héng*.

3.5 恆舞 Heng Dancing

Waley’s last example concerns a *Mozi* 墨子 denunciation of dancing and it relates with the well-known connection between *wū* < **mīwo* 巫 ‘shamans’ and *wǔ* < **mīwo* 舞 ‘dancing’ (Hopkins 1920, 423-9, 1945, 3-16; Chen 1936, 38; Fukino 1960, 59; Chan 1972, 15). The *Mozi* 非樂說 “Condemnation of Music” chapter denounces 恆舞 ‘*héng* dancing’ (Zhou

41. Hayashi (1967, 126) notes an oracle inscription (南北明義士 103) with 巫先 as a name Wu Xian and with 先 as a verb ‘to precede’ in 先于母○. The *Liji* (10. 11a, tr. Legge 1885, 1:187) uses 巫先 to mean ‘shaman first’ “he first employed a sorcerer with his reed-brush to brush (and purify) the bier.”

42. Zhou (1981, 7) attempts to explain the *Shijing* poetic genre of Feng 風 “airs” as deriving from shamanism. Wind was anciently considered a cause of illness (Unschuld 1985, 67-72), and like the rain, was supposedly controlled by shamans.

1979, 56) as a 巫風 “shaman wind,” with “wind” usually interpreted figuratively in its sense of ‘manner, custom, fashion, style, influence’.⁴²

If it is asked what is it that interfered with the rulers’ attending to government and the common man’s attending to work? It must be answered, music. Therefore [Mozi] said: To have music is wrong. How do we know it is so? [先王之書湯之官刑有之曰其恆舞于宮是謂巫風] It is found in the “Code of Punishment of [Tang]” among the books of the ancient kings. This proclaims: “To have constant dancing in the palace is called the witch’s pleasure.”⁴³ As to its punishment, a gentleman will be fined six hundred and forty pieces of silk, a common man will be let go free. (8.18b-19a, tr. Mei 1929, 180)

There is no extant 湯之官刑 “Code of Punishment of Tang,” but the (A.D. 3rd-4th cents.) spurious *Shujing* (cf. §3.2) 伊訓 “Instructions of E” chapter (13, following the 湯誥 “Announcement of Tang” 12) plagiarized this *Mozi* passage about 恆舞 ‘*héng* dancing’.

He laid down the punishments for officers, and warned them who were in authority, saying [敢有恆舞于宮酣歌于室時謂巫風] “If you dare to have constant dancing in your palaces, and drunken singing in your chambers, that is called sorcerers’ fashion; [敢有殉于貨色恆于遊畋時謂淫風] if you dare to set your hearts on wealth and women, and abandon yourselves to wandering about or to hunting, that is called the fashion of dissipation; [敢有侮聖言逆忠直遠耆德比

43. Compare these translations: “If you dare to have constant dancing in your mansions, and drunken singing in your houses, I call it wu fashion” (De Groot), “Wenn sie beständig in den Palästen tanzen lassen, so nennt man das einen Hexensabbat” (Förke), “If you dare to have constant dancing in your palaces and drunken orgies in your abodes, it is nothing but wu mores” (Harvey).

頑童時謂亂風] if you dare to condemn the words of sages, to resist the loyal and upright, to put far from you the aged and virtuous, and to be familiar with procacious youths, that is called the fashion of disorder.” (8.15a, tr. Legge 1865, 196-7)

These two texts differ widely, and Mei (1929, 180) notes “competent critics agree” *Mozi* was the source for the *Shujing* version. Ruan Yuan glosses 常舞則荒淫 “constant dancing will cause dissipation and debauchery.” Legge, de Groot, and Mei all translate 恆舞 as “continual/constant dancing,” which Waley §2.2 says “makes poor sense.” It is more reasonable that *hēng* 恆 was the name of a shamanic dance of exorcism.⁴⁴

Waley’s examples above show that the shamanic *hēng* 恆 ritual involved divination, healing, and dancing. This is confirmed by the ones below.

4 OTHER EXAMPLES

In addition to Waley’s textual illustrations of shamanic *hēng* 恆, the present paper can suggest five further possibilities: the *Chuci* §4.1 uses 恆幹 ‘*hēng* body?/village?’ in a poem about shamanic divination, Mencius describes how sages are always 恆存 *hēng* in?/preserve? fever and sickness §4.2, the *Zhouli* refers to *hēng* 恆 bows and arrows §4.3, Confucianists and Daoists describe having *hēng* 恆 as a divine quality §4.4, and a recent archaeological discovery suggests that almost any pre-179 B.C. usage of

44. This *hēng* dance may have resulted in auto-intoxication something like whirling dervishes. The *Shiyiji* 拾遺記 (9.10b) records a *hēngwǔ* 恆舞 “constant dance” that was choreographed by Xiang Feng 翔風, a favorite of Shi Chong 石崇 (249-300), and involved ten elaborately costumed women (shamanesses?) dancing “constantly” day and night.

