Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy 1

John Makeham
Editor

Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy

Springer

Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy

Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy

Editor
HUANG Yong
Kutztown University, Kutztown, PA, U.S.A.

While "philosophy" is a Western term, philosophy is not something exclusively Western. In this increasingly global world, the importance of non-Western philosophy becomes more and more obvious. Among all the non-Western traditions, Chinese philosophy is certainly one of the richest. In a history of more than 2500 years, many extremely important classics, philosophers, and schools have been produced. As China is becoming an economical power today, it is only natural that more and more people become interested in learning about the cultural tradition, including the philosophical tradition, of China.

The Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy series aims to provide the most comprehensive and most updated introduction to various aspects of Chinese philosophy as well as philosophical traditions heavily influenced by it. Each volume in this series focuses on an individual school, text, or person.

For other titles published in this series, go to
www.springer.com/series/8596

John Makeham
Editor

Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy

Editor
John Makeham
School of Culture, History and Language
College of Asia and the Pacific
Bldg. #110
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200
Australia
john.makeham@anu.edu.au

ISBN 978-90-481-2929-4 e-ISBN 978-90-481-2930-0
DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0
Springer Dordrecht Heidelberg London New York

Library of Congress Control Number: 2010925028

© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010
No part of this work may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, microfilming, recording or otherwise, without written permission from the Publisher, with the exception of any material supplied specifically for the purpose of being entered and executed on a computer system, for exclusive use by the purchaser of the work.

Cover Caligraphy: Ni Peimin

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer is part of Springer Science + Business Media (www.springer.com)

Contents

Introduction ix
John Makeham

ZHOU Dunyi's Philosophy of the Supreme Polarity 1
Tze-ki Hon

SHAO Yong's Numerological-Cosmological System 17
Don J. Wyatt

ZHANG Zai's Theory of Vital Energy 39
Robin R. Wang and DING Weixiang

CHENG Yi's Moral Philosophy 59
HUANG Yong

The Thesis of Single-Rootedness in the Thought of CHENG Hao 89
WONG Wai-ying

HU Hong's Philosophy 105
Hans van Ess

ZHANG Shi's Philosophical Perspectives on Human Nature, Heart/Mind, Humaneness, and the Supreme Ultimate 125
Hoyt Cleveland Tillman and Christian Soffel

ZHU Xi's Cosmology 153
John Berthrong

ZHU Xi's Moral Psychology 177
Kwong-loi Shun

LÜ Zuqian's Political Philosophy 197
Kai Marchal

Neo-Confucian Philosophy and Genre: The Philosophical Writings of Chen Chun and Zhen Dexiu 223
Hilde De Weerdt

Lu Xiangshan's Ethical Philosophy 249
Philip J. Ivanhoe

"The Four Masters of Mingzhou": Transmission and Innovation among the Disciples of Lu Jiuyuan (Xiangshan) 267
Linda Walton

Metaphysics and the Basis of Morality in the Philosophy of Wang Yangming 295
David W. Tien

Wang Yangming as a Virtue Ethicist 315
Stephen C. Angle

Liu Zongzhou on Self-Cultivation 337
Chung-yi Cheng

Wang Fuzhi's Philosophy of Principle (*Li*) Inherent in *Qi* 355
JeeLoo Liu

Li Guangdi and the Philosophy of Human Nature 381
Ng On-cho

Dai Zhen on Human Nature and Moral Cultivation 399
Justin Tiwald

Index 423

Contributors

Stephen C. Angle Philosophy Department, Wesleyan University, 350 High Street, Middletown, CT 06459, USA, Sangle@wesleyan.edu

John Berthrong Associate Professor of Comparative Theology, Boston University School of Theology, and Deputy Director of the Division of Religious and Theological Studies, Boston, USA, jhb@bu.edu

Chung-yi Cheng Department of Philosophy and Research Center for Chinese Philosophy and Culture, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, PRC, cy448cheng@cuhk.edu.hk

Ding Weixiang Department of Philosophy, Shaanxi Normal University, People's Republic of China, weixiangding@163.com

Tze-ki Hon History Department, State University of New York at Geneseo, USA, hon@geneseo.edu

Huang Yong Department of Philosophy, Kutztown University of Pennsylvania, Kutztown, PA 19530, USA, yhuang@kutztown.edu

Philip J. Ivanhoe Professor of Philosophy, Department of Public and Social Administration, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, PRC, pivanhoe@cityu.edu.hk

JeeLoo Liu Department of Philosophy, California State University at Fullerton, USA, jeelooliu@fullerton.edu

John Makeham The Australian National, University, Canberra, ACT, Australia, john.makeham@anu.edu.au

Kai Marchal Soochow University, Department of Philosophy, 70 Linhsi Road, Shihlin, Taipei 111-02, Taiwan, R.O.C., marchal@scu.edu.tw

Ng On-cho Professor of History, Religious Studies, and Asian Studies; The Pennsylvania State University, USA, oxn1@psu.edu

Kwong-loi Shun The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, PRC, klshun@cuhk.edu.hk

Christian Soffel Christian Soffel, Institute of Chinese Studies, Munich University, Germany, christian.soffel@ostasien.fak12.uni-muenchen.de

David W. Tien Department of Philosophy, National University of Singapore, Singapore, phidwt@nus.edu.sg

Hoyt Cleveland Tillman School of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies at Arizona State University, Tempe, USA, Hoyt.Tillman@gmail.com

Justin Tiwald Department of Philosophy, San Francisco State University, San Francisco, CA 94132, USA, jtiwald@sfsu.edu

Hans van Ess LMU Munich, Department for Asian Studies, Sinologisches Seminar, Kaulbachstr. 51a, 80539 Munich, Germany, ess@lmu.de

Linda Walton Professor of History, Portland State University, USA, waltonl@pdx.edu

Robin R. Wang Loyola Marymount University, USA, rwang@lmu.edu

Hilde De Weerdt University of Oxford, Institute for Chinese Studies and Pembroke College, UK, hilde.deweerdt@chinese.ox.ac.uk

Wong Wai-ying Department of Philosophy, Lingnan University, Hong Kong, PRC, wongwy@LN.edu.hk

Don J. Wyatt Department of History, Middlebury College, Middlebury, VT 05753, USA, wyatt@middlebury.edu

Introduction

John Makeham

Early in 2007, HUANG Yong approached me to see if I might be interested in editing a volume on Neo-Confucian philosophy as part of the new Springer book series, "Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy." Unhampered by any realistic sense of what such a task might entail, somewhat naively I accepted the invitation and began to approach potential contributors to solicit advice on how the volume might be structured. The question of whether the volume should be arranged on the basis of philosophical themes and topics or organized on the basis of the philosophical thought of individual thinkers proved to be the first challenge. Intellectually the first option seemed to be the most rewarding (and difficult); it was also the one on which there was little consensus among contributors to the project about just how a thematic volume might be structured. The eventual decision to structure the volume on the basis of the philosophical thought of individual thinkers, in addition to being organizationally more straightforward, had the benefit of enabling authors to address issues of historical context more directly, and also to explore more systematically how individual thinkers had used particular combinations of concepts to frame their philosophical views. The choice of which thinkers to include was made through a combination of inviting the participation of contributors with acknowledged expertise on particular thinkers and also allowing contributors to choose the thinkers and ideas they wanted to introduce.

The result of this collaborative undertaking is the first volume to provide a comprehensive introduction, in accessible English, to the Neo-Confucian philosophical thought of representative Chinese thinkers from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries.[1] The volume is not simply a collection of biographies nor is it designed to provide a history of Neo-Confucian philosophy; it is, first

[1] The volume does not include coverage of the philosophical thought of all Neo-Confucian thinkers. The relative thinness of coverage for the Ming period is due, in part, to the existence of a partial translation of *Case Studies of Ming Confucians* (*Ming ru xue'an* 明儒學案) (Huang 1987) and Willard Peterson's chapter in the *Cambridge History* (Peterson 1998). On the other hand, given the historical importance and ongoing legacies of ZHU Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and WANG Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1529), it was decided to devote two essays to them each.

and foremost, concerned with the philosophical thought of individual Neo-Confucian thinkers. It brings together nineteen essays on a range of topics in Neo-Confucian philosophy, embracing natural and speculative philosophy through to virtue ethics and political philosophy. It is written for undergraduate and postgraduate university students in philosophy and Chinese history courses, as well as academics. The volume is distinguished by several features. It demonstrates the key role played by philosophical discourse in Neo-Confucian self-cultivation. It evidences the fundamental connections that were posited between morality in human society and its cosmological and ontological underpinnings. And it provides detailed insights into changing perspectives on key philosophical concepts (in particular, *li* 理, *qi* 氣, *xin* 心, and *xing* 性) and their relationship with one another.

Readers unfamiliar with the styles and genres in which philosophical ideas were expressed in Neo-Confucian thought should be aware that this discourse is not characterized by formally systematic thought, rigorously argued from premises to conclusion. Rarely do these historical thinkers provide precise definitions of their philosophical categories, and metaphors are widely employed in framing worldviews. Consequently, it has fallen on the contributing authors to do most of the "heavy lifting" by articulating and contextualizing the philosophical thought of these thinkers. Methodologically, the volume boasts three distinct approaches. Some authors frame their discourse in terms of problematics derived from Western philosophical traditions, often engaging contemporary philosophical concerns. Other authors focus on the hermeneutical decoding of texts and arguments, and use endogenous Chinese categories to reconstruct philosophical frameworks and conceptual nuances, so as to engage topics and debates that emanate from "within" Chinese traditions. Still other authors combine elements from each of the other two approaches.

My aim in this introduction is to place the volume in the longer historical context of Chinese philosophical thought that extends into the present and in the course of doing so, to provide summary accounts of the philosophical content of the individual essays which constitute this volume. I also examine what was "new" in Neo-Confucianism; defend the study of Neo-Confucian thought as philosophy; and respond to Yu Yingshi's 余英時 challenge to the modern study of Neo-Confucian thought as philosophy.

Clarification of Terms

Before explaining how the term "Neo-Confucian" is generally used in this volume, it is pertinent to say a little about the import of the English term "Confucian," given that it continues to be contested as a translation equivalent of the term *ru* 儒 and its compounds (*ruxue*, *rujia*, *rujiao*, and so forth). Historically, the term *ru* has covered a broad semantic field, the scope and complexity of which have varied in different historical periods, just as they

continue to do so today. Among its meanings, it has often been used quite narrowly to refer to followers of the teachings of Confucius and his disciples, but it has also often been used more broadly to refer to classical scholars and men of learning, or literati. The English term "Confucian" starts to encounter difficulties when it is applied to Chinese historical contexts without the scope of its definition having been specified, and generally on the uncritical assumption that it neatly maps onto some presumed corresponding Chinese equivalent. In contrast, there seems to be little problem with contemporary categories such as "New Confucian" (as a translation of [*dangdai* 當代/*xiandai* 現代] *xin rujia* 新儒家)[2] or even "Boston Confucian," because the circumscribed scope of reference is now generally acknowledged, and the history of each term is easily traced.[3] Similarly, the term "Neo-Confucian," as generally used in this volume, should also be understood as a contemporary category, albeit one applied to historical topics.

The term "Neo-Confucian" is not new. Wm. Theodore de Bary notes that "Japanese writers familiar with the writings of European Orientalists, had already adopted the term as early as 1904" (1993: 545). Benjamin A. Elman even cites an eighteenth-century precedent of the term's use in French (Elman 2002: 526.). Feng Youlan 馮友蘭 (1895–1990) seems to have been the earliest twentieth-century figure to use the Chinese translation of the term, *xin rujia* 新儒家.[4] Thus, in his famous *A History of Chinese Philosophy* (*Zhongguo zhexueshi* 中國哲學史) he used it to refer to prominent figures associated with Song- (960–1279) and Ming- (1368–1644) dynasty *daoxue* 道學 (Learning of the Way), a broad category he describes as embracing both Principle-centered Learning (*lixue* 理學) and Learning of the Heart/Mind (*xinxue* 心學) (Feng 1934: 1.353, 2.800, 2.928).[5]

---

[2] In English, the term "New Confucian" is to be distinguished from "Neo-Confucian." New Confucianism is a modern neo-conservative philosophical movement, with religious overtones. Proponents claim it to be the legitimate transmitter and representative of orthodox *ru* 儒 ("Confucian") values. The movement is promoted and/or researched by prominent Chinese intellectuals based in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States of America. Elsewhere I have argued that although most of the promoters and sympathetic interpreters of New Confucianism trace the movement to the early part of the twentieth century, in fact, there is little evidence that New Confucianism had attained a degree of integration or coalescence sufficient for it to be recognized and promoted as a distinct philosophical movement, or school of thought, before the 1970s.

[3] Not even the fact that there is some contention about just who should be identified as a New Confucian is a real problem because the list of candidates is not large.

[4] It should, however, be noted that in 1927 Liang Qichao 梁啟超 used the term "宋代的新的儒家哲學" and identified Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139–1193) as its greatest synthesizers (2003: 150).

[5] In his English translation of Feng's *Zhongguo zhexueshi* Derk Bodde translates *xin rujia* as "Neo-Confucianism" (Fung 1937). Feng also used the term "New Confucianism" to refer to Song and Ming *daoxue* philosophy in his English publication, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy* (edited by Derk Bodde) (Fung 1948). Shu-hsien Liu further reports: "I found that Fung first used the [English] term 'Neo-Confucianism' in his dissertation completed at Columbia ["A Comparative Study of Life Ideals"; 1924]" (Liu 2003: 16, n. 5).

As generally used in this volume, the term "Neo-Confucian" is not beset by the same set of problems as is the term "Confucian" for the simple reason that it is not deployed to serve as the translation equivalent of any Chinese term, much less some actual historical school. Even Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, who has expressed long-standing reservations about the term, acknowledges that "having a twentieth-century term [Neo-Confucian] does have the advantage of distinguishing 'our' discourse from the one in the Sung [and Ming] texts that we study. Another advantage of using a Western term with no traditional Chinese antecedent is the potential freedom to view individuals outside their traditional classifications" (Tillman 1992b: 457). In this volume, "Neo-Confucian" is a category employed to describe a set of "family resemblances" discerned across clusters of philosophical ideas, technical terms, arguments, and writings associated with particular figures from the Song to Qing (1644–1911) periods—in other words, concepts, ideas, and discourse rather than schools.[6]

A number of scholars concur that, historically, "Neo-Confucianism" was a tradition referred to by a variety of different Chinese terms. Wm. Theodore de Bary, for example writes:

> In time this neoclassical movement [Neo-Confucianism] became a tradition spoken of as the "learning of the Way" (*tao-hsüeh)* or the "orthodox tradition" (*tao-t'ung*). . . . Within this tradition one of the more common terms for Neo-Confucianism was *hsing-li hsüeh*, the "study [or learning] of human nature and principle.". . . A variant was the term *li-hsüeh*, the study or the learning of principle. . . . Another common term for Neo-Confucianism was *hsin-hsüeh*, the "Learning of the Heart-and-Mind". . . . Another common term for Neo-Confucianism was *sheng-hsüeh*, the "learning of the sages" or the "learning of sagehood."

He further states that he uses the term Neo-Confucianism "to embrace all of these tendencies" and presents each of these categories as representative of a larger tradition as it underwent "new developments" and "new trends" or phases (de Bary 1981: xiv-xvi). Peter K. Bol also sees the tradition as having grown over time: "[Neo-Confucianism] was. . ., in a way earlier Confucianisms had not been, a cumulative and self-referential tradition whose advocates sought to maintain ideological continuity" (Bol 2008: 108). Benjamin A. Elman

---

[6] This understanding of the term obviously does not preclude the study of these and related ideas, arguments, and writings in pre-modern Korea, Japan, and Vietnam. Such a study, however, lies well beyond the scope of this Companion. (Two other volumes in this "Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy" series are *Dao Companion to Japanese Confucian Philosophy* and *Dao Companion to Korean Confucian Philosophy*.) Be that as it may, the thrust of CHEN Lai's following comments remains apposite: "If one studies only ZHU Xi's thought and does not study the thought of YI T'oegye 李退溪 (1501–1570), YI Yulgok 李栗谷 (1536–1584), or ITŌ Jinsai 伊藤仁齋 (1627–1705) then one would be unable to appreciate the possibilities inherent in developing all facets of the logic contained in ZHU Xi's philosophical system; be unable to appreciate all the possibilities that ZHU Xi's philosophical system has in terms of its being susceptible to challenges; and be unable to appreciate the possibilities for multiple developments in ZHU Xi Learning" (Chen 2008: 3–4).

similarly writes: “One major Song tradition [of literati thought], which became orthodox empire-wide only later, in the early fifteenth century, was referred to in Chinese in at least three different ways since the Song dynasties: ‘Learning of the Way’ (Daoxue 道學); ‘Studies of Moral Principles’ (Lixue 理學); and ‘Learning of the Mind and the Heart’ (Xinxue 心學). Not until the twentieth century did ‘Neo-Confucianism’ in English . . . become the general term for this tradition” (Elman 2002: 526).

The broader topic of “Neo-Confucianism” and its manifold socio-cultural manifestations and transformations is not the subject of this volume, but just as the term “Neo-Confucianism” has the virtue of enabling scholars to refer to all of the above categories “without committing ourselves to any one” (Bol 2008: 78), so too “Neo-Confucian philosophy” is used in this volume as an umbrella term for philosophical discourse associated with individual thinkers who, historically, were associated with one or more of the above “schools” or sub-traditions.[7] Having said this, even though contributors to this volume have often opted to use specific terms (*daoxue*, *xinxue*, and so forth) when dealing with particular intellectual historical issues, they remain equally mindful that, over time, even these terms change in their scope of reference, thus making it inappropriate to reduce *lixue* or *daoxue*[8] simplistically or uncritically to Cheng-Zhu (Cheng Yi 程頤 [1033–1107] and Zhu Xi 朱熹 [1130–1200]) learning, or *xinxue* to Lu-Wang (Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 [1139–1192] and Wang Yangming) learning.

The “cumulative and self-referential” character of “Neo-Confucianism” can also be applied to the reconstruction of “Neo-Confucian philosophy.” I believe, moreover, that this renders futile the attempt to establish a precise beginning for Neo-Confucian philosophy as a philosophical trend. Over time, different Southern Song (1127–1279) and later thinkers identified various ideas, concepts, and ideals in the writings of earlier thinkers as seminal to the rise of *daoxue* (which in turn was seminal to the rise of Neo-Confucian philosophy more generally). An essay on Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073) opens this volume, not because by dint of editorial fiat I deem him to have been the progenitor of the Neo-Confucian philosophical tradition, but rather it is simply because of chronological convenience. Nor is it significant for our purposes that before Zhu Xi a range of figures associated with the *daoxue* fellowship had already acknowledged intellectual debts to Zhou (Tillman 1992a: 115). Zhou is included because of his contributions to Neo-Confucian

[7] An essay on Dai Zhen 戴震 (1724–1777) is included in this volume because of Dai’s important critical engagement with Neo-Confucian philosophical discourse. As Justin Tiwald comments in “Dai Zhen on Human Nature and Moral Cultivation”: “Dai used his considerable philological skills to demonstrate (convincingly, for many) that his Neo-Confucian predecessors had read the Confucian classics through Daoist and Buddhist lenses, which he faulted for many of the errors he found in their moral thought.”

[8] For example, De Weerdt (2007: 28–42) distinguishes three meanings and connotations for *daoxue* in the twelfth century.

speculative philosophy, in particular his ideas about the Supreme Ultimate (*taiji* 太極; also translated as Supreme Polarity). Zhou's "An Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity (alt. Ultimate)" ("Taiji tu shuo" 太極圖說) was ground-breaking in developing the *daoxue* argument that moral behaviors are intrinsically metaphysical, premised on an intrinsic link between moral practice and cosmic renewal. As an integral part of the universe, human beings not only impact upon human community, but also the entire universe. In "ZHOU Dunyi's Philosophy of the Supreme Polarity," Tze-ki Hon shows how Zhou affirmed the centrality of human morality in the unfolding of the universe and the metaphysical roots of human moral behavior in his "top-down" and "bottom-up" readings of the *Diagram of the Supreme Polarity*; how Zhou regarded the universe and the myriad beings to be ontologically the same, but functionally differentiated; how heaven, or the cosmos, is apprehended in the midst of human ways; and how Zhou created a metaphysics that justifies moral cultivation. The Supreme Ultimate was also a key construct in the development of later Neo-Confucian metaphysical discourse, influencing ZHANG Shi's 張栻 (1133–1180) pivotal writings[9] and ZHU Xi's understanding of the relation between *li* 理 and *qi* 氣 (Graham 1958: 162–165; Adler 2008: 66–69).

Similarly, SHAO Yong 邵雍 (1011–1077) is included not because in ZHU Xi's first attempt to write a history of the *daoxue* school, *Records of the Yi-Luo School* (*Yi-Luo yuanyuan lu* 伊洛淵源錄; 1173), Shao is ranked fourth in a grouping later known as the Five Masters of the (Northern) Song period, but rather because of his natural philosophy as expressed in numerological-cosmology and in his influential contributions to the interpretation of the *Book of Change*, a text of central importance in Neo-Confucian philosophy. In "SHAO Yong's Numerological-Cosmological System," Don J. Wyatt shows that at the root of Shao's cosmology was a conceptualization of a universe that continually unfolded and contracted according to an elaborate yet prescribed pattern of numero-geometrical regularity. Similar to the way CHENG Yi and other Neo-Confucian thinkers employed *li* 理, Wyatt argues that for Shao number was a conceptual tool used in integrating the multiplicity of worldly phenomena into a uniform pattern. It was also a tool for the acquisition of predictive knowledge; was emblematic of the process of universal generation; and could contribute to the perfection of human intelligence.

Neo-Confucian Philosophical Concepts

"Neo-Confucian philosophy" refers to philosophical discussions and debates from the Song to Qing dynasties in which the following concepts and themes were prominent:[10] heart/mind (*xin* 心); the nature (*xing* 性); command (*ming* 命);

[9] See Hoyt Cleveland Tillman and Christian Soffel's essay in this volume.
[10] This list is meant to be indicative rather than exhaustive.

pattern/coherence/norm (*li* 理); succession of the way (*datong* 道統); vital energy (*qi* 氣);[11] way (*dao* 道); virtue (*de* 德); heaven (*tian* 天); patterns of heaven/universal coherence (*tianli* 天理); emotions (*qing* 情); desires (*yu* 欲); sincerity (*cheng* 誠); knowledge/understanding (*zhi* 知); body/person (身 *shen*); active and quiescent (*dong jing* 動靜); state/condition and function *(ti yong* 體用);[12] Supreme Ultimate (*taiji* 太極); reverence (*jing* 敬); way and instruments (*dao qi* 道器); benevolence/humaneness (*ren* 仁), rightness (*yi* 義), ritual propriety (*li* 禮), and wisdom (*zhi* 智); thoughts/will/preconceptions (*yi* 意); knowledge and action (*zhi xing* 知行); vigilance in solitude (*shen* du慎獨); heart/mind of the way (*daoxin* 道心) and human heart/mind (*renxin* 人心); heaven-and-earth-bestowed nature (*tiandi zhi xing* 天地之性) and material nature (*qizhi zhi xing* 氣質之性); knowledge of/as virtue (*de xing zhi zhi* 德性之知) and knowledge from hearing and seeing (*wenjian zhi zhi* 聞見之知); what is above form (*xing er shang* 形而上) and what has form (*xing er xia* 形而下); the investigation of things/rectification of thoughts (*gewu zhizhi* 格物) and the extension of knowledge (致知); and so forth.

This volume does not seek to articulate an intellectual history of Neo-Confucian philosophy to convey the complexity of discourses that constitute larger historical trends. It is foremost a companion, not a history, and aims to describe the contributions that representative thinkers from the Song to Qing periods made to philosophical discourse associated with the interpretation and deployment of the above and related concepts and issues; and, where pertinent, locate the contexts in which this discourse occurred: from exchanges with contemporaries to arguments extended through time.

By way of illustration, consider first the concept of the heart/mind (*xin*).[13] In his essay, Don J. Wyatt argues that a key methodological component in Shao Yong's numerological-cosmological system is *guanwu* 觀物 ("to observe things"), a method whereby one applies one's heart/mind to all things as objects of inquiry, with the aim being to perfect the heart/mind and expand one's intelligence. It is also a method by which the sage observes the world and its contents. As an ideal epistemological method, "Shao Yong considered one of the main objectives of his *guanwu* methodology to be the achievement of a kind of objectivity whereby one could directly see into the very being of those things toward which one turned one's mind to examine.... Shao's procedure for the exercising of the mind that leads to its perfection is a striking departure from both inherited tradition and the various prevailing contemporary approaches."

In "Hu Hong's Philosophy," Hans van Ess focuses on Hu Hong's 胡宏 (1105–1161) representative philosophical work, *Understanding of Words*

[11] This concept is also often translated as "material force." *Qi* can coalesce in a material form but material form is not its default mode of existence.
[12] The conventional translation of *ti* (in the context of *ti yong*) as "substance" carries an undue amount of Aristotelian baggage and is incompatible with the process ontologies of Neo-Confucian thought, and indeed Chinese philosophy more generally.
[13] As it happens, this example does reveal some insights into larger historical trends.

(*Zhiyan* 知言), a collection of aphoristic sayings written in the style of a "recorded conversation" (*yulu* 語錄). Although this text was written to be read by a ruler, as van Ess explains, in order to achieve success in government Hu maintained that it was first necessary to train one's heart/mind. Hu's philosophy was also devised to encourage a process of Confucian self-examination in the face of challenges posed by the intellectual dominance of Buddhist ideas. It is thus perhaps not entirely coincidental that Hu Hong was the first scholar of the *daoxue* movement whose overall stress lay on the importance of the concept of the heart/mind (*xin* 心), which he took to be the governing principle of the nature (*xing* 性) as well as the thinking force within each human being. According to van Ess, for Hu, the heart/mind is more than an organ that thinks; it is something transcendent and eternal and represents cosmic principles the significance of which extends far beyond the human condition. Conversely it is also through humaneness, "the way of the heart/mind," that the cosmic is projected back into human experience.

Zhang Shi ascribed an even greater role to the heart/mind, portraying it as the master of both human nature and external things. Tillman and Soffel argue that by attributing to the heart/mind distinctive functions in controlling human nature, principle/pattern (*li*), and external things, Zhang's position reflected the evolving distinctions during the Song between the heart/mind and human nature, and in doing so "he was bringing to completion a notion of the innately ethical and active heart/mind, grounded in the writings of Mencius, Cheng Hao, and Hu Hong."

In "Lü Zuqian's Political Philosophy," Kai Marchal shows that rather than controlling principle/pattern (*li*), in his discussion of the quest for sagehood as the ultimate goal of self-cultivation, Lü identified the heart/mind with pattern or "heavenly pattern" (*tianli* 天理), the natural order embodied in human behavior. Marchal emphasizes that this notion of order "is not imagined as a supernatural or mystical force beyond the human realm, but is to a considerable extent internalized and rationalized in human psychology and behavior. As for Lü's frequent references to the "recovery" of goodness in the heart/mind, Marchal argues that although this is reminiscent of the views of Lu Jiuyuan or Wang Yangming, both of whom insisted on the suddenness of moral enlightenment, "it is clear that Lü emphasized both the suddenness of moral enlightenment and the need for broad empirical knowledge."

In "Lu Xiangshan's Ethical Philosophy," Philip J. Ivanhoe first undertakes the task of dispelling the popular misconception that Lu Jiuyuan (Xiangshan) 陸九淵 (象山) (1139–1193) was an "idealist" in the sense of denying the existence of a mind-independent world. Rather, "Lu saw a metaphysically seamless universe in which the principles of the heart/mind and those of the world corresponded to and perfectly cohered with one another." As Ivanhoe points out, for Lu, understanding the world was a process of matching up the principles inherent in the heart/mind with the various phenomena of the world. The heart/mind is pivotal in Lu's thought because it is the site "where a full understanding of the world could take place; it

is where all principles can come to consciousness and be known." He shows that Lu placed "great emphasis on starting and grounding the process of self-cultivation in *one's own* intuitions, responses, and inclinations. The sources of moral failure, as well as the only genuine access to moral knowledge, are to be found in each person's heart/mind; this must be the focus of one's ethical attention, effort, and activity."

The heart/mind also features as the central concept in Linda Walton's " 'The Four Masters of Mingzhou': Transmission and Innovation among the Disciples of LU Jiuyuan (Xiangshan)" where she explores how LU Jiuyuan's (Xiangshan) doctrine of the heart/mind was interpreted and adapted by YANG Jian 楊簡 (1141–1226), YUAN Xie 袁燮 (1144–1224), SHU Lin 舒璘 (1136–1199), and SHEN Huan 沈煥 (1139–1191). Whereas LU Jiuyuan equated the heart/mind with principle (*li* 理), for Yang it was heart/mind alone which penetrates everything and serves as the originary source of knowledge, ethics, virtue, and morality. Walton explores the implications of this view for the question of the origin of evil—in which the heart/mind is both the locus of evil and the site for its expulsion—drawing attention to the important role of *yi* 意 (which she translates as "preconception").

In discussing YUAN Xie, Walton draws attention to Yuan's perspective on the relationship between the human heart/mind and the moral heart/mind. She characterizes SHU Lin's and SHEN Huan's views on the heart/mind as revealing a pragmatic orientation in which the heart/mind serves as a guiding ideal in social life. In the case of Shu, the heart/mind was a moral quality that had to be gradually perfected. "SHU Lin saw heart/mind not so much as a philosophical concept that pervaded the cosmos, but as a fundamental source of morality to guide daily life." As with SHU Lin, SHEN Huan was eclectic in his intellectual formation and practical in his concerns. Walton argues that for Shen, "cultivating the moral character of each individual was the central focus, not the cosmic, universal heart/mind of Lu's philosophy." Walton's essay thus also serves as an instructive study of how shared discourse rather than putative school identity links this particular group of four thinkers. This finding also has implications which challenge the viability of the conventional category of "School of Heart/Mind."

The relation of heart/mind to *li* (pattern/principle) and to *qi* (vital energy) is addressed in David W. Tien's "Metaphysics and the Basis of Morality in the Philosophy of WANG Yangming." Tien shows that like ZHU Xi, WANG Yangming used the term *li* 理 in two ways: the universal *li* (or "heavenly *li*" [*tian li* 天理]) and the manifested *li* of particular, individualized things or events. Unlike Zhu, Wang's emphasis lay in recovering the universal *li* in one's own heart/mind: "For Wang, one should not seek the manifested *li* in external things but instead should first free oneself from the *qi* obscuration of self-centered desires and then recover the universal *li* of one's heart/mind. Manifested *li* is the universal *li* obscured by a *qi* configuration; it is the universal *li* combined with some degree of turbid *qi*. The universal *li* encompasses every manifested *li*, and the *qi* configuration determines which parts of the universal *li* are manifested."

And just as Ivanhoe critiques the misconception that LU Xiangshan was an "idealist" in the sense of denying the existence of a mind-independent world, Tien similarly denies that Wang advocated that the physical world is merely an appearance to or expression of the heart/mind: "Wang clearly thinks that there is vital energy that is not the heart/mind, and that the heart/mind and non-mental vital energy are ontologically co-dependent.... In the terms of Neo-Confucian philosophy, WANG Yangming is a *li-qi* realist who holds to the existence of a world external to the heart/mind, that *li* exist in the external world, and that there is *qi* that is external to the heart/mind."

Identifying the doctrine of vigilance in solitude (*shen du* 慎獨) to be at the core of LIU Zongzhou's 劉宗周 (1578–1645) thought, in "LIU Zongzhou on Self-cultivation," Chung-yi Cheng shows that Liu was critical of the common interpretation of *shen du* to mean being "watchful over oneself when alone." On Liu's understanding, "solitude" does not mean "alone" but rather refers to the state of solitude. As Cheng explains, solitude is not only the state when one is physically alone but is "also the state when one is mentally alone, that is, the state of one's innermost being which is known only to oneself. In addition, Liu emphasized that this innermost being or solitariness is at the core of the moral heart/mind." This, in turn, is significant because our heaven-endowed nature can be revealed only through the heart/mind. "'Vigilance' no longer means 'watchful over' but rather 'preserving' or 'self-sustaining' the state of solitude." Cheng maintains that Liu regarded the "moral will" (*yi* 意) to be at the core of the moral heart/mind and, unlike WANG Yangming, regarded the "innate knowing of the good" (*liang zhi* 良知) to be "secondary in the motivational structure of the heart/mind." Because the heart/mind could be disturbed by its material form and so deviate from its nature—hence the origin of evil—it is crucial to preserve the moral will. This is to be achieved by scrutinizing any "volitional ideas" (*nian* 念) "that happen to be evil so that one can gradually learn to act in perfect accord with one's moral will; and second, to adhere constantly to the moral will.... Liu refers to this effort by different names, such as the effort to transform volitional ideas into the heart/mind, the effort to be vigilant, the effort to preserve tranquility, and the effort to make the will sincere."

Other key concepts were similarly linked to evolving views on ethical problems, such as the origin of dysfunctional behavior or evil. In "ZHANG Zai's Theory of Vital Energy," for example, Robin R Wang and DING Weixiang show that in ZHANG Zai's 張載 (1020–1077) writings, the Ultimate Void (*taixu* 太虛) is posited as a morally inflected concept, "raised to become the metaphysical source and ontological basis for Confucian moral cultivation." They explain that when *taixu* (as *qi*) is manifested in individual humans it takes two forms: the nature (*xing*) bestowed by heaven and earth (*tian di zhi xing* 天地之性) and the psycho-physical nature (*qizhi zhixing* 氣質之性). This distinction provides a metaphysical rationale to account for good and bad in human behavior. For Zhang, the cultivation and transformation of the *qi* endowed in one's psycho-physical nature is crucial to moral self-cultivation. Moreover, "the

existence of *qi* in human beings not only offers an explanation of the origins of goodness and badness in the human world it also discloses an opportunity for human beings to connect to an ethical ground which transcends their individual material body."

Similar to ZHANG Zai's distinction between the nature bestowed by heaven and earth and the psycho-physical nature, ZHANG Shi distinguished heaven's mandated nature (*tianming zhi xing* 天命之性) and the physically endowed nature (*qibing zhi xing* 氣稟之性) to account for dysfunctional behavior. Tillman and Soffel point out that ZHANG Shi was influenced by ZHANG Zai's notion of transforming one's physical nature through cultivating one's ethical inner nature. Unlike ZHANG Zai, however, an even more fundamental way ZHANG Shi addressed the problem of dysfunctional behavior was to follow CHENG Hao 程顥 (1032–1085) in attributing its source to the material body, the locus of human desires.

In "ZHU Xi's Moral Psychology," Kwong-loi Shun shows that as with LU Xiangshan, ZHU Xi had opposed the Cheng brothers' idea that there are two different heart/minds—the human heart/mind and the moral heart/mind—insisting that there is only one. It is the function of the aspect of the heart/mind that relates to morality (*yi li* 義理) to guide the aspect of the heart/mind that relates to desires. Again echoing ZHANG Zai, for Zhu, desires arise due to imbalances in our innate disposition of *qi*. As Shun notes, "although the nature in a human being is constituted by *li* and is perfectly good, the endowment of *qi* can be pure or impure, and this accounts for the ethical differences among people."

In "WANG Fuzhi's Philosophy of Principle (*Li*) Inherent in *Qi*," JeeLoo Liu draws attention to the profound influence of ZHANG Zai's philosophy on WANG Fuzhi's 王夫之 (1619–1692) metaphysical views, identifying a "moralized *qi*" as "the foundation of WANG Fuzhi's moral metaphysics." On the question of the origin of evil, on the one hand, Wang upheld the view that human nature is not separable from the *qi* that makes up human existence, and that "there is nothing that is not good in *qi*"; on the other hand, Liu points out that according to Wang, if we pursue external objects without checking our emotions, then we can easily be led astray. "Evil. . .is simply the lack of moderation of desires and the absence of consideration for others."

With LI Guangdi 李光地 (1642–1718), however, a radically different perspective on the relation between desires and the origin of dysfunctional behavior or evil is in evidence. In "LI Guangdi and the Philosophy of Human Nature," NG On-cho sets out to show why and how *xing* 性 came to be the cornerstone of LI Guangdi's thought. Li was heir to a long tradition of discourse and debate about whether human nature was good or bad/evil. Ng points out that from the late Ming onwards, two generations of literati, including LI Guangdi, "saw the notion of *xing*'s transcendence of good and evil [a view associated with some of WANG Yangming's followers] as one of the root causes of moral-ethical failure. They therefore endeavored to countervail and demolish any pernicious idea that cast doubt on the essential goodness of

human nature." In refashioning his Cheng-Zhu-based philosophy on the foundation of *xing*, Li held a view shared by many of his contemporaries: because human nature can be revealed only through personal effort realized in the human community, "its affective, emotive, and sensory faculties should well be regarded as primary rather than secondary nature. Material nature (氣質之性) need not be posterior to moral nature (義理之性)." In other words, these faculties were an essential part of human nature. Thus contra ZHANG Zai, CHENG Yi, and ZHU Xi who had posited native endowment (material nature) as the genetic origin of evil, Li attributed it to the failure to develop adequately our universally good human nature. As Ng further points out, however, Li's interpretation still does satisfactorily answer the question of the emergence of evil.

In "DAI Zhen on Human Nature and Moral Cultivation," Justin Tiwald argues that DAI Zhen 戴震 (1724–1777) sought to "restore feelings and sophisticated faculties of judgment to their proper place in moral cultivation and action. He argued for a more robust form of moral deliberation, one which gives greater deference to both cognitive and affective capacities, and which requires us to examine and often reconsider our spontaneous moral intuitions." Contra the prominent view shared by many Neo-Confucian thinkers that human beings have an already perfect moral guide in them by nature, thus warranting people to act before reflecting on the moral significance of their actions or to rely on underdeveloped intuitions, for Dai "the point of moral cultivation is not merely to *recover* pre-existing capacities, but also to *develop* new ones." Tiwald argues that rather than encouraging the development of good motives, self-awareness, and self-control, Dai's focus in moral cultivation was on developing the mental and emotional powers directly responsible for moral judgment. "Dai's philosophical works pay particular attention to the ability to make fine-grained distinctions, to identify situational variances, and to recognize important social dynamics within traditional relationships." Tiwald also shows how, in contrast to many earlier thinkers, Dai maintained that desires (*yu* 欲) are necessary for moral deliberation and for providing motives for morally significant behavior.

Still other contributions to this volume focus on clusters or groups of key concepts: either on their structured interrelationship or on nuanced differences in their philosophical import. The two essays on ZHU Xi are a good example of this. In "ZHU Xi's Cosmology," John Berthrong argues that Zhu's cosmology should be understood as not only axiological—as evidenced by a fundamental concern for moral and aesthetic values and intersubjective ethical self-cultivation and conduct—but also as architectonic: a structured system which addresses the question of what kinds of things and events comprise and are manifested in the cosmos. "Along with his *daoxue* disciples such as CHEN Chun 陳淳 (1159–1223), Zhu presented his cosmological *ars contextualis* via clusters of architectonic terms. It is the coherent presentation of *how* ZHU Xi orders and connects his key cluster concepts that has always made him relatively unique among Song and post-Song philosophers." Paying attention to the root

metaphors Zhu used to frame his worldview, Berthrong outlines what he identifies to be the basic tripartite structure of Zhu's cosmological architectonic. He develops his analytic typology using a core group of concepts derived from Zhu's writings and rendered as follows: the condition or state of any thing or event (*ti* 體), the functional process of the things and events (*yong* 用), unifying action (*he* 和), and moral goal (*de* 德).

The first component in the proposed tripartite structure is coherent principle (*li* 理). Berthrong understands *li* to function as a defining characteristic that serves to distinguish one object from another thing or event. "For ZHU Xi everything has its own contextual marker, its own special relational coherent principle." The second component is vital energy (*qi* 氣), "configurational energy of all that exists." The third component consists of a group of concepts: *xin* 心, *ming* 命, and *taiji* 太極. Berthrong develops his account to show that just as the heart/mind functions to fuse the nature and feelings in the moral anthropology of a person, so too do the decree (*ming*) and the Supreme Ultimate (*taiji*) function in the cosmological architectonic as relational or unifying traits. He is moreover insistent that "Zhu never strayed far from declaring that no aspect of the *daoxue* speculative cosmological architectonic was merely intellectual reflection" because, for Zhu, all thought must be governed by moral norms.

Kwong-loi Shun analyzes ZHU Xi's views on the heart/mind in relation to the ethical. In doing so he addresses a range of interrelated issues: Zhu's views on the human psychological makeup, the sources of ethical failure, the process of self-cultivation, and what it is to be fully ethical. Shun draws our attention to a number of perceptual metaphors which help illuminate Zhu's understanding of key concepts and their relations. Shun also pays sustained attention to the nuances which distinguish interrelated concepts. For example, in identifying three concepts that Zhu used to characterize the ethical ideal—*cheng* 誠, *xu* 虛, and *jing* 靜—Shun makes the following distinctions: "Whereas *cheng* emphasizes the complete ethical orientation of the heart/mind, *xu* and *jing* emphasize the absence of any elements of the heart/mind that can detract from this ethical orientation. *Xu* and *jing* differ from one another in that *xu* emphasizes the absence of these elements whereas *jing* emphasizes the absence of their disturbing effects." In his discussion of the difference between ZHU Xi's understanding of *ke ji* 克己 (overcoming the self) and *shen du* 愼獨, Shun also brings into question one of the more common interpretations of *shen du*: being watchful over oneself even when alone. Shun instead proposes that it refers to a kind of inner self-management and serves both a pre-emptive and a corrective function. He proceeds to develop this insight by showing how the concept relates to managing one's thoughts (*yi* 意): "That *yi* (thoughts) rather than *zhi* (intentions) is emphasized in the inner management of the heart/mind is because such inner management should be directed to one's thoughts as they emerge, before they crystallize into actual intentions or actions."

What was "New" in Neo-Confucian Philosophy?

The theme of rupture and recovery found in the writings of eleventh-century *daoxue* thinkers, and later normalized in various formulations of *daotong* 道統 (succession of the way) certainly suggests a self-conscious awareness of new beginnings. ZHANG Zai, for example, wrote:

> From the time that Confucius and Mencius were no more, their learning was severed and the way disappeared for over one thousand years. Everywhere, men of education and social standing who had not taken office argued and in the interim heterodox views arose, such as the writings of the Buddhists and followers of Laozi. These were transmitted throughout the realm and disseminated together with the Six Classics. (Zhang 1978: 4–5)

CHENG Yi had claimed that he was the first since the classical period to have taken up the mantle of transmitting the *dao*—the learning of the sages—and to rediscover its significance. Elsewhere, he also included his older brother as a transmitter.[14] Other Northern Song *daoxue* thinkers also asserted a hiatus in transmission from Mencius to the Cheng brothers (Tillman 1992a: 21–22). Later, ZHANG Shi similarly credited ZHOU Dunyi with the recovery.[15]

ZHU Xi is believed to have coined the term *daotong* in 1181; he began propagating it in the 1189 preface to his commentary on *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸). Both there and in his preface to *Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學; written one month earlier), Zhu portrayed the Chengs as having played a pivotal point in the restoration of the *daotong*. Unlike HAN Yu 韓愈 (768–824) in the Tang dynasty, who had also described how the transmission of the way of the sages had been disrupted after Mencius, *daoxue* thinkers emphasized that it was the learning of the sages that had been rediscovered.[16] Although the *daotong* construct in itself is of questionable philosophical significance, it did have consequences for the development of Neo-Confucian philosophy in indirect ways. Two aspects of Zhu's appropriation of the *daotong* conceit are especially pertinent. First, Confucius, Zengzi 曾子, Zisi 子思, and Mencius are identified as the last in a long line of early transmitters. By privileging this group, Zhu was able to present *Analects*, *Daxue*, *Zhongyong*, and *Mencius* as an integrated body of texts, premised on a line of transmission from Confucius to Mencius. Second, by writing commentaries on these four books and identifying the Cheng

---

[14] See the passages cited and translated in Bol (1994: 177).

[15] See "ZHANG Shi's Philosophical Perspectives on Human Nature, Heart/Mind, Humaneness, and the Supreme Ultimate".

[16] Bol (2008: 85) points out that even though "Ancient Style writers since Han Yu had been claiming to have grasped the Way of the Sages that had not been transmitted after Mencius. . .Cheng [Hao] made a crucial distinction between correct governance and correct learning" and was critical of those who wrote about the Way of the Sages for not understanding the true import of the Learning of the Sages.

brothers as the modern inheritors of the *daotong* transmission, Zhu sought to imply that he, too, was an heir to that transmission.

The gradual displacement of the Five Classics (as a single corpus) by the Four Books was also a key development in Neo-Confucian philosophy, facilitating a new focus on personal cultivation. Nevertheless, the *Book of Change* remained a fundamental text in Neo-Confucian philosophy, as is evident already in the writings of the Five Northern Song Masters: ZHOU Dunyi, SHAO Yong, ZHANG Zai, CHENG Hao, and CHENG Yi. The reason for this is surely that the *Book of Change* provided much of the requisite metaphysical vocabulary and key cosmological models to secure new (onto-) cosmological foundations and premises for moral philosophy, in response to the sustained stimulus of Buddhist philosophy in particular.[17] More generally, commentators on it saw it as a work that envisions the universe as a coherent system and asserts that the ways in which heaven and earth operate also pertain to human society.

Genre and Neo-Confucian Philosophy

Genre is also an important feature of Neo-Confucian philosophy. This is particularly evident in the case of the adoption of the "recorded conversations" (*yulu* 語錄) genre. As Hilde De Weerdt explains in "Neo-Confucian Philosophy and Genre: The Philosophical Writings of CHEN Chun and ZHEN Dexiu":

> In recorded conversations speakers drew together passages and ideas from the entire classical corpus in order to explain Neo-Confucian concepts and beliefs. In interlinear commentary, authority is primarily vested in the classical text as it is; in recorded conversations the speaker (i.e., the Neo-Confucian teacher) becomes the locus of authority.... The series of recorded conversations of CHENG Yi 程頤 (1033–1107) and his disciples that ZHU Xi edited between 1159 and 1173... fit into Zhu's effort to demonstrate that the way (universal and metaphysically demonstrable moral truth) is necessarily transmitted through a genealogy of master-teachers and essentially evidenced in practice in a broad sense rather than in writing.

This particular genre is especially associated with twelfth-century *daoxue* thinkers. Hans van Ess identifies the *Recorded Sayings* of the Cheng brothers which HU Anguo 胡安國 (1074–1138) and YANG Shi 楊時 (1053–1135) started to compile in the 1130s as marking the beginning of the *daoxue* movement of the

[17] A much more modest third-century precedent for this is the example of *Collected Explanations of the Analects* (*Lunyu jijie* 論語集解). The editors cited passages from the *Book of Change* in the editorial commentaries to bolster the status of the *Analects* as a classic (*jing* 經) by securing a cosmological grounding for Confucius as sage, a grounding not explicitly present in the *Analects*. Similarly, in their *Notes on the Analects* (*Lunyu bijie* 論語筆解), HAN Yu and LI Ao 李翱 (772–841) employed *Change* to provide the metaphysical underpinning for the program of learning of which they found evidence in the *Analects* (Makeham 2009).

Southern Song. In turn, HU Hong's (HU Anguo's son) main philosophical work, *Understanding of Words*, was written in the style of a "recorded conversation." Philip J. Ivanhoe similarly notes in his essay that most of what we know about LU Xiangshan's philosophy comes from recorded conversations between him and his disciples.

The genre reached its apogee in the thirteenth century with the publication of various versions of ZHU Xi's recorded conversations which, according to De Weerdt, confronted Zhu's first- and second-generation disciples with two basic questions: "how to transmit Neo-Confucian philosophy after the passing of the core masters, and, how to preserve the personal voice and interaction that had become emblematic of Learning of the Way philosophizing." This situation led to the development of new genres of texts: lexicons of Neo-Confucian terms and the notebook. The exemplar of the lexicon, CHEN Chun's 陳淳 (1159–1223) *The Correct Meaning of Terms* (*Beixi ziyi* 北溪字義), is characterized by an arrangement in which the entries were designed to be read "as connected elements in a coherent moral philosophy and as steps in a program of learning that joined understanding and moral action" or in John Berthrong's account, as constituent elements of an "architectonic axiological cosmology." De Weerdt shows that in *The Correct Meaning of Terms* CHEN Chun provided a model for how to turn the words of past masters into performative statements and also a model of the personal integration of the "tradition text"—the entirety of the sources through which the ideas of a philosophical school were transmitted. She argues that Chen connected the exegesis of technical terminology with moral understanding through the arrangement of particular topics and "through a mode of explanation in which the authority of the classics, the authority of the master-teachers of the Learning of the Way, and the authority of the moral individual were played off against each other."

In the notebook genre developed by ZHEN Dexiu 真德秀 (1178–1235), however, the voice of the compiler receded into the background as implicit arguments were constructed by juxtaposing documentary evidence from a broad array of written sources and evidence classified according to generic and chronological criteria. "In the notebook ZHEN Dexiu reconfigured and expanded the revised tradition text through reading and encyclopedic note-taking." Zhen was also instrumental in creating a third genre of transmission texts among ZHU Xi's intellectual inheritors: the new classic in the form of an anthology of classical passages. According to De Weerdt, "Anthologizing was in this model the principal technique for extending the meaning of the classics" and the new classic provided "another way of showing how philosophers of the Learning of the Way could insert themselves within the line of transmission after ZHU Xi."

ZHEN Dexiu's use of cases (*an* 案; *xue'an* 學案) to construct argument in his *Reading Notes* (*Xishan xiansheng ZHEN Wenzhong Gong dushuji* 西山先生真文忠公讀書記) may also have influenced the subsequent development of the case genre. In her introduction to a recent collection of studies of the case genre as used in China, Charlotte Furth maintains that in the late Ming, when the Cheng-Zhu

daoxue tradition was splintering into factionalism, "the very idea of a single doctrinal line of transmission from antiquity via the Song to the present Ming-era masters was increasingly hard to maintain…. The genre of the case (*an*, *xue'an*) encouraged a different way of doing philosophy. It accommodated debate among partisans who had to back their positions with evidence and who could rely on no transcendent or unquestioned authority of sagely transmission to fall back on" (Furth et al. 2007: Introduction, 16). The subject of Hung-lam Chu's chapter in the same volume is the sub-genre of *xue'an*—which Chu translates as "Confucian case learning." Drawing upon the tradition of recording a master's words and deeds, late-Ming *xue'an* presented this material not as canon or history but as evidence "and the body of the text on [the master] called for the reader's evaluative judgment (verdict) of the case put together by the author-compiler" (Chu 2007: 255–256). Focusing in particular on Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610–1695), *Case Studies of Ming Confucians* (*Ming ru xue'an* 明儒學案), Chu argues that rather than promoting a particular notion of orthodoxy or a hierarchy of competing doctrines and schools, the aim of the work was to provide students with a set of dossiers on the many different modes of learning practiced by Ming Confucians, leaving it up to the student to contemplate these cases for their own edification and guidance just as the Chan Buddhist contemplated "public cases."[18]

Li and Neo-Confucian Philosophy

One keyword in Neo-Confucian philosophy is *li* 理. *Li* has a long history in Chinese thought,[19] but in Neo-Confucian philosophy it is of pre-eminent importance. As the modern Chinese use of the term *lixue* 理學 evidences, many Chinese scholars regard the concept of *li* to be the hallmark of what was new and central in Neo-Confucian philosophy.[20] Chen Lai 陳來, for example, writes:

> The two Cheng brothers elevated *li* or *tianli* 天理 to an onto-cosmological [status]; this was the important basis enabling *lixue* to be differentiated from Wei-Jin profound

[18] This may be so, but we should not underestimate the role that Huang (and his fellow compilers) had in determining who should be represented in the collection—as Chu himself notes, Li Zhi 李贄 (1527–1602) is conspicuously absent—and which selections from their writings should be included. In the introduction to her translation of *Ming ru xue'an* (1987), for example, Julia Ching argues that Huang organized his work around two central figures—Liu Zongzhou 劉宗周 (1578–1645) and Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1529)—allowing Huang to advance his own views indirectly (Huang 1987: 9).

[19] It already occurred in a range of pre-Qin texts; see Kwong-loi Shun's essay in this volume.

[20] The broad, inclusive sense implicit in the modern Chinese category of "Song-Ming *lixue* 宋明理學" may well have been influenced by Sun Qifeng's 孫奇逢 (1585–1675) use of the term *lixue* in his *The Main Line of Transmission of Principle-centered Learning* (*Lixue zongchuan* 理學宗傳) where the category embraces not only of the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi but also Lu Jiuyuan and Wang Yangming (Sun 1969).

> learning and Han-Tang *ruxue*. Establishing *tianli* as the highest category so that it interconnected *tian* 天 and *ren* 仁 and exercised control over the natural and human worlds, provided *rujia* values and ideals with a metaphysical support (Chen 2007: Introduction, 3).

In his essay on CHENG Yi in this volume, HUANG Yong similarly states:

> To the extent that Neo-Confucian philosophy can be characterized as the learning of *li* (*li xue* 理學, normally translated as "principle")... the two [Cheng] brothers can be properly credited as its founders: it is only in their philosophy that *li* obtains its central position for the first time.... [Neo-Confucian philosophy's] distinguishing characteristic is the development of a moral metaphysics as an ontological articulation of moral values advocated by classical Confucians [through the identification of *li* 理 as the] source of good that constitutes the goodness of Confucian values.

In this volume *li* is variously translated as "creativity or life-giving activity" (HUANG Yong); "norm" (Hans van Ess); "order, coherence, pattern, and norm (s)" (Hoyt Cleveland Tillman and Christian Soffel); "order or pattern of the way things operate" (Kwong-loi Shun); "inherent logic or pattern" (JeeLoo Liu); "coherence" (Stephen C. Angle); and "coherent principle" (John Berthrong). The sheer diversity of interpretations of this basic concept underscores just how modest our understanding of Neo-Confucian philosophy still is. More than two decades have passed since Willard J. Peterson first proposed "coherence" ("the quality or characteristic of sticking together") as a translation of *li* (Peterson 1986: 14)—to capture the sense of parts fitting together in a whole—as an appropriate translation of *li* in Neo-Confucian philosophy, yet it is only in more recent years that this translation has begun to be more widely adopted.[21] As Stephen C. Angle points out in his essay in this volume, "The metaphysical grounding for coherence is the insight, adapted from Buddhism, that all things are interdependent."

According to Brook Ziporyn's analysis of *li* in Sinitic Buddhism:

> "Li" always means what one must see in order to attain a presupposed value. In Buddhism, the ultimate value is liberation, and since Emptiness is what liberates, Emptiness is Li..... In Huayan Buddhism.... the one real principle is Emptiness...: it is all-inclusive and indivisible (cohering, harmonizing), it is universally applicable, it is what needs to be paid attention to in order to attain maximum value for human beings (second-order harmony, harmony with human needs) (Ziporyn 2008: 407–409, 418).
>
> The term Li indicates precisely the dimension of *value* and *intelligibility*: it is not just what is universal, or universal within a given class or group, but what it is worthwhile to notice about that class, or about all things. In the Buddhist case, it is Emptiness that one must understand in order to be liberated, and hence Emptiness is Li. (Ziporyn 2003: 503–504)

[21] The translation is not, however, without it critics. HUANG Yong agrees that Peterson's interpretation of *li* is flexible enough to accommodate almost all occurrences of *li* in the writings of CHENG Yi and ZHU Xi. However, Huang is concerned that "this strength perhaps is also its weakness: it is so flexible that it becomes very vague. In particular, it cannot catch the meaning of *li* as the life-giving activity (*sheng* 生) that I think is its central meaning."

Ziporyn's following suggestion for understanding *li* has clear resonances with the concept's employment in many Neo-Confucian contexts: "what must be cohered with to produce further coherences,[22] or, in Buddhist terms, what must be realized and accorded with in order to realize liberation (Ziporyn 2003: 521). This sense is especially compatible with the idea of *dang ran zhi li* 當然之理—the normative coherence of how things should be.[23] It is also compatible with a cumulative and sequential approach to self-cultivation and learning through reading or by focusing internally on the heart/mind—either with the heart/mind itself being understood to be *li* (LU Jiuyuan, WANG Yangming) or with human nature posited as the *li* of the mind (CHENG Yi, ZHU Xi) in order to overcome selfish desires.

Of course, the elevation of a particular concept to some "central position" does not in itself guarantee novelty and innovation. More typically, innovation depends on how the concept is used in creative new ways. Does the Neo-Confucian appropriation of *li* qualify as a distinctive innovation? I think it does, but with some qualifications. In a study outlining the history of the problem of whether human nature is good, bad, or otherwise, historian of Chinese philosophy Angus Graham first introduced the positions of Mencius, Xunzi, and YANG Xiong 揚雄 (53 BC-AD 18) and then remarked: "This profoundly troubling issue, a threat to the foundations of Confucian moralism, continued to be discussed, urgently and fruitlessly even at the times when Confucians showed least interest in philosophical abstractions. Thus during the T'ang dynasty . . . ." He then proceeded to note briefly the views of HAN Yu, LI Ao, and DU Mu 杜牧 (803–852), but made no reference at all to how the issue had been understood in the eight centuries intervening between the mid-Han and the mid-Tang. Since his account is meant to set the stage for Song developments of this topic, the lacuna is regrettable because it gives the impression that Six Dynasties discussions of the topic were irrelevant, which is far from being the case.

---

[22] Given ZHU Xi's equation of *li* 理 and *taiji* 太極, the following comment by John Berthrong in this volume is particularly suggestive: "The Supreme Ultimate has, as one of its definitions, the symbolic function of evoking the feeling that things ought to be the best they can become, or, in Zhu's terms: 'To speak of the supreme extension of the body of the *dao*, this is to talk about *taiji*.' "

[23] Although acknowledging the influence of Ziporyn's work, in his essay in this volume, John Berthrong translates *li* as "coherent principle," stating that "I retain 'principle' based on a conversation with Wm. Theodore de Bary who explained that he and Wing-tsit Chan selected 'principle' because it suggests both the moral and normative nature of the cosmos in English. Adding coherence stresses the notion of pattern, order, and rationale that are also part of the *daoxue* semantic range." Stephen C. Angle, however, finds the translation of *li* as "principle" to be problematic: " 'principle' is something that can be stated and applied to cases. This is certainly the most common understanding of "principle" in contemporary English-language philosophy, which is one reason why the old-fashioned translation of *li* as principle is so misleading." It might further be noted that NISHI Amane 西周 (1829–1897), writing in 1882, had already observed that the term 理 was translated as "principle" (プリンシプル) in several European languages (Saito 1977: 336).

Graham credited CHENG Yi's introduction of "something fundamentally new" into the human nature debate as leading to a "sudden decisive resolution of a controversy which had continued without result for a millennium and a half" (Graham 1986: 412–413). Cheng's contribution, according to Graham, was to elevate pattern "to the central place among Confucian concepts" and to reinterpret heaven (*tian*) and the nature (*xing*) as aspects of *li*. Graham maintained that the "restatement of the problem in terms of *li* was an event comparable with" a Kuhnian paradigm shift. Yet was it? Graham's interpretation overlooks the contributions of thinkers such as WANG Bi 王弼 (226–249), HUANG Kan 皇侃 (488–545), and the multiple sources Huang drew on in his *Elucidation of the Meaning of the Analects* (*Lunyu yishu* 論語義疏). Certainly it is true that the conceptual distinction between "heaven-and-earth-bestowed nature" (*tiandi zhi xing* 天地之性) and "material nature" (*qizhi zhi xing* 氣質之性) (first formulated by ZHANG Zai)—in which the first is pure *li* whereas the second is *li* as it is manifest in and through *qi*—allowed Cheng to reconcile the claim that the nature is morally good with the evidence that people's actions reveal different capacities to act morally. Yet this distinction between the nature in its fundamental mode and in its manifest mode owed as much to the idea of *qi* as it did to pattern, even if Cheng emphasized *li* more than *qi*. In fact, many Han and post-Han thinkers had already formulated a coherent account of human nature as being constituted of *qi*. In developing a concept of human nature grounded in the authority of heaven as the basis of morality, Cheng drew not just on Mencius but also on a tradition of speculative philosophy to which HAN Yu, Li Ao, HUANG Kan, WANG Bi, the editors of *Collected Explanations of the Analects* (*Lunyu jijie* 論語集解),[24] WANG Chong 王充 (27-ca. 100), DONG Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104), and JIA Yi 賈誼 (201–169) had contributed.

Li and qi

I suggest that the real innovation is the conception of the relationship between *li* and *qi* which reached its mature expression in the philosophy of ZHU Xi. Zhu's thinking was fortified by ZHANG Zai's account of *qi*, and by the onto-cosmological underpinning provided by CHENG Yi's interpretation of heaven

---

24 A number of these earlier thinkers had also contributed to the prominence of other items on a philosophical agenda that was later inherited, rather than created, by *daoxue* thinkers, such as the relationship between *li* 理 and the emotional responses (*qing* 情). In Zhu's speculative philosophy, the heart/mind is both the locus of the nature and that in which the emotional responses are rooted. As the locus of the nature, it is also the locus of the patterns (*li*) that constitute the nature. Being rooted in the nature, the emotional responses have direct access to pattern. Although HUANG Kan (following WANG Bi) did not envision a mediating role for the heart/mind and presented the desires as the basis of the emotional responses rather than their perversion, the core of his moral psychology, like that of ZHU Xi, was the possibility that the emotional responses were grounded in the nature whereby they would have direct access to pattern (Makeham 2003: Chapter 4).

and the nature as aspects of *li*, with *dao* being but another term for *li*, combined with the view that the heart/mind can fully apprehend *li* and that all *li* are one *li*. Consider the following passage by ZHU Xi:

> Someone asked about "*Qi* (vital energy) pervades the Great Void: rising, falling, soaring upward—it never stops to rest" [Opening sentence of ZHANG Zai's "Correcting Youthful Ignorance"].
>
> [Master ZHU Xi] replied: "This is what Master ZHANG [Zai] meant by 'The Void (*xukong* 虛空) is *qi*.' Heaven is all around and the earth is in the middle. If a measure of soil is subtracted, then you have an equal measure of *qi* [that comes into existence]. It is just that people do not notice it. This is because it has not yet taken on form."
>
> "Emptiness and fullness refer to *yin* and *yang*, is that not so?"
>
> "They refer to having [defining characteristics] (*you* 有) and to not having [defining characteristics] (*wu* 無). When [*qi*] floats it is above; when it descends it is below and has already taken on form.[25] As for the blending of mountains and rivers, chaff and dust, these are but the dregs of *qi*. In essence, they all reveal principle (*li*) to humans." (Zhu 1986: 98.2506)

Zhu's view of the relationship between *li* and *qi* is clearly indebted to ZHANG Zai's conception of the state/condition and function (*ti yong*) relationship that exists between the Void (or Ultimate Void; *taixu* 太虛) and *qi*. As Robin Wang and DING Weixiang show in "ZHANG Zai's Theory of Vital Energy," Zhang viewed the relationship between *taixu* and *qi* in terms of (fundamental) condition/state (*ti* 體) and function/application (yong 用), in which *taixu* as (fundamental) state (*ti*) reveals its function (*yong*) through the transformation of *qi*. This *ti-yong* dynamic correlates with the idea of the unity of *taixu* and *qi*. Just as *taixu* (*ti*) reveals its function (*yong*) through *qi*, for Zhu, so too does *li* (*ti*) reveals its function through *qi* (*yong*).[26] Consistent with this view is the criticism David W. Tien makes in his essay of the common misunderstanding in which ZHU Xi is portrayed as having held that *qi* alone is responsible for all the differences between things. Tien argues that Zhu actually held that the differences between things are due both to *li* and to *qi*.

Despite this, ZHU Xi's presentation of the relationship between *li* and *qi* was not always consistent—he did not always preserve the immanence of *li* within *qi*—and thus opened the way for centuries of philosophical debate not only in China but in Korea and Japan as well. As John Berthrong notes in his essay:

---

[25] This refers to the *xing er shang* 形而上 and *xing er xia* 形而下 distinction.

[26] Even the *ti-yong* relationship between *li* and *qi* can be seen to have a precursor in Huayan Buddhist writings. For example, the Huayan patriarch, Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839), described four types of *dharma-dhātu* ("a lived world as constituted through a form of life experience"). The third of these realms features the relationship between *li* 理 and *shi* 事 (event; affair; thing). According to Dan Lusthaus: "In the third realm, one sees the mutual interpenetration or 'non-obstruction' of *li* and *shi* (*lishi wu'ai*). Rather than seeing events while being oblivious to principle, or concentrating on principle while ignoring events, in this realm events are seen as instantiations of principle, and principle is nothing more than the order by which events relate to each other" (Lusthaus 1998).

> In Zhu's theory about the relationship of *li* and *qi*, the most perplexing component is the various statements about the priority of vital energy or coherent principle. Zhu is very clear that he does not think that this is a good way to put the question of the relationship of the *li-qi* dyad. In response to a question about whether there is first *li* and then vital energy, he flatly states that this is not an acceptable formulation. He says that in speaking of coherent principle and vital energy, there is no simple "before and after" dichotomy.

Even though Zhu seems to have wanted merely to give *li* a logical priority over *qi* (so that there would be a "pattern/norm" for a given thing to conform to and hence exist), he is widely held to have regarded *li* as ontologically and temporally prior to *qi*. This ambiguity or ambivalence is in consequence of his decision to use terms which convey a temporal sequence such that *li* seems to precede the existence of *qi*. This ambivalence has invited criticisms such as the following as described by JeeLoo Liu in her essay:

> WANG Fuzhi rejected ZHU Xi's separation of *li* (principle) and *qi* into distinct ontological categories and rendering the former transcendent. Even though Zhu often emphasized the co-existence and inseparability of *li* and *qi*, he did put them into distinct ontological categories and considered them different entities. When ZHU Xi was pressed to trace the origin of *li* and *qi*, he put *li* prior to *qi*. WANG Fuzhi maintained that Zhu was mistaken. On ZHU Xi's understanding, principle effectively becomes a "metaphysical dangler." WANG Fuzhi points out that *li* is not independent of or separable from *qi*: "only when there is *qi* can there be *li*."

Curiously, this particular controversy continued well into the twentieth century and was discussed as part of FENG Youlan's 馮友蘭 (1895–1990) New Principle-centered Learning (*Xin lixue* 新理學). This controversy is significant because it evidences that Neo-Confucian philosophy is not simply of historical interest but continues to influence the vocabulary and debates of modern Chinese philosophy, as is evidenced par excellence by New Confucian philosophy. This, of course, furnishes a unique contemporary relevance for Neo-Confucian philosophy.

Like the Buddhists, Feng approached this issue in terms of *li* and *shi* 事 rather than *li* and *qi*, but the substantive issues remain the same. He also drew on concepts from Western philosophy, most particularly universals and particulars,[27] and in this matter he was influenced by Anglo-American Neo Realism. According to Feng, at one extreme *li* could be traced to particulars (*shi*), and at the other extreme *li* transcended (extended beyond) particulars. Thus understood, Feng maintained that this "extending beyond" dimension could be described in such terms as "*li* is before *shi*" (理在事先) or "*li* is above *shi*" (理在事上) without entailing *li* as having some temporal or cosmological priority over *shi*. Later he described this relationship as follows:

[27] In his essay in this volume, Hans van Ess also describes HU Hong's understanding of *li* in terms of "an ideal form – a Platonic idea – a norm or a pattern of a thing which cannot be described in terms of 'existent' or 'non-existent.' "

> That which each general term refers to is a particular universal, the intensional (*neihan*) referent of which is *li* and extensional (*waiyan*) referent of which is *shi*. *Li* and *shi*, intension and extension, have always been in combination; the problem is that in their thinking people draw an analytic distinction between them. Only in this way are their distinction and opposition made manifest. In terms of existence (*cunzai*), it has never been a case of which is first and which is later, or which is above and which is below. These sorts of problems arise is because epistemological issues are confused with existential issues." (Feng 1985: 234–236)

Unlike Platonic Forms, Feng did not regard actual entities to be pale and imperfect imitations of ideal types nor did he regard *li* to be radically transcendent and hence distinct from actual entities. He also differs from ZHU Xi in that he regarded *li* as neither morally inflected nor knowable (whereas for Zhu the goal was to fathom all *li* exhaustively), or as somehow inhering in the heart/mind. In the end, however, he eventually came to repudiate his original position: "Although New Principle-centered Learning is not simply a copy of [the ideas developed by] Plato and ZHU Xi, it nevertheless makes the same mistake as they did: '*li* is before *shi*' (*li zai shi* xian 理在事先) or '*li* is above *shi*' (*li zai shi shang* 理在事上)" (ibid.: 258).

Modern Interpretations of Neo-Confucian Philosophy

The elaboration of aspects of Neo-Confucian philosophy by New Confucian thinkers is a large and complex topic which properly lies beyond the scope of this volume. It is, however, worth pointing out that several contributors to this volume have used the interpretations and categories developed by leading New Confucian philosophers and applied them to their own interpretation of aspects of Neo-Confucian philosophy. Tze-ki Hon, for example, uses MOU Zongsan's 牟宗三 notion of "moral metaphysics" to characterize the connection between moral practice and cosmic renewal in Cheng-Zhu *daoxue*.[28] HUANG Yong similarly identifies the distinguishing characteristic of Neo-Confucian philosophy to be "the development of a moral metaphysics as an ontological articulation of moral values advocated by classical Confucians."

In "The Thesis of Single-Rootedness in the Thought of CHENG Hao," WONG Wai-ying adopts characterizations such as "sudden and perfect" (*yuandun* 圓頓) developed by MOU Zongsan[29] and, like Mou, applies them to the interpretation

[28] Mou contrasted his own moral metaphysics with Kant's metaphysics of morals. Whereas Kant's metaphysics of morals is a metaphysical investigation into morals, Mou's moral metaphysics is a metaphysics that grounds the first creative principles in morals.

[29] Mou employed the term to distinguish the different methods of teaching and cultivation practice associated with CHENG Hao and CHENG Yi respectively (1968–1969: 2:8). This type of "doctrinal classification" (*panjiao* 判教) is developed as part of Mou's "perfect teaching" (*yuan jiao* 圓教) paradigm. The concept of "sudden and perfect," the practice of doctrinal classification, and the doctrine of perfect teaching, all have roots in Huayan Buddhism, which again underscores the continuing influence of Sinitic Buddhism on the development of Chinese philosophy. Wong also follows Mou's judgments in identifying the authorship of unattributed

of CHENG Hao's philosophical writings. Seeking to elucidate how CHENG Hao's claims regarding the ways of moral practice and cultivation can be made easier to understand, Wong examines CHENG Hao's elusive concept of "single-rootedness" (*yiben lun* 一本論), showing how it is used to present the relationship between Heaven (*tian* 天) and the human, between that of *dao* 道 and instruments (*qi* 器) and vital energy (*qi* 氣). In each case, the idea that Cheng is seeking to clarify is that there has never been a separation between Heaven and human or between *dao* and instrument and vital energy. Analytic distinctions, however, easily lead people to assume a separation where in fact none exists. Thus as Wong argues, Heaven or the way of Heaven, or simply the way (*dao*), is properly realized only in its concrete manifestations. "Since the way of Heaven is sincerity, Heaven is identical with sincerity. A perfectly sincere person in his or her unceasing production and reproduction is identical with sincerity itself and thus with Heaven. This is the ontological ground for human and Heaven being one." On this understanding, the agent does not need to "apprehend" Heaven by his or her heart/mind in such a way that Heaven and the heart/mind are posited as two separate things. Wong adopts the notion of "sudden and perfect" (*yuandun* 圓頓) to describe the realization of this unity as a "sudden and perfect" mode of expression, as distinct from an analytic one. "It is perfect because in the vision that it reveals, there are no more differentiations between *dao* and its manifestations, between inner and outer, or between heart/mind and its full actualization."

Chung-yi Cheng (ZHENG Zongyi 鄭宗義) employs New Confucian interpretations of Neo-Confucian philosophy quite extensively, drawing in particular on the writings of TANG Junyi 唐君毅 and, to a lesser extent, MOU Zongsan. This practice is consistent with a position Cheng espoused already a decade ago when he complained that the focus of *ruxue* 儒學 studies since the early 1980s in China has been on the contemporary cultural significance of *ruxue*, on how intellectual *ruxue* (*sixiangxing de ruxue* 思想性的儒學) can be transformed into a practical and socially relevant *ruxue*. "Comparatively speaking, the reinterpretation and reconstruction of traditional *ruxue* has been given a cold shoulder. Consequently this has led people to feel that the connection between traditional *ruxue* and contemporary *ruxue* [i.e., New Confucianism] appears to have been severed into two unrelated categories: the former belongs to the field of the history of Chinese philosophy and the latter belongs to cultural discourse" (Zheng 2000: 123). Cheng attributes this to the fact that the writings of the first- and second-generation New Confucians have been treated not as interpretations of traditional philosophy but as the personal perspectives of individual New Confucians.

Other contributors to this volume have stressed the relevance of Neo-Confucian philosophy to contemporary moral philosophy and/or virtue

---

passages to either CHENG Hao or CHENG Yi. Mou's judgments are formed on the basis of various criteria, including whether there is evidence of "perfect and sudden" insight in a particular passage.

ethics. In his essay on "CHENG Yi's Moral Philosophy" HUANG Yong insists that CHENG Yi's distinction between knowledge of/as virtue (德性之知) and knowledge from hearing and seeing (聞見之知) provides the basis for a compelling account for why one should be moral. He also finds that Cheng's explanation of why one should be moral is more convincing than any alternative we can find in the West. He shows that Cheng's answer to the question "Why should one be moral?" is that as moral beings endowed with a moral heart/mind, it is a joy for humans to be moral and it is rational for humans to seek joy. Huang contrasts this account with that of Plato and Aristotle who, while also telling us that to be moral is a joyful thing, fail to show that being moral is constitutive of being human. As to the question "Can one be moral?" Huang shows how Cheng's answer avoids the problem of *akrasia* or weakness of the will by having effectively denied the possibility of weakness of the will. He argues that Cheng did this by holding a view of knowledge as prior to and implying action, making it clear that knowledge will necessarily lead to action. "Cheng's... distinction between superficial knowledge of seeing and hearing and profound knowledge of/as virtue enables him to explain, better than Socrates and Aristotle, apparent cases in which people have knowledge and yet cannot act upon the knowledge."

In his essay, Philip J. Ivanhoe identifies the task of self-cultivation to be central to LU Xiangshan's teaching for two reasons. On the one hand, humans are innately endowed with the potential for perfect understanding or enlightenment; on the other hand, without the requisite degree of attention, effort, and activity, we fail to realize our true nature. As Ivanhoe shows, for Lu, "the sources of moral failure, as well as the only genuine access to moral knowledge, are to be found in each person's heart/mind" and as such moral failure is effectively self imposed. Ivanhoe argues that several of LU Xiangshan's views remain viable because they offer insights in fields such as ethics and aesthetics. In particular, he finds that Lu has much of value to say about the need to "cultivate an enhanced state of attentiveness to oneself and the world" and ensure that one's appreciation of the fundamental ethical goods that all human beings desire "is always felt as a shared—as opposed to *self*-centered—human concern."

Just as WANG Yangming is an external world realist, David W. Tien also describes him to be as a moral realist: "Wang believed that there are moral facts or properties in the world of the sort required to render our moral judgments true, and that the existence of these moral facts or properties is constitutively independent of human opinion." Tien further argues that Wang's theory of pure knowing (*liangzhi* 良知) and the extension of pure knowing (*zhi liangzhi* 至良知) provides "a unique and well-developed" explanation of the processes and mechanisms by which a moral property can affect the senses. Tien endorses the philosophy of WANG Yangming as having "the resources to respond to the challenge of how irreducible, natural, moral properties can play a genuine role in explanations of our moral beliefs."

In "WANG Yangming as a Virtue Ethicist," Stephen C. Angle proposes that it is constructive to regard Wang as such, because in doing so it "opens up new and fruitful ways to understand his views, and suggests ways in which philosophers (both East and West) can learn by engaging with these views." In describing Wang as a virtue ethicist, Angle appeals to Wittgenstein's "family resemblance" model to warrant the characterization. By virtue ethics he means "an approach to ethics that puts a person's character, and thus his or her virtues, at the center of its analysis." In response to the question of "What is it that our mature dispositions are supposed to lead us to do?" Angle argues that Wang thought we should be responsive to all the values relevant to a given situation, responding in a more spontaneous or automatic fashion. "No explicit rules can capture what we are supposed to do; instead, Wang's focus remains on the qualities of an agent that lead to the right responses." The virtuous person is one who responds in such a way as to harmonize all these values. Angle identifies the ease or spontaneity with which a sage responds to ethically complex circumstances to be a theme running throughout Confucian philosophy. He argues that Wang's views on how perceptual knowing is linked to reliable ethical action "can help contemporary Western virtue ethicists who are striving to understand what it takes for one's moral concern to be actively engaged in a given situation." In particular, he identifies "the force of non-rule-bound constraint by harmony (or coherence [*li*])" as playing a crucial role in realizing moral action.

Thus formulated, LU Jiuyuan's position would seem to keep him immune from the sort the charge described by NG On-cho according to which virtue ethics "runs the risk of producing moral agents who are self-regarding, if not self-indulgent and self-absorbed; for their conscience or their soul alone dictates what they consider to be morally right."[30] Unlike Lu, however, the case of WANG Yangming is less clear-cut. Wang's fundamental concern to stop bad thoughts—as described in his doctrine of the unity of knowledge and action (知行合一), where action (*xing* 行) amounts to a sort of mental vigilance over thoughts at the very moment they arise rather than concrete actions or behavior—not only provides little indication of how ethical behavior in social contexts is to be effected, but also does not obviously accord consideration to other people's desires.[31] For example, consider the following passage from Wang's *Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted* (*Chuan xi lu* 傳習錄):

---

[30] As Chung-yi Cheng points out in his essay, LU Jiuyuan and WANG Yangming "argue that the heart/mind should be accepted as inherently moral, and that this moral heart/mind has the capacity to act upon its own intrinsic, yet transcendentally grounded, moral principles."

[31] Justin Tiwald describes a similar sort of moral vagueness with regard to DAI Zhen, albeit involving a different premise: "Dai argues that the definitive mark of selfishness is the failure to give due consideration to the desires of others. This criterion appears to take no side on the issue of the self-conscious pursuit of one's own interests, for one can want to fulfill one's own life while still considering others' desires to fulfill their own, and one can be entirely without knowingly self-interested desires and yet still fail to consider the desires of others."

> "Let me ask about the unity of knowledge and action."
>
> The Master replied: "This requires understanding what my aim was in establishing this doctrine. Today, in matters of learning, people separate knowledge and action into two items, so that when a thought arises, even though it is not a good thought, because they had not carried it out, therefore they do not forbid the thought. Now, my talking about the unity of knowledge and action is precisely so as to get people to understand that when a thought arises, that is action. If when a thought arises and it is not a good thought, then this bad thought is to be subdued. This must be thoroughgoing so that I do not continue latently to harbor bad thoughts. This was my aim in establishing this doctrine." (Wang 1989: B.86)

Now, although hypothetical scenarios involving appeal to the constraints of moral *li* might legitimately be invoked to mitigate the charge that Wang provides little indication of how dispositions to behave ethically are to be guided, it is difficult to see how appeal to "heroic metaphysical" (Phillip J. Ivanhoe) notions such as moral principles (*li*) inherent in the heart/mind will find much favor amongst the "licensed practitioners" (Hilde De Weerdt) of professional philosophy in contemporary non-Chinese contexts.

Zero-Sum-Game?

Modern and contemporary interpretations of Neo-Confucian thought as philosophy have not gone unchallenged. Yu Yingshi's major study, *The Historical World of Zhu Xi: Investigations into the Political Culture of Song Scholar-Officials* (2003) sets out to challenge the "legitimacy" of studying aspects of so-called *daoxue* and *lixue*[32] thought as philosophy rather than studying them from the perspective of the discipline of history. Given the prominent place of *daoxue* philosophy within Neo-Confucian philosophy, Yu's criticisms of the philosophical approach are signficant for two reasons. First, they provide an instructive object-lesson in the sort of problems that can arise when one dismisses a philosophical approach to the analysis of what are actually philosophical topics; second, they provide a timely reminder of the ongoing need to be critically aware of the extent to which contemporary interpretations of historical topics often remain grounded in the interpreter's commitment to contemporary ideological agendas.

Yu's underlying position is that the ultimate goal of Song *daoxue* thinkers (in particular Zhu Xi) was political, not philosophical, and that to ignore this is to miscontrue the true significance of *daoxue* discourse. His critique, however, begins with an attack on what he sees as the contrived nature of "Chinese philosophy":

---

[32] Yu (2003: 1:33) claims that he uses both terms to mean the same thing but then immediately qualifies this by stating "generally speaking, I mostly use '*daoxue*' to refer to the Cheng-Zhu lineage, whereas '*lixue*' includes all those schools in addition to the Cheng-Zhu school."