**ḍ'iang* 常 'constant' could have originally been written **g'əng* 恆 §4.5.

4.1 恆幹 Heng Body?

The *Chuci* refers to *héng* 恆 when a shaman divines about a sickness. The “Zhao Hun” 招魂 (“Summons of the Soul,” see Fujino 1951, 198-263) mentions 去君之恆幹 ‘left your *héng* body?/village?’:

The Lord God said to Wu Yang: “There is a man on earth below whom I would help: His soul has left him. Make divination for him.” Wu Yang replied: “The Master of Dreams ... [probable lacuna] The Lord God’s bidding is hard to follow.”

(The Lord God said:) “You must divine for him. I fear that if you any longer decline, it will be too late.”

Wu Yang therefore went down and summoned the soul, saying: “O soul, come back! Why [去君之恆幹] have you left your old abode and sped to the earth’s far corners, Deserting the place of your delight to meet all those things of evil omen?” (9/2a, tr. Hawkes 1985, 221)

Héng 恆 modifies *gān* < **kān* 幹 ‘trunk, main part, body, skeleton, work, capable’. Wang Yi 王逸 (fl. 114-142) glosses this 恆 as 常 ‘usual, constant, regular’, and gives ‘body’ or ‘village’ interpretations for *gān* 幹. First, he interprets 幹 as meaning 體 ‘body, form, shape, (substance =) pronouncement of a divination’ and quotes a *Yijing* commentary (1.10a, cf. §3.1) that literally says 貞者事之幹 ‘divination⁴⁵ is the body of things/sacrifices’, but

45. Serruys (1974, 22) says that in Shang oracle divination formulas, *zhēn* < **tjěng* 貞 ‘divination, lower trigram of a hexagram’ had a special meaning of “to test, to try out, to make *true*, correct’ in the sense of ‘find out the *right* (course of action)’.”

is translated (Wilhelm 1967, 376) “Perseverance is the foundation of all actions.” Second, Wang notes an interpretation, followed in Hawkes’s translation, that **kân* 幹 was a graphic loan for a Chu dialect word *hân* < **g’ân* ‘gate, village’ 閘. From this context and from the special divinatory meanings of 體 ‘divination pronouncement’ and 貞 ‘verify/read an oracle, bottom of a hexagram’, it is possible Shaman Yang was referring to the exorcistical *hēng* ritual.

Rather than interpreting “Zhao Hun” as a description of a shaman summoning back the soul of a sick or dead person, Chan (1972, 191) believes “this is a poem written by a shaman to recall the soul of his novice who has lapsed into a state of trance during the initiation ceremony.” He cites the *Liji* (6.19b, tr. Legge 1885, 1:129) “The practice in [朱婁 Zhul(o)u] of calling (the spirits of the dead) back with arrows took its rise from the [638 B.C.] battle of [Xiangxing].” *Zhūlóu* 朱婁 is usually read as a place name (written with the ‘hill’ radical 163, e.g., *Liji* 10.22b, Legge 1885, 1:195), but Chan takes it to be equivalent with *zhūlóu* 侏儻 (with the ‘human’ radical) ‘hunchback’ since many shamans were supposedly hunchbacks (Katō 1954, Carr 1991).

4.2 恆存 *Heng* In? Sickness

An obscure *Mengzi* 孟子 passage may refer to *hēng* shamanic healing.⁴⁶ It describes savants (with the terms 德慧 ‘powerful/virtuous

46. According to Mencius (4B/28, 8B.5a-b, tr. Lau 1970, 133), a superior person (君子, cf. §4.4) is distinguished by knowledge which 存心 (cf. 恆心 in §1.3) ‘is maintained/kept in heart/mind’, and in result, “He who loves others is [恆愛] always loved by them, he who respects others is [恆敬] always respected by them.”

[cf. §3.1] wisdom' and 術知 'technique/skill knowledge') as people who *hēng* 恆 'constantly?' 存 'are in?' 'live through?' 'maintain/preserve?' 疹疾 'fever and sickness, suffering, misfortune':

Mencius said, “[德慧術知者恆存乎疹疾] It is often through adversity that men acquire virtue, wisdom, skill and cleverness. The estranged subject or the son of a concubine, because he conducts himself with the greatest of caution and is constantly on the watch out for possible disasters, succeeds where others would have failed.” (7A/18, 13A.10b, tr. Lau 1970, 185)

Ruan Yuan moralistically claims people who have experienced difficulties acquire the resultant power to study and thus can achieve virtue. Rather than 恆 meaning “often,” “generally,” or “ordinarily,” shamanic reinterpretations of Mencius can be suggested.