> Generally speaking, when modern scholars of the history of philosophy study *daoxue*, just as JIN Yuelin 金岳霖 [1895–1984][33] stated, first and foremost "they take European philosophical questions as general philosophical questions," and next treat *daoxue* "as philosophy discovered in China." As to the significant disparity between various interpretations of *daoxue*, this is due to the fact that each researcher adopts a different European philosophical system. With this as the basis for selection, the research of historians of philosophy inevitably focuses on the various discussions of *daoti* 道體 by *daoxue* thinkers, because this is the sole component [of *daoxue* thought] that can pass muster as "philosophy." (Yu 2003: 1:33–34)

The question of whether there is such a thing as "Chinese philosophy" has been a vexed issue in the West and in China. Historically, one can point to a number of influential Western philosophers such as Nicholas Malebranche, G. W. Leibniz, and Christian Wolff who had no problem with the proposition that Chinese philosophy is indeed philosophy. On balance, however, it would seem that the dismissive views of G.W.F. Hegel are more representative of mainstream Western views about the status of Chinese philosophy as philosophy. Even in the very earliest Jesuit writings to comment on Chinese philosophy, these contrary assessments are in evidence.[34] In China, doubts about whether traditional thought could be classed as philosophy were first raised in the opening decade of the twentieth century by such prominent intellectuals as WANG Guowei 王國維 (1887–1927) and LIANG Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929), and continue to be debated to this day.[35]

---

[33] Jin's comments were actually passed in respect of FENG Youlan's trailblazing *History of Chinese Philosophy*.

[34] The following passage is taken from Mattheo Ricci (1552–1610) and Nicolas Trigault's (1577–1628) *The Christian Expedition into China* (*De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*; 1616):

> The only one of the higher philosophical sciences with which the Chinese have become acquainted is that of moral philosophy, and in this they seem to have obscured matters by the introduction of error rather than enlightened them. They have no conception of the rules of logic and consequently treat the precepts of the science of ethics without any regard to the intrinsic co-ordination of various divisions of this subject. The science of ethics with them is a series of confused maxims and deductions at which they have arrived under the guidance of the light of reason. The most renowned of all Chinese philosophers was named Confucius. . .. Indeed, if we critically examine his actions and sayings as they are recorded in history, we shall be forced to admit that he was the equal of the pagan philosophers [i.e. Greek philosophers; JM] and superior to many of them. (Gallagher 1953: 30)

[35] Over the past decade, many Chinese academics have expressed concern that "Western philosophy" refuses to acknowledge the legitimacy of "Chinese philosophy" and to engage it as an equal partner in dialogue. And although there are those who cite the examples of Nietzsche, Heidegger, the later period Wittgenstein, Merleau-Ponty, and Derrida as evidence that philosophy is expanding its borders, the fact remains that Husserl, Heidegger, Gadamer, and, Derrida all asserted that China has thought but not philosophy. Understandably, Derrida's pronouncement on the matter, made while on a visit to Shanghai in 2001, caused considerable consternation in China.

Yu complains that the "history of philosophy" approach has led to *daoxue*'s being "abstracted" from the broader context of Song *ruxue* and also to *daoti*'s 道體 being abstracted from the context of *daoxue*. The upshot of this is that the actual "historical world"—or more specifically, the "political culture"—in which *daoxue* protagonists operated has been ignored.

Yu argues that Zhu Xi presented the concept of *daoti* as central to the account of the "succession of the way" (*daotong* 道統)[36] outlined in Zhu's preface to *Zhongyong*[37] and that Zhu sought—in the most subtle way—to avoid claiming that Confucius was an inheritor of the succession of the way lineage. "This is because after the Duke of Zhou, inner sageliness [moral cultivation] and outer kingliness [statecraft and political rule] were no longer united and Confucius was merely able to establish 'learning of the way' (*daoxue*) so as to preserve and highlight the essence of the *daotong* of high antiquity: *daoti*. He was incapable of fully inheriting and continuing the Duke of Zhou's 'succession of the way' " (ibid.: 1:37–38, 40). Moreover:

> Zhu Xi deliberately separated *daotong* and *daoxue* into two historical stages. From "high antiquity of the sages and gods" to "the Duke of Zhou" is the age of "*daotong*." Its most outstanding feature is that inner sageliness and outer kingliness were united. Since those "sagely rulers and worthy ministers" in power had already put "the way" into practice, then of course there was no need for yet another group of people to come onto the scene to seek "the way." After the Duke of Zhou, inner sageliness and outer kingliness were split in two and history entered a new period: the "learning of the way" period established by Confucius. That which Zhou Dunyi, Zhang Zai, and the Cheng brothers of the Song dynasty directly inherited was "learning of the way" transmitted from the time of Confucius and not the *daotong* successively transmitted by the sage kings of high antiquity. (Ibid.: 1:42)[38]

[36] *Daotong* has been variously translated, some of the more common renderings being "succession to the way"; "line of continuity with the way"; "transmission of the way"; "legacy of the way"; "orthodox tradition"; and "tradition of the way." (Elsewhere I have argued that Zhu Xi's understanding of *daotong* should more literally be translated as "the interconnecting thread of the way.") Thomas A. Wilson describes *daotong* as "a filiative lineage of sages who were regarded as the sole transmitters of the true Confucian Way." For the proponents of the *daoxue* lineage, "Truth is believed to lie in a remote origin which has been lost or forgotten . . . . The solution is to recover this origin by means of a genealogical operation of separating the main lineage from agnate lines and privileging the main line age (*dazong*) as the true transmission." Failing to distinguish the correct lineage of the *dao* and consequently being unable to know "which of the many former Confucians correctly understood the Dao" put "one at risk of sinking into heterodoxy" (Wilson 1994: 6, 7, 14).

[37] The particular sense of *daoti* that Yu refers to is Zhu's following gloss to *Zhongyong*, *zhang* 1: "The Great Root (大本) is the nature ordained by heaven. All the principles of the world issue from it. It is the fundamental state of the way (道之體)."

[38] Yu further maintains that beginning with Zhu's disciple Huang Gan 黄幹 (1152–1227), the *daotong* concept came to have the sense we commonly understand it today: with Confucius and Mencius being recognized figures in the transmission of the "succession of the *dao*" (Yu 2003: 43–44).

Yu's point is that Zhu was trying to restore what had been lost with the demise of the Duke of Zhou: outer kingliness.[39] This in turn serves to bolster Yu's own claim that the primary agenda of Song *daoxue* thinkers was political (outer kingliness) not philosophical (inner sageliness) and so the study of Song *daoxue* must give greater weight to its animating political agendas and not be sidetracked by philosophical chimera.

There is surely little question that our understanding of philosophically significant texts and thinkers can be greatly enhanced by locating those texts and thinkers in appropriate social-historical contexts. As Kai Marchal cogently observes in "LÜ Zuqian's Political Philosophy":

> modern research in China often has portrayed the works of ZHU Xi and other Learning of the Way followers as purely metaphysical inquiry, thus creating an artificial divide between these thinkers and their political, social, and cultural environment. The political concerns of these thinkers are thus not only relegated to secondary importance vis-à-vis their metaphysical speculations, but are dismissed as largely, if not wholly, irrelevant.

Sometimes socio-historical context even proves to be a necessary condition for the elucidation of philosophical ideas, such as those we might describe under the rubric of political philosophy. As Marchal demonstrates in his essay on LÜ Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137–1181), Neo-Confucian philosophy is not limited to matters of ethics, cosmology, and natural philosophy—it also addresses issues in political philosophy: "LÜ Zuqian stressed the need for a comprehensive assessment of human actions which not only focuses on their dependence on inner motives, but also on their embeddedness in larger contexts, such as institutions, power structures, and the web of human relations." In his discussion of Lü's understanding of institutions and political issues, Marchal examines the relationship between this interest in institutions and the concern for moral self-cultivation, emphasizing the connection Lü posited between human intentions and human actions. And on the topic of the relationship between moral and institutional renewal, he challenges the view that Lü separated the two realms of the moral self and institutional reality, while also identifying Lü as a thinker acutely aware of how concern for moral autonomy could easily turn into the unconditional acceptance of imperial authority.

And when it comes to understanding the full scope of an historical thinker's intellectual life, socio-historical context would seem always to be a necessary condition for that understanding. Unless one is a Marxist, however, it is far less obvious that socio-historical context provides a sufficient condition for the elucidation of philosophical thought. In the absence of compelling evidence as

---

[39] Yu adds further complexity to his account by also insisting that Zhu's *Zhongyong* preface was subtly crafted so as to provide the Song *daoxue* adherents with a place in the "orthodox transmission of the way" (傳道正統). He explains that both Zhu and LU Jiuyuan emphasized the interconnectedness of *daoti* and *daotong*, with the implication being that mastering *daoti* was the sole means for the ruler to inherit and continue the *daotong* of the sage rulers of antiquity, and that *daoxue* was central to this task (Yu 2003: 57–58, 54).

to why some particular socio-historical context has a bearing on how a concept, an argument, or passage of text should be interpreted, the evidence of the text—what the text says to us and how it has been interpreted historically—seems like a good place to begin to look for meaning. As Zhu Xi himself recommended, when playing with the savor of the text, the first step is to free one's mind of preconceptions so as to be receptive to the import of what the sages and worthies were saying.

Eschewing the diverse textual contexts in which Zhu used the term *daoti* Yu inexplicably opts to focus on the wording of an obscure Chinese Buddhist *gāthā* (which was in turn inspired by a passage in the *Daode jing*)—and which does not even mention the term *daoti*—to define the "Song dynasty *lixuejia"* understanding of *daoti* as "a type of eternal and universal spiritual reality that is all pervasive and which controls and sets norms for heaven and earth and the ten thousand things" (ibid.: 53). If Yu had been receptive to the philosophical import of Zhu's writings, he may have been more willing to acknowledge the complexity of the *daoti* concept, rather than wield it as a blunt discursive weapon.

As it happens, Jiang Zhenshuo 姜真碩 has recently provided a compelling example of how rigorous textual scholarship and nuanced philosophical analysis can better elucidate the complexity of Zhu Xi's concept of *daoti*. As Jiang shows, even though Zhu sometimes employed the term *daoti* to mean *dao* 道 in the ordinary sense of the term, "that is, with the connotation of reason/principle (*daoli* 道理) or 'that by which something is so' (*suoyiran* 所以然)," this is not the main way in which he employed the term:

> Usually, *daoti* is expressed in the modes of *ti* 體 and *yong* 用. In the process of being given expression, sometimes *daoti* refers to the *ti* part of *ti yong*, that is, an abstract metaphysical foundation. This sense is expressed as *dao zhi ti* 道之體. At other times it refers to this subtle metaphysical foundation's being expressed as function (*yong*). This sense is in turn referred to as "the flow of *daoti"* (道體流行), "*daoti* made manifest" (道體發見), and so forth. At other places Zhu Xi describes *daoti* in terms of the whole that is a combination of *ti* and *yong*: this can be said to be *daoti* in the broad sense. (Jiang 2007: 308)

Jiang shows that, in Zhu's writings, '*daoti*' and '*dao*' cannot be identified as the same category of reality because "'*dao*' refers only to a fundamental state beyond form (形而上) which stands in contrast to those things which have form (形而下), whereas '*daoti*' refers to the whole which consists of both the categories of above form and having form" (ibid.: 336–337). It is the whole which combines *ti* and *yong*:

> The fundamental state of the way (道之體) is made manifest in the course (歷程) [followed by] the natural and human worlds and this reality can be termed "*ti* is within *yong*."... *Ti* and *yong* in Zhu Xi's theoretical account of *daoti* are definitely distinguished, and between them there exists a process (過程) .... For Zhu Xi, the flow of the *daoti* (道體之流行) refers to its entire course as the fundamental state of the way is given embodied expression in instruments (器). Contained within the overall process whereby the fundamental state of the way (道之體) is expressed as the function of the way (道之用)

> are the elements of "movement from *ti* to *yong*" and "the transformation from *ti* as *yong* is made manifest." (Ibid.: 338–339)

The *ti yong* structure of *daoti* is, moreover, unique in Zhu's philosophy. "In ZHU Xi's philosophy, only *daoti* has a *ti-yong* structure. Other categories of principles, norms, and 'that by which something is so' represented by *dao* or *li* most certainly do not possess *ti-yong* conceptual content. Accordingly, the categories of '*daoti'* and '*dao'* must be rigorously distinguished in ZHU Xi's philosophy.... '*Daoti'* and '*li'* are not equally corresponding categories." Jiang also develops an incisive (and non-partisan) critique of the New Confucian, MOU Zongsan, for uncritically treating *daoti* and *li* as the same category (ibid.: 337–338). Despite YU Yingshi's thinly veiled criticisms of Mou (see below), Yu makes the same uncritical assumption as does Mou (Yu 2003: 54).

The real target of Yu's attacks on the "history of philosophy" approach to the study of *daoxue* (and Neo-Confucian philosophy more generally) is his old nemesis, the New Confucian philosopher, particularly MOU Zongsan. In his masterwork, *Onto-cosmological State of the Original Heart/Mind and Human Nature* (*Xinti yu xingti* 心體與性體), Mou developed a tripartite division of *rujia* lineages for the Song-Ming period.[40] Crucially, he distinguished the three lineages on the basis of their representative thinkers' respective understanding of *daoti*.[41] Despite the tripartite distinction, he treated the first and the second lineages as constituting one main lineage (*dazong* 大宗), an identity purportedly further underscored by a shared emphasis on a core group of texts: *Analects*, *Mencius*, the commentaries to the *Book of Change*, and *Zhongyong*. Mou thus distinguishes two Song-Ming *ruxue* traditions: a main lineage comprised of the first and second lineages and a minor (or inferior) lineage represented by the "divergent" and "collateral" third lineage (Mou 1968–1969: 1: 31–32, 48–49, 58–59; 1999: 414).

Another figure sometimes classified as a New Confucian, FENG Youlan, also appropriated the concept of *daoti* to serve as one of the four core concepts used to construct his New Principle-centered Learning (*Xin lixue*). Feng used the concept to refer collectively to the active processes by which *qi* gradually manifests *li* throughout the cosmos. He did not, however, link the term to any notion of *daotong*.

Yu's long-standing antipathy to New Confucian philosophy and its interpretation of Song-Ming philosophy is not limited to the topic of *daoti*. The roots of this antipathy can be traced to some of the views of his former

[40] The first lineage in this division consists of ZHOU Dunyi, ZHANG Zai, CHENG Hao, HU Hong, and LIU Zongzhou. The second consists of LU Jiuyuan and WANG Yangming. The third consists of CHENG Yi and ZHU Xi (Mou 1968–1969: 1:49).

[41] Mou himself translated *daoti* as "metaphysical reality" and characterized it as "that which is able to give rise to the 'creative reality' of the cosmos' generative transformations" (1968–1969: 1:40). According to Mou, whereas ZHU Xi understood *daoti* "to exist but not be active," the other two lineages—which together constituted the main lineage—understood it "both to exist and to be active" (ibid.: 1:61).

teacher, Qian Mu 錢穆, concerning the notion of *daotong*. In 1991 Yu published an essay in which he shows that Qian Mu was critical of the genealogical transmission model of the *daotong* developed during Song and Ming times because it was vulnerable to interruption. Instead, Qian proposed that the real *daotong* was the "entire cultural tradition" (Yu 1998: 190; Qian 1976: 94). Yu calls this the *daotong* of the intellectual historian, not the *daotong* of the philosopher, which he associates with the New Confucians, in particular the Xiong Shili 熊十力 (1885–1968) "lineage" which includes Mou Zongsan (Yu 1998: 183–191). He argues that the New Confucian concept of *daotong* is not a simple continuation of the concept developed during the Song and Ming:

> Beginning with Xiong Shili, all the New Confucians had a strong *daotong* consciousness. The way they reconstructed *daotong*, however, differed from the approach that had usually been followed since Song and Ming times. They did not emphasize "transmission of the way" lineages, nor did they talk about "mind-to-mind transmission." Rather, they appealed to the understanding and personal verification of the "mind and the nature" by historical *ruzhe* as the basis for determining which of these figures had experienced *daoti* 道體. (Ibid.: 202)

As noted above, Mou's reconstructed *daotong* led him to distinguish the main lineage (*dazong*) of Song-Ming *ruxue* on the basis of its representative thinkers' understanding of *daoti*. It is Mou the philosopher and his philosopher's *daotong* that is the real target of Yu's criticisms. The matters I have here outlined provide a pertinent example of how "historical context" can bear upon the interpretations of thinkers and their ideas. In this case, ironically, the relevant historical contexts are those modern and contemporary contexts which animate Yu Yingshi's critique of the philosophical (that is, New Confucian) interpretations of Neo-Confucian thinkers. At the end of the day, of course, when it comes to the study of Neo-Confucian thought there is no zero-sum-game compelling a showdown between philosophy and history—each is a legitimate domain of scholarly endeavor with its own unique insights and rewards, as the essays in this volume amply evidence. Significantly, these insights are often mutually complementary.

Acknowledgements I am grateful to the press's two "blind" readers for their valuable feedback and constructive criticisms.

Bibliography

Adler, Joseph A. 2008. "Zhu Xi's Spiritual Practice as the Basis of His Central Philosophical Concepts." *Dao* 7.1: 57–79.

Bol, Peter K. 1994. "Cheng Yi as a Literatus." In Willard J. Peterson, Andrew H. Plaks, and Ying-shi Yu (eds.), *The Power of Culture: Studies in Chinese Cultural History*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

Bol, Peter K. 2008. *Neo-Confucianism in History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center.

Chen, Lai 陳來 (ed.). 2007. *The Formation and Evolution of the Early Period of Daoxue Discourse* 早期道學話語的形成與演變. Hefei 合肥: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe 安徽教育出版社.

Chen, Lai 陳來. 2008. *Nine Essays on East Asian Ruxue* 東亞儒學九論. Beijing 北京: Sanlian shudian 三聯書店.

Chu, Hung-lam. 2007. "Confucian 'Case Learning': The Genre of *Xue'an* Writings." In Furth et al. (2007).

de Bary, Wm. Theordore. 1981. *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Heart-and-Mind*. New York: Columbia University Press.

de Bary, Wm. Theordore. 1993. "The Uses of Neo-Confucianism: A Response to Professor Tillman." *Philosophy East and West* 43.3: 541–555.

De Weerdt, Hilde. 2007. *Competition over Content: Negotiating Standards for the Civil Service Examinations in Imperial China (1127–1279)*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center.

Elman, Benjamin A. 2002. "Rethinking 'Confucianism' and 'Neo-Confucianism' in Modern Chinese History." In Benjamin A. Elman, John B. Duncan, and Herman Ooms (eds.), *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam*. Los Angeles: UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series.

Feng, Youlan 馮友蘭. 1934. *A History of Chinese Philosophy* 中國哲學史. Shanghai 上海: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.

Feng, Youlan 馮友蘭. 1985. *Author's Preface to the Complete Works from the Hall of Three Pines* 三松堂自序, in *Complete Writings from the Hall of Three Pines* 三松堂全集, vol. 1. Zhengzhou 鄭州: Henan renmin chubanshe 河南人民出版社.

Fung, Yu-lan (= Feng, Youlan). 1937. *A History of Chinese Philosoph*y, translated by Derk Bodde. Peking: Henri Veitch.

Fung, Yu-lan (= Feng, Youlan). 1948. *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, edited by Derk Bodde, New York: Macmillan.

Furth, Charlotte, Judith Zeitlin, Ping-chen Hsiung (eds.). 2007. *Thinking with Cases: Specialist Knowledge in Chinese Cultural History*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Gallagher, Louis J. (ed. and trans.). 1953. *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Mathew Ricci: 1583–1610*. New York: Random House.

Graham, A.C. 1958. *Two Chinese Philosophers: Ch'eng Ming-tao and Ch'eng Yi-ch'uan*. London: Lund Humphries.

Graham, A.C. 1986. "What Was New in the Ch'eng-Chu Theory of Human Nature?" In *Studies in Chinese Philosophy and Philosophical Literature*. Singapore: National University of Singapore.

Huang, Tsung-hsi. 1987. *The Records of Ming Scholars*. Translated by Julia Ching in collaboration with Zhaoying Fang. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Jiang, Zhenshuo 姜真碩. 2007. "ZHU Xi's Doctrine on the Flow of *Daoti*" 朱熹的道體流行說. In Chen (2007).

Liang, Qichao 梁啟超. 2003 (1927). *Rujia Philosophy* 儒家哲學. Tianjin 天津: Tianjin guji chubanshe 天津古籍出版社.

Liu, Shu-hsien. 2003. *Essentials of Contemporary Neo-Confucian Philosophy*. Westport: Praeger.

Lusthaus, Dan. 1998. "Buddhist Philosophy, Chinese." In E. Craig (ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. London: Routledge. Retrieved January 19, 2009, from http://www.rep.routledge.com.virtual.anu.edu.au/article/G002SECT8.

Makeham, John. 2003. *Transmitters and Creators: Chinese Commentators and Commentaries on the Analects*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center.

Makeham, John. 2009. "Han Yu and Li Ao's *Lunyu Bijie* Interpretation of the *Analects*." In HUANG Junjie 黃俊傑 (ed.), *Studies of the* Analects *in East Asia: China* 東亞論語學—中國篇. Taibei 臺北: Guoli Taiwan daxue 國立臺灣大學.

Mou, Zongsan 牟宗三. 1968–1969. *Onto-cosmological State of the Original Heart/Mind and Human Nature* 心體與性體, 3 vols. Taipei 臺北: Zhengzhong shuju 正中書局.

Mou, Zongsan 牟宗三. 1999 (1983). *Nineteen Lectures on Chinese Philosophy* 中國哲學十九講. Taipei臺北: Taiwan xuesheng shuju 臺灣學生書局.

Peterson, Willard J. 1986. “Another Look at *Li*.” *Bulletin of Sung-Yuan Studies* 18: 13–32.

Peterson, Willard J. 1998. “Confucian Learning in Late Ming Thought.” In Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China* Vol. 8 part 2: The Ming Dynasty, 1398–1644, Part 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Qian, Mu 錢穆. 1976. *A General Account of Chinese Learning* 中國學術通義. Taibei 臺北: Xuesheng shuju 學生書局.

Saito, Tsuyoshi 齋藤毅. 1977. “The Origins of the Term *Tetsugaku* [Philosophy]—From Ai Rulüe [Giulio Aleni] to Nishi Amane and Miyake Setsurei 哲學語源—艾儒略から西周、三宅雪嶺まで. In *Meiji Words: The Suspension Bridge from East to West* 明治のことば:東から西への架け橋. Tokyo 東京: Kodansha 講談社.

Sun, Qifeng 孫奇逢. 1969. *The Main Line of Transmission of Principle-centered Learning* 理學宗傳. Taibei 臺北, Yiwen yinshuguan 藝文印書館.

Tillman, Hoyt Cleveland. 1992a. *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi’s Ascendancy*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Tillman, Hoyt Cleveland. 1992b. “A New Direction in Confucian Scholarship: Approaches to Examining the Differences between Neo-Confucianism and Tao-hsüeh.” *Philosophy East and West* 42.3: 455–474.

Wang, Yangming 王陽明. 1989. *Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted* 傳習錄. *In Wang Yangming’s Complete Works* 王文成公全書. *Complete Collection of the Four Treasuries* 四庫全書 edition. Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.

Wilson, Thomas A. 1994. “Genealogy and History in Neo-Confucian Sectarian Uses of the Confucian Past.” *Modern China* 20.1: 3–33.

Yu, Yingshi 余英時. 1998 (1991). “Qian Mu and the New Confucians” 錢穆與新儒家. In *Essays on Modern Ruxue* 現代儒學論. Shanghai 上海: Shanghai renmin chubanshe 上海人民出版社.

Yu, Yingshi 余英時. 2003. *The Historical World of Zhu Xi : Investigations into the Political Culture of Song Scholar-Officials* 朱熹的歷史世界—宋代士大夫政治文化的研究, 2 vols. Taibei 臺北: Yunchen允晨.

Zhang, Zai 張載. 1978. “Correcting Youthful Ignorance” 正蒙. In *Collected Works of Zhang Zai* 張載全集. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Zheng, Zongyi 鄭宗義 (Cheng, Chung-yi). 2000. “Studies of Song-Ming Principle-centered Learning by Mainland Scholars” 大陸學者的宋明理學研究.” In Liu Shuxian 劉述先 (ed.), *Rujia Thought in Modern East Asia: Mainland China and Taiwan* 儒家思想在現代東亞:中國大陸與臺灣篇. Taibei 臺北: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiusuo choubeichu 中央研究院中國文哲研究所籌備處.

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1986. *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* 朱子語類. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Ziporyn, Brook. 2003. “Li (Principle, Coherence) in Chinese Buddhism.” *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 30.3&4: 501–524.

Ziporyn, Brook. 2008. “Form, Principle, Pattern, or Coherence? Li 理 in Chinese Philosophy.” *Philosophy Compass* 3.3: 401–422.

Zhou Dunyi's Philosophy of the Supreme Polarity

Tze-ki Hon

Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073), also known as Zhou Lianxi 周濂溪 and Zhou Maoshu 周茂叔, has long been regarded as a pioneer of what has become known as the Cheng-Zhu tradition of Learning of the Way (*daoxue* 道學).[1] A native of Daozhou 道洲 in present day Hunan, Zhou spent most of his adult life working as a minor official at provincial level. His uneventful career in the government was duly compensated by his brilliant achievements in writing and teaching. During one of his postings in southwestern China, he tutored the young two Cheng brothers—Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107)—who later became the leading eleventh-century *daoxue* thinkers. Through the two Cheng brothers, his writings were passed on to other *daoxue* thinkers, particularly the great synthesizer Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). In the last few years of his life, Zhou Dunyi retired at the picturesque Mount Lu in central China. He named his study at his Mount Lu residence after the stream Lianxi (Stream of Waterfalls), hence came his courtesy name Lianxi and his posthumous honorific title Master Lianxi.[2]

Zhou Dunyi's reputation as a pioneer of *daoxue* was established in the thirteenth century. Through meticulous textual annotation, Zhu Xi created a genealogy of *daoxue* masters headed by Zhou. From then on, any account of the Cheng-Zhu tradition of *daoxue* had to include discussion of Zhou's philosophy. Whether accepting or rejecting Zhu Xi's genealogy, authors have to reckon with the fact that there is no way to discuss the Cheng-Zhu tradition of *daoxue* without first explaining Zhou's thought.

[1] A shorter version of this essay appears in Cua (2003: 891–895). In some writings, *daoxue* is translated as "Neo-Confucianism." Neo-Confucianism gives a misleading impression that *daoxue* was the only intellectual movement in Chinese history that revived and renewed Confucian thought. For the advantages of using *daoxue,* see Tillman (1992, 1994). For a counter-argument, see de Bary (1993, 1994).

[2] For a detailed biography of Zhou Dunyi, see Huang and Quan (1965: 11:1a–1b, 2:1a–22b; Zhang (1990: 10:1a–22b).

T.-k. Hon (✉)
History Department, State University of New York at Geneseo, USA
e-mail: hon@geneseo.edu

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*, Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_1,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

As his biography shows, however, ZHOU Dunyi was not a major intellectual figure during his own lifetime. Unlike his contemporaries such as OUYANG Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1070) and SIMA Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), Zhou did not attract a large number of followers. Even his students, the two Cheng brothers, did not think highly of him and never made the claim that they were his disciples. How, then, did an obscure figure like Zhou come to be regarded as a pioneer of the Cheng-Zhu tradition of *daoxue*? What was his contribution to Cheng-Zhu tradition of *daoxue* despite modest recognition during his own lifetime?

To complicate the matter further, Zhou was not a prolific writer. Aside from poems and short essays, he only left us with two writings: "An Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity" ("Taiji tu shuo" 太極圖說)[3] and *Penetrating the* Book of Change ("Tong shu"通書). The two writings are very short. "Taiji tu shuo" consists of 255 characters, and the entire text (with punctuation) does not fill a page in modern day printing. "Tong shu" is comprised of 40 short paragraphs commenting on a variety of classical texts including the *Book of Change* (*Yijing*), the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong*), and the *Analects* (*Lunyu*). Although much longer than "Taiji tu shuo," "Tong shu" is still brief compared to the voluminous writings of CHENG Yi and ZHU Xi. More important, being a collection of random musings on classical texts, "Tong shu" is fragmentary and elusive, lacking the scale and detail of CHENG Yi's and ZHU Xi's commentaries. How could Zhou's slim body of writings justify his position as a pioneer of the Cheng-Zhu tradition of *daoxue*? Why were his writings so important to the Cheng-Zhu tradition of *daoxue* even though they were brief and elusive?

The biggest problem about ZHOU Dunyi is his relation with Daoism. Almost as soon as ZHU Xi included him in the *daoxue* genealogy, questions arose as to whether he was a true Confucian. First he was criticized for using the term *wuji* 無極 (Ultimateless) and *jing* 靜 (tranquility) in "Taiji tu shuo," revealing his debt to *Laozi* (Huang and Quan: 1965: 12:3a–8b; Zhang 1990: 2:1a–19; Chen 2001: 39–56). Then he was identified as a pseudo-Daoist, when the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity (*Taiji tu* 太極圖) was linked to the Daoist diagrams for obtaining elixir (Li 2000: 1–64; Wang 2005: 309–314). Some scholars even went so far as identifying Chen Tuan 陳摶 (c. 906–989), the tenth-century Daoist priest, as the transmitter of Daoist diagrams to Zhou (Huang and Quan 1965: 12: 12b–15a; Li 2000: 1–13; Wang 2005: 310–313). These discoveries are damaging to Zhou's reputation. They purport to show that he was a turncoat who subverted the *daoxue* enterprise from within. They lend support to the view that to preserve the purity of *daoxue*, Zhou must be expunged from the pantheon of *daoxue* luminaries.

---

[3] I follow Joseph Adler in translating *taiji* 太極 as "Supreme Polarity" rather than "Supreme Ultimate." As Adler points out, for Zhou Dunyi, *taiji* means the unity of the *yin-yang* polarity rather than the ultimate or the extremity of a cosmic process (Adler 2008).

ZHOU Dunyi's Role in *Daoxue*

Misgivings and accusations notwithstanding, ZHOU Dunyi is still widely accepted a pioneer of the Cheng-Zhu tradition of *daoxue*. This acceptance is in part an acknowledgment that despite Zhou's Daoist proclivity and his scant writings, there is still much to be gained by including him in the genealogy of *daoxue* thinkers. More important, this acceptance underscores the fact that *daoxue* was a philosophical movement of dual nature. It was a response to the Buddhist and Daoist challenge on the one hand, and a reinvention of classical Confucian philosophy on the other.

Since the disastrous fall of the Han Dynasty in 220, the classical Confucian vision of a benevolent government ruling with the mandate of heaven had been discredited. For seven centuries before ZHOU Dunyi's time, the focus of Chinese philosophy had been dominated by either the Buddhist concern with attaining personal liberation from suffering, or the Daoist concern with transcending anthropocentrism. In this respect, ZHOU Dunyi was crucial in marking the distinct ethico-spiritual quality of *daoxue*. With deep knowledge of Buddhism and Daoism, ZHOU Dunyi created a philosophy of the Supreme Polarity that affirms the centrality of human morality in the unfolding the universe. With his philosophy of the Supreme Polarity, Zhou directly responded to the Buddhist and Daoist challenge by arguing for the possibility of spiritual transcendence in the mundane life of human beings (Mou 1968: 321–323).

As a revival of Confucian thought, *daoxue* contained elements different from the classical Confucianism of Confucius (551–479 BC) and Mencius (331–289 BC). One of the key differences was the re-definition of the Confucian canon. The eleventh century *daoxue* thinkers, as well as other thinkers more concerned with institutional or cultural reform, contributed to the formation of an intellectual climate that was both encouraged by and instrumental in fostering a variety of new critical attitudes to learning, particularly learning associated with the study of the Classics (Hon 2005: 15–48). This led to an increasing emphasis being given to the *Great Learning*, the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, and the *Doctrine of the Mean*—culminating in 1190 with their joint publication for the first time as the Four Books—rather than to traditional canons (Makeham 2003: 173–178).

In reinterpreting classical Confucian texts, ZHOU Dunyi based his philosophy of the Supreme Polarity on a creative reading of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the *Analects*, and the *Ten Wings* (*Shiyi* 十翼) of the *Book of Change*.[4] His goal was

---

[4] The *Ten Wings* consists of eight pieces of commentarial writing (divided in ten items) on the *Book of Change: Tuan* 彖 *I* (Judgments I), *Tuan* 彖 *II* (Judgments II), *Daxiang* 大象 (Great Image), *Xiaoxiang* 小象 (Small Image), *Wenyan* 文言 (Words of the Text), *Xici* 系辭 I (Attached Phrases I), *Xici* 系辭 II (Attached Phrases II), *Zagua* 雜卦 (Miscellaneous Notes on Hexagrams), *Shuogua* 說卦 (Discussion of Trigrams), and *Xugua* 序卦 (Sequence of Hexagrams). Beginning in the third century, the *Ten Wings* have been included in the standard text of the *Book of Change*. In the standard text, *Tuan I, Tuan II*, *Daxiang, Xiaoxiang*, and *Wenyan* appear under the sixty-four hexagrams, and *Xici I, Xici II, Zagua, Shuogua,* and *Xugua* are grouped together as appendixes.

not only to show how ancient texts yielded new meanings in a different time, but in responding to the Buddhist and Daoist challenge, he also sought to demonstrate how deeply grounded he was in the Confucian tradition. In the end, his reinterpretation of classical Confucian texts served a philosophical enterprise directed at perfecting human community and facilitating spiritual union with the universe. In Confucian jargon, ZHOU Dunyi's philosophy of the Supreme Polarity combines the learning associated with "outer kingliness" (*waiwang* 外王) and "inner sageliness" (*neisheng* 内聖). In so doing, he embraced the political and social realms of classical Confucianism and the cosmic and religious realms of Daoism and Buddhism (Yu 1997: 144–175).

The Diagram of the Supreme Polarity

Despite being a short text, "Taiji tu shuo" is ground-breaking in developing the *daoxue* argument that moral behaviors are intrinsically metaphysical. As implied in its title, "Taiji tu shuo" is intended to be an elaboration on the *Diagram of the Supreme Polarity*. Thus, Zhou expected readers to be familiar the diagram when they read the "Taiji tu shuo." As a text, "Taiji tu shuo" does not stand alone: its meaning lies in its relation to the *Diagram of the Supreme Polarity*.[5]

Graphically describing the evolution of the universe, the *Diagram of the Supreme Polarity* consists of five circles (see Fig. 1). The top circle is an empty circle symbolizing the universe as a whole. The round shape of the circle indicates that the universe is an organic entity which has no beginning and end. Like a bouncing ball, the universe is constantly in motion. Movement and self-regeneration are the two hallmarks of the universe. The second circle contains three nested semi-circles with dark and light colors. The dark-colored semi-circles represent *yin* 陰 (the yielding cosmic force), and the light colored semi-circles represent *yang* 陽 (the active cosmic force).[6] The arrangement of the semi-circles symbolizes the dynamics of *yin* and *yang* as one of bipolar complementarity. In their pushing and pulling, *yin* and *yang* provide the source of motion for the universe's self-regeneration.

The third circle is the most complicated. It consists of a group of five small circles, each symbolizing one of the Five Phases (*wuxing* 五行): Water, Fire, Wood, Metal, and Earth. These small circles represent the Five Phases' driving all activities and revitalizing all beings in this universe. To highlight the inter-

[5] Over the centuries there were various drawings of the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity and it is unclear which one ZHOU Dunyi used when he wrote the "Taiji tu shuo" (see Zheng 2002: 231–244; Ogiwara 1935: 216–331). Despite these differences, the basic structure of the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity is more or less the same. In this essay, I use ZHU Xi's version as preserved in *Song Yuan xue'an*.

[6] From the perspective of the *Book of Change*, the second circle is actually a picture of two trigrams. On the right side (dark-light-dark) is the *Kan* 坎 trigram; on the left side (light-dark-light) is the *Li* 離 trigram. For a detailed discussion of the images of *Kan* and *Li* and their relations to the Daoist quest for elixir, see Zheng (2002: 234–238).

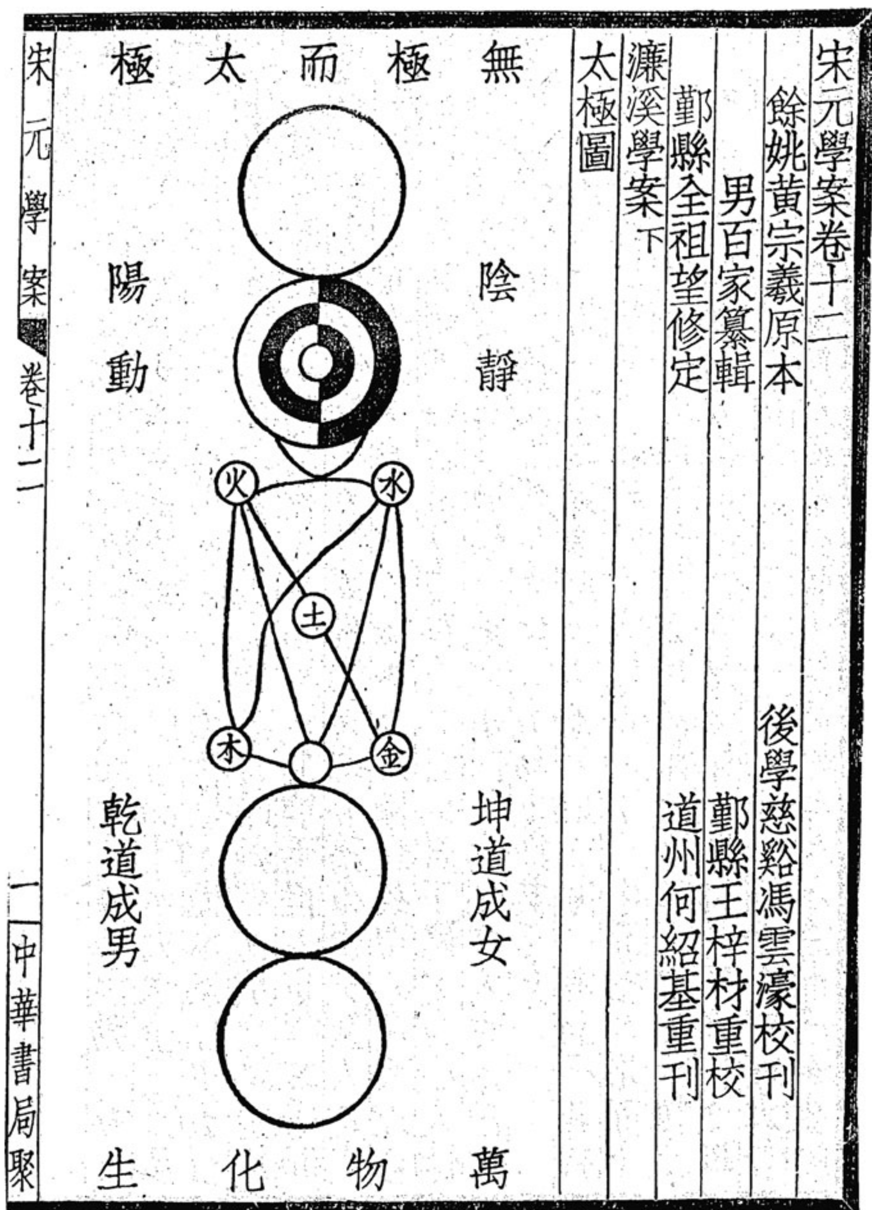

Fig. 1 The *diagram of supreme polarity* from Huang and Quan (1965: 12.1a)

connection of the Five Phases, the five circles are arranged in a rectangle with lines linking one circle to the others. At the center of the rectangle is the earth circle, and the other four circles are scattered at the corners of the rectangle. This arrangement signifies that the earth force is the source of other four forces.

It will be noted that this group of circles is linked to the second circle by a small "V" sign. The sign shows that the Five Phases are the products of the interaction of the *yin* and the *yang*.

As a whole, the first three circles are graphic representation of the famous line in the *Xici* I of the *Yijing*: "Therefore in the Change there is the Supreme Polarity. This generates the two primary forces. The two primary forces generate the four images" (Wilhelm 1967: 318 mod.). The first circle symbolizes the Supreme Polarity as the totality of the universe. The second circle denotes *yin* and *yang* as the two primary forces of the universe. The third circle signifies the circulation of the Five Phases as represented in a rectangle.