This 恆存乎疹疾 could literally mean that sages, or skillful shaman-doctors?, “carried out the *hēng* ritual for [healing] the sick/suffering,” taking 存 ‘exist, live, keep, reserve’ in its common meaning of ‘maintain, preserve’. Or it could mean shamans “always have experienced *maladie initiatique*,” the ‘initiatory sickness’ which is practically a universal aspect of shamanism (Eliade 1964, 23-67, Hawkes 1985, 43). Citing a second century B.C. story (*Hanshu* 25A.1220, de Groot 1910, 1201) about a woman who was shamanized through illness, Waley (1955, 9) says the “*maladie initiatique* is of course a common stage in the career of shamans, magicians and saints in many parts of the world.” Besides the psychology (Tseng 1972, 564-5) and psychopathology of shamans, there was a practical aspect to “initiatory sickness.” For instance, there was an old Chinese saying (*Chuci* 4.6a, tr. Hawkes 1985, 158) that “He who has nine times broken his arm may set up as a [醫] physician!”⁴⁷

4.3 Heng Archery

Magic bows and arrows are diversely associated with shamanism (De Groot 1910, 394, 402, 699; Eberhard 1968, 199, 428; Eliade 1964, 54-5, 152, 361-4, 388, 490-4). Shamans used arrows in many ways, to cause or cure fever, and to symbolize magic flight or initiatory resurrection. The bow was especially used to produce musical entrancement. “The proof is that, even where the drum is replaced by a bow—as among the Lebed Tatars and certain Altaians,” says Eliade (1964, 175), “what we have is always an instrument of magical music, not an antidemonic weapon; there are no arrows, and the bow is used as a one-stringed instrument.” Archery has been mentioned several times above in connection with *héng* 恆: the oracle graph 𠄎 for 恆 combines ‘bow’ with ‘moon’ §1.1, using a bow to produce shamanic music was discussed for **kəng* 絳 ‘violently strum’ §1.2, Mao glosses the 恆 ‘increasing (moon)’ in the *Shijing* (166, § 1.3) as 弦 ‘bowstring, crescent moon’, the graph for 醫 ‘doctor’ §3.2 has an 矢 ‘arrow’, as does 疾 ‘sickness, illness’, and arrows were used in calling back souls of the sick and dead §4.1.

A *Zhouli* passage about shamanic healing (cf. §3.4) uses **mǐǎr* 弭 ‘bow end/tip, dispel, stop’ as a graphic loan for **mǐǎr* 彌 ‘stop’ or **mǐǎr* 敕 ‘pacify’,⁴⁸ and two other *Zhouli* 恆 usages are for technical terms in

47. Cf. the *Zuo zhuan* (定公 13, 56.13b, tr. Legge 1872, 784): “I know he is a good physician (who can heal) an arm broken in 3 places.” The *Liji* (5.15a, tr. Legge 1885, 1:114) gives some practical advice: “The physic of a doctor, in whose family medicine has not been practised for three generations at least, should not be taken.”

48. This *Zhouli* passage on male shamans (26.9b, tr. von Falkenhausen 1989b, 17) says, “In the winter, in the great temple hall, they offer [*or*: shoot arrows] without a fixed direction and without counting the number.” Zheng notes

archery: the 恆矢 ‘*hēng* arrow’ and the 恆角 ‘*hēng* horn’ on a compound bow.

恆矢 ‘*Héng* arrows’ are listed (32.8b, Biot 1851, 2:242-3) as suitable for leisure shooting, and Zheng’s commentary notes contradictory explanations of them being used for leisure-time practice or for ceremonial archery. The former ‘practice arrow’ can be explained with *hēng* 恆 meaning ‘regular, ordinary, everyday’ §1.3, while the latter ‘ceremonial arrow’ might have derived from the shamanic ritual name.

The *Zhouli*’s “Gongren 弓人 Bow-maker” section (42.13a-26a, Biot 1851, 2:580-601) uses *hēng* 恆 ‘regular, always?’ six times, especially in reference to the 角 ‘horn’ used to quicken and strengthen compound bows. The middle of the horn is (42.15b) 恆當弓之畏 “‘always’ located in the bow [part called] *wēi* < **iwər* 畏 ‘fear, dread’” (glossed as *wēi* < **iwər* 威 ‘terrifying, majestic’ or *wēi* < **iwər* 隈 ‘bend, crook’). Knots in the wood or uneven glue (42.18a-b) 恆由此作 “will ‘always’ be what causes” stretching the string or breaking the horn.”⁴⁹ If the (42.19a) 恆角而短 “‘regular’ horn (on the bow’s belly) is too short, the bow shaft will resist bending,” or if (42.19a, 20a) 恆角而達 “the ‘regular’ horn is too long, it will be overbent.” Zheng glosses **g’əng* 恆 as a loan for *gēng* < **kəng* 恆

zēng < **dz’əng* 贈 ‘offer, give, send away’ meaning ‘expel (evil influences)’ has a variant (Karlgren 1967, no. 1786) *zēng* < **tsəng* (with 矢 ‘arrow’ instead of 貝 ‘cowry’) ‘arrow (with a string)’.

49. The *zhūyōu* < **fjokd̪iōg* 祝由 “exorcism of the cause” was a southern shamanic medical technique (Veith 1966, 148, Xie 1976, 41, Lin 1987, 41). For a similar *yōubi* < **d̪iōgb’iēk* 由辟 “causal exorcism” recorded in the *Liji* (26. 24a, tr. Legge 1885, 2:448 “Sacrifices ... of deprecation”), Zheng Xuan glosses **b’iēk* 辟 as *mǐ* < **m̪iār* 弭 ‘stop, cease, exorcise’ (cf. §3.4).

‘extend, cover’ meaning *jìng* < **kjǎng* 竟 ‘complete, entire’ §1.2. *Héng* archery could be connected with the *Zhouli* §3.4 mentioning shamans ‘banning’ or ‘pacifying’ evil with **mǐār* 弭 ‘bow tip’, but the exact meaning remains uncertain.

4.4 Divine Heng

One point on which the philosophically opposed Confucianists and Daoists agreed was that having *héng* 恆 was supernatural.

Three *Lunyu* passages use *héng* 恆: the Southern Saying (§3.2), the name Cheng Heng 陳恆 (§1.3), and when Confucius laments the abundance of “inconstant” hypocrites.

The Master said, “A [聖] Divine Sage I cannot hope ever to meet; the most I can hope for is to meet a [君子] true gentleman.” The Master said, “A [善人] faultless man I cannot hope ever to meet; the most I can hope for is to meet a [有恆者] man of fixed principles. Yet where all around I see Nothing pretending to be Something, Emptiness pretending to be Fullness, Penury pretending to be Affluence, [約而為難乎泰有恆者] even a man of fixed principles will be none too easy to find.” (7/25, 7.8a, tr. Waley 1938, 128)

The meaning of a 有恆者 ‘person with *héng*’ is not clear, compare Waley’s 有恆者 “man of fixed principles” translation with Legge’s “a man possessed of constancy,” Couvreur’s “un homme d’une volonté constante,” or Giles’s “a man possessing honesty of soul.” Zhang Dai 張戴 (1020-1077) defines 恆 as one who 不貳其心 ‘does not have two minds (i.e., doubts)’. Zhu Xi glosses 恆 as 常久 ‘perpetual, eternal, everlasting’. Zhang Shi gives a scholarly interpretation that being a 聖 ‘sagely’⁵⁰ or 君子 ‘superior person’ results from study, while being a 善人 ‘good’ or 有恆者 ‘constant’

person results from personality, therefore one must ‘constantly’ study in order to become a sage. These moralistic interpretations of simple ‘constancy’ could not be what Confucius meant because he asserted it was hard to find people (in the 6th-5th cents. B.C.) who had *hēng* 恆 (cf. having a ‘*hēng* heart/mind’ in §1.3).

Confucius’s lamentation about the rarity of people 有恆 ‘having *hēng*’ is similar to Daoist *Zhuangzi* descriptions of it as heavenly:

[Nie Que] will become the servant of causes, the victim of things, looking in all four directions to see how things are faring, trying to attend to all wants, changing along with things [而未始有恆] and possessing no trace of any constancy of his own. How could he possibly do as [配天] counterpart of Heaven? (5.3a-b, tr. Watson 1968, 129)

He whose inner being rests in the [泰定] Great Serenity will send forth a Heavenly light. But though he sends forth a Heavenly light, men will see him as a man and things will see him as a thing. When a man has trained himself to this degree, [乃今有恆] then for the first time he achieves constancy. [有恆者] Because he possesses constancy, men will come to lodge with him and Heaven will be his helper. (8.5b, tr. Watson 1968, 254)

Since both Confucianists and Daoists said having 恆 was so divinely rare, it must have meant more than ‘constancy’. Perhaps they were referring to

50. Confucius only used the word *shèng* < **šjəng* 聖 in reference to legendary sages (e.g., *Lunyu* 6/28, 7/33), and flatly denies that he, or any of his contemporaries, was a sage (9/6). Later Confucianists used 聖 in more general meanings of ‘sage, wise person’, esp. Confucius.

people with knowledge/powers of the shamanic *hēng* ritual.