Like the first circle, the fourth and fifth circles are empty circles. Together the two empty circles symbolize the organic process by which *yin* and *yang* produce the myriad beings. Focusing on biological reproduction, the fourth circle depicts how *yin* moves the female, and *yang* the male. The fifth circle likens the process by which the myriad beings are produced by the union of the two sexes. In these two circles, the intangible cosmic forces are manifest in the creation of the multitude of beings.

The Cosmology of *Yin* and *Yang*

Based on the *Diagram of the Supreme Polarity*, in "Taiji tu shuo" Zhou Dunyi makes three significant characterizations about the universe. First, he emphasizes that the universe is a material existence: "Unlimited yet Supreme Polarity. The Supreme Polarity moves and gives rise to the *yang*. When movement reaches its limit, it becomes tranquil. Tranquility gives rise to *yin*. When tranquility reaches its limit, activity begins again. Hence, movement and tranquility depend on each other, and *yin* and *yang* are formed as two primary forces."[7] Referring to the first two circles of the *Diagram of the Supreme Polarity*, Zhou describes a dynamic and self-generating universe. Contrary to the Buddhist claim, the universe is not empty (*kong* 空). Rather, it is a lively entity that creates and propels itself by the push and pull of *yin* and *yang*.

Second, Zhou reiterates that the universe is organic: "The transformation of *yang* and the integration of *yin* give rise to Water, Fire, Wood, Medal, and Earth. The Five Forces (*wu qi* 五氣) being sequentially arranged, the Four Seasons move through them. The Five Phases are *yin* and *yang*. *Yin* and *yang* are but the Supreme Polarity. The Supreme Polarity is inherently Unlimited." Referring to the third circle, he describes a universe that is constantly in motion so as to renew itself. The universe is so organic that one may say its being is its becoming. Its essence is its inner propensity to transform itself. More important, because the universe is organic, the unfolding of the universe can be

[7] The translation of "Taiji tu shuo" is mine. For alternative translations, see Chan (1963: 463–465); de Bary and Bloom (1999: 673–676).

understood in two opposite directions. One can see the universe as a sequence of expansion from the Supreme Polarity through two primary forces to the Five Phases. Conversely, one can also see the universe as a process of retracing the source when the Five Phases are linked to the two primary forces, and the two primary forces are connected to the Supreme Polarity. Yet, no matter whether the universe is understood as a sequence of expansion or of returning to the source, it is constantly in motion and regeneration.

Third, ZHOU Dunyi stresses that the universe and the myriad beings are interdependent as part and whole. He writes, "When the reality of Ultimateless and the refined energy of the Two [Forces] and Five [Phases] are miraculously joined, integration ensues. The Way of *Qian* [i.e., *yang*] gives rise to male; the Way of *Kun* [i.e., *yin*] gives rise to female. The Two Forces stimulate each other and give rise to the myriad things. The ceaseless generation of the myriad things results in an unending transformation therein." Here, referring to the fourth and fifth circles, Zhou argues that in essence, the universe and the myriad beings are the same, because both are the products of *yin* and *yang*. Although the universe and the myriad things are ontologically the same, their functions are different. The universe is the whole that brings the myriad beings together as a family of beings. The myriad beings, each unique in its own right, are the parts which make the universe alive. Like sound and echo, and shape and shadow, part and whole require each other. Whereas the universe unifies the myriad beings, the myriad beings enliven the universe.

Zhou's last point is particularly important in the development of *daoxue* philosophy. Medieval Confucian metaphysics, succinctly summarized in KONG Yingda's 孔穎達 (574–648) commentary to the *Book of Change*, gives preference to the whole at the expense of the part. The universe, the whole, is seen as a life-giving organism whose existence precedes that of the myriad beings. The universe (or *wu* 無, that which lacks defining characteristics) "begets" the myriad things (or *you* 有, that which has defining characteristics) by assigning them specific roles in a system. Without the pre-existence of a gigantic system of relationships, the medieval Confucian metaphysicians argue, the myriad things have no way to exist, much less to function as productive members of the universe.[8] To illustrate the precedence of the whole over a part, the medieval thinkers often cited Laozi's example of "thirty spokes share one hub" (*Laozi*, Chapter 11). They equated the thirty spokes with the myriad things and the hub with the universe as a system of beings. Just as the spokes depend on the hub in turning the cart wheel, the myriad things attain their functions because of the cosmic system.[9]

---

[8] For a summary of medieval Chinese metaphysics, see KONG Yingda's eight essays at the beginning of *Zhouyi zhengyi*. For a discussion of Kong's philosophy, see Hon (2005: 28–48).

[9] See WANG Bi's (226–249) commentary of Chapter 11 of *Laozi* in *Laozi zhu* 老子注 (*Commentary on Laozi*). See also KONG Yingda's first essay "On the Three Meanings of *Change* ("Lun *Yi* zhi san ming" 論易之三名) in *Zhouyi zhengyi*. For a discussion of *you* and *wu*, see Hon (2005: 41–45).

In contrast, for Zhou Dunyi, how the universe comes about is not as important as making sure that the universe continues its self-transformation. Shifting the focus of metaphysical discussion from searching for the origin of the universe to its creative unfolding, Zhou was interested in explaining the dynamics of the universe's self-transformation. By focusing on cosmology rather than cosmogony, he underscored the co-partnership of the universe and the myriad things in the universe's constant self-renewal. By putting the part and the whole on the same footing, he ushers in a new way of metaphysical thinking.

Moral Metaphysics

Whereas in the first half of "Taiji tu shuo" Zhou requires readers to read the *Diagram of the Supreme Polarity* from top to bottom as an illustration of how *yin* and *yang* gives rise to the myriad beings, in the second half of "Taiji tu shuo" he asks readers to read the diagram from bottom-up as an illustration of how human beings can partake in the unfolding of the universe. To mark the change in tone, he writes:

> It is only humankind who receive the finest elements [from the two cosmic forces], and therefore is most intelligent. With the appearance of their physical forms and the development of their consciousness, the five moral principles of their nature are activated. They have the ability to distinguish good and evil, and human affairs take place. The sage manages human affairs based on the principles of balance, rectitude, humaneness and rightness, emphasizing the importance of tranquility. Thus, in doing so, the sage establishes the standards for humankind.

Here, for the first time in "Taiji tu shuo," Zhou focuses on humans. He argues that human beings, given their sensibility and consciousness, are the most intelligent among the myriad beings. As free agents in this universe who have the power to decide their actions, human beings are a class of their own. Unlike other beings, they can choose to be active participants or stubborn obstructers of the universe's self-renewal. Hence, the daily moral practices of human beings (e.g., humaneness, rightness, propriety, wisdom, and faithfulness) are more than ethical. They are metaphysical in the sense that they involve a conscious decision to treat human activities as part of cosmic renewal. And this intrinsic link between moral practice and cosmic renewal, or moral metaphysics, is the foundation of the Cheng-Zhu school of *daoxue*.[10]

To drive home his point, in the last part of "Taiji tu shuo" Zhou meditates on the meaning of being a sage. As the ideal human being, a sage is the one who does his utmost to facilitate the universe's self-renewal from his given position in human community. In this regard, sagely wisdom lies in a double

[10] The term "moral metaphysics" (道德的形上學) was coined by contemporary Chinese philosopher Mou Zongsan 牟宗三 (1909–1995) (1968: 1:115–189).

understanding: understanding his particular role in human community, and understanding how his particular role in human community is a part of the universal's self-renewal. With his double understanding, a sage is half-human and half-cosmic. To his fellow beings, he sets the moral standards for the community; to the myriad beings in the universe, he connects the human realm with the cosmic realm, thereby facilitating the smooth unfolding of the universe.

To support his view, Zhou cites the *Book of Change* extensively. In fact, the last few lines of "Taiji tu shuo" are all quotations from the classic. In these quotations, he shows that his understanding of moral metaphysics is based on Confucius' teaching in the *Book of Change*. First, he quotes the *Wenyan* 文言 (Words of the Text): "The great man accords in his character with heaven and earth; in his light, with the sun and moon; in his consistency, with the four seasons; in the good and evil fortune that he creates, with gods and spirits" (Wilhelm 1967: 382). The quotation supports his view that human beings, as a product of *yin* and *yang* and the Five Phases, are ontologically linked to the universe. With this quotation, he justifies his claim that a sage is half-human and half-cosmic because he, as a part, has embodied the whole. Second, he quotes the *Shuogua* 說卦 (Explaining the Trigrams): "Therefore they [the holy sages] determined the way of heaven and called it *yin* and *yang*. They determined the way of earth and called it the yielding and the firm. They determined the way of man and called it love and rectitude" (Wilhelm 1967: 264 mod.). This quotation reaffirms the ontological link of the three realms (heaven, earth, and humankind), thereby lending support to his claim that the sages are indeed half-human and half-cosmic.

Third, Zhou ends "Taiji tu shuo" with an abridged quotation from the *Xici* 系辭 (Attached Phrases), Part I: "Going back to the beginnings of things and pursuing them to the end, we come to know the lessons of birth and of death" (Wilhelm 1967: 294). This quotation reiterates the importance of reading the *Diagram of the Supreme Polarity* in two opposite directions. After reading the diagram from top to bottom to trace the creation of myriad beings, Zhou asks readers to read the diagram from bottom-up, finding out how the myriad beings are indeed products of the Five Phases, *yin* and *yang*, and Supreme Polarity.

Taken together, the top-down and bottom-up readings of the *Diagram of the Supreme Polarity* are two parts of the same argument about the inseparability of ethics and metaphysics. The top-down reading highlights the metaphysical roots of human moral behavior. Speaking from the perspective of the whole, the top-down reading clarifies the web of relationships through which the myriad things (including human beings) are joined together as a family of beings. As part of a huge and organic system, human beings are not only responsible for themselves, but also for all beings in this universe. Taking the opposite angle, the bottom-up reading emphasizes the metaphysical implications of human moral behaviors. Speaking from the perspective of a human being, the bottom-up reading discusses the possibility of a human being embodying the entire universe. As an integral part of the universe, human

beings not only impact upon human community, but also the entire universe. Similar to *yin* and *yang* in constant alternation, the two readings of the *Diagram of the Supreme Polarity* denote the two-way flows in the part-whole relationship between human beings and the universe.[11]

Self-Cultivation and Human Transcendence

ZHOU Dunyi's essay, "Tong shu," is a much longer work. In terms of its subject matter, "Tong shu" is similar to the second half of "Taiji tu shuo." It discusses how a human being embodies the whole in his or her daily ethical practices. Because it addresses directly the method of moral cultivation, a major concern of *daoxue*, "Tong shu" is sometimes placed in front of "Taiji tu shuo" in some anthologies to indicate its importance.[12] In terms of its format, part of the "Tong shu" was written like a commentary on the *Book of Change*, with detailed discussion of specific hexagrams including *Qian* 乾 (Hexagram 1, the Creative), *Meng* 蒙 (Hexagram 4, Youthful Folly), *Song* 訟 (Hexagram 6, Conflict), *Shike* 噬嗑 (Hexagram 21, Biting Apart), *Fu* 復 (Hexagram 24, Return), *Wuwang* 無妄 (Hexagram 25, No Errancy), *Jiaren* 家人 (Hexagram 37, Family), *Kui* 睽 (Hexagram 38, Opposition), and *Gen* 艮 (Hexagram 52, Keeping Still). In these parts of "Tong shu," Zhou acted like a commentator of the *Book of Change*. He quoted the classic and devoted tremendous efforts to elucidate the meanings of the quoted statements. Probably for this reason, "Tong shu" is also known as "*Yi* tong shu" 易通書 (Penetrating the *Book of Change*).

As we have seen in "Taiji tu shuo," Zhou had plenty of reasons to quote and comment on the *Book of Change*. First, the *Book of Change* is a canonized Confucian classic specifically dealing with the relationship between human beings and the universe. In the form of trigrams and hexagrams, the *Book of Change* describes the relationship between human beings and the universe as a trinity (or *sancai* 三才, Three Materials): the heavens at the top, humankind in the middle, and the earth at the bottom.[13] And the three members of the trinity share the same essence and shape each other's destiny. Graphically, the *Book of Change* gives support to the argument that human beings and the universe are interrelated as part and whole. Second, many hexagram statements, line

---

[11] Both CHENG Hao and ZHU Xi employed the Confucian concept of *ren* 仁 (humaneness) to denote the part-whole relationship between human beings and the universe. See CHENG Hao's essay "On Understanding the Nature of *Jen* [*Ren*]" ("Shi ren pian" 識仁篇) and ZHU Xi's essay "A Treatise on *Jen* [*Ren*]" ("Ren shuo" 仁說) (Chan 1963: 523–526; 593–597).

[12] See, for instance, Huang and Quan (1965). The editors intentionally placed "Tong shu" before "Taiji tu shuo."

[13] In the *Book of Change*, trigrams and hexagrams are graphic representations of the trinity of heaven, earth, and humankind. In a trigram, the top line represents heaven, the middle line humankind, and the bottom line earth. In a hexagram, the top two lines represent heaven, the middle two lines humankind, and the bottom line earth.

statements, and especially statements from the *Xici*, *Wenyan*, and *Shuogua* are particularly germane for discussing the metaphysical nature of moral cultivation. They are useful in elucidating the inseparability between ethics and metaphysics. As a matter of fact, the worldview of the *Book of Change* was so similar to that of *daoxue* that many *daoxue* thinkers (including ZHANG Zai 張載 [1020–1077], CHENG Yi, and ZHU Xi) had written commentaries to the classic. In this regard, Zhou was among the first group of *daoxue* scholars who used the *Book of Change* to develop their philosophies (Zhu 1988: 88–116).

In "Tong shu" Zhou addresses two issues: the possibility of learning to embody the universe, and the content of that learning. Concerning the first issue, he concentrates on the concept of sincerity (*cheng* 誠). Originally from the *Doctrine of the Mean*, sincerity refers to the innate human goodness endowed by heaven (*tian* 天). Since it is an endowment from heaven, the innate human goodness is not just a human ability; it is also the crucial link between humankind and the universe. Thus, uncovering and cultivating the innate human goodness, i.e., sincerity, is the ground upon which humankind embodies the universe.

For Zhou, there are three reasons innate human goodness should be called sincerity. First, although available to every human being, innate human goodness is hidden; one has to uncover it by being honest. Sincerity therefore is the means by which humans activate their innate goodness. To underscore this point, Zhou reiterates the ontological basis of human goodness:

> Sincerity is the source of being a sage. [The *Book of Change* says:] "It is marvelous that *Qian* (i.e., *yang*) gives rise to the myriad things." It tells us about the origin of sincerity. [The *Book of Change* says:] "The transformation of the Way of *Qian* endows each being with its nature and destiny." It tells us that everyone is capable of being sincere, and everyone is ready to reach the ultimate state of purity. ("Tong shu," Section 1)[14]

Here, Zhou cites statements from the *Book of Change* to make his point. He cites the *Tuan* 彖 commentary of *Qian* 乾 (Hexagram #1, The Creative) in order to support the idea that humans are ontologically part of the universe, and are capable of being good because of their innate goodness.

Second, since all beings in this universe are intricately connected as a family of beings, to be true to oneself requires being true to others. To be true to oneself at the expense of the others is not sincerity but selfishness. So sincerity has to be rooted in serving others. To make his point, Zhou writes:

> A sage has to be sincere. Sincerity is the source of the Five Constant Virtues [humaneness, rightness, propriety, wisdom, and faithfulness] and the origin of the myriad activities. When a sage is tranquil, he or she is in the state of non-action; when a sage is in motion, he or she is in the state of action. This principle is perfectly clear and easy to follow. Hence, it is impossible to carry out the Five Constant Virtues and the myriad activities without sincerity. ("Tong shu," Section 2)

---

[14] The translation of "Tong shu" is mine. For an alternative translation, see Chan (1963: 465–480).

In this statement, Zhou makes clear that sincerity requires a commitment to serving one's fellow beings through practicing the Five Constant Virtues, namely, being humane in treating one's fellow beings, being appropriate in judgment, being proper in one's manners, being wise in handling human relations, and being faithful to friends and relatives. In practicing the Five Constant Virtues, one has to see the universe as a web of relationships, and recognize that the existence of an individual is shaped by the existence of others. Calling innate human goodness sincerity, Zhou wants to emphasize that it requires the participation of all members in this universe to realize sincerity fully.

Third, as much as one is true to oneself by serving others, the universe is true to itself by giving birth to the myriad beings and nurturing them in its constant self-renewal. The universe gives rather than takes, nourishes rather than demands returns. It achieves through helping others to achieve; it completes itself through completing others. This goodness of the universe is the same as the innate human goodness that one uncovers when one is sincere. To underscore this point, Zhou writes:

> With the cosmic force *yang*, the universe gives birth to the myriad things. With the cosmic force *yin*, the universe completes the myriad things. "Giving birth" is humaneness; "completing" is rightness. Therefore, when a sage administers an empire, he allows the myriad things to grow based on humaneness, and he puts the myriad things in order based on rightness. As the universe flourishes, the myriad things are harmonious. ("Tong shu," Section 11)

In this statement, Zhou juxtaposes the natural realm and the human realm, as if the two are identical. The goal of this juxtaposition is not to humanize nature, but to show that in both natural and human realms, serving others is the norm. Thus, by calling the innate human goodness "sincerity" he underscores that it is the same goodness that the universe has manifested in giving birth to the myriad things.

According to Zhou, this embodiment of the universe by uncovering one's innate human goodness has already been proven to be possible by Confucius' favorite student, Yan Hui 顏回. Depicted in the *Analects* as an extremely self-motivated student, Yan earned Confucius' praise by engaging himself wholeheartedly in learning to be a sage. When he died prematurely, Confucius was so moved that he shed tears (*Analects* 11.7–9). When he was alive, Yan was extremely self-disciplined. His moral cultivation included both "a firm faith in the way" and a determination to practice proper behavior—right seeing, right listening, right speech, and right movement (*Analects* 12.1). He was so self-critical that he earned a reputation for not committing the same mistake twice.

For Zhou Dunyi, the proof of Yan Hui's success in embodying the universe was the spiritual peace Yan found in his briefs and in his impoverished life. Materially, Yan Hui was in an uninviting situation, having only a single bamboo dish of rice, a single gourd dish of drink, and living in a mean narrow lane (*Analects* 6.9). But spiritually, Yan was always upbeat. Everyday he studied the classics, debated with his fellow classmates, and asked Confucius

for advice. Before his premature death, he was hopeful in his constant quest for self-transcendence (*Analects* 11.6). For Zhou, Yan Hui's joy clearly indicates his achievements in self-cultivation:

> Master Yan only had a single bamboo dish of rice, a single gourd dish of drink, and a dwelling in a narrow lane. To others, they would have found the situation unbearable. And yet, Master Yan did not find it unpleasant. Wealth and status are things that people like. Master Yan did not pursue them and was contented with being poor. Why did he do it? In this universe, there are things that are more valuable than wealth and status, and there are things that are more precious and worth pursuing. [Master Yan] focused on the big picture and ignored the small one. ("Tong shu," Section 23)

In Zhou Dunyi's eyes, Yan is the perfect example of a dedicated learner. He did not value material comfort or personal gain. Instead, his goal was to succeed in self-cultivation so that he could realize his spiritual and ontological connection with the universe.

According to Cheng Yi's recollection, Zhou Dunyi often asked his students to search for Yan Hui's joy in his quest for sagehood. Cheng Yi's famous essay, "Treatise on What Master Yan Loved to Learn" is in many respects a systematic response to Zhou's question. It is important to notice that this search for Yan Hui's joy is tantamount to uncovering one's root in this universe. Zhou wanted his students to achieve a sense of being connected to all beings in this universe. The joy of Yan Hui, according to Zhou, is the joy of seeing the universe as a gigantic family of beings. When seeing "the big picture," one will have the feeling of being intimately connected to all beings in this universe. This feeling of intimate connection is what Zhou refers to as "the interpenetrating with heaven and earth" (*yu tiandi can* 與天地參) ("Tong shu," Section 39).

By paying tribute to Yan Hui, Zhou Dunyi not only sought to demonstrate that human beings are capable of learning to embody the universe, he also redefined the nature of Confucian learning. In earlier times, learning was understood by Confucian scholars as learning to be a loyal and responsible government official. Serving the human community by assuming a high-ranking political post was regarded as the direct way to fulfill the Confucian goal. By promoting Yan Hui as the true student of Confucius, Zhou redefined learning as an individual quest for cultivating the mind. Perfecting himself in a mean desolate lane, Yan Hui personified a spiritual learning that has to be undertaken by oneself.

Of course, for Zhou, serving the human community remained the proper way to connect with the universe; but the starting point of learning has changed. Instead of encouraging his students to become prominent government officials, he calls on them to "desire what Yi Yin desired and learn what Master Yan learned" ("Tong shu," Section 10). He told his students that in order to connect with the universe, they first needed to act properly in human community. And in order to act properly in human community, they first needed to have a proper perspective. A learned person, then, is not just a person of action. He is also a person of the right mind who recognizes the inherent connections among all beings in this universe. This "inward turning" is to make cultivation of the heart/mind the most important part of human learning.

With regard to cultivating the mind, Zhou emphasized concentration. He called attention to the most difficult aspect of cultivating the heart/mind: freeing it from the myriad distractions and focusing it on one thing at a time. The whole purpose of mental concentration is not to make someone narrow-minded, but to set someone free from human desires:

> To achieve concentration, one needs to have no desire. Having no desire, one becomes tranquil, unoccupied, active, and acts appropriately. Being tranquil and unoccupied, one sees the world with clarity. Seeing the world with clarity, one's mind is penetrating. Being active and acting appropriately, one becomes altruistic. Being altruistic, one's mind is broad. ("Tong shu," Section 20)

By "having no desire," Zhou did not mean the cessation of human craving, as stated in the Buddhist Four Noble Truths. Rather, he meant to focus one's mind on one thing at a time, so that one will not be distracted. By focusing on one thing at a time, one will attain a clear mind to see the world as a family of beings.

In "Tong shu," Zhou did not fully articulate his method of cultivating the mind. Besides making "having no desires" the goal of moral cultivation, he did not offer any specific suggestions regarding the cultivation of the mind. For this reason, despite his contributions to founding *daoxue* moral metaphysics and defining the nature of *daoxue* learning, he is not generally regarded as a fully-fledged *daoxue* thinker. For many scholars, *daoxue* as a philosophical movement did not begin until CHENG Yi and ZHU Xi appeared on the scene (Chen 1995: 41–140; Liu 1998: 113–130). Yet, for others, Zhou's contribution lies not in his method of moral cultivation, but in his creation of a metaphysics that justifies moral cultivation (Mou 1968: 323–356; Yu 1997: 144–175). On this score, Zhou's moral metaphysics represents a new development in Confucianism. It preserves the moral concerns of classical Confucianism, and includes the cosmic and religious realms of Daoism and Buddhism. For this reason, despite Zhou's Daoist proclivity, ZHU Xi rightfully ranked him first in the *daoxue* genealogy.

Bibliography

Adler, Joseph A. 2008. "Zhu Xi's Spiritual Practice as the Basis of His Central Philosophical Concepts." *Dao* 7.1: 57–79.

Chan, Wing-tsit (trans.). 1963. *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chen, Lai 陳來. 1995. *Principle-centered Learning of the Song and Ming Periods* 宋明理學. Shenyang 瀋陽: Liangling jiaoyu chubanshe 遼寧教育出版社.

Chen, Shaofeng 陳少峰. 2001. *Song Ming Principle-centered Learning and Daoist Philosophy* 宋明理學與道家哲學. Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe.

Cua, Antonia (ed.). 2003. *Encyclopedia of Chinese Philosophy*. New York: Routledge.

de Bary, Wm. Theodore. 1993. "The Uses of Neo-Confucianism: A Response to Professor Tillman." *Philosophy East and West* 43.3: 541–555.

de Bary, Wm. Theodore. 1994. "Reply to Hoyt Cleveland Tillman." *Philosophy East and West* 44.1: 143–144.

de Bary, Wm. Theodore and Irene Bloom (eds.). 1999. *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, second edition, Vol. 1. New York: Columbia University Press.

Fung, Yu-lan. 1953. *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, Vol. 1. Translated by Derk Bodde. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hon, Tze-ki. 2005. *The Yijing and Chinese Politics: Classical Commentary and Literati Activism in the Northern Song Period, 960–1127*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Hou, Wailu 侯外廬, QIU Hansheng 邱漢生, and ZHANG Kaizhi 張愷之 (eds). 1984. *History of Principle-centered Learning in the Song and Ming Periods* 宋明理學史. Beijing 北京: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社.

Huang, Zongxi 黃宗羲 and QUAN Zuwang 全祖望 (eds.). 1965. *Case Studies of Song and Yuan Confucians* 宋元學案. Taibei 臺北: Taiwan zhonghua shuju 臺灣中華書局. (A standard collection of *daoxue* writings edited by two major scholars of the Ming dynasty.)

Kong, Yingda 孔穎達 (ed.). 1983–1986. *The True Meanings of the Change of the Zhou Dynasty* 周易正義. Complete Collection of the Four Treasuries 四庫全書. Taibei 臺北: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.

Li, Shen 李申. 2000. *Studies of the Diagrams of the Book of Change* 易圖考. Beijing 北京: Beijing daxue chubanshe 北京大學出版社. (An important study of the origins of the *Diagram of the Supreme Polarity*. It is particularly helpful in understanding the goal of Qing scholars in identifying the Daoist source of the diagram.)

Liang, Shaohui 梁紹輝. 1994. *A Critical Biography of ZHOU Dunyi* 周敦頤評傳. Nanjing 南京: Nanjing daxue chubanshe 南京大學出版社.

Liu, Shu-hsien. 1998. *Understanding Confucian Philosophy: Classical and Sung China*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Makeham, John. 2003. *Transmitters and Creators: Chinese Commentators and Their Commentaries on the Analects*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Asia Center.

Mou, Zongsan 牟宗三. 1968. *Onto-cosmological State of the Original Heart/Mind and Human Nature* 心體與性體. Taibei 臺北: Zhengzhong shuju 正中書局. (An important work examining the philosophical meanings of Neo-Confucian moral metaphysics. Framed as a critique of Kantian philosophy, Mou explains the roles that the part-whole dynamics plays in the *daoxue* moral metaphysics.)

Ogiwara, Hiroshi 荻原擴. 1935. *The Philosophy of ZHOU Dunyi: Studies of Early Song Philosophy* 周濂溪の哲學：初期宋代哲學の研究. Tokyo: Fuji shoten 富士書店. (Although somewhat dated, this book provides detailed information on the biography of ZHOU Dunyi and scholarship on the *Diagram of the Supreme Polarity*.)

Tillman, Hoyt Cleveland. 1992. "A New Direction in Confucian Scholars' Approaches to Examining the Differences between Neo-Confucianism and *Tao-hsueh*." *Philosophy East and West* 42.3: 455–474.

Tillman, Hoyt Cleveland. 1994. "The Uses of Neo-Confucianism, Revisited: A Reply to Professor de Bary." *Philosophy East and West* 44.1: 135–142.

Wang, Robin R. 2005. "Zhou Dunyi's 'Diagram of the Supreme Polarity Explained' (Taiji tu shuo): A Construction of the Confucian Metaphysics." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66.3: 309–314.

Wilhelm, Richard. 1967. *The I Ching or Book of Changes*. Translated by Cary F. Baynes. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Yang, Zhucai. 楊柱才. 2005. *The Progenitor of* Daoxue*: A Study of ZHOU Dunyi's Philosophical Thought* 道學宗主：周敦頤哲學思想研究. Beijing 北京: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社.

Yu, Dunkang 余敦康. 1997. *Connecting Inner Sageliness and Outer Kingliness: Contemporary Interpretations of Northern Song Period Studies of the* Book of Change 內聖外王的貫通：北宋易學的現代闡釋. Shanghai 上海: Xuelin chubanshe 學林出版社. (The chapter on ZHOU Dunyi in this book provides a close reading of "Taiji tu shuo" and "Tong shu." Yu offers a thoughtful interpretation of Zhou's moral metaphysics.)

Zhang, Boxing 張伯行 (ed.). 1990. *Detailed Explanations of* Taiji tu 太極圖詳解. Beijing 北京: Xueyuan chubanshe 學苑出版社. (A Qing-dynasty collection of writings and commentaries on "Taiji tu shuo" and "Tong shu.")

Zheng, Jixiong 鄭吉雄. 2002. *Diagrams of the* Book of Change *and the Interpretations of the* Book of Change 易圖像與易詮釋. Taibei 臺北: Ximalaya jijin hui 喜瑪拉雅基金會. (The chapter on Zhou Dunyi offers a thorough study of various versions of the *Diagram of the Supreme Polarity*.)

Zhu, Bokun 朱伯崑. 1988. *History of the Philosophy of the* Book of Change 易學哲學史. Volume 2. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe. (The chapter on Zhou Dunyi provides a careful study of the relation between "Tong shu" and the *Book of Change*.)

SHAO Yong's Numerological-Cosmological System

Don J. Wyatt

SHAO Yong 邵雍 (1011–1077) was born into a family of humble scholars that had resided in Fanyang 范陽 (less than 65 kilometers southwest of modern Beijing) for many generations. By the time of his adolescence, however, the northern upheaval caused by the incursions of the Qidan 契丹 Liao dynasty (947–1125) uprooted SHAO Yong and his kinsmen, forcing them into several southerly peregrinations until his father SHAO Gu 邵古 (986–1064) eventually settled with his family in relative safety at Gongcheng 共城 in Weizhou 衛州 (in modern Hui 輝 county, Henan 河南). As a youth, SHAO Yong followed in the footsteps of his father Gu and his grandfather SHAO Dexin 邵德新 (d. 996), both of whom led learned but reclusive lives. Thus, like his contemporary ZHOU Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073)—with whom he is often linked intellectually—SHAO Yong never sat for the imperial civil service examinations. Unlike Zhou—who availed himself of the hereditary "shadow" (*yin* 蔭) privilege of entering government service to pursue a successful bureaucratic career—Shao refused to serve in office, despite receiving imperial summonses in 1061 and in 1069 appointing him to do so.

In 1049, SHAO Yong moved permanently to Luoyang. By the mid-1050s, he had befriended the retired official CHENG Xiang 程珦 (1006–1090) and so came to serve briefly as tutor to the elder man's two soon-to-be-famous sons, CHENG Hao 程顥 (1032–1085) and CHENG Yi 程頤 (1033–1101). Despite this and other early connections with eminent individuals, Shao lived in relative obscurity for two decades—from the time of his arrival in Luoyang until 1069. However, in that pivotal year, the newly appointed grand councilor WANG Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) inaugurated his program of New Policies (*xinfa* 新法). This sweeping set of initiatives disaffected many of the more conservative members of the bureaucracy and produced numerous critics. A significant subsection of the initiative's detractors opted to resign from their positions in favor of temporary retirement. Luoyang became the favored refuge for many of these disgruntled

D.J. Wyatt (✉)
Department of History, Middlebury College, Middlebury, VT 05753, USA
e-mail: wyatt@middlebury.edu

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*,
Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_2,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

individuals because of its status as the secondary capital of the empire and perhaps also owing to its close proximity to the primary capital at Kaifeng 開封. As the members of this growing corps of anti-Wang Anshi political conservatives relocated to Luoyang and met Shao Yong, he rose to prominence as a sagely counsel and adviser to them and their leadership.

Among Shao's closest associates in late life were the senior statesman-historian Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), the philosopher Cheng Hao, and the official Lü Gongzhu 吕公著 (1018–1089). For nearly a decade, Shao Yong, who—apart from teaching—remained unemployed, benefited greatly from the largesse of these individuals and their associates. This influential coterie had even provided him with a home which he referred to as his "nest of peace and happiness" (*anle wo* 安樂窩). In return, Shao is said to have imparted much of his ethical wisdom, if not necessarily the precise precepts of his philosophy, to its members. Thus, at the time of his death in 1077, Shao Yong was attended not only by his son Shao Bowen 邵伯溫 (1057–1134) but also by such cultural luminaries as Sima Guang, Cheng Yi, and Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1077), and others (Wyatt 2003: 2:539–541).

Human and Textual Influences

In order to understand Shao Yong's numerological-cosmological system, we must start by identifying those factors likely to have inspired its initial development. In other words, we stand to profit by first asking ourselves what discernible factors might have disposed him in the particular direction he pursued. This project necessitates that we commence by accounting for the formative educational influences—both human and textual—that shaped him. These influences were not only compelling but determinative in the sense that they had the effect of establishing the parameters of his thought very early on, giving it a critically numerological-cosmological cast and directionality.

Shao Yong's father might be thought to have provided such an influence. Nonetheless, we are hard-pressed to detect any conclusive influence of Shao Gu in the development of Shao Yong's distinctive numero-cosmology. On the contrary, although he reputedly wrote a short but no longer extant commentary on the *Book of Change*, Shao Gu was chiefly interested in phonological aspects of philology, and whereas he surely contributed much to his son's poetic sensibilities, his influence on Shao Yong's philosophical development was far less direct or even evident. It was, in fact, the minor official Li Zhicai 李之才 (1001–1045) who initiated Shao into the tradition of numerical literacy or numeracy. Shao came into contact with Li by chance when the older man was appointed to serve as acting prefect of Gongcheng in the early 1030s. At the time of their meeting, Shao Yong was in the midst of conducting the expected ritual of three-years mourning on account of the death of his mother. To conduct this rite he had secluded himself at the Hundred Springs (Baiyuan 百源), a site with

which he would be associated ever afterward, which is located on Mount Sumen 蘇門. SHAO Bowen, who fulfilled the lifelong service of functioning as his father's chief biographer, advocate, and—to a certain extent—apologist, describes this meeting as follows: "At that time,. . .[LI Zhicai], a great man of learning (*daru* 大儒) from the east, became acting magistrate of Gongcheng district. As soon as he met Kangjie 康節,[1] Li realized that they were kindred minds, and he instructed my father in the *Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學)" (Shao 1970: 18.4).

SHAO Bowen's claim that SHAO Yung had received instruction in the *Great Learning* may be little more than a well-intended, wishful trope. Setting aside the question of his indoctrination in the *Great Learning*, the actual substance of what SHAO Yong did learn from LI Zhicai remains elusive. What we know of Li Zhicai's intellectual lineage offers little reason for believing him to have been particularly adept in anything beyond the most basic precepts of the *Book of Change*, much less his having command of the numerological-cosmological theories deriving from it that would emerge as the identifying features of SHAO Yong's own philosophy. Nevertheless, regardless of what was actually transmitted, we cannot doubt that LI Zhicai helped to guide SHAO Yong's attention in the direction of the *Book of Change*, for as SHAO Bowen further records:

> [My father] Kangjie studied with increasing self-motivation and self-possession. He never set up a bed for himself for three years. Instead, sitting up precipitously both morning and night, he was absorbed in thought. He copied down a version of the *Zhou Change* (*Zhouyi* 周易) and pasted it upon the walls of his mourning hut. He would recite it tens of times a day. (Shao 1970: 18.4)

SHAO Bowen's commentary on his fathers' early educational activities and regimen is still less detailed than we might desire. Nevertheless, we learn from it a few things that are noteworthy because they each formed inalienable parts of the foundation on which SHAO Yong based his numerological-cosmological system. First, we learn that despite some significant relationships with mentors, SHAO Yong was largely self-taught, a fact that is surely relevant to accounting for the eccentricity that characterizes his system. Second, we can observe that his principal sources of inspiration were textual. Third and finally, we learn that whereas he doubtless found a great number of texts to be inspiring, Shao esteemed the *Book of Change* above all others. Drawing from it over a lifetime, he was obsessed with this protean work which came to serve as alpha and omega to his entire philosophy. As the Chinese religionist XIE Fuya 謝扶雅 (1892–1991) once observed, "The summation of SHAO Yong's thought issued forth naturally from the *Change*" (Xie 1976: 94).

---

[1] This was the canonization name honorifically conferred upon SHAO Yong posthumously. As SHAO Bowen recounts, "It seems that the Henan [Luoyang] prefectural government, relying on his obituary notice, bestowed on my late father the posthumous title of gentleman (*lang* 郎) and canonized him as Kangjie, meaning 'health' and 'integrity' " (Shao 1970: 20.4).

In supplying the key elements of erudition to a portrait of his father in later life, SHAO Bowen once remarked that SHAO Yong "avoided nothing when it came to reading books, but it was the Six Classics alone that he took as his foundation" (Shao 1970: 19.7b). Yet even though SHAO Yong was broadly read in the Classics, the fact remains that the basis of his numerological-cosmological system is derived from just one Classic—the *Book of Change*. Informing ourselves about the tradition of numeracy associated with the *Book of Change* provides the key to understanding SHAO Yong's system.

Of the handful of early texts that became most closely associated with Confucius (551–479), none surpasses the *Book of Change* as an archetype of the numerary conventions of ancient Chinese correlative cosmology, and SHAO Yong consciously strove to model his own numerological-cosmological system after this seminal work. We may note, just as he likely did, that the *Book of Change* is customarily regarded as the "first" of the Classics. Yet, this primacy derives not from the fact that it is the oldest—it is not—but because it is, in at least a few ways, perceived as the most primordial. Its alleged author, the mythical Fuxi 伏羲 (also known as Baoxi shi 包羲氏 or Tai Hao 太昊), reputedly devised the rudimentary eight trigrams (*bagua* 八卦) of the *Book of Change* based on his construal of the markings on the back of a tortoise. Being also credited with bestowing upon humankind the survival arts of hunting, fishing, and shepherding as well as the innovations of the calendar, the marriage bond, and cooking, Fuxi was the culture hero of the highest standing for SHAO Yong. To refer to Fuxi as the "author" of the *Yijing* is itself something of a misnomer because, of the texts incorporated into the canon that comprises the Classics, the *Book of Change* is unique and superordinate from the perspective of its original wordlessness—consisting pristinely of nothing more than its regularized sequential taxonomy of divided and undivided lines. Thus, on the basis of its very construction, the *Yijing* exhibits the singular feature that most moved SHAO Yong and that animates nearly every facet of his thinking—the unassailable construct of number (*shu* 數). On numerous occasions SHAO Yong supposedly remarked on the commanding precedence and thus explicit fundamentality of number as well as image (*xiang* 象) over words (*ci* 辭) and their meanings (*yi* 意). However, among the surviving statements attributed to him, none surpasses the following one, in which he opines:

> In dealing with the *Change*, the superior person toys with images, numbers, words, and meanings. The existence of meanings presupposes the existence of speech; the existence of speech presupposes the existence of images; the existence of images presupposes the existence of numbers. Numbers are established and then images are produced; images are produced and then speech becomes displayed; speech becomes displayed and then meanings become evident. Images and numbers then are the traps and the snares but speech and its meanings are the fishes and the hares. Having acquired the fishes and hares, one may forget about the traps and snares. But never once has anyone ever succeeded in catching the fishes and hares by having first discarded the traps and snares. (Huang 1997: 7.55b–56)[2]

[2] The *locus classicus* of the fish-trap and rabbit-snare allegory is *Zhuangzi*, Chapter 26.

World-Ordering

SHAO Yong's numerological-cosmological system—indeed, the entire body of his philosophical thought—is expressed in the two markedly dissimilar works that appear to represent the extent of his written production (Wyatt 1996: 5, 97–99, 227–228, 238–239; Zheng 2000: 3–4). The better known and more prosaically "philosophical" of the two is the *Book of Supreme World-ordering Principles* (*Huangji jingshishu* 皇極經世書), or sometimes simply *Supreme World-ordering Principles* (*Huangji jingshi* 皇極經世), which is justifiably regarded as his magnum opus. Shao was also the author of the well-regarded poetic collection *Striking the Earth at Yi River* (*Yichuan jirang ji* 伊川擊壤集).[3] Although entirely dissimilar in form, representing completely different genres, both works are of incomparable value. Moreover, a perhaps unintended quality of *Striking the Earth at Yi River* is the extent to which it informs our understanding of the chronological and the developmental progress of the ideas expressed in the *Book of Supreme World-ordering Principles*. The datable appearances of key concepts in *Striking the Earth at Yi River* enable us to divide SHAO Yong's thought between early-emerging and late-emerging components. For this reason, in explicating SHAO Yong's numerological-cosmological system, I draw on both works.

The *Book of Supreme World-ordering Principles* exhibits the clearest evidence of SHAO Yong's indebtedness to the *Book of Change*. Indeed, *Supreme World-ordering Principles* is arguably, if understood in terms of its fundamental premises, an expansive commentary on the *Book of Change*. Shao had probably received the eight trigrams—the purported inventions of Fuxi—in their putative "before Heaven" (*xiantian* 先天) arrangement from LI Zhicai, and he regarded them as nothing less than the elemental, constitutional building-blocks of all that exists. The trigrams have the primal dyads *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 as their engenderers and thus, upon the spontaneous but continually procreative interaction of the latter upon the former, they become transformed, producing what we may refer to as "four two-line images (*xiang*), representing greater *yin* and lesser *yin* and greater *yang* and lesser *yang*" (Smith 2008: 121). These same forces of *yin* and *yang* simultaneously and catalytically generate the four complementary images of greater strength (*taigang* 太剛), lesser strength (*shaogang* 少剛), greater weakness (*tairou* 太柔), and lesser weakness (*shaorou* 少柔). SHAO Yong's belief and investment in the reality of these transformations

---

[3] The substantial value of this work derives in part from the fact that it both predates and postdates SHAO Yong's authorship of *Book of Supreme World-ordering Principles*, having been commenced in 1049 and continued until his death. By contrast, SHAO Yong wrote *Supreme World-ordering Principles*—or, more properly, the limited section of the work that we can directly ascribe to him (discussed below)—between 1063 and 1070. Consequently, there is considerable parallelism evinced between these two texts, a situation that permits each to serve as a gloss on the other, aided by the fact that the year of composition for each of the poems in *Striking the Earth at Yi River*—with one notable exception—is datable (Wyatt 1996: 9, 177, 180–182, 238–239).

inspired his own seemingly endless series of related quaternary taxonomies: four celestial images (sun, moon, stars, and constellations); four terrestrial images (water, fire, earth, and stone), and so forth. Or, drawing directly from the so-named "outer chapters" (*waipian* 外篇) section of *Supreme World-ordering Principles*, we may extract the following extensive and highly illustrative passage:

> With the Great Ultimate (*taiji* 太極) dividing, the two modes are established. *Yang*, from above, interacts with *yin*; *yin*, from below, intermingles with *yang*; thus, the four images arise. The intermixing of *yin* and *yang* creates heaven's four images; the intermingling of hard and soft creates earth's four images; thereby, the eight trigrams are completed. Only after the eight trigrams have intimately interacted do all the myriad things that exist arise.
>
> Therefore, the one divides to make two; two divides to make four. Four, dividing, makes eight; eight makes sixteen; sixteen makes thirty-two; thirty-two makes sixty-four. Thus, [the second section of *Trigrams Explained* (*Shuogua* 說卦)] states, "Divide *yin*, divide *yang*, and alternately use soft and hard. Therefore, with six operations [of division], the text of the *Change* achieves completion."
>
> Ten dividing to make a hundred, a hundred dividing to make a thousand, and a thousand dividing to make ten thousand resembles a root having a trunk, a trunk having branches, and branches having their leaves. The larger the parts become, the fewer they are. The more gradated they become, the more intricate they are. United, they become one; spread out they become ten thousand. Therefore, in this way, we can use [trigram] Heaven (*qian* 乾) to divide them; we can use Earth (*kun* 坤) to merge them; we can use Thunder (*zhen* 震) to expand them; we can use Wind (*xun* 巽) to diminish them. Expansion results in division; division results in diminution; diminution results in merging. (Shao 1934: 7A.24b)

This passage enables us to discern that at the root of SHAO Yong's cosmological purview was a conceptualization of a universe that continually unfolded and contracted. Nevertheless, it always did so according to an elaborate yet prescribed pattern of numero-geometrical regularity.

Although Shao regarded number as his "first principle," he acknowledged that, in the overall process of cosmogonic generation, there is at least one entity that always precedes number and this concept we may call either "the numinous" or simply "spirit" (*shen* 神).[4] SHAO Yong, however, construed spirit as an invariantly ethereal and unwieldy force. Mysterious and unmanageable, spirit can neither be harnessed for use nor enlisted in the service of humankind. By contrast, he regarded the attributes of number as altogether more felicitous than those of spirit and, for him, three of these stood out. First and foremost, number is advantaged by being concrete; thus, in the chain of evolving forces, it

[4] The precise sequence of cosmogonic evolution for SHAO Yong involved the Great Ultimate producing spirit, spirit giving rise to number, number generating image, and image finally resulting in utility (*qi* 器). Thereafter, he contended, "upon a change, all of these revert to spirit" (Shao 1934: 7B.23b; 8B.23). In advancing number before image, Shao's sequencing certainly represents an eccentric inversion of what was customary. Among those intellectual successors advancing image over number who nonetheless attempted to reconcile this peculiar modification of SHAO Yong's with past practice was ZHU Zhen 朱震 (1072–1138) (Nielsen 2003: 344–345).

is "the first generated of corporeal things" (Wyatt 1996: 121). Number thus becomes—as we will see below—a tool for the acquisition of predictive knowledge. Second, because it is an inherently regulative concept, Shao regarded number as emblematic of the process of universal generation. This regulative capacity is demonstrable even in the simple act of enumeration, but even more so in the complex mathematical operations of multiplication and division (Smith and Wyatt 1990: 126). Third and finally, we must not overlook how strongly Shao implied that numeracy can lead to the fullest utilization of the human mind (*xin* 心) and, as a consequence, to the perfection of human intelligence (*ling* 靈).

It is primarily on the basis of Shao Yong's abiding faith in, and commitment to, the regulative processes of number that we can best detect the influence of the *Book of Change* on his thinking. He obviously believed the efficacy of number to be extendable to all manner of phenomena. Most importantly, he construed this efficacy to be applicable not only to phenomena in *space* but also to those locatable exclusively in *time*. Such a realization affords us the best preparation we can have for understanding the emergence of his uniquely devised methodology for "ordering the world" (*jingshi* 經世).

Shao Yong's "world-ordering" methodology is the most prominent conceptual product of his early thought—datable to as early as 1057 (Wyatt 1996: 277–278)—and has attracted the most scholarly attention. Even though Shao Yong did not invent the term *jingshi*—its textual *loci classici* are the Daoist work *Zhuangzi* 莊子 and the official *History of the Later Han Dynasty* (*Hou Hanshu* 後漢書) (*Zhuangzi* 1.19; Qian 1951: 17; Fan 1965: 87.2901; Wang 1984: 87.25b)—the concept became central to his interpretation of "world-ordering," an interpretation effectively anchored by number, resulting in *jingshi* becoming the namesake for the methodology that he subsequently developed.

Shao Yong's *jingshi* methodology best illustrates how he employed number in his numerological-cosmological system. His idea of world-ordering reveals that he utilized number *numerologically* as well as *mathematically*.[5] For example, it was Shao's mathematical application of number, channeled via his world-ordering methodology, that facilitated the development of his renowned schema of cosmic time, in which the duration of the universe is confined invariantly to a single, fixed cosmic world cycle (*yuan* 元) of time—an arbitrary but computationally static world-period of 129,600 years, which itself is comprised of his own invented time increments—in descending order of duration: the epoch (*hui* 會), revolution (*yun* 運), and generation (*shi* 世). Conversely, at other times he applied number numerologically, especially to express "facts" he believed to be empirically self-evident, such as the superabundance of inferior persons (*xiaoren* 小人) in comparison to gentlemen or superior men (*junzi* 君子), with the former always outnumbering the latter by a factor of at least two to one.

[5] The conventional characterization of Shao Yong's thought as predominantly numerological has not gone unchallenged (Birdwhistell 1989: 4).

The primacy of number within this unique methodology notwithstanding, it is surprising that—at least within the more authentic "inner chapters" (*neipian* 内篇) section of *Supreme World-ordering Principles*—the term *jingshi* appears only once. Nevertheless, this single instance is itself a highly protean one, for it reveals all four of the motive impetuses—the literary, the temporal, the historical, and the political—that lay behind the development of Shao's world-ordering concept. At the end of a lengthy disquisition in which he supplies a detailed political history spanning from the dawn of received history up until his own times, he concludes:

> From Emperor Yao 堯 until now, more than three thousand years and more than a hundred generations have passed. Within the four seas and amidst the nine divisions of the realm [as established by Yu 禹]—whether in times of unity or disunity, stability or instability, strength or emaciation, leadership or subservience—none of those whose names have been recorded clearly in the literature could standardize customs from one generation to the next.
>
> Alas, the ancients called thirty years one generation. How could this designation have been futile? Only by waiting for transformations (*bian* 變) to exert their penetrating influence and education to achieve wide dispersal can the circumstances of the people become totally changed. If individuals who are destined to order the world (*jingshi*) can flourish across generations, then although the people may subsist at the time like the Yi 夷 and Di 狄 barbarians, within three transformations, the way (*dao* 道) of the emperor will be elevated.
>
> It is pitiable that time lacks a hundred-year generation; that there can be no hundred-year-olds within the span of a single generation. If such a substitution could be brought about, then the disparity [in numbers] between today's men of worth and those who are good-for-nothing would be improved by half. Is it not difficult to secure the right times? Is it not difficult to secure the right persons?. (Shao 1934: 6.15b–16)

These paragraphs form merely the concluding passage to a far more expansively articulated argument which, for reasons of space, cannot be included here. Nevertheless, if nothing else, we learn from these passages that Shao Yong intended his world-ordering methodology to function as a tool of statecraft in the hands of the morally exemplary person, directed toward the purpose of bestowing beneficent governance over all humanity. As a concept, *jingshi* was preeminently and almost self-referentially political.

Equally interesting is the manner in which this world-ordering concept, framed as it is in the above passages, limns Shao's connection with Confucius, who in the *Analects*, states: "With a single transformation, Qi 齊 can attain to Lu 魯; with a single transformation, Lu can attain to the way" (*Analects* 3.6.17b; Slingerland 2003: 61). Or as Shao Yong's commentator son Shao Bowen—concluding with a familiar allusion to the practice of proper governance drawn from both the *Analects* and the *Mencius*—further interprets the matter:

> When the ruler, above, insists on wanting to conduct his affairs imperially, then he is submitting to upholding the way of heaven (*tiandao* 天道). When, at the middling level, he conducts kingly affairs, then he is submitting to upholding the way of man (*rendao* 人道). When, at the lowest level, he conducts affairs tyrannically, then he is submitting to upholding the way of earth (*didao* 地道). Among these three ways, [only] this first one ought to be raised.

> The ability to rule [the empire] as if simply turning something over in the palm of one's hand[6] was enjoyed by the ancient monarchs who first elevated this first way;. . .the world-ordering learning (*jingshi xue* 經世學) of [my father] Kangjie seems to have been something along these lines. (Shao 1970: 19.5b–6)

Observation of Things

We can safely surmise that Shao Yong took the premises inherent in his early-developed conception of world-ordering as serviceable buttresses on which to rest his thought over the course of his lengthy philosophical career. He never renounced any of the methodology's foundational principles, least of all number. However, we can also reasonably expect that, as his thought matured, Shao Yong might well have elected to enrich his intellectual purview with the inclusion of additional concepts. This he did, and two such concepts will be considered below in turn. Before doing so, however, we should also note just how thoroughly Shao's expansion of his operative philosophical lexicon was characterized by a categorical uniqueness. That is to say, even in accepting each concept as an instance of his appropriation of yet another concept inherited from tradition, we would be remiss if we failed to recognize Shao's singularity in wielding the particular concepts he adopted. In our coming to understand his highly specialized system, this fact that he was essentially alone in employing the concepts with which he was engaged is at least as important as the particular refinements to which he subjected the concepts he embraced.

Both the "inner" and the "outer" sections of *Supreme World-ordering Principles* are prefixed by the term *guanwu* 觀物—literally, "to observe things." Interestingly, among Shao Yong's key philosophical terms, *guanwu* is the only one to appear in *Supreme World-ordering Principles* prior to appearing in *Striking the Earth at Yi River*, which makes it a written expression of no earlier than 1070–1071, when the *Inner Chapters on Observing Things* (*Guanwu neipian* 觀物內篇) section of the former work was completed. Thus, even while not dismissing the prospect of his having engaged this construct at some earlier stage, we are nonetheless compelled by the written evidence to regard *guanwu* as more likely a product of Shao Yong's later years.

How did Shao Yong construe *guanwu* to function? The *locus classicus* of the term is in the writings of the late Warring States thinker Xunzi 荀子 (ca. b. 312 bc). The parallelism between Xunzi's original philosophical articulation of *guanwu* and the most cited passage in which Shao Yong gives expression to the term is revealing. In "Dispelling Obscurities" ("Jiebi" 解蔽), Xunzi writes: "Whenever doubts arise in observing things, it is generally because the mind is not settled. At such times, things that are external to oneself will appear

[6] This allusion was invoked throughout the entirety of Confucian (including Neo-Confucian) discourse (*Analects* 2.3.4b; Slingerland 2003: 21; *Mencius* 1.13b, 3.2b, 3.15; Van Norden 2008: 11, 14, 46).

unclear" (Xunzi 1927: 15.8b). Correspondingly, in his *Inner Chapters on Observing Things*, SHAO Yong famously states: "Now, what I call observing things does not mean to observe them with the eye. Not observing them with the eye, it means to observe them with the mind. Yet neither does it mean just to observe them with the mind but, instead, it means to observe them with principle (*li* 理)" (Shao 1934: 6.26). As I discuss below, the concept of principle occupied an exceptional and enigmatic position within SHAO Yong's system. Most important for the present, however, is SHAO Yong's declaration that to observe things properly is "to observe them with the mind," because it adheres to the spirit of Xunzi's original assertion, adumbrating the earlier philosopher's assertion that it is the state of our individual minds which is central to our capacity to observe things (Mote 1989: 57).

For SHAO Yong, *guanwu* is the means by which the sage observes the world and its contents. Three qualities lie at the heart of this sagely method of observation and, by extension, the appropriation of knowledge. As is strongly implied above, the method of *guanwu* is first and foremost dispassionately detached. This is illustrated in SHAO Yong's description of the distinguishing traits of the sage: "Now, the sage's sight is the broadest; his hearing, the most far-reaching; his discussion, the most lofty; his joy, the grandest. To be able to engage in the most broad, far-reaching, lofty, and grand of activities and, amidst them all, not have to do a single thing (無一為)—how can this not be called most spiritual, the most sagely?" (Shao 1934: 6.27).

Second, and again after the manner of philosophical Daoism, *guanwu* as a method is relativistic. This idea is well captured in the artfully argued passage from *Inner Chapters on Observing Things* in which SHAO Yong decries the subjectivism with which nearly all of us regard time. He urges us to ponder whether there ever were or ever will be at least a few individuals with the wisdom to elevate themselves routinely above this constraining trap in perception. Implying that much depends on it, he states:

> Now, within the expanse of heaven and earth, past and present are each like a day or an evening. The present is called "present" when observed from the standpoint of the present; when it is observed in hindsight, the present is also called "past." The past is called "past" when observed from the standpoint of the present; when the past is observed from the standpoint of the [more remote] past, this past is also called "present."
>
> Let it be known that the past, for its part, is never necessarily the past, nor is the present necessarily the present. All such assumptions that they are so, come from our observing them in terms of ourselves (自我而觀之). Can it be that people a thousand generations before us did or ten thousand generations after us will not observe past and present in terms of themselves? (Shao 1934: 5.14b)

SHAO Yong's phrase "observing them in terms of ourselves" presages the third attribute that is intimately associated with his *guanwu* methodology and, because it is as much an end as it is a means, this final trait is by far the most important. If nothing else, for SHAO Yong *guanwu* must result in a way of perceiving things that is objective. This objective perspective on things is

achieved not by observing things in terms of *ourselves* but instead by observing things in terms of the things *themselves* (以物觀物). The only obvious case when it is appropriate for us to use ourselves as the reference point is in the quest for sublimely human understanding of the human and SHAO Yong takes even this situation into account:

> Even heaven and earth came into being through the way. How much the more then should this be the case with humans and things? Among things, humans are the perfection of intelligence. The intelligences of other things have never attained to the level of the intelligence of humans. However, things nevertheless also come into being through the way. Thus, how much more so should this be the case with humans—being more intelligent than things? Let it be known that humans are also things (人亦物也). Therefore, it is only based on our perfected intelligence that we can specially refer to ourselves as human. (Shao 1934: 6.10)

Considered in relation to the views obtaining among his contemporaries, SHAO Yong's perspective on humankind is unique. The foregoing declaration which either reduces humanity to just another type of thing or elevates things, animate or otherwise, to a position of equivalency with humankind, has ensured an indelible place for him in the history of Neo-Confucian philosophy.

SHAO Yong considered one of the main objectives of his *guanwu* methodology to be the achievement of a kind of objectivity whereby one could directly see into the very being of those things toward which one turned one's mind to examine. However, beyond this idealism, whereby the psychic, if not real, distance between the observer and the observed is obliterated, we should also note his emphasis on omniperspectivalism, for he declares *guanwu*, properly practiced, to result in a condition or state of being whereby the sagely individual becomes capable of the sort of unparalleled "vision" that not only permits "using the world's eyes as one's own" (Shao 1934: 6.27) but even the world's hearing, taste, and thought. Consequently, with these faculties of the world brought into the service of and augmenting one's own, SHAO Yong surmises that the result can only be an entrance into a majestic state of sagacity wherein there is "nothing that one does not see" (Shao 1934: 6.27).

As eccentric as SHAO Yong's *guanwu* methodology may be, it is noteworthy for at least one reason other than its idiosyncratic qualities. It was precisely his notion of *guanwu* and the kinds of conclusions to which it led, such as the equation of humans with things, that, more than any of his other aberrant views, drew the immediate criticisms of his philosophical peers. *Guanwu* was really only one exceptional element among many in his numerological-cosmological system. SHAO Yong was also faulted for his failure to embrace *li* or principle (also translated as "pattern") fully. Shao, of course, resolutely championed number over and above principle and, for the stance he took, there was a modicum of toleration, if not endorsement. After all, within the most broadly interpreted cultural context, from the collective perspective of his contemporaries as well as our own, Shao's subscription to numeracy is quite understandable. Competency in numeracy enjoyed age-old sanction, being a normative expectation for male scions of the Zhou-dynasty aristocracy and comprising—

along with rites (*li* 禮), music (*yue* 樂), archery (*she* 射), charioteering (*yu* 御), and writing (*shu* 書)—that earliest of codified educational regimens known as the Six Arts (*liuyi* 六藝).

Understood within the specific philosophical milieu of his particular time, however, SHAO Yong's advocacy of *guanwu* as ideal epistemological method was particularly anomalous, and attracted intense criticism during his lifetime. CHENG Yi was a foremost critic of Shao's notion of *guanwu*. Cheng's strategy for undermining *guanwu* was to co-opt it as a method but in doing so also assert the primacy of the role of principle in any act of properly observing things, in contrast to SHAO Yong's focus on the mind. CHENG Yi sought to achieve this cooptation by casting principle not just as the only legitimate tool for, or mode in, the act of observation but as its only bona fide object. For CHENG Yi, the real goal of the act of observing any object should always consist of the imperative that we observe foremost the principle that underlies it, and all other considerations should pale before this specific aim: "We can, in every instance, enhance our knowledge of things in the world through principle. Given the existence of things requires principle, then the existence of each thing necessitates that it has its own principle" (Cheng 1908: 18.12b). Thus, based on his understanding of the process, CHENG Yi summarily concluded: "In observing the principles of things (觀物理)…, once one succeeds in illuminating principle, then there will be no direction taken in which knowledge will not be acquired" (Cheng 1908: 18.12).

We finally stand to profit by addressing the implied tension between the respective "most favored" concepts of CHENG Yi and SHAO Yong. What connection, if any, was envisioned to exist between the concepts of principle and number? What form did SHAO Yong in particular construe such a relationship between the two as assuming? For SHAO Yong we can posit the existence of a hierarchical relationship that privileged number. The support for this thesis is both near at hand and compelling. All intratextual evidence attests to SHAO Yong's having regarded *shu*—and not *li*—as more primary. Throughout the entirety of *Inner Chapters on Observing Things* (*Guanwu neipian*), "*li* is discussed on only three occasions, with the graph itself appearing a total of only nine times" (Wyatt 1996: 83). This scant incidence of principle in Shao's main corpus starkly contrasts with the frequency of its appearance in the writings of the Cheng brothers and other contemporaries, not to mention those of successors such as ZHU Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). Thus, with it being neither a metaphor nor a metonym for some other construct, we can assume that Shao regarded *shu* not only as an essentialist concept but one that was on a par with the *li* of others. Such at least is most assuredly what CHENG Yi believed when he stated: "The number method of SHAO [Yong] Yaofu 堯夫 issued forth from LI [Zhicai] Tingzhi 挺之; for Yaofu, investigation via the dimensions of number attains to the same level as investigation through principle" (Cheng 1908: 18.16b).

Nevertheless, even with this much said, we can confidently contend that number never really rose to the preeminence of status in SHAO Yong's philosophy that principle obtained in CHENG Yi's (Wyatt 1996: 86). *Shu* was, to be sure,

most favored by Shao Yong but it was never indulged to the exclusion of all other contributing constructs, for—as is stated above—one of the uniquely distinguishing features of the conceptual universe that he devised and in which he operated was its uncommon number of elements. Moreover, in addition to being so expansive, Shao's conceptual vocabulary exhibited the distinctiveness of a simultaneous equality and yet autonomy amongst its many parts. Number was the most distinguished constituent of this fund of elements that Shao employed but it was a constituent, nonetheless. As such, like its companion constructs, number was not really directed toward achieving constancy, for Shao recognized change as a continuous process that could neither be forestalled nor arrested. Instead, as stated below in connection with his views on time, Shao Yong used number, along with a host of compatible concepts, for the purpose of achieving a kind of harmonization. Shao Yong through *shu*, in the same manner that Cheng Yi and most of his other contemporaries had come to employ *li*, was able to aggregate pluralities in a way that surmounted relativism. Number, most of all, empowered him in "integrating the perceived multiplicity of worldly phenomena into a uniform pattern" (Wyatt 1996: 85).

Before Heaven Diagram/Learning

Shao Yong's concept of the observation of things was not the sole intellectual product of his mature years. Other important elements of his numerological-cosmological system were also relatively late-emerging (Wyatt 1996: 177, 178–179). In our deliberations on them we are brought "full circle," drawn into reengagement—much as Shao Yong himself doubtless was—with the *Yijing*, by way of the concepts that were drawn from it. These concepts are the Before Heaven Diagram (*xiantian tu* 先天圖) and its attendant Before Heaven Learning (*xiantian xue* 先天學) and, taken together, they are often considered to constitute Shao Yong's signature achievement.

This association of the Before Heaven Diagram and Before Heaven Learning with Shao Yong is ironic when we consider that theses two concepts were among the most derivative of those he endeavored to promote. This fact is fully borne out by our locating the term *xiantian* within the tradition to which Shao Yong was heir. We find that, as a term, *xiantian* is culled from the *Yijing* or, more directly, from the (probably incomplete) *Words of the Text* (*Wenyan* 文言) commentary on the classic, in which it is stated:

> Now, the person of greatness becomes the equal of heaven and earth in their powers; of the sun and moon in their brightness; of the four seasons in their regularity; and of the ghosts and spirits in either their auspiciousness or their balefulness. In acting before heaven (*xiantian*), this person confronts no opposition from heaven. (*Wenyan* 1.12a–b; Rutt 1996: 438; Wyatt 1996: 195, 300)

This terse statement unequivocally expounds the prospect of becoming able to execute one's affairs in a wholly a priori fashion—that is, expressed in temporal

terms, *in advance of* any action executed by heaven. The *Words of the Text* commentary, however, also states a more conventional description of the sequencing of actions involving heaven and humans—one prefiguring the expression "after heaven" (*houtian* 後天): "In acting afterward, the person of greatness conforms to heaven's times. Being unopposed by heaven, how much the less will such a person be opposed either by humans or the ghosts and spirits?" (*Wenyan* 1.12b; Rutt 1996: 438; Wyatt 1996: 195, 300). What is at stake in this first appearance of these two pivotal terms is the distinction between two very different ways of knowing, both of which SHAO Yong deemed to be fully within the province and capacity of persons who duly cultivated them. This distinction was recognized and explicated roughly a thousand years before SHAO Yong by the late Han 漢 philosopher WANG Chong 王充 (27–100), who offers what is effectively a sub-commentary on this same seminal passage of commentary:

> "Now the person of greatness becomes the equal of heaven and earth in their powers; of the sun and moon in their brightness; of the four seasons in their regularity; and of the ghosts and spirits in either their auspiciousness or their balefulness. In acting before heaven (*xiantian*), this person confronts no opposition from heaven." "In acting afterward, the person of greatness conforms to heaven's times."
>
> If one were required to await heaven's decree (*tianming* 天命) before carrying it out, then how could there be such terms as "before heaven" and "after heaven"? One can act according to what issues forth directly from one's own heart/mind (*xin*) because awaiting heaven's decree is not needed. Therefore, these are the applications of "before heaven" and "after heaven"—words (*yan*) that equal the seasons of heaven. Therefore, we have the texts (*wen*) "confronts no opposition from heaven" and "conforms to heaven's times." (Wang 1923: 3.5a–b)

These final two sentences feature some interesting wordplay on the title of the *Wenyan* commentary, as WANG Chong intimates that no heavenly detriment will befall anyone who simply accepts the scripts in life that one is given.

At some point before the end of the Han or perhaps considerably later, the fertile trigram iconography of the *Book of Change* became deployed in representing the terms *xiantian* and *houtian* in the forms that have become their classic circular diagrammatical articulations (see Figs. 1 and 2) and, for the Song period, these graphic expressions became especially associated with SHAO Yong. Shao favored the Before Heaven Diagram over the After Heaven Diagram, privileging what he understood to be its capacity for predictive knowledge. Although he nowhere made the claim for such a capability on his own part, his contemporaries and later generations of scholars attributed to him the gift of prediction, and we must assume that the Before Heaven Learning was the principal means whereby he allegedly exploited this gift.

Only one description of the Before Heaven Diagram is contained in the *Outer Chapters on Observing Things*:

> The Before Heaven Diagram is circled at the center. Moving upward from below across it is called ascent; moving downward from above across it is called descent. Ascent is production; descent is dispersion. Thus, *yang* is produced below, *yin* is produced above,

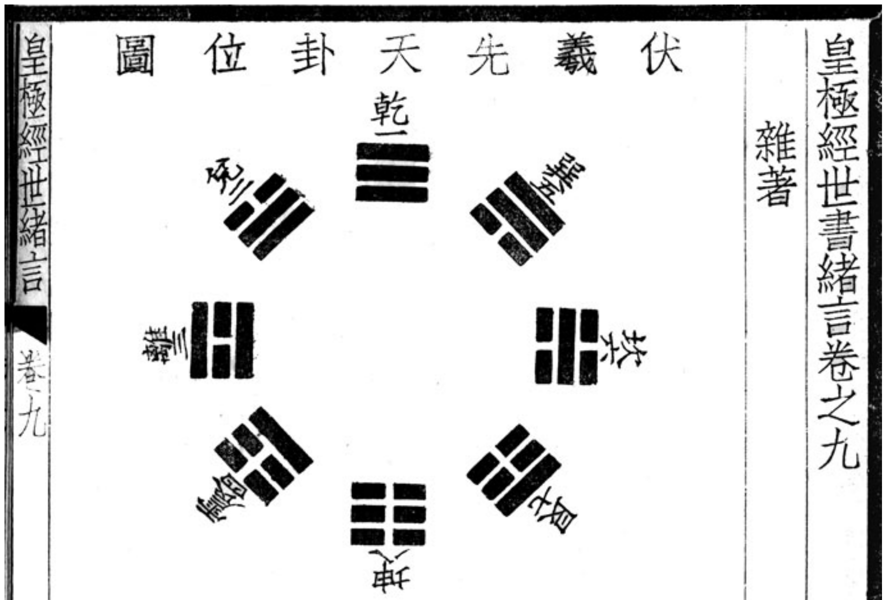

Fig. 1 *The diagram of the trigrams in Fuxi's before heaven arrangement* from Shao (1934: 9.1)

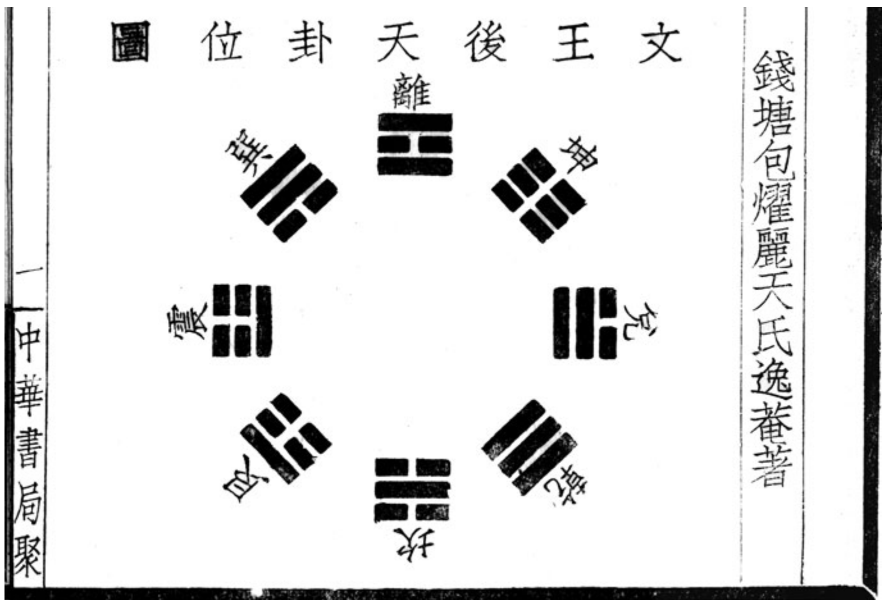

Fig. 2 *The diagram of the trigrams in King Wen's after heaven arrangement* from Shao (1934: 9.1)

> and, by this means, the myriad things all arise out of their opposites. *Yin* produces *yang*, *yang* produces *yin*; *yin* reproduces *yang*, *yang* reproduces *yin*; and, by this means, in circulating, they are inexhaustible. (Shao 1934: 7B.1)

Although interesting, the foregoing description is inadequate, in that it represents a far better description of function than it does of form. Fortunately, we possess the independent description offered by its admirer LOU Yao 樓鑰 (1137–1213) of the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279):

> Trigram Heaven is one; Marsh (*dui* 兌) is two; Fire (*li* 離) is three; Thunder is four; Wind is five; Water (*kan* 坎) is six; Mountain (*gen* 艮) is seven; Earth is eight. From Heaven in the south, go left; from Wind in the southwest, go right. Therefore, the *Trigams Explained* states, "Heaven and Earth fix the locations. Mountains and marshes mingle their energies. Thunder and winds spread together. Water and fire spew not at each other."
>
> Now since Heaven is on top whereas Earth is on the bottom; Fire is to the left whereas Water is to the right; Thunder is in the northeast whereas Wind is in the southwest; Marsh is in the southeast whereas Mountain is in the northwest, each pairing of trigrams is in mutual opposition. This is the explanation of the Before Heaven arrangement, which is the *Change* of Fuxi. (Lou 1922: 76.8)

The importance of its diagrammatical representation notwithstanding, the substance of SHAO Yong's Before Heaven concept—its namesake body of wisdom—should rightly figure even more prominently in our deliberations. After all, as SHAO Yong himself opined concerning the pre-temporal nature of the *Yijing*, "The *Change* was fully expressed in those times before we even had benefit of the eight trigrams" (Shao 1934: 5.20). Nevertheless, contrary to our likely assumptions, SHAO Yong appears not to have endorsed predictive knowledge as any sort of tool of intervention. Knowing in advance, however reassuring it might be, apparently does not authorize one to act in advance with the intention of manipulating or averting a given outcome, and therefore we can confidently contextualize his Before Heaven Learning as having been an aspect of his philosophy that was entirely consistent with his own quietistic lifestyle. In fact, the concept *xiantian*, despite its salience, lacks a long history of inclusion in SHAO Yong's philosophical lexicon when compared to his other major ideas. Indeed, he wrote much less directly and openly about *xiantian* than he did about his other three philosophical cornerstones: *shu*, *jingshi*, and *guanwu*.

Another consequence of the latecomer status and obliqueness of the Before Heaven concept in Shao's writings before 1076—a year before his death—is that it is criticized much less sharply, if at all, in comparison to the concepts of number, world-ordering, and observing things. In this connection, it is noteworthy that the criticisms CHENG Yi lodged against *xiantian* are distinguished by their relative mildness. Indeed, the entirety of Cheng's extant reaction to the Before Heaven concept appears to consist of a single pronouncement in which he appropriates the first line of the image statement for the hexagram Freedom from Error, No. 25 (*Wu Wang* 无妄), to declare: "'Thunder roils beneath Heaven. Things obtain to innocence' means it is the case that Before Heaven and After Heaven both merge in the principle (*li*) of Heaven. When people

harbor designs to obtain something, then these can only be bogus" (Cheng 1908: 24.1). The implications of CHENG Yi's dissent are obvious: should it be the case that they are not grounded in principle, then Before Heaven and After Heaven could never be any less suspect than the other concepts that SHAO Yong promoted. In sum, even though technically accomplished, if they lack a foundation in principle, then we have no choice but to deem all efforts on the part of people to forecast the future to be always insubstantial, even vacuous, from a moral standpoint.

Conclusion

Through his numerological-cosmological system SHAO Yong embraced and maintained a tenacious absorption with what we might refer to as three distinct philosophical vistas—namely, number, time, and knowledge. These three quantities represent the thematic arenas with which he was most preoccupied. Consequently, advancing beyond a simple review of findings, we can gain much from a closing consideration of their allure for him. Moreover, through his engagement with these vistas, he reveals not only his reliance on convention but also his unbounded capacity for innovation.

Any deliberation on SHAO Yong's numerological-cosmological system must begin by accounting for number or *shu* as its cardinal precept. There has been a manifest tendency to regard Shao's fixation with number as being the hallmark of his novelty. However, looking carefully, we find that SHAO Yong's true inventiveness with respect to number may well lie less in his embrace of the concept than in the precedence he accorded it. A brief consideration of the dominant methodological approaches to interpreting the *Yijing* bears this out.

By Song times, two methodologies—meaning-principle (*yili* 義理) and image-number (*xiangshu*)—had emerged to dominate as paths through which intellectuals sought understanding of the *Book of Change*. Of these two approaches, image-number was by far the more ancient, with the first text to reference it being the *The Zuo Tradition to the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan* 春秋左傳). Thus, SHAO Yong was far from being its inventor. Moreover, although he was one of its most avid advocates, he was hardly alone among his Song predecessors, contemporaries, or successors in propounding this particular approach. Where SHAO Yong seems to have truly diverged is through the act of intellectual inversion whereby he advanced number ahead of image. SHAO Yong, both within and beyond the Song period, continued to remain singular in this regard.

In his taxonomies developed for the reckoning of the processes of time, Shao was equally, if not more, distinctive than he was for his promotion of number. His *jingshi* methodology accommodates and, to a remarkably thorough degree, harmonizes or reconciles two typically antithetical conceptions of time—the cyclical and the linear. The *yuan* or cycle he espoused is only superficially

cyclical because, true to its likely Buddhist provenance, as a model it was never really conceived as terminal. As Shao envisioned it, the world would end upon reaching the end of its allotted duration of 129,600 years, and thus was predetermined to be annihilated in the year 62,583. It was also, in his view, destined to begin anew, and thus run its fixed span of ages again, and again—ad infinitum.

It is, in fact, questionable if Shao Yong's *jingshi* temporal scheme qualifies as being progressive at all. One of the quandaries besetting any examination of his cyclical and linear conceptions of the passage of time is whether he believed that the grand unfolding of history would in fact—in every detail—infinitely repeat itself, perhaps even with the same historical actors arising anew to replay their roles at each stage of the historical saga. Indeed, Shao's seemingly mechanistic cosmo-temporal scheme is yet another facet of his system that, owing to its inflexible regularity, attracted criticism from the likes of Cheng Yi, who perceived it as trending beyond normative Confucian fatalism toward a kind of perverse cynicism.

However, our recognition of the aforementioned but much neglected political cast of *Supreme World-ordering Principles*, and especially its core *Inner Chapters* section, reveals that Shao's paradigm for the transpiration of time was not so rigid and mechanistic as we might suppose. Within its perfectly regulated framework, Shao seems clearly to have made allowances for serendipitous human influence. No matter how inescapable we may deem his depiction of a world in transition from a brilliantly flourishing beginning toward an endpoint of inevitable dissolution, Shao's scheme did nonetheless accommodate the role of human agency as a mitigating force. Without such accommodation, there would have been little reason for him to have poignantly uttered, "Isn't it difficult to secure the right times? Isn't it difficult to secure the right persons?" (Shao 1934: 6.16). These remarks hardly suggest that human inputs are entirely irrelevant.

Nevertheless, as postulated, the last of the vistas with which Shao Yong was most intently engaged is that of knowledge, and it is here that we can detect his most enduring and yet freshest contributions as a thinker. On the one hand, we can readily discern that Shao Yong's strategy for the acquisition of knowledge was very much within the parameters of established tradition because of his emphasis on the distinctive capabilities of the human mind. As was the case for his peers, Shao situated the mind—because it is the singular faculty shared in common by all humanity and because it bestows upon each person the infinite potentiality for self-perfection—in the most lofty place in his program. On the other hand, in his own time, Shao's procedure for the exercising of the mind that leads to its perfection is a striking departure from both inherited tradition and the various prevailing contemporary approaches. The perfection of the mind and the expansion of intelligence are achieved by means of "observing things" (*guanwu*) whereby one applies one's mind impassively and yet assiduously to all things as objects of inquiry. Moreover, at one point, Shao Yong anticipates modernist idealist theories about the possibility of convergence between

observing subject and observed object. This speculative theorizing on his part occurs in connection with his description of the process of reflective perception or reflexive observation (*fanguan* 反觀)[7]:

> Now the capacity of a mirror for illumination consists in its not concealing the forms of the myriad things. Even though this is so, the capacity of a mirror not to conceal the forms of the myriad things has yet to be as good as the capacity of water [when looked through] in permitting us to perceive the unity of their forms. Even though this is so, the capacity of water for indicating the unity of the forms of the myriad things has yet to be as good as the capacity of the sage for unifying the aspects (*qing* 情) of the myriad things.
>
> That capacity whereby the sage is able to unify the aspects of the myriad things is called reflexive observation. That which is called reflexive observation is not observing things from the standpoint of oneself. As for that which is called not observing things from the standpoint of oneself but instead observing them from the standpoint of the things themselves, once having become able to observe things from their own standpoints, how then can there be anything of the self in the midst of this? (Shao 1934: 6.26b)

In positing this state of being able to observe any object in such a reflexive manner, SHAO Yong is arguing for a kind of purist acquisition of knowledge, a condition of unobstructed comprehension, wherein all interposing media that normally exist between observer and observed have been eliminated, and this contention on his part was new.

Ironically but perhaps fittingly, all of our efforts to arrive at the fullest understanding of Shao's numerological-cosmological system return us to the most elemental of his concepts: number. Revisiting number and the idea of numeracy is ironic because the linkage to Shao's *guanwu* observational method—and hence to his theorizing about the acquisition of knowledge—is less obvious than is that of number in connection to his *jingshi* world-ordering methodology. However, even while we might regard it as a less overt connection, the linkage between number and observation is equally essential to his endeavors. In addition to functioning as an enabling tool for the acquisition of knowledge, evidently conceptualized literally as well as figuratively by turns, number itself was for SHAO Yong also an object of lifelong observation; it was the lens through which he integrated the staggeringly vast variety of things to be found in the world. Clearly, by now, it has been shown to be the medium through which he articulated the unity of knowledge achieved through that integration; yet, in the end, the empowering splendors of this aggregative experience are probably best articulated by SHAO Yong himself:

> From this we know that the self is the other, and the other is also the self. Whether self or other, each of us is but a thing. Knowing this is how one can use all of the world's eyes as one's own eyes, and have there be nothing that one cannot observe; use all of the world's ears as one's own ears, and have there be nothing that one cannot hear; use all

[7] Apart from his temporal theory of world-cycles, this concept of *fanguan* does appear to be the one among Shao's collection of concepts that was most profoundly influenced by Buddhist ideas, with the result being that contemporary scholars have frequently felt compelled to analyze it from that perspective (see Birdwhistell 1989: 183–186; Smith and Wyatt 1990: 104–105).

of the world's mouths as one's own mouth, and have there be nothing that one cannot express; use all of the world's minds as one's own mind, and have there be nothing toward which one cannot aspire.

Now, as for the breadth with which the world's observation is capable of seeing, is it not indeed broad? The remoteness to which the world's hearing is capable of listening, is it not indeed distant? The speech in which the world's discussions are capable of being conversed, is it not indeed lofty? The joyfulness to which the world's minds are capable of aspiring, is it not indeed grand?. . .