These ancient philosophers wrote of *hēng* 恆 as something which could be, but rarely was, 有 ‘possessed’. That was quite different from early references to *hēng* 恆 as something which was done: the *Shijing* §1.3 uses it for planting ‘everywhere’, the *Yijing* §3.1 and *Shujing* §3.3 use 恆 in allusions to divining and possibly healing, the *Zhouli* §3.4 and *Mozi* §3.5 describe shamans doing the *hēng* ritual dance. This difference between doing and having *hēng* 恆 could signify a historical change in the shamanic heng ritual during the late Zhou dynasty.

4.5 恆 and 常

In early Chinese texts, almost any *chāng* < *ǎ’iāng 常 ‘constant, regular’ could have originally been written *g’əng 恆. This came to light from the 1973 discovery at Mawangdui of two silk *Daodejing* 道德經 copies (Henricks 1978).⁵¹ Both texts, written before the 179 B.C. taboo §1.1 on Heng 恆 the name of Emperor Wen, have *hēng* 恆 for every *chāng* 常 in the received versions of the *Daodeing*. This archaeological discovery suggests that early textual evidence of shamanic *hēng* could have been deliberately obscured on a wide scale. Two examples are given below, from the *Daodejing* itself and the *Huainanzi*.⁵² Daoism is apropos because

51. The tomb also contained a medical text entitled *Wushi'er bingfang* 五十二病方 “Prescriptions for Fifty-two Sicknesses.” It occasionally uses *hēng* 恆 to mean ‘common, regular’ (e.g., 恆處 ‘usual place’, no. 134, Yamada 1985, 192), while one section (56, Yamada 1985, 163) about treating dogbite prescribes the powder from rubbing together two *hēngshí* 恆石 “*hēng* stones.”

52. The *Zhuangzi* was compiled prior to the 恆 taboo, but some 常 usages are of interest (viz. 5.4a, 8.24a). Hunchbacks (Katō’s shamans) are said to have 常病 ‘constant sickness’ (2.14b) and be popular because they 常和 ‘constantly

some scholars (e.g., Granet 1925, Eliade 1964, Welch 1965) feel it inherited certain aspects of ancient Chinese shamanism.

The *Daodejing* uses 常 thirty times, and some dubious meanings are explainable by 恆. For example, in the famous first stich—道可道非常道—“The Dao that can be Dao’ed/told/traveled is not the constant(?) Dao”—the modifier *cháng* < **ǎ’i’ang* 常 is usually translated as “constant,” “regular,” or “ordinary.” But this is wrong because *cháng* means “‘long-customed,’ ‘long-vested’ things and habits,” says Boodberg (1957, 603-4), “both in the positive sense of ‘time-honored’ (‘regular,’ ‘customary,’ and ‘enduring’) and in the negative sense of ‘time-worn’ (‘commonplace,’ ‘ordinary,’ and ‘routine’).” Three *Daodejing* passages say knowledge of the *cháng* 常 ‘constant, eternal’ constitutes spiritual enlightenment:

[復命曰常] To return to destiny is called the eternal (Tao).

[知常曰明] To know the eternal is called enlightenment. [不知

常妄作凶] Not to know the eternal is to act blindly to result in disaster. [知常容] He who knows the eternal is all-embracing.

(16, 1.8b-9a, tr. Chan 1963, 128)

[知和曰常] To know harmony means to be in accord with the eternal. [知常曰明] To be in accord with the eternal means to be enlightened. (55, 2.12a, tr. Chan 1963, 197)

Use the light. Revert to enlightenment. And thereby avoid danger to one’s life—[是謂習常] This is called practicing the eternal. (52, 2.10b, tr. Chan 1963, 192)

These Daoist descriptions of 常~恆 as illumination closely resemble the

harmonize’ with people (2.24a, cf. 和恆 in §3.3).

divine views of 恆 in §4.4, and are comparable with the Mencian 恆心 in §1.3.