It is not I alone who calls this most spiritual and most sagely, but the world that calls it so. Nor is it merely the world of a single generation that calls it so, for it is known that "in exceeding beyond this, there has yet to be any other knowledge."[8] (Shao 1934: 6.27)

Bibliography

Analects 論語. 1989. *Sibu congkan* edition 四部叢刊本. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian.

"Appended Statements" ("Xici" 繫辭). 1927. In Zhou Book of Change *with Commentaries and Subcommentaries* 周易注疏. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Birdwhistell, Anne D. 1989. *Transition to Neo-Confucianism: Shao Yung on Knowledge and Symbols of Reality*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Cheng, Yi 程頤. 1908. "Surviving Writings of Henan's Messrs. Cheng" 河南程氏遺書. In *Complete Works of the Two Chengs* 二程全書, edited by Ji Yun 紀昀. Liaoning 遼寧: Danyatang 澹雅堂.

Fan, Ye 范曄 (ed.). 1965. *History of the Later Han Dynasty* 後漢書. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Huang, Ji 黄畿 (ed.). 1997. Commentary on the *Book of Supreme World-ordering Principles* 皇極經世書傳. *Collectanea of Works with an Account in the* Four Treasuries Collection [*Project Catalogue but not Preserved in the Imperial Collection*] 四庫全書存目叢書 edition. Reproduction of 1554 edition. 濟南: Qi Lu shushe 齊魯書社. (The most thorough and exhaustive of Ming-period commentaries on the more philosophical of Shao Yong's two principal writings. The fact that Huang Ji (1465–1513) produced no other extant scholarship suggests the completeness of his absorption with what was regarded then as now as Shao Yong's magnum opus.)

Lou, Yao 樓鑰. 1922?. "Shao Kangjie's Chapters on Observing Things 邵康節觀物篇." In *Attacking Embarrassments* 攻媿集. *Sibu congkan* edition 四部叢刊本. Shanghai 上海: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館. (This work, which lacks a mere eight out of its original 120 chapters, results from a collation of various editions in circulation during the reign of the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (1736–1795). It remains an exceedingly rich source of records on Song-period history and philosophy.)

Mencius 孟子. 1930. *Sibu beiyao* edition 四部備要本. Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua shuju 中華書 局.

Mote, Frederick W. 1989. *Intellectual Foundations of China*, second edition. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

Nielsen, Bent. 2003. *A Companion to Yi Jing Numerology and Cosmology: Chinese Studies of Images and Numbers from Han (202 BCE-220 CE) to Song (960–1279 CE)*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.

[8] Fittingly, the quoted clause in conclusion is from the important "Appended Statements" ("Xici" 繫辭) commentary—also known as the "Great Commentary" ("Dazhuan" 大傳)—of the *Book of Change*, with the full text reading, "In exceeding beyond this, there has yet to be any other knowledge. By exhausting the spirits, one realizes the victory that comes through the transformation of virtue" ("Appended Statements" 1927: 8B.6b; Smith and Wyatt 1990:104).

Qian, Mu 錢穆. 1951. *Compiled Commentary on* Zhuangzi 莊子纂箋. Hong Kong: Dongnan yinwu chubanshe東南印務出版社.

Rutt, Richard (tr.). 1996. *The Book of Changes (Zhouyi): A Bronze Age Document*. Durham East-Asia Series, No. 1. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon.

Shao, Bowen 邵伯溫. 1970. *Former Record of Things Heard and Seen by Mister Shao of Henan* 河南邵氏聞見前錄. Taibei 臺北: Guangwen shuju 廣文書局.

Shao, Yong 邵雍. 1934. *Book of Supreme World-Ordering Principles* 皇極經世書. Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Slingerland, Edward (tr.). 2003. *Confucius Analects, with Selections from Traditional Commentaries*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company.

Smith, Kidder, Jr., and Don J. Wyatt. 1990. In Kidder Smith, Jr., Peter K. Bol, Joseph A. Adler, and Don J. Wyatt (eds.), "Shao Yung and Number." In *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Smith, Richard J. 2008. *Fathoming the Cosmos and Ordering the World: The Yijing (I-Ching, or Classic of Changes) and Its Evolution in China*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Van Norden, Bryan (tr.). 2008. *Mengzi, with Selections from Traditional Commentaries*. Indianapolis, IA.: Hackett Publishing Company.

Wang, Chong 王充. 1923. *Discussions Weighed in the Balance* 論衡. Shanghai 上海: Saoye shanfang 掃葉山房.

Wang, Xianqian 王先謙. 1984. *Collected Explication of the History of the Later Han Dynasty* 後漢書集解. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

"Words of the Text" 文言. 1927. In Zhou Book of Change *with Commentaries and Subcommentaries* 周易注疏. *Sibu beiyao* edition 四部備要本. Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua shuju 上海書局.

Wyatt, Don J. 1996. *The Recluse of Loyang: Shao Yung and the Moral Evolution of Early Sung Thought*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Wyatt, Don J. 2003. "Shao Yong." In Xinzhong Yao (ed.), *RoutledgeCurzon Encyclopedia of Confucianism*. Encyclopedia of Asian Religions (two volumes). London: Routledge Curzon.

Xie, Fuya 謝扶雅. 1976. "New Explanations of SHAO Yong's Before Heaven Learning 邵雍先天學新釋." In XIANG Weixin 項維新 and LIU Fuzeng 劉福增 (eds.), *Readings in Chinese Philosophy and Thought: Song and Ming Dynasties* 中國哲學思想論集: 宋明篇. Taibei 臺北: Mutong chunbanshe 牧童出版社.

Xunzi 荀子. 1927. *Sibu beiyao* edition 四部備要本. Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Zheng, Dingguo 鄭定國. 2000. *Researches on SHAO Yong and the Study of His Poetry* 邵雍及其詩學研究. Taibei 臺北: Wenshizhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社.

Zhuangzi 莊子. 1973. Taibei 臺北: Taiwan Zhonghua shuju 臺灣中華書局.

Zhang Zai's Theory of Vital Energy

Robin R. Wang and Ding Weixiang

Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1077), one of the so-called Five Masters of the (Northern) Song period,[1] has long been regarded as a forerunner of Learning of the Way (*daoxue* 道學) movement. He lived at a time when Lao-Zhuang Daoism, Huayan Buddhism, and Confucian thought interacted, competed, and were integrated. Confucian intellectuals attempted to revive classical Confucian thought within these vibrant cultural and historical conditions. In particular, Confucians faced strong criticisms from Huayan Buddhism, which enjoyed wide social popularity. Consequently, Confucians took a profound interest in cosmological, ontological, and metaphysical questions, all for the sake of responding effectively to the challenges posed by Buddhist beliefs. Zhang Zai's philosophical work can best be understood within this broader context. Although Zhang Zai's philosophy contains a wealth of ideas, two issues stand out most important: the relationship between the Ultimate Void (*taixu* 太虛) and *qi* (氣); and the relationship between heaven as a moral authority and human beings as transformative moral agents, analyzed through an integrated account of human nature. Both of these issues center on the discussion of *qi* and help to illuminate one of the fundamental philosophical problems in the Chinese tradition, namely the connection between condition/state (*ti* 體) and function/application (*yong* 用).

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part provides a brief account of the historical and cultural background of Zhang Zai's life and the development of the concept of *qi* in Chinese history up to Zhang Zai's time. The second part discusses the two issues just raised, the relationship between *taixu* and *qi*, and the relationship between human beings and heaven. The chapter concludes with some general comments on the challenges of studying the thought of Zhang Zai.

---

[1] The other four are Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073), Shao Yong (1011–1077), Cheng Hao (1032–1085), and Cheng Yi (1033–1107).

R.R. Wang (✉)
Loyola Marymount University, USA
e-mail: rwang@lmu.edu

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*,
Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_3,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

Zhang Zai's Life and Work

Zhang Zai, whose given name is Zihou 子厚, was born in 1020 in Fenxiang county, near the ancient capital of Xi'an, in the vast plain then known as the Guanzhong region. In his teenage years, Zhang was fond of military affairs and even discussed organizing a military attack. At age 21 he met the famous statesman and literatus Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1052). Fan encouraged him to read the *Zhongyong* 中庸: "You can find a great joy in the powerful teachings of Confucianism. Why bother being involved in military affairs (*bing* 兵)?" (Zhang 1978: 385).[2] Zhang followed Fan's advice, but unsatisfied he turned to Daoist and Buddhist texts. These texts still did not provide Zhang with the fulfillment he sought so he began to read and lecture on the Six Classics (*liu jing* 六經). His teaching took place in a town called Hengqu 横渠, where he grew to be very popular, earning the nickname, Master of Hengqu.

Later in life, Zhang embarked upon a political career. After passing through the civil examination system, he was appointed as a county magistrate. At age 49 he was recommended to serve at the imperial court, but due to both conflicts with chancellor Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) and illness he resigned and moved to a remote village under the Southern Mountain (near Xi'an) (Zhang 1978: 386). According to his biography in the *History of Song*, during this period Zhang devoted himself completely to writing. He lamented what he saw as the decline of Confucianism, claiming that "there have been no true Confucians since the time of Mencius, in a fifteen hundred year span" (Zhang 1978: 368). He famously devoted his life to four vital purposes: "For heaven and earth, to establish heart/mind; for our people, to establish the *dao*; for sages who have gone before, to continue studies that have been cut off; and for all future generations, to initiate great peace" (Zhang 1978: 376). He died impoverished in 1077.

Zhang wrote extensively yet three of his works achieved the most recognition: "Western Inscription" ("Ximing" 西銘), *Rectifying Ignorance* (*Zhengmeng* 正蒙), and *Thesaurus of Principles for the Study of the Classics* (*Jingxue liku* 經學理窟). The "Western Inscription" is a short essay yet is one of "the most celebrated essays in Neo-Confucian literature" (Chan 1963: 495). Originally it was written on the western wall of his classroom. There was also an inscription on the eastern wall, naturally called the "Eastern Inscription" (*dongming* 東銘). These inscriptions were meant to encourage and inspire Zhang's students to engage in the pursuit of learning and they constitute the final chapter of his *Rectifying Ignorance*. The "Western Inscription" was much treasured by Zhang Zai's two distant nephews, Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107). Cheng Hao placed it on the same level as *Mencius*: "The 'Western Inscription' shows that principle is one but its manifestations are many (理一而分殊), which former sages had not expressed. This accomplishment

[2] All translations of Chinese texts in this essay are by Robin R Wang.

is the same as Mencius' theory of the goodness of human nature; since the time of Mencius nothing like it has been seen."[3]

ZHANG Zai took the phase *zhengmeng* (rectifying ignorance) from the *Yijing* as the title of his most important work. WANG Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619–1692), a prominent Confucian in the Ming Dynasty, praised the work and even wrote a detailed commentary on it. According to Wang, ignorance is the beginning of knowledge and correcting ignorance is the task for sages. He explains the value of ZHANG Zai's vision as follows:

> Although the Yangists and Mohists were popular during Mencius' time, in order to show that Yang and Mo were wrong, Confucians (*ruzhe* 儒者) remained unwilling to allow our *dao* to be wronged. For this reason, they adopted the view that although the Yangists and Mohists could be guided, in order to show that it was necessary to obtain personal insight into Confucian teachings, the import of the teachings was not explicitly developed. Since the Han and Wei dynasties, however, Confucians have acted completely without restraint.... This is why *Rectifying Ignorance* had no choice but to be different. (Wang 1978: 407–408)

WANG Fuzhi proclaimed that the greatest accomplishment of *Rectifying Ignorance* is to guide travelers onto a correct, smooth, and broad path, avoiding dangerous traps:

> It is like the ink line for the carpenter or the full draw of the bow for the archer. Although one's strength has not reached its limit and one's cultivation has not yet matured, and one sees that ascending to heaven is difficult and cannot be reached, it is the case that if one's aim is set on it then it can be reached and if one's aim is not set on it then it can never be reached! Cultivating away from ignorance is the self-determined goal of sages. The excessive poisons of perverse theory can not distract them from it. This is known as rectifying ignorance. (Wang 1978: 410)

Although ZHANG Zai's *Thesaurus of Principles for the Study of the Classics* is a collection of teaching notes from his early years, it is a crucial guide to Zhang's thought. This work reveals the development of his ideas and lays out the fundamental basis for his thought. Unfortunately, this book has often been overlooked.

During ZHANG Zai's time there were three rival philosophical schools: *Xinxue* 新學 (New School), *Guanxue* 關學 (School of Guan), and *Luoxue* 洛學 (School of Luo) (ZHANG Dainian 1978: 10). *Xinxue* was led by a political reformer, WANG Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086), who promoted a new interpretation of the Classics. His teaching was directed toward reform of the Song political system. As a result, the philosophical notion of transformation (*bian* 變) had great importance in his teaching. *Guanxue* refers to ZHANG Zai's teachings. The term "Guan" 關 is simply a geographical designation for the Guan region where ZHANG Zai came from. *Luoxue* defines the teachings of the Cheng brothers. Like the word Guan, Luo 洛 refers to the region of Luo where the Cheng brothers lived. These three schools share many similar concerns yet they differ on some basic understandings of the world and society. ZHANG Zai was much more sympathetic to WANG Anshi's New

[3] Zhang (1978: 387).

School than the Cheng brothers were, particularly on the issue of change and transformation. Historically there were many stories about the sweet and sour relationship between the School of Guan and the School of Luo. The former was more interested in astronomy, medicine, and practical ritual systems. The later was more interested in conceptual cultivation and meditation (ZHANG Dainian 1978: 12). Some of these conflicts are documented in ZHU Xi's work, particularly in his *Reflections on Things at Hand* (*Jinsi lu* 近思録). The schools represent two fundamental constructions of the universe. For the Guan School, *qi* has primacy in all existence and is the foundation of all beings; for the Luo School, *li* 理 (principle) is the ultimate being animating all existence. This difference is represented in the so called debate between *qi* and *li*, one of the central debates in Neo-Confucian philosophy.

Qi in Historical Context

ZHANG Zai's philosophical thought has been characterized as "Qi Learning" (*qixue* 氣學), and his original contributions to Confucian thought are rooted in his understanding and application of the concept of *qi*. Through a construction and articulation of this centuries-old concept, ZHANG Zai helped to bring classical Confucian thought to a new stage of development and to defend to against the challenges from Daoism and Buddhism.

Qi is one of the most important and widely interpreted concepts in Chinese intellectual history. As a shared notion underlying all schools, *qi* is believed to be a dynamic, all-pervasive, and all-transforming force animating everything in the universe. The air one breathes, the force that drives the flow of blood, the food one eats, the strength of one's mind, the flow of one's thoughts, the deepest urges of one's heart—all of these are understood in terms of *qi*. Thus *qi* extends across realms that might otherwise be divided in the spiritual, mental, or physical. According to John Major, "*qi* is both process and substance and comes into being as the concrete manifestation of spacetime" (Major 1993: 27).

The graph for *qi* can be traced back to oracle bone inscriptions, but it functioned as a verb and adjective in its earliest usages, not as a noun. The structure of the character for *qi* consists of three parallel lines, just like the Chinese numerical word, "three" (三). It may have been grounded in the observation of morning dew transforming into the lines of steam under the sun. As the image of *qi*, it captures the appearance of flowing clouds. The early second century dictionary, *Explaining Simple and Analyzing Compound Characters* (*Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字) defines *qi* as the movement of clouds. However, the meaning and function of *qi* developed over time.

There were three waves of *qi*-usage from pre-Qin to Song times.[4] During the Qin-Han period, the first wave focused on the classification of *qi* through

[4] Li (1990) defines these three aspects as a logical development.

discussions of the cosmos. In the Wei-Jin period, the second wave explored the causality of *qi,* which arose from debates on basic ontological questions. During the Song and Ming dynasties, the third wave clarified the metaphysical articulation of *qi* through the relationship between *qi* and *li* (principle). ZHANG Zai represents this third wave.

The first wave of *qi*-usage attempted to classify categories (*lei* 類) of *qi*. The question was the relationship of *qi* to *dao*, *tian*, and particular aspects of human life. At this stage, *qi* was most often used in the discussion of cosmology based on observation. *Qi* was considered the most basic element in the universe of which all existence is formed. In the *Zuo Tradition* (*Zuozhuan* 左傳), *qi* has six manifestations (*liu qi* 六氣): *yin, yang*, wind, rain, dark, and bright (*Zuozhuan* 1991: 1053). These *qi* are the *qi* of the sky or seasons and are one of many observable natural phenomena.

Qi also offers an intelligible explanation of events. In *Discourses of the States* (*Guoyu* 國語) there is a description of earthquakes that took place in the region of the Jing 涇, Wei 渭, and Luo 洛 rivers during the second year (780 BC) of the reign of King You 幽 of the Western Zhou. Senior Zhou minister, BOYANG Fu declared that the Zhou was doomed to collapse and explained why:

> The *qi* of heaven and earth cannot lose their order. If their order vanishes, people will be disoriented. *Yang* was concealed and could not get out, *yin* was trapped and could not rise, so an earthquake was inevitable. Now earthquakes around the three rivers are due to *yang* having lost its place and being pinned down by *yin*. *Yang* is forsaken under *yin* and the source of the rivers has been blocked. If the fountainhead of the rivers is blocked, the country will definitely collapse. If water and the land lack nourishment then the people will lack resources for use. If the Zhou is not to be destroyed, what else might be relied upon? (*Guoyu* 1994: 22)

Although this passage explains a natural occurrence, it also highlights an intrinsic relationship between nature and political systems.

The concept of *qi* did not take a prominent role in classical Confucian texts such as the *Analects* or *Mencius*. However, *qi* is closely associated with a person's moral disposition as a part of cultivation. Moral cultivation, more accurately *xiushen* 修身 (cultivation of the body), consists in nourishing a three-dimensional interconnected network or system of *xing*, *qi*, and *shen*: one must pay attention to what is happening in one's physical bodily parts (*xing* 形); to where *qi* is flowing from or to; and to one's spirit (*shen* 神), which involves one's thoughts, emotions, and behavior. *Qi* is able to unite all three; it fills or energizes the bodily form and is directed by *shen*. *Xiushen* is, above all, the physical cultivation and moral expansion achieved through the refinement of *qi*.

The word *qi* appears in the *Analects* six times. The most important usage is in the combination of the word *xue* 血 (blood) with *qi*. According to the earliest received medical text, the *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor* (*Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經), *xueqi* is the spirit of a human being yet it also has a material and corporeal foundation. According to the *Analects*, *xueqi* permeates human life differently at different stages:

There are three things which a gentleman is on his guard against. In his youth before his *xueqi* has settled he is on his guard against lust. Having reached his middle age, when the *xueqi* has finally hardened, he is on his guard against strife. Having reached old age, when *xueqi* is already decaying, he is on his guard against avarice. (*Analects* 16.7)

Obviously guarding against lust, strife, and avarice—all caused by the impact of disordered *qi*—has moral implications. The movements of bodily *qi* have an important bearing on one as a moral agent.

The *Mencius* describes a special kind of *qi* which is: "the greatest and the strongest; if it is nourished in rightness without any obstacle, it fills the space between heaven and earth." This *qi* is immense and vigorous, so it is described as flood-like (*haoran* 浩然). This flowing *qi* has the capacity to regulate thoughts, intentions, words, and actions. Hence it must be refined in accordance with rightness. There is a threefold dynamic bond in one's moral aptitude: the heart/mind (*xin* 心), the intentions (*zhi* 志), and *qi*. This bond forms one's interior life: the *qi* mediates heart/mind and intentions. To secure its quality, the *qi* must come from the heart/mind, but it must also be amassed in sufficient quantity to ensure it has the physical strength to motivate one's intentions. When this flood-like *qi* originates from the heart/mind and fills the whole body, one's intentions are ready to engage in moral action, including having courage. "*Qi* is what pervades and animates the body and intention is the commander of *qi*" (*Mencius* 2A.2).

Qi is a prime mover in both one's moral and physical life. One interesting assumption in classical Confucian teachings is that a human being is a flexible and transformative creature in its anatomy. It is *qi* that makes this transformation possible. If *qi* is a basic element of every existence and its dynamic function manifests in *qi*'s transformation, then *qi* in human life should also be cultivated and refined to its fullest. This seed of taking one's moral life as a life of *qi* transformation grew in Confucian teachings during the Han and Tang dynasties and reached it's the fruition in Neo-Confucian philosophy, especially in ZHANG Zai's thought in the Song.

Qi is also the ultimate force for living things. *Qi* gives life: when *qi* declines one will become sick; when *qi* is lost, one will die. *Qi* is a complex of different energies, each animating and controlling various aspects of human life. This is how the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 depicts it:

Human beings are able to see and hear with discernment and are able to protect their own bodily parts. Human beings can bend and stretch their one hundred joints. In their discrimination they are capable of distinguishing white from black and beautiful from ugly. In their intelligence they are capable of distinguishing similarity from difference and clarifying right from wrong. How can human beings do so? This is because *qi* fills their body, and spirit (*shen* 神) is in command. (*Huainanzi* 1998: 36)

The second wave of *qi*-usage emerged from ontological debates in the Wei-Jin and Tang periods. *Qi* was taken as a way of explaining cause and effect (*yinguo* 因果). The question was whether *qi* could be the reason for all existence. In his commentary on the *Daode jing*, WANG Bi 王弼 (226–249), an early figure associated with Profound Learning (*xuanxue* 玄學), interprets *wu* 無 (not-having

[characteristics]) as the foundation of *you* 有 (having [characteristics]) which is then further extended to all things. WANG Bi comments on Chapter 42 of *Daode jing*: "The myriad things and myriad forms all return to one. By what do they return to one? By not-having . . . there is one, there is two, and these then generate three, from not-having to having. . .. Hence, I know what controls the generation of the myriad things. And although they have myriad forms, they are all equally infused with *qi*" (Wang 1991: Chapter 42). In this progression, *qi* falls in the realm of having and so is distinct from not-having. WANG Bi's theory elevates *qi* to an ontological level. The issue of *qi* is no longer simply the explanation of observable natural events or the processes of the cosmos but rather the basic nature of existence and the universe. WANG Bi also treats *qi* as the subject of motion (*dong* 動) and rest (*jing* 靜). This articulation had a profound impact on how later thinkers described the movement of *qi*.

GUO Xiang 郭象 (d. 312), also a major Profound Learning figure, inherited WANG Bi's interest in discussions on not-having and having and developed it into a more coherent and detailed argument. For GUO Xiang, if *you* comes from *wu* then where does *wu* come from? He maintained that *wu* and *you* are not in a relation of linear generation or sequence such that *wu* gives birth to *you*; rather they are together in a state of transformation. In other words, *wu* and *you* are always intertwined in all beings. GUO Xiang makes use of *qi* to establish this bond between *wu* and *you*. It is because of *qi* that things exist in myriad forms yet this *qi* can lead to change, so that *wu* can become *you*. He states, "There is one *qi* but myriad forms; there is change and transformation but no death or birth." *Wu* is not nothing because it still contains *qi*. He explains, "Even though the changes and transformations constantly replace each other, their *qi* originally is one" (Guo 1961: 629, 951). Clearly *qi* is the reason for the existence of *you*; nevertheless *qi* is also the cause for *wu*. In other words, *qi* explains both the coming into and going out of existence of particular beings. In this second wave, *qi* gained an ontological function as the ground for all things.

However this account of *qi* brought out a moral enigma, especially for Confucian teachings. The interjection of *qi* into the moral field raises a predicament. If a human being is nothing but the movement of *qi*, then is there any constancy in one's moral life? What about the Confucian teachings on the reverence for the continuity of tradition and ritual? These questions were left to the Confucians in Song Dynasty.

The third wave of usage of *qi* emerged in discussions of the relationship between *qi* and *li* 理 during Song and Ming dynasties. *Qi* was formulated within the attempt to "clarify principle" (*mingli* 明理). The question was how *qi* could be the ultimate source of the universe and human minds, especially in relation to moral cultivation. This understanding of *qi* theory is an integration of Qin-Han cosmology and Wei-Jin ontology through an interplay between Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. ZHANG Zai's "theory of *qi*" lays out the foundation for this new paradigm for the articulation of *qi*.

Zhang Zai's Metaphysical Construction: *Qi* and *Taixu*

Qi had already gained a vital role in understanding the universe and in interpreting classical texts well before Zhang Zai's time. However, Buddhist thinkers, such as Zongmi 宗密 (780–841), the fifth of the five masters of Huayan Buddhism,[5] critically questioned whether *qi* could properly explain the pre-Qin intellectual spirit and how *qi* could provide a solid foundation for moral theory and practice. These objections applied to the basis of Confucian moral cultivation: what are the ontological and metaphysical grounds which Confucian moral teachings rest on? In other words, the Buddhist perspective challenged the Confucians to justify their vision of moral cultivation at a much deeper level, appealing to ontological and metaphysical grounds. This is the historical and conceptual task that confronted Zhang Zai. Although this context is often only implicit in his writings, he does occasionally explicitly single out Buddhism (as *shijia* 釋家 or *futu* 浮屠) and Lao-Zhuang 老莊 Daoism (Zhang 1978: 8, 26).

Zhang Zai's philosophical investigation makes a connection between *tian* (heaven) and humans. He employs the notion of Ultimate Void (*taixu* 太虛) to characterize *tian*. The term "*taixu*" is ambiguous. It perhaps originated in *Zhuangzi* and refers to absolute existence without any forms. It can even loosely be seen as space itself. *Taixu* is a specialized expression in Zhang Zai's works. It operates in multiple ways hence its meaning has generated a complex debate in current scholarly research in China (Ding 2001, 2002).

Understanding *taixu* is the key to understanding Zhang Zai's thought. In the opening chapter of his best-known work, *Correcting Ignorance*, he claims "From *taixu* there is the name *tian* (heaven); from the transformation of *qi*, there is the name *dao*. Combining Void and *qi* there is the name *xing* (nature/disposition); combining *xing* and consciousness, there is the name *xin* (heart/mind)" (Zhang 1978: 9). This passage articulates a process that moves from heaven to *dao*, to nature/disposition, and then to heart/mind. In this conceptual framework, *taixu* comes first in the construction of human beings and their world.

Zhang asserted that *taixu* is the ultimate and absolute. This is in line with traditional views on the Ultimate Void, even those that are Buddhist and Daoist, but Zhang said, "*taixu* has no form and is the fundamental condition of *qi*" (ibid.: 7). He objected to Daoist and Buddhist portrayals of emptiness and not-having and insisted that *taixu* is not a state of complete absence but rather is replete with *qi*. This view echoes Guo Xiang's ontological concern, but Zhang disagreed with Guo's claim that *taixu* produces or generates *qi*. Zhang Zai's view also goes against Laozi's view of the myriad things coming from *wu*, such that one gives rise to the other in a liner sequence. According to Zhang: "The Void (*xukong* 虛空) is *qi*. It is having and not-having, hidden and manifest,

[5] The other four masters are Dushun 杜順 (557–640), Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668), Fazang 法藏 (643–712), and Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839). For some of Zongmi's criticisms, see Zongmi (1990: 342–346).

numinous and transforming" (ibid.: 8). Zhang asserts that *taixu* contains *qi*. He is thus opposed to the Daoist and Buddhist equation of *taixu* and literal nothingness and emptiness, an equation he regarded as the "hole in the net" of their arguments. This is how he makes a case to contend with both teachings: "If it is said that the Void (*xu* 虛) can generate *qi* then it implies that the Void is infinite and *qi* is finite. This is the separation of fundamental state/condition and function (*tiyong* 體用). It plunges one's understanding into Laozi's naturalist view that 'something comes from nothing,' and fails to recognize the amorphous oneness of having and not-having" (ibid.). The problem with Laozi's belief is that it devises two distinctive realms: the Void and the myriad things. For Zhang, the Void and things have different abilities: "things have their own form and the Void has its own character. Myriad things and the Void, heaven and human beings are not constantly interdependent. This belief tumbles one's understanding into the Buddhist trap, that mountains, rivers, and earth are all illusions" (ibid.). For Zhang, the problem with the Buddhist view is that it does not really comprehend the *dao* and is unable to see that all things are the functions of *dao*, and so ultimately separates fundamental state (= *taixu*) and its function (= *qi*). As Ira E. Kasoff correctly points out, Zhang chose this term to "undercut Buddhist and Taoist [Daoist] notions of void and non-being" (Kasoff 1984: 37).

The key to grasping *taixu* is its relationship with *qi*. The question is whether *taixu* and *qi* have the same quality (*tongzhi* 同質) or if they have different qualities. If *taixu* has the same quality as *qi*, then *taixu* is only another manifestation of *qi*. If *taixu* and *qi* are different in kind then *taixu* is bound to possess a special power beyond *qi*. Thus the central problem for ZHANG Zai is that *qi* and *taixu* can neither be completely identical nor completely different.

According to Zhang, "*Taixu* has *qi*, therefore it is not a nothing. Hence sages contemplate the ultimate nature and heaven and understand the changes and transformations" (ibid.: 9). *Taixu* contains *qi*, yet it is not equal to or identical with *qi*. This is a central assumption of his ontology and moral teaching, and it enables Zhang to provide a metaphysical and ontological account of the myriad things. When *qi* coalesces, the myriad things begin to exist; when *qi* disperses, the myriad things disappear. This is analogous to the way water freezes when cold but evaporates when heated. These physical changes express a metaphysical necessity: "Ultimate Void cannot exist without *qi*; *qi* must coalesce to form the myriad things; the myriad things must disperse to return to the Ultimate Void" (ibid.: 7).

The key point is that *taixu* is in both the dispersion and the coalescence of *qi*. ZHANG Zai illustrates the interlocking of *taixu* and *qi* by again using the comparison of water and ice. Ice is solid or coalesced water just as *taixu* is coalesced *qi* (ibid.: 8). On a conceptual level, this bond exemplifies one object but two states (*yi wu liang ti* 一物兩體). *Taixu* necessarily permeates *qi* yet it is not equal or identical to *qi*. From a naturalistic point of view, *taixu* and *qi* are the same because they both can be employed to explain the existence of concrete things. Zhang maintains "*Taixu* has no form but is the fundamental state (*benti*

本體) of *qi*. The coalescence and dispersal of *qi* give rise to change in, and the form of, the myriad things" (ibid.: 7). *Qi* is the source for diversity and transformation in the universe. This interdependence of *taixu* and *qi* is an interface of the ultimate with concrete and multitude phenomena. This position enabled ZHANG Zai to resist the Buddhist view that the myriad things are only illusions, a view he thinks follows from an inability to integrate emptiness and concrete things (or state and function), resulting in the reduction of concrete things to mere nothingness:

> Buddhists are preposterous and arrogant to discuss only the nature of heaven but do not know the vast field of heaven's functions. Accordingly they even use six roots (*liugen* 六根) to describe the cause of heaven and earth. Yet meanings cannot be explained in this way so they falsely charge that heaven, earth, sun and moon are all delusions. (Ibid.: 26)[6]

As a result, ZHANG Zai thought that Buddhism weakens one's will in ethics and renders one unable to apprehend the full greatness of *taixu*.

From a moral value point of view, *taixu* is quite different from *qi*. ZHANG Zai ascribes a moral importance to *taixu* as heavenly virtue (*tiande* 天德): "Heaven and earth take *xu* 虛 (the Void) as virtue. The perfect goodness is the Void. The Void is the source of heaven and earth. Heaven and earth come from the Void" (ibid.: 326). *Taixu* exists in all tangible beings through *qi* yet *taixu* is beyond all perceptible reality including *qi*. In other words, *taixu* is raised to become the metaphysical source and ontological basis for Confucian moral cultivation; in this aspect, *taixu* is beyond all kinds of *qi*, existing as a constant and transcendent being. This metaphysical and ontological footing validates the Confucian value system, supports its moral position and responds to the Buddhist objections.

ZHANG Zai still needed to explicate how an ontological being, *taixu,* relates and interacts with *qi,* a fluctuating and diversified existence, in order to give an inclusive account of this Confucian moral ground. To carry out this maneuver, he drew on the *Yijing*, specifically three interrelated notions, *dao*, the numinous (*shen* 神), and *yin* and *yang*. He writes: "The numinous is the virtue of *tian*; transformation (*hua*) is the way of *tian*. Virtue is its state (*ti* 體) and *dao* is its function (*yong* 用). These are united through *qi*" (ibid.: 15). The implication is that because heavenly virtue is numinous, therefore if *taixu* is heavenly virtue, then *taixu* is numinous. Again referring to the *Yijing*, he writes, "*Qi* has *yin* and *yang*. Their gradual progressive movement is transformative; their coming together as one, the outcome of which cannot be predicted, is numinous" (ibid.: 16). The numinous quality described here is the result of the movement of *yin* and *yang*. In this sense, *taixu* is numinous because it contains *qi*. For ZHANG Zai, the numinous quality relates to *qi* and the transformative quality relates to *qi*'s movement.

---

[6] The "six roots" refers to the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and intention (*yi* 意).

According to the *Yijing*, "One *yin* and one *yang* are called *dao*" (一陰一陽謂之道). ZHANG Zai explains this statement through a detailed interpretation of the properties of *yin* and *yang*. *Qi* has two modes of existence: *yin* and *yang*. *Yin-yang* has three properties: *dongjing* 動靜 (motion and stillness); *qushen* 屈伸 (contraction and extension); *jusan* 聚散 (coalescence and dispersal). We can consider the properties of *jusan* as an example. The nature of *yin* is *ju* (coalescence) and the nature of *yang* is *san* (dispersal). These two are in constant interaction. The disposition of *yang* is to spread and disperse; the disposition of *yin* is to coalesce and concentrate. When *qi* coalesces, things begin to exist; when *qi* dispenses things disappear. This understanding is also evident in *Zhuangzi*, *Liezi*, and *Huainanzi*. However it is the association of the movement of *yin* and *yang* with the moral concepts of *xing* 性 (the nature) and *ren* 仁, and *yi* 義 that is new to ZHANG Zai's interpretation. "*Yin-yang* as the way of heaven completes the images of things (*xiang* 象); soft and hard as the way of earth provide models for emulation; humaneness and rightness as the way of human beings establishes the nature." (ibid.: 48) These comments relate to how the *dao* moves in patterns.

Although there are a few different meanings of *shen* in ZHANG Zai's thinking, this notion is intrinsically connected with transformation (*hua*). According to Kasoff's interpretation, Zhang departed from the traditional meaning of *shen* as spirit and used it in the sense in which it is used in the *Book of Change*: to refer or describe the inscrutable. (Kasoff 1984: 61). The notion of *shen*, like the notion of *hua*, relies on the following presuppositions:

(i) The myriad things are different (*shu* 殊);
(ii) These differences are bound to generate resonances (*gan* 感) between things;
(iii) The resonances between things lead to unity (*he* 合);
(iv) Unity is possible because things all come from one (*taixu*).

Two interesting views emerge from these claims. First, "Although the myriad things are many, in fact, they are the same thing. There is nothing but *yin* and *yang*. Hence it is known that the changes of heaven and earth are these two starting-points and nothing more" (ibid.: 10). Second, there is the necessity of resonance between different things and the necessity of unity as the result of this resonance. These two points exhibit a concurrence between one and many, planting the seed of ZHU Xi's phrase, "one principle yet multiple manifestations" (理一分殊).

For Zhang, *taixu* as state (*ti*) reveals its function (*yong*) through the transformation of *qi*. This *ti* and *yong* dynamic correlates with the idea of the unity of *taixu* and *qi*. On the one hand, the movement of *qi* as the explanation for all transformation is only a function of Ultimate Void; hence *qi* implies the existence of a constant, eternal, and absolute ground. On the other hand, *taixu* as the state or condition (*ti*) of all existence is always still heavenly virtue. *Taixu* is not a value-free, pure, absolute existence: it possesses a moral value and authority. This construction forms the basis allowing Confucian moral theory to wrestle with Buddhism. One shared effort unique to Neo-Confucians is that they connected

historically naturalistic terms, such as *yin-yang,* with ethically normative concepts. In his commentary on Zhang Zai's work, Wang Fuzhi claims that "the numinous quality of a person is the manifestation of sageliness. Harmonizing *yin-yang* with unity, going forward and backward, living and dying at the right time, these are natural heavenly principle. Human beings have to apply movement and rest, hardness and softness, humanity and righteousness, to measure it. This is the numinous quality of a sage" (Wang 2000: 151).

Zhang Zai's *Qizhi* (Quality of *Qi*): A Confucian Project for Moral Transformation

Zhang Zai's metaphysical articulation of *qi* has a clear mission: elevating and developing Confucian moral teaching to meet the demands of his time. Consequently his reflection on *taixu* turns toward explaining human nature, or the way of human beings (*rendao* 人道). According to Zhang Zai, human beings are necessarily endowed with heavenly nature (*tianxing* 天性). This view of heavenly nature presupposes at least two aspects of human beings. First, this heavenly nature is shared by heaven and earth, and, more importantly, it is given as ethically good and virtuous. Secondly, this heavenly nature exists prior to any particular human physical form. This is a similar view to the Daoist notion of primordial *qi* (*yuanqi* 元氣). The concept of heavenly nature in human beings supplies Zhang Zai with a foundation on which to build a Confucian theory of human nature and ethical transformation.

Zhang uses an analogy to demonstrate the universality, particularity, and diversity of heavenly nature: "Heavenly nature is present in human beings just like the nature of water exists in ice. Although water and ice differ, they are one thing. It is like light; because its level is strong or weak, bright or dim, the light functions differently" (Zhang 1978: 22). This highlights an important division. On the one hand, human beings are endowed with heavenly nature, a good and universal property; on the other hand, human beings are so diverse, just like light, some are strong and bright, and others are weak and dim. The reason for this divergence is the psycho-physical nature (*qizhi zhixing* 氣質之性). This is a key term through which Zhang elucidates the myriad differences between human beings in their varying physical constitutions and the pressing need for following the Confucian project of moral transformation. This concept was particularly valued by Zhu Xi. According to Kai-wing Chow, it is "crucial to the Neo-Confucians response to Buddhism," since, "it is this notion of psycho-physical nature that made it possible for the neo-Confucians to reconcile ontological universalism and the Confucian doctrine of social hierarchy based on morality" (Chow 1993: 203–204).

What is the psycho-physical nature? Why is it so central to Confucian teachings? This notion has two meanings: one is "the natural endowments of the individual," the other is "the socially conditioned patterns of these natural

endowments, which is the aggregate that constitutes the character of a person and psychological makeup" (Chow 1993: 207). Confucians, especially Mencius, believe that to be ethical one must conform to one's proper nature (*xing*) which is endowed by heaven. The human body is carefully formed not by a directionless process, but rather as the natural endowment from heaven. However, it is unclear how Mencius relates the heavenly endowment of the "four sprouts" (*si duan* 四端) to his teaching of "flood-like *qi*" (*haoran qi* 浩然之氣). This puzzle was resolved by ZHANG Zai. When *taixu* is manifested in an individual human being it takes two forms: the nature (*xing*) bestowed by heaven and earth (*tian di zhi xing* 天地之性) and the psycho-physical nature: "When human beings have physical form they are bound with psycho-physical *qi*. If they practice goodness they preserve the nature of heaven and earth. Therefore sages transform their psycho-physical *qi*" (Zhang 1978: 23). In this fashion, human nature contains two specific components, the nature of heaven and earth that is universal and corresponds to the heavenly principle and the psycho-physical nature particular to each individual, providing the basis for the uniqueness of individual character, temperament, and abilities. The word z*hi* 質 (basic or raw quality) refers to one's natural and innate disposition and basic stuff which needs to be cultivated and refined. ZHANG Zai describes the *qizhi* as follows: "The psycho-physical is just like what people call the *qi* of the nature. There are various sorts of *qi*: hard and strong; soft and weak; slow and fast; clear and turbid. The *zhi* (quality) is the raw material (*cai* 才)" (ibid.: 281). Zhang further presumed that all living things, such as grass and plants, have *qizhi,* yet "only human beings are able to control themselves and make changes, transforming the nature of past habits and properly managing past customs" (ibid.: 281).