The *Huainanzi* provides a final example of reinterpreting early 常 usages as shamanic *héng* 恆. After referring to Chen Heng 陳恆 §1.3 with the name 陳成子恆 observing the 恆 taboo (16.6b), the *Huainanzi* uses 常 ‘constant?’ to say that:

[良醫者常治無病之病故無病] The skillful doctor constantly(?) cures the sick(ness) of being without sickness, thus there is none.⁵³ [聖人者常治無患之患故無患] The sage constantly(?) cures the trouble of being without trouble, thus there is none. (16.7b)

Was this originally a description of shamanic healing?

The possibilities are too far-reaching for the present study because *cháng* 常 ‘constant’ was such a common word. In any event, these examples show the replacement of *héng* 恆 with *cháng* 常 ‘constant’ deserves further investigation.

5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper bears out the seminal idea of a shamanic *héng* 恆 ‘perpetuating’ rite. In conclusion, Waley’s §5.1 and corroborative data §5.2 are summarized, a Confucian cover-up §5.3 is discussed, and prospects for further studies are sketched §5.4.

53. This seems to be a rephrasing of the *Daodejing* (71, tr. Chan 1963, 225): “The sage is free from the disease. Because he recognizes the disease to be disease, he is free from it.”

5.1 Waley's Evidence

Waley's *héng* ritual illustrations are from the oldest Chinese texts. He reinterpreted two difficult lines in the (ca. 11th?-6th cents. B.C.) *Yijing* §3.1, reading 恆其德 as 'make the power of an auspicious omen continuous' and 疾恆不死 as 'if someone is ill, perform the *héng* ritual and he/she will not die'. An early (10th? cent. B.C.) section of the *Shujing* §3.3 describes making a favorable divination 恆吉 '*héng* "constantly" auspicious'. In the (5th cent. B.C.) *Lunyu* and the (1st? cent. B.C.) *Liji* §3.2, Confucius quotes the Southern Saying about having *héng* 恆 being a prerequisite for a 巫醫 'shaman-doctor' and indirectly quotes the *Yijing*. The (4th-3rd cents. B.C.) *Mozi* §3.5 says shamanic 恆舞 '*héng* dancing' was punishable by law, and the (ca. 2nd-1st cents. B.C.) *Zhouli* §3.4 mentions an anti-disaster 巫恆 'shamanic *héng*' ritual.

There are textual and graphic flaws in Waley's hypotheses. First, he glossed over some linguistic problems. Waley did not mention that the *Yijing* says to 恆其德 '*héng* one's power' is fortunate for women but not for men, nor that the *Shujing* citation about 恆吉 is followed by King Cheng pledging to 和恆 'harmonize and *héng*' all the people. In spite of copious Chinese scholarship, Waley ignored evidence that the *Yijing* quote was interpolated with the Southern Saying. Second, he overlooked imperial taboo as the reason for changing 恒 to 恆, and assumed the early spiral graphs for 亘 meant that the *héng* 恆 ritual involved drawing circles. When he made his hypotheses in the 1930s, the study of oracle inscriptions was just beginning, and Waley mistook the oracle graph 𠄎 for 亘 as the name of a ritual instead of a diviner. His idea that the *héng* 恆 ritual was carried out under a 𠄎 'new moon' remains possible, but not that it involved drawing/dancing in 亘 'circles'.

Moons were prominent in early 互 and 恆 graphs, and Waley mentioned doing the *hēng* ritual at the beginning of a lunar month. Zhou (1981, 7) thinks the Southern Saying’s *hēng* 恆 refers to a kind of 跳月 ‘moon dance’, and many oracle divinations about sickness were made on the last day of a lunar month (Yan 1951, 15), thought to be an especially Yin 陰 time suitable for medical procedures (Veith 1966, 217-8). Wu (1991, 134) suggests alternate “The moon when nearly full” interpretations for the *Yijing* hexagram named Heng.

Waley only briefly mentioned the *hēng* 恆 hypothesis, one and a half pages in his (1933) “Book of Changes” article and two notes to his (1938) *Analects* translation. The present study catalogs details about the shamanic *hēng* 恆 ritual and suggests some confirmations.

5.2 Corroborative Evidence

Supportive data for Waley’s shamanic *hēng* hypothesis comes from four sources. The first—additional references to *hēng* 恆 in early texts—was available to him. The other three specializations—paleography of oracle and bronze inscriptions, reconstructions of Archaic phonology, and comparative studies of shamanism—have greatly advanced in the five decades since Waley’s idea was put forth. It is remarkable how these sources tie together. For instance, the proposal that the *hēng* ritual involved bows and/or arrows is seen in all four: textually, in the *Zhouli*’s *hēng* 恆 archery terms, graphically, with the 弓 ‘bow’ seen in the oracle graph 𠄎 for 互 and the 矢 ‘arrow’ in 醫 ‘doctor’, phonologically, in the word *kəng 絳 ‘violently strum’, and cross-culturally, in shamanic usages of bows and arrows.