This distinction between these two features of *xing* is what accounts for the presence of diversity and multiplicity, and more significantly, morally good or bad habits and behaviors. ZHANG Zai advanced the pre-Qin debate on the goodness or badness of human nature by linking *xing* (human nature) with the notion of *qi*. It relocates the common dichotomy of good and bad (*shan e* 善惡) in pre-Qin thought to the metaphysical level of *xing* 性 versus *qizhi* 氣質 (nature and *qi*). For ZHANG Zai *qi* can be fast or slow, hard or soft, muddy or clear. Variations in these components create differences in character, temperament, and talent (ibid.: 281). The view that *qi* has different qualities enables Zhang to argue at a metaphysical level that *qi*-quality is the explanation for good and evil, and right and wrong in human beings. The one who has the purest, clearest, and most harmonious *qi* becomes a sage. The most depraved are those who have the most disordered *qi*. According to ZHANG Zai:

> Hardness and softness, rashness and calm, talent and the lack of talent are due to the variations of *qi*. If one can be aligned with heaven and not unbalanced, cultivating *qi*, returning to the root and being centered, one will protect his or her nature and be one with heaven. If one's nature is not perfected, then goodness and badness are mixed. If one can accumulate goodness and continue this goodness, then one can become good. Accordingly one can get away from badness and complete *xing*. If virtue (moral

> power, *de*) cannot conquer *qi*, human nature and will be commanded by *qi*; if virtue can conquer the *qi,* then human nature will be commanded by virtue. If one can exhaust principle and fully realize one's nature, one's nature will be the virtue of heaven. (Ibid.: 23)

Goodness is a result of the nature of heaven and earth endowed in a human life, but it can be blocked by a low quality of *qi*. The sage will cultivate *qi* with the intention of transforming his own personal *qi* into the *qi* of heaven and earth. Sages are eminently talented and virtuous, as their hearts connect with their bodies that are in turn united with heaven and earth. There is, however, a constant tension within ordinary human beings, that is, the struggle between virtue and *qi*. Virtue has to manage, control, and finally to conquer *qi*.

The logical implication of Zhang Zai's *xing*-*qi* alliance is the importance of managing one's quality of *qi*. In his work, *Understanding of the Conceptual Foundation of Yijing*, there is a special chapter devoted to the quality of *qi*. It declares that the quality of *qi* can and should be modified, altered, and rectified. For Zhang, the Confucian tradition of moral self-cultivation is in essence the cultivation and transformation of this *qi*. He provides three justifications for his position. First, "Transforming the *qi*-quality" follows Mencius' proposition of "inhabiting the transforming *qi* and cultivating the transforming body" (ibid.: 265). "If one resides in moral virtue and adheres to rightness then one's heart/mind will be in harmony and the body will be strong. If one's heart/mind becomes harmonious then *qi* will be harmonious; if the heart/mind is rectified then *qi* will be rectified. The transformation of *qi*-quality and rectification of heart/mind are mutually complementary" (ibid.: 275). This transformation/rectification results from the removal of past improper behavior, submitting to rituals, and succeeding in perfecting the quality of *qi* over time.

Second, various *qi* qualities, such as beautiful and ugly appearance, noble and lowly social status, and brevity and longevity of one's life, are a result of one's natural endowment. They have fixed limits (*dingfen* 定分) in both quantity and quality and cannot be altered. Nonetheless, the bad *qi*-quality can be transformed and changed through learning. Most people are driven by crude *qi* and do not learn to refine it, and so they cannot become sages. In antiquity people sought to achieve pureness of the quality of their *qi* through the teachings of masters. Zhang explains this through the reciprocal relation between *qi* and intention: "This is what Mencius claims: 'if *qi* is unified then the intention will move.' The meaning of 'move' refers to transformation. If the intention is unified then *qi* can be transformed. Then learning will understand heaven, and human nature will be completed" (ibid.: 266). Zhang deepens the Confucian emphasis on learning by setting for it a single content and goal: transforming the *qi*. "The most important benefit of learning lies in the transformation of the quality of *qi*. . .so the very first thing for learners is to transform their *qi*-quality" (ibid.: 275). Mature learners also avoid the condition of "deficient intentions and shallow *qi"* (*zhixiao qiqing* 志小氣輕). "Deficient intentions easily lead to changing paths, making no progress in learning. Shallow *qi* will take empty as full, small as great, non-existence as existence, and not knowing as knowing"

(ibid.: 287). This learning is not about conceptual understanding or formulation of absolute truths but rather it concerns improving one's character, disposition, and overall integrity as a person.

Third, the body like other things is a material object (*wu* 物). *Dao* influences the body just as *dao* influences the other myriad things. At the same time, human beings should be given greater consideration: "Priority should be given to cultivating the body and then followed by managing the things around it. There is the sequence between intimate and distant, close and far, first and second. This is proper ritual and rightness" (ibid.: 288). He relates that all living things, such as grass and trees possess varying qualities of *qi*, but only human beings have the capability to change their *qi*-quality.

For Zhang, to be ethical is to transform the *qi* in oneself and to craft the *qi*-quality to fit with the greater flowing *qi* of heaven and earth. Human virtues and heaven-and-earth are united in one *qi*. Cultivation of *qi*, which includes mental and physical refinement, has a great significance in one's ethical life: "If human nature possesses bad *qi* then one will be sick; if *qi* is learned through bad habit it will be harmful. Consequently, one should intensively learn to triumph over bad *qi* and debauched habits" (ibid.: 330). Zhang not merely opens an interior path to join human nature with the presence of heaven, but he also shows that one should actualize, expand, and complete this heavenly-endowed nature in one's spirit, heart/mind, and character, and also in one's flesh and blood. He asserts: "Oneness is the root of *qi*; attacking and taking 攻取 (*gongqu*) are the desires of *qi*. The mouth and stomach want food; the nose and tongue can distinguish malodorous smells. These are manifestations of the nature of attacking and taking. One who knows virtue will recognize repulsive things and not allow desires to burden the heart/mind or let small things destroy the big by losing the root" (ibid.: 22). There is no clear separation between mental *qi* and corporeal *qi*. There are only differences of degree. The cultivation of *qi* involves the wholeness of *qi*. The same *qi* permeates and unites one's body and mind, world and cosmos. For Zhang "understanding the body and other things is the basis of *dao*. If the body can manifest *dao*, this is what makes humans significant. Consequently if *dao* can be manifest in the body, the body becomes noble and valuable; if *dao* cannot be manifest in the body, the body is petty and trivial" (ibid.: 22). This *xing*-*qi* 性氣connection had a great influence on later Neo-Confucians, especially ZHU Xi, who stated that "any discussion of *xing* without reference to *qi* will be incomplete; discussion of *qi* without reference to *xing* will be unclear" (Ouyang 2005: 309).

Conclusion: ZHANG Zai's Historical Position and Contribution to Confucianism

What is ZHANG Zai's place in Neo-Confucian philosophy and what is his unique contribution to Confucianism? Historically speaking, ZHANG Zai is a transitional and groundbreaking figure. First, he created an effective and

comprehensive conceptual basis to attack Buddhism and Daoism in defense of Confucianism. This is entrenched in his portrayal of *taixu* and its connection with *qi*. His efforts reveal a divergence between and integration of three dominant thoughts and traditions: Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. Many later Confucians, especially Ming Confucians, did not even bother to debate with Buddhists any more because they were convinced that the Buddhist flaws had been refuted by ZHANG Zai and there was nothing left for them to clarify.

Second, ZHANG Zai re-activated the classical Confucian concern with ultimate transcendence and its implications for human morality, paying particular attention to heavenly endowment in human beings and the transformation of their quality of *qi*. Mencius asserted that knowing one's true nature is the way to know heaven. This bond between heaven and human beings starts within the cultivation of the four sprouts and then reaches out to heaven. ZHANG Zai criticized the Confucians from the Han to Tang periods for overlooking this Mencian approach to knowing heaven: they only "know human beings and not heaven; they seek to be educated but not enlightened." They lacked the lofty desire for the pursuit of the transcendent. Yet he also analyzed the problems of Buddhist and Daoist views which separate the transcendent from the immanent, and state (*ti*) from function (*yong*). Zhang proposed a union between human beings and heaven on a much larger and more inclusive scale. What is from heaven or *taixu* comes down to human beings through the functioning of *qi*. ZHANG Zai's philosophy "proceeds from the existence of the objective universe to the problem of human life" (Tang 1956: 114). This secures a close tie between state and function, cosmological formation, and moral transformation. It delivers a solid structure for the unity of heaven and human beings and differs from the Cheng brothers' position that *xing* (human nature) is *li* (principle).

Third, ZHANG Zai presents a critical element, *qi*, for constructing and sustaining a system of Confucian thinking. His theory of *qi* supplies the resources for conjoining ontological and cosmological concerns with Confucian moral cultivation and justification. Although ZHU Xi listed ZHANG Zai's thought after the Cheng brothers' theory of *li*, Zhu's theory of *li* has a close intangible link with ZHANG Zai's *qi*. For ZHU Xi, there is an interrelated and co-existing connection between *li* (principle) and *qi*. His famous analogy of *li* and *qi* as rider and horse clearly exhibits ZHANG Zai's influence:

> The Supreme Ultimate (*taiji*) is *li*, and motion and rest are *qi*. *Qi* moves and then *li* moves too. They constantly rely on each other and never separate. The Supreme Ultimate is like the horse rider and motion and rest are like a horse. The horse carries the horse-rider and the horse-rider rides the horse. (Zhu 1986: 2376)

In this analogy, the Supreme Ultimate is joined with *qi* just like horse and rider, yet the Supreme Ultimate has a priority over *qi* as the rider is more important than the horse. This view was challenged by Ming dynasty Confucians, such as LUO Qinshun 羅欽順 (1465–1547), WANG Tingxiang 王廷相 (1474–1544), and WANG Fuzhi. These thinkers concurred with ZHANG Zai's view, according to

which *qi* is primary and the ultimate reality. This initiated an internal change from the school of *li* to the school of *qi* in Ming Confucianism. Any reader of the Ming Confucians will recognize the significance and impact of Zhang Zai's *qi* theory on the philosophical history of Neo-Confucian thought.

Zhang Zai's contribution to Neo-Confucian philosophy in particular, and to Chinese philosophy in general, has often been misconstrued in two ways. Traditional understanding of his thought has often been based on the interpretations of the Cheng brothers, yet their interpretations were often tailored to serve their own theories, resulting in a relative neglect of Zhang Zai's *qi* theory. Furthermore, due to Zhu Xi's assessment of the Cheng brothers as superior to Zhang Zai, historians and literati are inclined to hold that the Cheng brothers had a strong influence over Zhang Zai. In Zhang's biography there is a story known as "taking away the tiger skin" which relates that Zhang Zai always sat on a tiger skin to give lectures. One day the Cheng brothers came to visit and discuss some weighty philosophical issues with him. The next day, they discussed the *Yijing* and Zhang realized the two Cheng brothers possessed much deeper knowledge of *Yijing* than he did, so he took away the tiger skin, indicating that he quit teaching. After they talked about the essence of *dao* teachings, Zhang Zai attained another revelation about himself: "I am content and sufficient with my own *dao*; there is no need for me to seek outside ideas" (Zhang 1978: 386). These stories are questionable because they tend to exaggerate the influence of the Cheng brothers on Zhang Zai's thought. Having adduced several historical examples as evidence, Kasoff concludes: "The fact that Chang's [Zhang's] philosophy became absorbed into the Ch'eng school has obscured that fact that Chang [Zhang] was an independent thinker, one of the founding fathers of Neo-Confucianism" (Kasoff 1984: 147).

In contemporary times, scholars in China have labeled Zhang Zai a materialist as opposed to an idealist (Zhang Dainian 1978: 5). This not only oversimplifies Zhang's multifaceted and complex thought but also ignores the importance of his metaphysical concerns. Zhang had a profound appreciation for human being's ambition, need, and ability to search for the transcendent. He shared a view with other Confucian thinkers that the universe is itself not amoral or ethically neutral. On the contrary, it is filled with moral values, sometimes expressed in the terms used in *Yijing* as originating growth (*yuan* 元), prosperous development (*heng* 亨), advantage (*li* 利), and correct firmness (*zhen* 貞), and sometimes expressed in Confucian moral terms as humaneness (*ren* 仁), rightness (*yi* 義), ritual propriety (*li* 禮), and wisdom (*zhi* 智) (Tang 1956: 114). Zhang Zai's *qi* theory makes the linkage between this moral universe and the moral ought that enables human agency: "The *Change* has three aspects: *yin* and *yang* are *qi*, so they refer to heaven; hard and soft are quality (*zhi* 質), so they refer to earth; humaneness and rightness are virtue, so they refer to human beings" (Zhang 1978: 23). The existence of *qi* in human beings not only offers an explanation of the origins of goodness and badness in the human world it also discloses an opportunity for human beings to connect to an ethical ground which transcends their individual material body (Ding 2000).

ZHANG Zai remains little known in the West. There is only one monograph in English and fewer than five journal essays on ZHANG Zai written since the 1950s. It goes without saying that the appreciation of Neo-Confucian philosophy cannot reach a satisfactory level without due attention to his thought. ZHANG Zai's great concern for transcendent and practical excellence was not just historically significant and decisive in the legendary Neo-Confucian disputes between ZHU Xi and Lu Xiangshan in the Song Dynasty and between WANG Yangming and WANG Fuzhi in the Ming, it also embodies original and momentous insights into how the transcendent can blend with an ever-changing universe of myriad things.

Bibliography

Chan, Wing-Tsit. 1963. *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. (A translation of ZHANG Zai's "Western Inscription" with a brief introduction on his philosophy.)

Chow, Kai-wing. 1993. "Ritual, Cosmology, and Ontology: Chang Tsai's Moral Philosophy and Neo-Confucian Ethics," *Philosophy East & West* 43.2: 201–228. (One of the few sources on ZHANG Zai in English, concentrating on his ethical views. It also gives an overview of his philosophical system.)

Daode jing 道德經. 1999. *WANG Bi Collected Writings, Collated with Interpretations* 王弼集校釋. Edited by LOU Yulie 樓宇烈. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju中華書局.

Ding, Weixiang 丁為祥. 2000. *Xu and Qi: ZHANG Zai's Philosophical System and Its Evaluation* 虛氣相即:張載哲學體系及其定位. Beijing 北京: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社. (A broad study of ZHANG Zai's philosophy which provides a good overview of the current state of ZHANG Zai studies in China.)

Ding, Weixiang 丁為祥. 2001. "Interpretation of ZHANG Zai's *Xu* and *Qi* " 張載的氣與虛解讀. *Journal of the History of Chinese Philosophy* 中國哲學史 2: 46–54.

Ding, Weixiang 丁為祥. 2002. "Three Understandings of ZHANG Zai's *Taixu*" 張載太虛的三種理解. *Journal of Confucian Studies* 儒家研究 6: 44–53.

Guo, Xiang 郭象. 1961. *Collected Interpretations of* Zhuangzi 莊子集釋. Edited by GUO Qingfan 郭慶藩. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Guoyu [*Speeches of the States*] 國語. 1994. Shanghai 上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社.

Huainanzi 淮南子. 1998. *Vernacular Huainanzi* 白話淮南子. Edited by HU Anshun 胡安順 and ZHANG Wennian 張文年. Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe 三秦出版社.

Kasoff, Ira E. 1984. *The Thought of Chang Tsai* (1020–1077). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Li, Zuling 李祖林. 1990. *The Theory of Vital Energy and Traditional Chinese Ways of Thinking* 氣論與中國傳統思維方式. Shanghai 上海: Xuelin chubanshe 學林出版社. (An excellent historical and textual study of *qi* in Chinese thought.)

Liezi 列子.1979. *Collected Interpretations of Liezi* 列子集釋. Edited by YANG Bojun 楊伯峻. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Lunyu [*Analects*] 論語 1990. *Collected Interpretations of the* Analects 論語集釋. Edited by CHENG Shude 程樹德. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Major, John. 1993. *Heaven & Earth in Early Han Thought*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Mencius 孟子 1987. *Correct Meaning of* Mencius 孟子正義. Edited by JIAO Xun 焦循. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Ouyang, Zhenren 歐陽貞人. 2005. *Pre-Qin Confucian Thought on* Xing *and* Qing 先秦儒家思想中的性與情. Wuhan 武漢: Wuhan daxue chubanshe 武漢大學出版社.

Tang, Chun-I. 1956. "Chang Tsai's Theory of Mind and Its Metaphysical Basis." *Philosophy East and West* 6.2: 113–136. (Examines the connection between ZHANG Zai's philosophical framework and his view of mind. It is one of the few sources in English on ZHANG Zai.)

WANG, Bi 王弼. 1999. *WANG Bi Collected Writings, Collated with Interpretations* 王弼集校釋. Edited by LOU Yulie 樓宇烈. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Wang, Fuzhi 王夫子. 1978. "WANG Fuzhi's Preface to *Rectifying Ignorance*" 王夫子正蒙序. In *Collected Works of ZHANG Zai*.

Wang, Fuzhi 王夫子. 2000. *ZHANG Zai's* Rectifying Ignorance 張子正蒙. Shanghai 上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社. (WANG Fuzhi was a leading Qing-dynasty Confucian whose philosophy centers on *qi* and was a development of ZHANG Zai's thought. This commentary is valuable for understanding ZHANG Zai's philosophy and the thought of WANG Fuzhi himself. It also includes Zhang's original text.)

Zhang, Dainian 張岱年. 1978. "On Zhang's Thought and Works" 張載思想和著作. In ZHANG Zai, *Collected Works of ZHANG Zai*. (ZHANG Dainian was one of the most prominent late twentieth-century Chinese scholars working on the history of Chinese philosophy. This article gives an overview of ZHANG Zai's philosophy.)

Zhang, Zai 張載. 1978. *Collected Works of ZHANG Zai* 張載全集. Edited by ZHANG Xichen, 章錫琛. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局. (This is the best source for ZHANG Zai's work, including all of his extant writings and a selection of relevant secondary sources.)

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1986. *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* 朱子語類. Edited by LI Jingde 黎靖德. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Zhuangzi 莊子. 1961. *Collected Interpretations of* Zhuangzi 莊子集釋. Edited by GUO Qingfan 郭慶藩.

Zongmi 宗密. 1990. "Huayan on Humanity" 華嚴原人論. In *Chinese Buddhist Canon* 大藏正 45: 342–346. Taibei 臺北: *Caifaren fotuo jiaoyu jijinhui chubanbu* 財法人佛陀教育基金會出版部.

Zuozhuan 左傳. 1991. In *The Four Books and Five Classics* 四書五經. Edited by CHEN Wuguo 陳戊國. Changsha 長沙: Qulu Press 岳麓書社.

Cheng Yi's Moral Philosophy

Huang Yong

Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107), also known as Cheng Yichuan 伊川, and his brother Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085), are often referred to as "the two Chengs" (*er Cheng* 二程). They are both identified with the group known as the Five Masters of the (Northern) Song period (with the other three being Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 [1016–1073], Zhang Zai 張載 [1020–1077], and Shao Yong 邵庸 [1011–1077]). To the extent that Neo-Confucian philosophy can be characterized as the learning of *li* (*li xue* 理學, normally translated as "principle"), as it is most commonly called in contemporary Chinese scholarship, the two brothers can be properly credited as its founders: it is only in their philosophy that *li* obtains its central position for the first time. Thus, in comparison with classical Confucian philosophy, Neo-Confucian philosophy has a more fully developed metaphysics. However, moral life is still the central concern for Neo-Confucians as for classical Confucians. The metaphysics they develop is to provide an ontological articulation of classical Confucian values, and so it is essentially a moral metaphysics. Thus, in this essay on Cheng Yi, I focus on his moral philosophy, paying particular attention to such issues as why be moral, whether one can be moral, how to be moral, the possibility of a virtue politics, and moral metaphysics.

Cheng Yi was born in Huangpi in what is the present Hubei Province. When young, the two brothers moved quite often as their father, Cheng Xiang, was appointed as a local official at various places. In 1046, Cheng Xiang became acquainted with Zhou Dunyi and sent his two sons to study with Zhou briefly. In 1056, Cheng and his brother followed their father to the capital city Luoyang and started to have scholarly exchanges with their uncle Zhang Zai. In the same year, Cheng Yi wrote the famous essay, "What Was the Learning that Yanzi Loved?" (顏子所好何學) as a response to an examination question at the imperial academy, and started to study at the academy. In 1065, he left Luoyang with his father. In the following years, Cheng Yi spent much time drafting official

Y. Huang (✉)
Department of Philosophy, Kutztown University of Pennsylvania, Kutztown, PA 19530, USA
e-mail: yhuang@kutztown.edu

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*, Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_4,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

documents for his father in various places, until 1072 when they returned to Luoyang. CHENG Yi and his brother then started to accept students, teaching Confucian classics. It was also the time when they had a close connection with SHAO Yong. CHENG Yi was appointed as a lecturer at the imperial academy in 1086 but was dismissed a year later. In 1092, Cheng finished drafting his *Commentary on the Book of Change*, which he continued to revise until 1099, when he started to write commentaries on the *Analects*, *Mencius*, *Book of Rites*, and *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

The main source to study CHENG Yi's philosophy is his conversations with students, many of whom recorded such conversations. In 1168, ZHU Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) edited some of these recorded sayings in the Chengs' *Surviving Works* (*Yishu*) in 25 volumes, of which 4 volumes are attributed to CHENG Hao and 11 volumes to CHENG Yi, with the first 10 volumes to both, where in most cases it is not clearly indicated which saying belongs to which brother. In 1173, ZHU Xi edited the Chengs' *External Works* (*Waishu*) in 12 volumes, including those recorded sayings that were circulated among scholars but had not been included in *Yishu* (again, in most cases, it is not indicated which saying belongs to which brother). As ZHU Xi himself acknowledged that the authenticity of such sayings in *Waishu* is mixed, they can be used with caution only. Before ZHU Xi edited these two works, YANG Shi 楊時 (1053–1135), a student of both brothers, rewrote some of these sayings in a literary form in *Excellent Sayings of the Two Chengs* (*Cuiyan*), which mostly represents CHENG Yi's views. CHENG Yi's own writings are collected in the eight volumes (volumes 5–12) of the Chengs' *Collected Writings* (*Wenji*), in CHENG Yi's *Commentary on the* Book of Change (*Yizhuan*), and in the Chengs' *Interpretation of the Classics* (*Jingshuo*) (except for part of volume five that is authored by CHENG Hao and volume eight whose authorship is not indicated, all are authored by CHENG Yi). All these are now conveniently collected in the two-volume edition of *The Works of the Two Chengs* (*Er Cheng Ji*).

Why Be Moral?

The question of why one should be moral has long troubled moral philosophers. The question is puzzling because it does not ask "why should *we* be moral?" which is relatively easy to answer. For example, we can use Thomas Hobbes's argument: if we are not moral to each other, we will be living in the state of nature, in which everyone is at war against everyone else. The question rather asks "why should *I* be moral, particularly if my being immoral to others will not cause others to be equally or even more immoral to me?" Obviously, this is a question raised by an egoist who is first of all concerned with his or her self-interest. As absurd as it might appear,[1] this question has been repeatedly posed, rather seriously, in the

[1] The question has often been regarded as something absurd and therefore to be safely ignored. Stephen Toulmin, for example, argues that, just like the question "why are all scarlet

history of Western philosophy. In the form of "why should I be just," it was put most sharply by Glaucon and his brother Adimantus, as devil's advocates, in Plato's *Republic* (Plato 1963b: 361a–365b). This same question was later raised again by Thomas Hobbes's "irresponsible fool" (Hobbes 1998: 15.4–5; 27.16) and David Hume's "sensible knave" (Hume 1957: 91–121). Of course, Plato (Plato 1963b: 589a-e), Hobbes (Hobbes 1998: 15.4), and Hume (Hume 1957: 102–103), as well as many other philosophers, notably Aristotle and Kant, have each tried to provide an answer to this question. However, none of them seems to be satisfactory, and for this reason it has sometimes been claimed that this question, while intelligible, is unanswerable (Meldon 1948: 455; Copp 1997: 86–87; Nielsen 1989: 299).[2] In this section, I shall discuss CHENG Yi's moral philosophy as the most plausible answer to this question.

Confucian learning is concerned with moral self-cultivation. However, the highest goal of such self-cultivation is joy (*le* 樂). The Neo-Confucian philosophy initiated by CHENG Yi and his brother CHENG Hao is sometimes also called the learning of *dao* (*daoxue* 道學), which, according to FENG Youlan 馮友蘭, "is not merely a kind of knowledge; it is also an enjoyment" (Feng 1995: 5.131). For example, a superior person (*junzi* 君子) is an exemplary person in the Confucian tradition. However, for CHENG Yi, "without joy, one is not qualified to be a superior person" (Cheng and Cheng 2004: *Yishu* 17.181; citations from this source will be indicated with book titles, volume (*juan*) number, and page numbers only hereafter). Similarly, the goal of Confucian self-cultivation is to become a sage, and Cheng claims that, "when one's learning reaches the level of cultivating what one has attained so that one finds joy in it, it becomes clear, bright, lofty, and far-reaching" (*Cuiyan* 1.1189). To understand this joy, Cheng thinks that it is particularly important to understand such sayings as "he does not allow his joy to be affected [by hardship]" (*bu gai qi le* 不改其樂) and "joy lies in them" (*le zai qi zhong* 樂在其中) in the *Analects*.

For Cheng, these two expressions vividly describe the so-called joy of Confucius and Yanzi (*kong yan zhi le* 孔顏之樂), the joy they still felt even when they were living under unfavorable conditions. According to Cheng, "Yanzi's joy was not caused by his eating a scoop of grain, drinking a ladleful of water, or living in a shabby lane. Confucius regarded him as virtuous because he did not allow his poverty to burden his heart/mind and affect his joy" (*Jingshuo* 6.1141). Similarly, Cheng states that Confucius himself was still joyful "even though he had only coarse grain to eat and unboiled water to drink. . .. This does not mean

---

things red," it is a tautological question (Toulmin 1964: 162). F.H. Bradley, on the other hand, thinks that it is a self-contradictory question because it asks for self-interested reason to be moral, i.e., to be not self-interested (Bradley 1935: 61–62). However, Kai Nielsen claims that the question makes sense because it really asks "whether it is rational for me to be moral" (Nielsen 1989: 286–287). David Copp also thinks that the question is intelligible as it asks: "does morality override self-interest?" (Copp 1997: 86).

[2] For a more detailed discussion of the topic of why one should be moral, as featured in the history of Western philosophy, see Huang (2008c: 321–330).

that he had joy because he ate coarse grain and drank unboiled water" (*Jingshuo* 6.1145). It was being in accord with moral principles that was the source of Confucius' and Yanzi's joy. As long as one is in accord with moral principles, one can find joy in anything one encounters. In his reply to a student's question about Mencius' statement that "there is no better way to nurture one's heart/mind than by having few desires" (*Mencius* 7B.35), Cheng states:"this is easy to understand, but what deserves our greatest appreciation is his statement that'the principle and rightness please (*yue* 悦) my heart/mind just as meat pleases my palate.' However, what is really important is [for the heart/mind] to experience the pleasure of being in accord with moral principle and rightness in just the same way that the palate takes pleasure in tasting meat" (*Waishu* 12.425). Here Cheng emphasizes that joy comes from one's heart/mind nurtured by moral principle and not from our sense organs when affected by their preferred objects. Thus, in another place commenting on the same passage of *Mencius*, he states that, "in investigating the principle, one should know how to apply one's heart/mind according to greater or lesser urgency. If one arduously exerts oneself without finding joy, how can one nourish the heart/mind?" (*Yishu* 3.66). So, what is crucial is not only to do things according to moral principles, but to find joy in doing so.

Here it is important to see how joy as the highest goal of Confucian self-cultivation is similar to and yet also different from the joy in our common sense understanding. For Cheng, first of all, joy means to be without doubt and worry. For example, he exclaims:"What a joy it is to be without any hesitancy in one's interactions with other human beings" (*Yishu* 18.193). A joyful person is one who has reached the realm of no worry and no doubt. Second, to have joy is to act naturally and not to exert any artificial effort. We should find joy in being in line with rightness and moral principle, but Cheng asks, "why are there people today who have set their mind on rightness and principle and yet cannot feel joy in their heart/mind? This is because they try to help them to grow. One certainly needs to preserve them in one's heart/mind. However, if one exerts too much artificial effort, one will not be doing things naturally but instead be trying to change the natural cause" (*Yishu* 2a.42). In other words, if you need to exert any special effort to do something, you will not feel joy. Only when you act naturally and spontaneously can you feel joy. In the former, it is as if you are using a stick to pick up something and so unavoidably you will feel something unnatural, while in the latter, it is as if you are using your own hand to pick up something and there is nothing uneasy (see *Yishu* 2a.22).

For Cheng, it is in this sense that joy (*le*) and music (*yue*) are closely related. Although pronounced differently, *le* and *yue* share the same Chinese character. In the *Analects*, Confucius states that one's morality is "stimulated by odes, established by rules of propriety, and perfected by music" (*Analects* 8.8). Here, among odes, rules of propriety, and music, Confucius ranks music as the highest. To explain this, Cheng points out that "when'stimulated by odes and established by rules of propriety,' one needs to make an effort, whereas when 'perfected by music,' there is no forced effort involved" (*Yishu* 2a.15). One does

not need to exert any effort because music brings one joy, which is made clear by Mencius: "the essence of music (*yue* 樂) is to enjoy (*le* 樂) the two [humaneness and rightness], naturally resulting in joy (*le* 樂). As soon as joy arises, it cannot be stopped, and one cannot help but dance with the feet and wave with the hands" (*Mencius* 4A.27).

What Cheng means by joy is the same as our common sense understanding: to act without hesitance, without impediment, spontaneously, and naturally. It is, however, also clear that in terms of what brings one joy, Cheng holds a very different view from the common conception of joy. He laments that "people today often find joy in things they should not and cannot find joy in things they should; love things they should not and do not love things they should. This is all because they do not know what is important and what is not important" (*Yishu* 25.317). Normally wealth brings one joy, while poverty causes one pain. However, while Confucians do not deny wealth as a source of joy, one's joy should not come from one's immoral actions. In contrast, the primary source of joy is moral action, and such joy should not be affected by one's poverty or wealth. As a matter of fact, to perform a moral action may require one to endure physical pain or even to sacrifice life. Thus, in the famous passage in which he talks about a farmer who has true knowledge of the pain caused by a tiger, Cheng states,

> One should have the heart/mind that "has a feeling of being in hot water when seeing something evil." If so, a person will be truly different. ... Virtue is something one gets from one's inner heart/mind. When one is virtuous, there is no need for any forced effort, although a learner does need to exert such effort. In ancient times, there were people who were willing to sacrifice their bodies and lives. If they do not have genuine knowledge, how could they do it? One needs truly to understand that rightness is more important than life. (*Yishu* 15.147)

Of course, poverty and sacrifice of life do not in themselves bring one joy. They cause pain to sages just as they do to common people. However, if such poverty and sacrifice can be avoided only by violating moral principles, for sages, it is more painful to avoid them. In contrast, one will feel joy by enduring poverty and sacrifice if this is necessary for one to abide by moral principle. This sense of joy is very different from our common sense understanding.

Thus, Cheng's answer to the question "Why be moral?" is that it is a joy to be moral. Is this answer enough to motivate those who pose the question now to act morally? In one sense, it is: it is entirely rational for them to perform moral action, since it is a joy to do so. In another sense, however, it is not. The person who poses the question may further ask: even though I can feel joy in being moral, why do I have to be moral, since I can also feel joy in being immoral? Cheng's answer to this question is surprisingly simple: to be moral is characteristic of being human.

According to Cheng, "what makes human beings different from animals is that humans have the nature of humanity and rightness. So if one loses the heart/mind and does not want to recover it, the person is no different from an animal" (*Yishu* 25.323). This position, of course, is consistent with Mencius'

view: “whoever is devoid of the heart of compassion is not human; whoever is devoid of the heart of shame is not human, whoever is devoid of the heart of courtesy and modesty is not human, and whoever is devoid of the heart of right and wrong is not human” (*Mencius* 2A.6). Elsewhere, Mencius said that “the distinction between humans and beasts is very little. Inferior persons abandon this difference, whereas superior persons preserve it” (*Mencius* 4B.19). When a student asked whether Mencius meant that the difference between superior persons and inferior persons lies precisely in preserving or abandoning this little difference between humans and beasts, Cheng replied affirmatively:“Indeed. Humans have the heavenly principle only. If one cannot preserve it, how can one be a human?” (*Yishu* 18.214–215). Immediately after this, a student asked about HAN Yu’s 韓愈 (768–824) alleged comment: even if one has a snake-like body, cow-like head, and beak-like mouth but has a distinctive heart, how can we regard the person as non-human? On the other hand, even if there is someone with a rosy face aglow, who has a human appearance but a heart of a beast, how can it be regarded as a human? Although Cheng says that he cannot remember this passage clearly, he agrees that “the only thing a human being must do is to preserve the heavenly principle” (*Yishu* 18.215); when this heavenly principle “is lost to a small extent, one becomes a barbarian; when it is lost to a great extent, one becomes a beast” (*Yishu* 17.177). So, ultimately, Cheng’s answer to the question “Why should I be moral?” is: because you are a human being. It is rational for a human being to seek joy. It is true that joy can be sought either by following moral principle or by doing immoral things. However, since the distinctive mark of being human is the possession of a moral heart, and a human being is essentially a moral being, one should seek joy in being moral.

Can One Be Moral?

The question “Can I be moral?” is related to the issue of *akrasia* or weakness of the will or incontinence. While the issue of *akrasia* belongs to a broader theory of action, our concern here is primarily with its moral implication. Often we hear it said that “I know it is the right thing to do but I just cannot do it” or “I know it is the wrong thing to do but I just cannot help but do it.” According to Donald Davidson—who has single-handedly determined the general direction of contemporary philosophical discussion on the issue of weakness of the will—“in doing x an agent acts incontinently if and only if: (a) the agent does x intentionally; (b) the agent believes there is an alternative action y open to him; and (c) the agent judges that, all things considered, it would be better to do y than to do x” (Davidson 1970: 22). For example, if a person knows that, all things considered, it is better to refrain from smoking, which he believes he can, and yet still smokes intentionally, this person then acts akratically. Against the Socratic tradition that denies the possibility of weakness of the will (Plato

1963a: 358b–365d; Aristotle 1963: Book VII, Chapter 3), Davidson clearly affirms that weakness of the will is possible, and he sets it as his task to explain *how* it is possible (Davidson 1970, 1982). Davidson's view has since dominated contemporary discussion of this issue (McIntyre 1990: 386; Audi 1979, 1990).[3]

Although technically the issue of weakness of the will does not arise for Confucians, the relation of knowledge and action central to this issue is also central to the Confucian tradition. If weakness of the will is possible, then one may claim that although I know I should be moral, I may be unable to be moral. For this reason, holding a view of knowledge as prior to and implying action, Cheng effectively denies the possibility of weakness of the will. He makes it clear that knowledge will necessarily lead to action. Although there are people who can act (either blindly or under coercion) without knowing, there is no one who knows and yet cannot act. Thus, while one should not refrain from acting before one knows, "one's forced (*mianqiang* 勉強) action cannot be long lasting" (*Yishu* 18.187). So what is important is to acquire knowledge: "When knowledge is profound, action will be thorough. No one ever knows without being able to act. If one knows without being able to act, the knowledge is superficial. Because they know the danger, people do not eat poisonous herbs when hungry, and do not tread on water and fire. People do evil things simply because they lack knowledge" (*Yishu* 15.164). All those who do not act appropriately lack the proper knowledge, and all those who have the proper knowledge will necessarily act. It is a contradiction, on his view, to claim that one knows and yet is unable to act: "So if one knows what is immoral and still does it, this is not genuine knowledge. If it is genuine knowledge, one will certainly not do the immoral thing" (*Yishu* 2a.16). Cheng's view, that one who knows what is good will necessarily do good and people do evil things only because they do not know, seems contrary to common sense. Our common sense assumes that one has two different faculties: the intellect, which recognizes what something is, and the will, which decides what is to be done. So it is possible that one may have a perfect knowledge of something (the function of the intellect) and yet decides to not act according to this knowledge or even act against this knowledge (the job of the will).

In order to make the counter-argument and explain apparent phenomena in our everyday life that seem to suggest the existence of weakness of the will, Cheng distinguishes between two senses of knowledge, in three different ways. First, there is a distinction between profound knowledge and shallow knowledge. For example, he argues that "it is not that people do not know. The reason that one is not willing to act is that knowledge is shallow and belief is not firm" (*Yishu* 23.305). So he acknowledges the possibility of someone who knows and yet does not act according to this knowledge. However, on his view, this is a shallow knowledge; it is not something one firmly believes in. When knowledge

[3] For a more detailed discussion of the issue of weakness of the will in the Western philosophy, see Huang (2008a: 439–444).

is profound and one firmly believes in it, one cannot fail to act upon this knowledge. For Cheng, shallow knowledge cannot be regarded as knowledge in its proper sense as it does not dispose one to act.

Second, he makes the distinction between genuine knowledge (*zhen zhi* 真知) and ordinary knowledge (*chang zhi* 常知):

> Genuine knowledge is different from ordinary knowledge. There was a farmer who had been hurt by a tiger. Upon hearing that the tiger was hurting people, everyone was scared, but the farmer's composure was different from everyone else's. Tigers can hurt people; this is something even children know, but they do not have genuine knowledge. Genuine knowledge is the kind that the farmer has. Therefore a person who knows that something is not good and still does it does not have genuine knowledge. Had one had genuine knowledge, one would not have done it. (*Yishu* 2a; 16; see also *Yishu* 18; 188)

This distinction between genuine knowledge and common knowledge is the same distinction between profound knowledge and shallow knowledge. Thus, in another place where he uses the same example of a tiger, he first says that "knowledge is all different. While some is profound, some is shallow"; then, after telling the story of a tiger and farmer, he concludes that this farmer

> has genuine knowledge of the tiger. The profound knowledge of a learner is similar. . . . A learner ought to seek genuine knowledge; only then can one claim to have the knowledge and act naturally. When I was twenty years old, I could interpret the Classics without much difference from the way I am doing today. However, what I get from the Classics today is very different from what I got then. (*Yishu* 18.188)

As Cheng often used the story of a tiger and a farmer to illustrate genuine knowledge, scholars tend to think that his distinction between genuine knowledge and ordinary knowledge is one between knowledge from direct experience and that from indirect experience.[4] For Cheng, however, although genuine knowledge must be from direct experience, not all knowledge from direct experience is genuine knowledge. Genuine knowledge is from a special kind of direct experience: inner experience. This is clear from Cheng's above discussion about a learner's genuine knowledge and his own experience with the interpretation of the Classics. It is only in this sense of knowledge that he claims that "with genuine knowledge, no one will fail to act" (*Waishu* 6.388).

However, the most important and also most controversial distinction that Cheng makes is the one between knowledge of/as virtue (*de xing zhi zhi* 德性之知) and knowledge from hearing and seeing (*wen jian zhi zhi* 聞見之知), first developed by Zhang Zai 張載. For Cheng, "knowledge from seeing and hearing is not knowledge of/as virtue. It results from the contact between one thing and another thing and therefore is not internal. The knowledge of those erudite and skillful persons belongs to this type of knowledge. Knowledge of/as virtue

---

[4] For example, Pang Wangli argues that "genuine knowledge is from direct experience and originates from the heart/mind, whereas ordinary knowledge is from indirect experience. Genuine knowledge comes from life experience and practice, whereas ordinary knowledge comes from hearsay" (Pang 1992: 152).

does not rely upon hearing and seeing" (*Yishu* 25. 317). In this distinction, whereas knowledge from seeing and hearing is external knowledge (whether from direct experience or indirect experience), knowledge of/as virtue is internal knowledge coming from inner experience. Thus, Cheng claims that "learning, generally speaking, cannot be obtained by knowledge from hearing. One can obtain it only by its being apprehended in one's own heart/mind (*mo shi xin tong* 默識心通). If a learner wants to learn something, the learner has to be sincere in seeking the illumination from the principle. The best way to get it is the sudden enlightenment" (*Yishu* 17.178). Because it is internal, it is important to get it by oneself (*zi de* 自得) and not to be imposed upon from the outside, as it cannot be communicated by words (*Cuiyan* 2.1253).

Z*i de* became an important concept for Cheng.[5] This concept derives from Mencius, who says that "superior persons explore deeply into *dao* in order to get it by themselves (z*i de*). When they get it by themselves, they will be at ease in it; when they are at ease in it, they can draw deeply upon it; when they can draw deeply upon it, they can rely on it to deal with everything properly. For this reason, superior persons want to get it by themselves" (*Mencius* 4B.14). Cheng uses this Mencian idea of getting *dao* by oneself to explain the idea of knowledge of/as virtue. Sages can of course teach us about moral principles, but unless we really grasp it from our own heart/mind, it remains merely knowledge of hearing and seeing, which will not be able to motivate us to act according to such moral principles. Therefore, in his view, "nothing is more important in learning than to get it by oneself. Because one does not get it from outside, it is called self-getting" (*Yishu* 25.316).