First, several possible textual references to the shamanic *héng* ritual have been discovered. The context of shamanic divination about illness makes the 恆幹 ‘*héng* body?’ in the *Chuci* §4.1 a strong possibility. The *Mengzi* §4.2 statement about sages being 恆存 ‘*héng* in?’ fever and sickness can be well explained as *maladie initiatique*. And if the word merely meant ‘constancy’, it is hard to understand the *Lunyu* and *Zhuangzi* §4.4 claims (cf. the *Daodejing* §4.5) that people who 有恆 ‘have *héng*’ are divinely blessed.

Second, studies of ancient inscriptions have provided new information on the origins of *héng* 恆. The lunar oracle graphs 𠄎 and 𠄏 always refer to the Shang ancestor Heng < *Gəng 恆 (whom the *Chuci* says inherited 德 ‘power’, cf. *Yijing* §3.1). In much the same way that a book found in a Chu tomb explicates *héng* divination in n. 37, the archaeological discovery of Han-era silk *Daodejing* copies suggests that many early 恆 references may have been changed to 常 during the second century B.C. (cf. §5.3).

Third, the reconstruction of Archaic Chinese phonology provides another historical perspective on *héng* < *g’əng 恆. The standard etymologies §1.2 proposed for *kəng 𠄎 ~ *g’əng 恆 do not relate with shamanism, but the *kǎng 梗 exorcism and/or effigy could be associated. The phonology of three extraordinary words with the *kəng 𠄎 phonetic —*kəng ‘violently strum’, *kəng ‘rope’, and *kəng ‘road (beneath a coffin)’—can be explained by the next specialization.

Fourth, comparative studies of shamanism shed light on the *héng* ritual. Many of its elements have parallels in other Asian cultures:

shamans using the bow as a magical stringed instrument explains *kəng 搥 'violently strum', both *kəng 繩 'rope' and *kəng 壙 'road' compare with Lolo and Moso rituals for a dead person's soul, and shamanic healing divinations are widespread throughout Asia and America. Eliade believes that:

Doubtless the wu was not exactly the same as a shaman, but he incarnated the spirits, and, in doing so, served as intermediary between man and the divinity; in addition, he was a healer, again with the help of the spirits. (1964, 454)

The details of Chinese shamanic *hēng* need to be compared with shamanism in other cultures.

There is a surplus of data, *hēng* 恆 has been connected with divining, dancing, healing, and exorcising. It may have been more than one ritual, or a general term for shamanic procedures, perhaps an early shaman named Wu Heng.

5.3 The Confucianist Cover-up

For two millennia, Confucianist scholars and physicians have systematically concealed evidence about the shamanic *hēng* ritual. Ever since Emperor Wu (r. 140-87 B.C.) established Confucianism as the state religion, the ruling classes have shown increasing prejudice against shamanism (de Groot 1910, 1233-42, Waley 1955, 11-2, Loewe 1970). Accepting the idea that Chinese shamans were women (i.e., *wū* 巫 'shamaness' as opposed to *xí* 覡 'shaman', see Keightley 1989), Kagan believes Confucian prejudices were largely sexist:

One of the main themes in Chinese history is the unsuccessful attempt by the male Confucian orthodoxy to strip women of their

public and sacred powers and to limit them to a role of service ... Confucianists reasserted daily their claim to power and authority through the promotion of the phallic ancestor cult which denied women religious representation and excluded them from the governmental examination system which was the path to office, prestige, and status. (1980, 3-4)

The Confucian cover-up involved not only scholars and officials, but especially doctors. The early practitioners of Chinese medicine historically changed from *wū* 巫 “medicine-men” to *yī* 醫 “men of medicine.” With advances in herbal medicine and acupuncture, shaman-doctors were practically disremembered after the Han era. Unschuld (1980, 125-8) refers to a “Confucian medicine” based upon systematic correspondences and the idea that illnesses are caused by excesses (rather than demons).

This concealment took many forms. In the process of changing the original ‘virtuality, spiritual power’ meaning of **tək* 德 to the Confucianist moral sense of ‘virtue, character’, the *Yijing*’s 恆其德 was misunderstood. Additions of appendices (falsely attributed to Confucius) transformed the *Yijing* from a book of divination to a work of philosophy. The 恆舞 ‘*héng* dance’ was read as ‘constant dancing’. The Southern Saying’s 恆 was misinterpreted as the 恆心 ‘perseverance’ mentioned by Mencius, and its syntax was ignored in attempts to force reference to ‘persistent illness’. Copyists changed 巫醫 ‘shaman-doctor’ to 卜筮 ‘diviner’ in the *Liji*. The ‘doctor’ graph 醫 (with ‘wine’) replaced 醫 (with ‘shaman’), though the latter could have been the original writing of the Southern Saying.⁵⁴

Modern scholarship is gradually rectifying Confucianist anti-

shaman prejudices. Katō (1954) argued that Confucianists inherited traditions of shamanic hunchbacks and dwarfs. Based on birth legends and *Lunyu* passages, Chan (1972, 68) contends that: “Confucius did have some connection with shamanism.” This analysis of shamanic *héng* 恆 is a further piece of evidence.

5.4 Future Prospects

Oriental and Occidental scholars are researching diverse aspects of shamanic practices, from the *Yijing*’s relation with Chinese *wū* shamans (e.g., Wang 1990) to what is called “neo-shamanism” (e.g., Doore 1988). Two disciplines most likely to provide answers about shamanic *héng* are linguistics and Sinology.

Comparative linguistics holds potential solutions. From the syntactic structure of the Southern Saying, *héng* 恆 could be a loanword. Consider these Chinese southern dialectal, Miao, and Japanese possibilities. Harvey (1933, 136) notes shamans in Hunan were called *qiángtóngzǐ* 強童子 “strong child,” while Chinese *tóngzǐ* 童子 ‘child, virgin’ is well attested, this *qiáng* < *g’iáng* < **g’iáng* 強 ‘strong, powerful’ could be related with **g’əng* 恆. White Miao shamans (Moréchand 1955, 519-21) divine by casting pairs of *kwa¹ne⁷ng* (cf. **kəng~*g’əng!*), consisting of the tip of a water buffalo horn, split in two lengthwise, and incised on the

54. 靈 is another example of 巫 ‘shaman’ being graphically removed. Early logographs for *líng* < **lieng* 靈 ‘divine, supernatural, spiritual’ pictured 雨 ‘rain’ over several 口 ‘mouths’ and 巫 ‘shaman[s]’, probably indicating ‘shamanic rain prayer, incantation’, but the latter two elements were removed in the simplified 靈 logograph. Modern Chinese further simplified *líng* 靈 into 彳 ‘pig’s head, hand’ over 火 ‘fire’.

flat interior. The Japanese term *genja* ~ *genza* 驗者 ‘ascetic exorcist, shaman, spirit healer’ (Blacker 1986, 298-9) is said to derive from *shugenja* 修驗者 ‘mountain ascetic’,⁵⁵ but could have been affected by **kəng* ~ **g’əng* 恆.

Sinological controversies have arisen over the political importance of *wū* 巫 shamans in ancient China. Some scholars (e.g. Katō 1954, Chang 1983) believe Chinese *wū* used “techniques of ecstasy” like shamans elsewhere, others (e.g., Keightley 1983, von Falkenhausen 1989) are developing the idea of “bureaucratic shamanism.” The rate of historical change was remarkable. During the first millennium B.C., the status of Chinese *wū* 巫 declined from Shang kings to Han charlatans. “In making a study of Chinese shamanism,” Hawkes (1985, 44) warns, “it is easy to forget that the dwindling functions of the *wu* are not necessarily indicative of the atrophy of shamanism itself but of a growing specialization taking place within it.” The medical advance from *wūyī* 巫醫 ‘shaman-doctors’ using exorcisms and prayers to *yī* 醫 ‘physicians’ using medicine and acupuncture was one of many such changes.

The greatest obstacle to understanding ancient Chinese shamanism is the lack of primary sources. Through two thousand years of transmission, received textual sources have been altered to the point where some obscure data must be deciphered and corroborated with evidence from

55. This uses a special *gen* 驗 pronunciation meaning ‘efficacy of prayers/austerities’ (e.g., *reigen* 靈驗 ‘miracle, miraculous virtue [of medicine]’), rather than the usual *ken* 驗 ‘test check, verify, examine’. Cf. Japanese *kine*, a rare ‘shaman’ name (Fairchild 1962, 119).

comparative shamanism. In conclusion, Chan's apt "prismatic" metaphor can be quoted:

Figuratively speaking, our judgment and knowledge are like a prism, through which information passes; our interpretation is like a piece of white paper on which the spectrum is reflected. (1972, 36)

The *hēng* specter is more consequential than Waley ever imagined. This study refocuses his shamanic *hēng* 恆 'stabilizing, perpetuating' hypothesis with new hermeneutic, paleographic, linguistic, anthropological, and historical data to reveal a wide spectrum of knowledge that may help to light the way.

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