Zi de requires active reflection on one's inner experience: "It is easy to learn but difficult to know; it is easy to know but difficult to know by one's inner experience" (*ti er de zhi* 體而得之) (*Yishu* 25.321). Here the word *ti* 體, through which one can get knowledge of/as virtue by oneself, is extremely important for Cheng in particular and for Confucian self-cultivation in general. In recent years, TU Weiming has written extensively on the conception of *tizhi* 體知, knowledge or knowing through *ti* 體 (see various articles in Tu 2002). While literally the word *ti* means "body," as Tu correctly points out, its meaning is not exhausted by this English word. Of course, knowledge of/as virtue will necessarily be manifested in the body, which was pointed out by Mencius (*Mencius* 7A.21). This is also what Cheng states:"whatever one gains within will necessarily be manifested without" (*Yishu* 18.185). However, this is still related to Cheng's view that one who has knowledge will necessarily act upon that knowledge.

---

[5] In his study of Neo-Confucianism, de Bary devotes a whole chapter to this idea in his book, *Learning for One's Self*. On his view, *zide*—which he translates as "getting it by or for oneself"—has two important senses: "One, relatively low-keyed, is that of learning or experiencing some truth for oneself and deriving inner satisfaction therefrom. Here *zide* has the meaning of'learned to one's satisfaction,' 'self-contented,' 'self-possessed.' The other sense of the term is freighted with deeper meaning: 'getting it or find the Way in oneself" (De Bary 1991: 43); and he relates this second sense to the one used in *Mencius* 4B.14.

Here we are concerned with *ti* through which one's knowledge is gained in the first place. Tu Weiming points out that

> recognition through *ti* (*tiren* 體認), awareness through *ti* (*ticha* 體察), justification through *ti* (*tizheng* 體證), understanding through *ti* (*tihui* 體會), tasting through *ti* (*tiwei* 體味), appreciation through *ti* (*tiwan* 體玩), inquiry through *ti* (*tijiu* 體究), and knowledge through *ti* (*tizhi* 體知) are all very different from knowledge, observation, verification, taste, and understanding in general sense. (Tu 2002: 331–332)

Tu correctly warns against understanding *knowledge* from *ti* as something one gets from one's body. However, he does not clearly tell us what this *ti* means. For Cheng, the word *ti* here is used both as a noun and as verb. First, as a noun, it refers to *xin* 心, one's heart/mind, which Mencius calls *dati* 大體, literally "the great body," in contrast to our physical body, which he calls *xiaoti* 小體, literally "the small body" (*Mencius* 6A.15).[6] That is why Cheng says in the previously quoted passage that one can obtain it only by its being "apprehended in one's own heart/mind" (*mo shi xin tong* 默識心通). In his commentary on *The Doctrine of Mean*, he contrasts knowledge of/as virtue with knowledge from hearing and seeing, as the latter "is not what one gets from *xin* (heart/mind)" (*Jingshuo* 8.1154). Second, as a verb, *ti* refers to the activity of the heart/mind. It is extremely important to understand the "heart" part of the *xin* in its role in getting knowledge of/as virtue. Knowledge from hearing and seeing is not merely something one gets from one's sense organs. It also requires the "mind" part of the *xin* to play its role, as it is something that one needs to understand, justify, and prove. However, only when knowledge is also grasped by the "heart" part of the *xin* can it become knowledge of/as virtue, knowledge that one not only possesses but is also ready to act upon.

From the above discussion, deep knowledge, genuine knowledge, and knowledge of/as virtue is the sort of knowledge one gains through one's inner experience, understood by one's mind, grasped by one's heart, and therefore is knowledge that disposes one to act accordingly. Shallow knowledge, common knowledge, and knowledge from hearing and seeing is the sort of knowledge one gains through external experience. Even if it is understood by the mind, it is not grasped by the heart and therefore does not incline one to act accordingly. The so-called *akrate* or weak-willed person, on this view, is one who has knowledge only in the latter sense. Since knowledge in the latter sense, strictly speaking, cannot be called knowledge, we can say that the weak-willed person acts from ignorance.[7] However, genuine knowledge, profound knowledge, or knowledge of/as virtue, which makes it possible for one to take delight in being

---

[6] It is interesting to note that, while in the Western philosophical tradition, body and mind are usually considered as two separate entities, in this Confucian tradition, they are both regarded as *ti*: one is the small *ti* and one is the great *ti*.

[7] Thus, although it is wrong for Feng Richang 馮日昌 to claim that "knowledge from hearing and seeing is what Cheng Yi valued most" (Feng 1991: 175–177), as well as for Lu Lianzhang 盧連章 and Chen Zhongfan 陳鍾凡 to claim that these two types of knowledge are equally important (see Lu 2001: 142 and Chen 1996: 104), there is still a distinction between a person

moral, is something that everyone can get as long as one tries. So everyone not only should and also can be moral. For Cheng, the difference between superior persons and inferior persons is only that the former make an effort to acquire the moral knowledge through their own hearts/minds, whereas the latter do not make such effort. Moreover, there is such a difference not because superior persons are endowed with the ability that the inferior persons do not have. Rather it is because inferior persons give up on themselves. Thus, in his commentary on the *Book of Change*, when asked why there are people who cannot be transformed, CHENG Yi replied:

> If one cultivates oneself to become good, there is no one who cannot be changed. Even those who are extremely unintelligent can also gradually make moral progress. Only those who lack self-confidence and do not trust themselves (*zibao* 自暴) and those who abandon themselves and do not want to make any effort (*ziqi* 自棄) cannot be transformed to enter the *dao* even if they are surrounded by sages. These are what Confucius refers to as the stupid below. (*Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan* 4.956)[8]

How to Be Moral

Most moral theories we are familiar with advocate a common morality, as they assume that moral agents and moral patients are similar in all morally relevant aspects. For example, the moral imperative, "Do unto others what you would have them do unto you," commonly known as the "Golden Rule," and its negative formulation: "Do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you," sometimes also called the "Silver Rule," are based on the idea that what I as a moral agent like or dislike is precisely what others as recipients of my actions, whoever they are, like or dislike. This idea on which the Golden Rule, in both its positive and negative formulations, is grounded is problematic. As Alan Gewirth points out,

> the agent's wishes for himself *qua* recipient may not be in accord with his recipient's own wishes as to how he is to be treated.... Thus... this may inflict gratuitous suffering on [the recipient].... For example, a person who likes others to quarrel with him or

---

with knowledge of hearing and seeing and one who is without this knowledge, for one's knowledge of hearing and seeing can be transformed into knowledge of/as virtue. It is in this sense that QIAN Mu 錢穆 pointed out that "it is not that we do not need knowledge from hearing and seeing; it is rather that we need the effort of thinking over and above hearing and seeing" (Qian 2001: 68). This, however, does not mean that all knowledge of/as virtue comes from knowledge of hearing and seeing, as WEN Weiyao 溫偉耀 argues (Wen 1996: 158). For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between these two types of knowledge, see Huang (2008a: 449–451).

[8] It is in this connection particularly interesting to see the unique interpretation CHENG Yi gives of two controversial passages in the *Analects*: "People can be made to follow [the way] but cannot be made to know it" (8.9); and "Only the wise above and stupid below cannot be transformed into each other" (17.3). For a detailed discussion of this interpretation in contrast to the common interpretations, see Huang (2008b).

> intrigue with him would be authorized by the golden rule to quarrel with others or involve them in network of intrigue regardless of their own wishes in the matter. (Gewirth 1980: 133)[9]

It is true that there are numerous expressions of the Golden Rule in classical Confucianism as well. In its negative form, Confucius asks us: "Do not do unto others what you do not want to be done to yourself" (*Analects* 15.24); in its positive form, Confucius tells us that "a person of *ren*, desiring to establish his own character, also establishes the character of others and, wishing to be prominent himself, also helps others to be prominent" (*Analects* 6.28). In the *Doctrine of the Mean*, after a similar statement, "what you do not wish others to do to you, do not do to them," Confucius says:

> There are four things in the way of the superior man, none of which I have been able to do. To serve my father as I would expect my son to serve me: that I have not been able to do. To serve my ruler as I would like my ministers to serve me: that I have not been able to do. To serve my elder brothers as I would expect my younger brothers to serve me: that I have not been able to do. To be the first to treat friends as I would expect them to treat me: that I have not been able to do. (*Zhongyong* 23; in Chan 1962: 101)

Finally, in the *Great Learning,* there is the following passage:

> What a man dislikes in his superiors, let him not show it in dealing with his inferiors; what he dislikes in those in front of him, let him not show it in preceding those who are behind; what he dislikes in those behind him, let him not show it in following those in front of him; what he dislikes in those on his right, let him not apply it to those on the left; and what he dislikes in those on the left, let him not apply it to those on the right. (*Daxue* 10; in Chan 1962: 92)

For Cheng, however, the Golden Rule behind these various expressions is not central to Confucianism. Confucius says that "there is one thing that goes through my teachings" (*Analects* 4.15). What Zengzi says, in the same chapter of the *Analects*, that this one thing is nothing but the Golden Rule, has been commonly accepted as the correct interpretation of what Confucius had in mind about this one thread. However, Cheng claims that this one thing that goes through Confucius' teaching is not the Golden rule but *ren* (*Yishu* 23.307). Cheng acknowledges that the Golden Rule is indeed "not far from *dao*" (*wei dao bu yuan* 違道不遠), is "close to *ren*" (*jin hu ren* 近乎仁), is "the doorway to *ren*" (*ru ren zhi men* 入仁之門), and is "a way to practice *ren*" (*ren zhi fang* 仁之方) (*Yishu* 7.97), but he insists that it is not *ren*. Why? "Because it takes one's own likes and dislikes as criteria in one's interactions with others, and so it has not reached the level of selflessness (*wuwo* 無我)" (*Yishu* 22b.275). For Cheng, a person of *ren* is selfless; and when one is selfless, one can deal with others according to their standard and not one's own.

---

[9] For a more detailed discussion of the problem of the Golden Rule as well as its plausible alternative, see Huang (2005b). For a discussion of the alternative in relation to Confucianism in general and to the Cheng brothers in particular, see Huang (2005a).

The Golden Rule can be a way to practice *ren* because, on the one hand, although there are differences between moral agents and moral patients, often there are also similarities; and when such similarities exist, the Golden Rule can be practiced. On the other hand, it is much more difficult to deal with others according to their likes and dislikes than according to one's own likes and dislikes, as one needs to know the unique likes and dislikes one's patients may have. So when nothing or not enough is known about the object of one's action and some action has to be taken, one may practice the Golden Rule as the second best way, a way that is near to *ren* but is not *ren*. This practice itself can become a way to learn about others (to see whether one's own likes and dislikes are indeed shared by others).

For this reason, instead of the Golden Rule, Cheng pays more attention to the idea of love with distinctions, implicit in the *Analects* and explicit in the *Mencius*. This idea is commonly understood to mean that there should be different degrees of love for different kinds of people: stronger love for one's family and weaker love for others; stronger love for one's immediate neighbors and weaker love for strangers; stronger love for virtuous people and weaker love for evil people; stronger love for humanity and weaker love for other living beings. For example, even TU Weiming, the most prominent Confucian today, claims that "the responsibility to care for one's own family, clan, kin, neighborhood, village, county, society, nation, world, cosmos is differentiated into varying degrees of intensity" (Tu 1999: 29). This interpretation seems to have some textual evidence in Mencius' debate with the Mohists. In Mencius' view, "the Mohist idea of universal love amounts to a denial of one's father" (*Mencius* 3B.9). Thus, in response to Yizi's 夷子 Mohist conception of "universal love without distinction," Mencius asked: "Does Yizi truly believe that a man loves his brother's son in the same way as he loves his neighbor's new-born baby?" (*Mencius* 3B.9). It is here that we have the classical expression of the Confucian conception of love with distinctions implied in Mencius' criticism of the Mohist idea of love without distinction.

Cheng, however, provides a different and more plausible interpretation of love with distinctions with his idea of "one principle with different manifestations (*li yi fen shu* 理一分殊)." Cheng develops this idea in his response to a concern raised by one of his students, YANG Shi 楊時, regarding ZHANG Zai's 張載 "Western Inscription" ("Xi ming" 西銘). At the beginning of this text, Zhang claims:

> Heaven is my father and earth is my mother, and even such a small creature as I finds an intimate place in their midst. Therefore that which fills the universe I regard as my body and that which directs the universe I consider as my nature. All people are my brothers and sisters, and all things are my companions. . . . Respect the aged—this is the way to treat them as elders should be treated. Show deep love toward the orphaned and the weak—this is the way to treat them as the young should be treated. . . . When the time comes, to keep oneself from harm—this is the care of a son. To rejoice in heaven and to have no anxiety—this is filial piety at its purest. (Zhang 1978: 62; English translation in Chan 1962: 497)

Apparently struck by the first few sentences here which emphasize the unity with ten thousand things, YANG Shi worried that ZHANG Zai may have succumbed to the Mohists' mistaken doctrine of universal love without distinctions.[10] In response, Cheng makes it clear that "the'Western Inscription' has the same function as Mencius' view of human nature as good and his notion of nourishing one's vital force. This is nothing that the Mohists can match"; and immediately after this Cheng develops his idea of *li yi fen shu*:

> "Western Inscription" explains one principle with various manifestations, whereas Mozi insisted on two roots without distinction. The problem with various manifestations (*fen shu* 分殊) [without the one principle] is that private desires will prevail and *ren* will be lost, while the problem with [the one principle] without various manifestations is universal love without rightness. (*Wenji* 9.609)

On the one hand, Cheng claims that Confucian love is a universal love: love for all people and things, thus *li yi* (one principle). On the other hand, he claims that if love for different people and things is to be appropriate, it must be differentiated, thus *fen shu* (many manifestations). On his view, those sentences in the "Western Inscription" that emphasize one's unity with the ten thousand things show why love should be universal, while such examples as respect for the aged, deep love for the orphaned and the weak, parents' care of their children, and children's filial piety toward their parents show that love for different people should be differentiated. In other words, the Confucian idea of love with distinction, according to Cheng, is not love of different degrees but love of different kinds. It does not mean that one should love some people more than others. Rather it means that one should love different people in different ways, each appropriate to its distinct object. If, on the one hand, we pay attention only to the one principle (*li yi* 理一) and ignore its diverse manifestations (*fen shu*), we will commit the Mohist mistake of universal love without distinctions: loving all in the same way without taking into consideration the uniqueness of each object of love; on the other hand, if we pay attention only to a particular manifestation of love and ignore the one principle of which it is manifestation, we may commit the Yangist mistake of self-love, as we will not be able to extend this love to others.[11]

[10] Indeed, the Mohist term for universal love, *jian ai* 兼愛, is used by Zhang in a different passage:"Nature is the one source of ten thousand things. It is not something that only I have privately. Only great persons can fully realize the *dao*. Therefore, their establishing [themselves] must be establishing all, their knowing must be knowing all, and their love must be universal love (*jian ai* 兼愛)" (Zhang 1978: 21).

[11] It is important to note that, while Cheng's emphasis on *fen shu* makes him a moral particularist, his emphasis on *li yi* sets him apart from that group, particularly the more radical ones who undermine the significance of moral experience. For example, stressing moral particularity, John McDowell argues that from our moral experiences we can get nothing but "the capacity to get things right occasion by occasion" (McDowell 1998: 94); and Jonathan Dancy maintains that "there is nothing than one brings to the new situation other than a *contentless* ability to discern what matters where it matters, an ability whose presence in us is explained by our having undergone a successful moral education" (Dancy 1993: 50; emphasis added). For Cheng however, because of *li yi*, our appropriate love in one

Understanding love with distinctions in light of one principle with various manifestations better enables us to understand Mencius' distinction between three kinds of love:"a superior person loves things but is not humane (*ren*) to them. He is humane (*ren*) to people in general but is not affectionate (*qin*親) to them. He is affectionate to his parents, humane to people, and loves all things" (*Mencius* 7A.45). Here, love, *ren*, and affection should not be understood as three different degrees of the same love, but as three different kinds of love, appropriate to three different kinds of moral patients: things, humans, and parents. In this connection, the two different attitudes Confucius recommends toward two different kinds of people—"virtue" toward virtuous people and "uprightness" toward bad people—should also be understood as two different kinds of love appropriate to these two different kinds of people. It is also in this sense that we can understand why Confucius claims that "only a person of *ren* knows how to love people and hate people" (*Analects*: 4.14). In other words, from the Confucian point of view, "hate," just as "love," is a kind of love in a more general sense. On the one hand, the most fundamental meaning of *ren* is to love, and so the person of *ren* who knows how to love and hate is a loving person; on the other hand, as Wing-tsit Chan has pointed out, "hate" here does not have any connotation of ill will (Chan 1962: 25 n. 53). It is, rather, one's profound feeling of regret that one's beloved moral patient lacks what he or she or it should have. So the reason that Confucians want to make distinctions or discriminations is not to decide whom or what we should love or love more and whom or what we should not love or love less; it is rather to decide how to love everyone and everything in ways most appropriate to the person or thing.

To love different people and things in ways appropriate to them, one has to learn about the uniqueness of the object of one's love. In this sense, although Cheng would agree with Mencius that *ren*, of which various kinds of love are manifestations, is internal to the person who loves, the actual shape the love takes is determined externally by the object of one's love. Thus, commenting on the famous statement of Confucius that "to overcome oneself and return to propriety is *ren"* (*Analects* 12.1), Cheng states that to overcome oneself is "to treat things according to things themselves and not according to ourselves" (*Yishu* 11.125). Obviously, true love cannot be a transcendent love. It has to be based on one's empirical knowledge of the particular object of love. Otherwise, one would not be able to know the uniqueness of the object of love and therefore would not be able to love the object in an appropriate way.[12] For Cheng, this is the main distinction between superior persons and inferior persons: "the

---

situation, for example our love for our parents, can teach us how to love in a different situation, for example our love for our neighbors' parents, in far more than a contentless way.

[12] Here I agree with David Wong that "loving well requires more of a knowing how than a knowing that. It involves being able to yield to the other's wishes and claims at the right time and in the right way, and being able to refuse these wishes and claims at the right time and in the right way" (Wong 1989: 255–256).

anger of inferior persons comes from themselves, while the anger of the superior persons comes from things [they are angry at]" (*Yishu* 23.306).[13]

From Virtue Ethics to Virtue Politics

Our examination of Cheng's moral philosophy has focused on personal self-cultivation: Why should one be moral? Can one be moral? How can one be moral? In this context, it is important to examine critically a common observation: Confucianism is strong as a personal ethics but weak as a political philosophy. Obviously, the validity of this observation depends on the appropriate distinction between the personal and the political. The distinction is legitimate to a certain degree. The moral agent that personal ethics is concerned with is the individual; it is about what an individual person should be and/or do. In contrast, the moral agent that political philosophy is concerned with is society or, more particularly, the government; it is about how society should be structured and run. However, this does not mean that the personal and the political are separate, as many contemporary political liberals believe. Liberalism claims that the political is not personal, and the personal is not political. It claims that political philosophy is concerned only with setting up the rules of games that people play in the public square. It has no business to do with what kinds of people, good or bad, virtuous or vicious, altruistic or egoistic, are out there playing the games, as long as they follow the rules.[14] Many contemporary feminist thinkers have challenged the liberal idea that the personal is not political, as family relationships, for example, are not entirely personal things but are very much political (Okin 1989, 2005). However, they tend to agree on the other side of the same liberal coin: the political is not personal: the type of political institution will not affect the kinds of persons living within it.[15] While

[13] This is similar to what Aristotle says: "Those who are not angry at the thing they should be angry at are thought to be fools, and so are those who are not angry in the right way, at the right time, or with the right persons" (*Aristotle* 1963: 1126a.5–6).

[14] This liberal position is based on the time-honored idea that even a band of robbers needs just rules to be effective. For example, in his *Republic*, Plato says that "utter rascals completely unjust are completely incapable of effective action" (Plato 1963a: 352e). Later, Saint Augustine makes a similar point: "Justice being taken away, then, what are kingdoms but great robberies? For what are robberies themselves, but little kingdoms? The band itself is made up of men; it is ruled by the authority of a prince, it is knit together by the pact of confederacy; the booty is divided by the law agreed upon" (Augustine 1963: IV.4). At the center of the liberal tradition, Immanuel Kant (1965) also claims that "however harsh it must sound, the problem of establishing a state is soluble even for a nation of devils (as long as they are rational)" (cited in Höffe 1992: 142).

[15] For example, although Rawls acknowledges that his principles of justice are chosen by people in the original position who are self-interested (Rawls 1999: 12), such liberals as Robert Audi and Edwin Baker argue that such principles will not make all people self-interested: self-interested people are not allowed to go beyond the bounds of the principles, whereas altruistic people can decide to contribute their just shares to others (Baker 1985: 917–920; Audi 1989: 294).

some communitarians (Sandel 1982: 34) and the so-called academic Marxists (Cohen 2002: 119; Murphy 1999: 878) are strong in challenging this liberal idea, they are weak in providing feasible alternatives. In this section I shall discuss Cheng's moral philosophy as one that links the personal and political by focusing on his conception of propriety (*li* 禮).

The importance of *li* in the Confucian tradition is too obvious to ignore and much scholarship has been devoted to it. However, scholarly discussions of Confucian *li* so far have largely been informed by Xunzi's formulation. This is quite understandable. It is almost a consensus among scholars that, of Confucius' two most important ideas, *ren* 仁 (humaneness) is most profoundly developed by Mencius, whereas *li* is most systematically expounded by Xunzi. I shall emphasize that even though Mencius did not have as comprehensive a theory of *li* as that of Xunzi, he had quite a different understanding of it, which was later fully developed by Song and Ming Neo-Confucians. Particularly striking about this different understanding of *li* are the following points: (1) The goal of government by propriety is to ensure that people will take delight in following rules of propriety instead of regarding them as external restrictions forced upon them; (2) external rules of propriety, while aiming to regulate people's feelings, actually have their origin in people's natural feelings; and (3) such natural feelings have their metaphysical foundation in principle (*li* 理), the ultimate reality of the world.[16]

First, propriety is usually understood as rules to regulate people's lives. In this sense, their function is similar to that of laws. Of course, the purpose of punitive law, unless used as a provisional supplement to rules of propriety, is to threaten people so that they dare not do what laws prohibit. Thus, it is because of fear of punishment rather than from a sense of shame that people do not break the law. This is the main distinction Confucius tries to make between the two in the famous *Analects* passage: "If you lead people with political measures (*zheng* 政) and keep them in order with punitive laws, common people will stay out of trouble but will have no sense of shame; if you lead them with virtue (*de* 德), and keep them in order with propriety (*li* 禮), they will have a sense of shame and not make trouble" (*Analects* 2.3). Even with this distinction between rules of propriety and laws, however, most people still need to make some effort to follow the rules of propriety. As we have seen, *Analects* 8.8 states that moral actions "start from the odes [the *Book of Odes*], are established by propriety [the *Book of Propriety*], and are completed in music (the *Book of Music*)," Cheng maintains that efforts still need to be made with regard to odes and propriety, while no such efforts are needed with music (*Yishu* 1.5). Again, in explaining the passage in *Analects* 6.27, "The superior person is versed in learning and is restrained with rules of propriety and thus will not overstep what is right,"

[16] So for Cheng, *li* (propriety) means three different things: external rules, human feelings, and human nature (which is identical to *li* [principle]). I hold a different view from WONG Waiying, according to whom, ultimately *li* means external rules and therefore has only an auxiliary function in moral development in Cheng's philosophy (Wong 2003).

Cheng points out that "this is not what one gets by oneself (*zide* 自得), and so one cannot but feel some reluctance in compliance with it" (*Yishu* 6.95).

Unlike the laws of legalism in ancient China and in contemporary Western societies, Confucian rules of propriety do not simply compel people to do good and to avoid doing wrong. They are, rather, tools to cultivate the good human nature inherent in everyone so that people will eventually be able to follow the rules of propriety without making any extraordinary effort. Thus, Cheng states: "If one has cultivated a habit of not looking, listening, talking, or acting against propriety, how can one feel *li* as external rules?" (*Yishu* 6.82). This is the stage that Cheng relates to the joy that is characteristic of music. In the above-mentioned *Analects* passage (8.8), in addition to odes and propriety, Confucius also mentions music (*yue*). Thus, commenting on "completed with music," Cheng says that music makes one feel joy in following the rules of propriety: one "will spontaneously wave one's hands and dance" (*Yishu* 11.128). At that point, the rules of propriety are no longer felt to be something imposed from outside to constrain one's inner feelings, but have become something internal to motivate a person's actions. Just like a person who dances to music with naturalness and joy, so a person performs moral actions without any awareness of external rules requiring him or her to perform such actions. In contrast, one enjoys the inner pleasure in performing such actions. Thus, Cheng points out, "the complete transformation means one's realization of the oneness between the principle and one's self. Before the transformation, one acts as if using a ruler to measure things and so some errors are unavoidable. After the transformation, one's self is the ruler and the ruler is oneself" (*Yishu* 15.156). In another place, instead of the ruler, he uses the analogy of a scale to explain the rules of propriety: "Without a scale, one has no way to know how much a thing weighs. However, sages know how much a thing weighs without using [external] scales: sages themselves are scales" (*Waishu* 6; 384).

Second, *li* for Cheng is also one's inner feeling. In the above, we have seen *li* as external rules for action, which moral cultivation internalizes. For Cheng, however, the source of such rules is not external. Of course, it is sages who established these rules. Yet, following Mencius, Cheng argues that "the sages established rules of propriety *according to* human feelings" (*yuan ren qing* 緣人情) (*Yishu* 6.87; my emphasis). In other words, rules of propriety are not merely to cultivate human feelings; they also originate in human feelings. For Cheng, "Everything has its own rule. That of fathers culminates in kindness, that of sons in filial piety, that of kings in humanness (*ren*), and that of ministers in reverence.... Sages can have a well-ordered society, not because they create rules for things, but because they let everything follow its own rule" (*Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan* 4.968). Thus sages did not create rules of propriety out of nothing. They simply formulated rules people naturally follow. In other words, although rules of propriety seem external when applied by sages to regulate people's actions, their origin is internal: "There are things that come from the heavenly principle. For example, bees and ants know how to protect their kings, and jackals and otters know how to offer sacrifice. In the same way, propriety

comes from human feeling" (*Yishu* 17.180). Propriety becomes one of the distinguishing marks of being human.[17] It is in this sense that Cheng draws a distinction between the tools of propriety (*li zhi qi* 禮之器) and the root of propriety (*li zhi ben* 禮之本):"The root of propriety lies in the feelings of people, according to which sages guide people. The tools of propriety originate in the customs of people, which the sages use to regulate people" (*Yishu* 25.327). For Cheng, the tools of propriety, those external rules, must be based on the root of propriety, human feelings.

Finally, for Cheng, *li* belongs to human nature. In addition to the distinction between the root of propriety (*li zhi ben*) and the tools of propriety (*li zhi qi*), he also distinguishes the metaphysical (*xing er shang* 形而上) and phenomenal (*xing er xia* 形而下) aspects of *li*. Sages establish rules of propriety so that people

> can appropriately handle the relationships between ruler and minister, father and son, older brother and younger brother, husband and wife, and friend and friend. Their phenomenal dimension (*xing er xia*) is their application in ways to eat, drink, wear cloth, and use utensils. Their metaphysical (*xing er shang*) dimension is subtle, without sound and smell. Common people follow them with great effort, the worthy practice them, and sages act from them. (*Wenji* 668)

External rules (*li zhi qi*) are established on the basis of the original human feelings (*li zhi ben*). However, where do such human feelings as *li zhi ben* come from? They come from human nature. Cheng claims that innate human nature distinguishes humans from other beings, where the distinguishing mark of being human is the five cardinal virtues: humanity, rightness, propriety, wisdom, and faithfulness. When human nature is aroused by external things that come into contact with the human body, human feelings are aroused. On the one hand, when such human feelings are natural (that is, are not distorted by one's selfish desires), our original human nature is cultivated. On the other hand, when such human feelings have gone astray, they harm human nature. The distinction between enlightened people and unenlightened people is that the former direct human feelings in accordance with human nature (*xing qi qing* 性其情), while the latter do the opposite (*qing qi xing* 情其性). So, while external rules of propriety are based on human feelings, human feelings are based on human nature. Thus, Cheng states that "if there is human nature, there will be human feelings. How can there be human feelings without human nature?. . . . Human feelings do not come from outside. They are rather inner responses to what is outside" (*Yishu* 18.204). So for Cheng, while human feelings are indeed aroused by the contact of the human body with external things, they do not come from these external things but from innate human nature.

More importantly, human nature is no different from principle (*li* 理). For example, Cheng claims that "human nature is principle and principle is human

---

[17] In their study of the Cheng brothers, PAN Fuen 潘富恩 and XU Yuqing 徐余慶 also note this: "humanity, rightness, propriety, and wisdom all originate from people's feelings. They are made systematic by rulers above and then applied to the people" (Pan and Xu 1988: 160).

nature" (*Yishu* 22a.292); and "human nature is principle, which is the same whether you are [sage] Yao or Shun or a common person" (*Yishu* 18.204). Since propriety is inherent in and part of human nature, Cheng also identifies propriety with principle, both of which are pronounced as *li*: "*Li* 禮 (propriety) is nothing but not to look, listen, talk, and act against *li* 理 (principle). *Li* (propriety) is *li* (principle). Everything that is not heavenly principle is selfish desire" (*Yishu* 15.144), and "whatever is against *li* (propriety) is against *li* (principle)" (*Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan* 1.699).

From the above, we can observe a significant difference between contemporary political liberalism and Cheng's Neo-Confucian vision of society. For political liberals, the sole job of a government is to establish a set of rules fair to all people who play the games governed by these rules. These rules do not aim to make people virtuous, nor will they make them vicious. For Cheng, however, this liberal idea not only assumes that human nature is bad, but will further make people bad, as shown most powerfully by Confucius in the *Analects* passage quoted at the beginning of this section. It is for this consideration that Cheng focuses on government by propriety, with a central focus on cultivating people's virtue so that government becomes less and less important. It is in this sense that we can regard Cheng's theory of government as a virtue politics.

Moral Metaphysics

Our discussion of human nature brings us to Cheng's moral metaphysics. The philosophical ideas that Cheng helped to foster are often referred to as "Neo-Confucian" in Western scholarship. Although there have been numerous explanations of what is "new" in Neo-Confucian philosophy (see, for example, Mou 1990: 1.11–18; Chang 1963: 43–55), its distinguishing characteristic is the development of a moral metaphysics as an ontological articulation of moral values advocated by classical Confucians, similar to the one Charles Taylor provides for modern liberal values (Taylor 1989). Whereas Charles Taylor identifies three sources of good that constitute the goodness of modern liberal values (nature, reason, and God), Cheng maintains that there is only one source of good that constitutes the goodness of Confucian values: *li* 理. For this reason, the Neo-Confucian philosophy that Cheng initiated is most commonly called "the learning of principle" (*li xue* 理學) in Chinese scholarship. The term *li* has been variously translated in English, and in previous sections I have largely followed the most common translation of "principle," although, as it will become clear in this section, I shall suggest that it is best translated as creativity or life-giving activity.[18]

[18] In recent years, some scholars, following Willard Peterson, prefer to interpret and translate *li* as "coherence" (Ziporyn 2008, Angle 2009). By coherence, Peterson means the "straight-forward sense of 'the quality or characteristic of sticking together,' with the connotations varying according to context" (Peterson 1986: 14). I agree with Peterson that this interpretation is flexible enough to accommodate almost all occurrences of *li* in the writings of Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi.

As many scholars have pointed out, the term *li* has been present in texts long before Cheng's time (Chen 1991: xvii–xviii; Tang 1985: 21–69; Mou 1990: 1.1–4). It is with CHENG Yi and his brother CHENG Hao, however, that *li* not only obtains, for the first time, the central place in a philosophical system, but it is also regarded as the ultimate reality of the universe. For example, CHENG Yi states that "only because there actually is *li* can there actually be a thing; only because there actually is a thing can there actually be a function" (*Cheng shi jingshuo* 8.1160). So it is clear that for Cheng, *li* is ontologically prior to things. It explains not only how a thing exists but also why a thing is such a particular thing instead of something else. If there is no *li*, there can be no things; and things can exist because of *li*. It is in this sense that Cheng uses the term *li* interchangeably with many other terms, such as *dao*, heaven, nature, divinity, and heart/mind that have been traditionally used to refer to the ultimate reality. For example, he states that "when in heaven, it is destiny (*ming* 命); when in rightness, it is *li* 理; when in human beings, it is nature (*xing* 性); when controlling the body, it is heart/mind (*xin* 心). As a matter of fact they are all the same *dao"* (*Yishu* 18.204).[19]

As the ultimate reality of the ten thousand things, *li* is the same in all things: "There is only one *li* under heaven, and so it is everywhere. It is changeless from heaven to earth and can be traced back to the eras of the three kings" (*Yishu* 2a.38). Cheng further asserts that "the *li* of ten thousand things between heaven and earth is not different from each other" (*Jingshuo* 1.1029); and so "the heart/mind of one person is also the heart/mind of the heaven and earth; the *li* of one thing is also the *li* of the ten thousand things" (*Yishu* 2a.13). However, at the same time, Cheng also talks about different *li* of different things. There are not only *wu li* 物理, the *li* of things, but also *ren li* 人理, the *li* of human affairs. Thus Cheng states that "whatever I can see is a thing, and everything has its *li*. For example, fire producing warmth, and water giving out coldness, and one's being a king or a minister, a father or a son, all these are *li"* (*Yishu* 19.247). Here Cheng talks about both *wu li* (the *li* of being fire and water) and *ren li* (the *li* of being a king and a minister, and a father and a son).[20] More concretely, Cheng

---

However, this strength perhaps is also its weakness: it is so flexible that it becomes very vague. In particular, it cannot catch the meaning of *li* as the life-giving activity (*sheng* 生) that I think is its central meaning, at least in Cheng, and that I will stress in this section.

[19] Lu Lianzhang 盧連章 is wrong to claim that for Cheng, while *li* is primary, other categories such as *tian*, *xing* (nature), *xin* (heart-mind), and *ming* (destiny) are secondary (Lu 2001: 116). In contrast, Mou Zongsan 牟宗三 is fundamentally right in pointing out that "the substance, the principle, and the function refer to heavenly creativity... and so change, *dao*, and divinity are all different names for the *tian dao* 天道 (heavenly way) itself" (Mou 1990: 2.23).

[20] QIAN Mu 錢穆 was wrong to claim that there is only *wu li* 物理 (*li* of things), but no *ren li* 人理 (*li* of humans) in Neo-Confucian philosophy (Qian 1991: 228). In Qian's distinction between the classical Confucianism of Confucius and Mencius and the Neo-Confucian philosophy of CHENG Yi and ZHU Xi 朱熹, classical Confucians talked about *dao*, which includes only the *dao* of heaven and of human, but not the *dao* of things; Neo-Confucians talked about *li* which includes only the *li* of heaven and things but not a specific *li* for humans.

claims that "everything in the world can be understood in light of *li*. Wherever there is a thing, there is a standard; and everything has its *li"* (*Yishu* 18.193). Thus when asked whether one can understand ten thousand *li* by investigation of one thing, Cheng's answer is categorically negative (see *Yishu* 18; 188). In other words, there are not only *li* of things and *li* of human affairs, but there are even different *li* for different things and for different human affairs.

To understand the relationship between one *li* and many different *li*, we need to return to Cheng's idea of "one principle with many manifestations" (*li yi fen shu* 理一分殊). Since everything has its *li*, and *li* is ontologically prior to things, manifestations of one *li* in ten thousand things are no different from the manifestations of one *li* in ten thousand *li*. Here it is important to see that, when Cheng says that ten thousand *li* lead to one *li*, he does not mean that there is one *li* over and above ten thousand *li*, as if over and above all different particular kinds of love, there were a general love. Whenever one loves, one loves in a particular way. One can never love in a general way. Thus it is important to observe that, when explaining the idea of one principle with many manifestations, Cheng does not use the metaphor of one moon reflected in ten thousand rivers (*yue ying wan chuan* 月映萬川) as it was used in Buddhism before him and by Zhu Xi after him. The reason is that this metaphor suggests that there is one real or true *li* (moon) that is over and above ten thousand *li* (reflections of the moon in ten thousand rivers). The moon can exist without its reflections in ten thousand rivers, but the one *li* for Cheng cannot be separate from ten thousand *li*.[21]

Thus, despite the claim that Cheng's *li* has some similarity with Plato's Forms (Chang 1963: 47; Fung 1953: 507; Hou et al. 1997: 501; Li 1986: 66), for Cheng, although *li* is indeed ontologically prior to things, it does not exist outside things. Interpreting the statement in the *Book of Change* that "the unceasing transition between *yin* and *yang* is *dao*," Cheng claims that "*dao* is not *yin* and *yang*. *Dao* is the unceasing transition between *yin* and *yang"* (*Yishu* 3.67). Although he denies that *li* or *dao* is the *qi* of *yin* and *yang*, he affirms that *li* is the unceasing transition between *yin* and *yang*. It is thus clear that *li* cannot be outside these vital forces. On this, Cheng was clear:"There is no *dao* if there is no *yin* and *yang*. The *becoming so* of *qi* is *dao*. *Yin* and *yang* are *qi*, which is physical, while *dao* is metaphysical" (*Yishu* 15.162).[22]

---

[21] Mou Zongsan proposed an alternative interpretation by distinguishing two different kinds of *li*: *li* as the ontological/metaphysical foundation of the universe (as expressed in such claims as "the reason ten thousand things form one body is that they all have this *li*"), and *li* as the natural tendencies of particular things (as expressed in such claim as "ten thousand things all have their own *li*"). As the former, there is only one *li* under heaven; but as the latter, each thing has its own unique *li* (Mou 1990: 2.81).

[22] I disagree with Hon Tze-ki's distinction between *li* and *qi*: "While *li* is structured and orderly, *qi* is dynamic and creative. While *li* provides the universe with a system of operation, *qi* sets the universe in motion, propelled by the duality of *yin* and *yang*. To move unceasingly, the universe requires both the structure of *li* and the dynamism of *qi*" (Hon 2003: 44). Cai Fanglu 蔡方鹿 also argues that "on the relationship between *li* and things, Cheng believes that

Then what precisely is *li* that ontologically determines *qi* and things and yet is inseparable from them? Although many scholars have realized that it is wrong to regard *li* as something similar to Plato's Forms insofar as the latter can be considered to be independent of concrete things, still it is quite common to regard *li* as the common essence of things, or the common law that governs these things, or the universal principle these things follow, or the general pattern these things exhibit, so far as this essence or law or principle or pattern is not considered as separable from these actual things. In my view, however, such a reified understanding of Cheng's *li* (understood as some *thing*, even if something invisible) is wrong; instead, I argue that *li* for Cheng is primarily not some *thing*, but an *activity* of things. It is in this sense that in his commentary on the *Book of Change* Cheng claims that "Confucians in the past have all seen the heart/mind of the heaven and earth as something quiet. Only I myself argue that we should see it as activity" (*Yishu* 18.201). By activity Cheng means creativity or life-giving activity (*sheng* 生). Thus he states that "*li* as life-giving activity is natural and ceaseless" (*Yishu* 15.167). The reason Cheng believed that the existence of the ten thousand things is due to *li* is not that *li* is considered as something independent from things. It is, rather, that the life-giving activity of the ten thousand things has ontological priority over the ten thousand things that have the life-giving activity. Without the life-giving activity, the ten thousand things would be nothing. Of course, the life-giving activity is always the life-giving activity of the ten thousand things, and the ten thousand things are always things that have the life-giving activity. In another place, Cheng states that "*dao* is the natural life-giving activity of ten thousand things. A thing's coming into being in the spring and its growing in the summer are both *dao* as the life-giving activity.... *Dao* is the unceasing natural life-giving activity" (*Yishu* 15.149).[23] This understanding of *li* as life-giving activity has its evidence in Cheng's interpretation of a few other terms he uses interchangeably with *li*. For example, Cheng relates *li* to the heart/mind, both that of humans and that of heaven and earth. He also interprets it in terms of life-giving activity:"the heart/mind is

---

there first exists *li* and then there exist things" (Cai 1996: 69–79). In contrast, I think PANG Wanli 龐萬里 is right: CHENG Yi believes that *li* and *qi* "cannot exist independently from each other. When there is one there must be the other. Therefore, the order of *li*, *qi*, and image is made in terms of their importance and not in terms of their temporal order" (Pang 1992: 95).

[23] This interpretation of Cheng's *li* as life-giving activity has some similarity with A.C. Graham's interpretation of it as growth. However, Graham arrives at an interpretation of life-giving activity (*sheng*) that is not very far from the Christian idea of creation, despite his own claim otherwise. For example, he argues that "the Song philosophers do not conceive the origin of things as 'creation' by Someone standing outside the universe, but as 'breeding' growth' (*sheng*) from Something at the root of the universe.... It is precisely because the production and growth of things is not explained by preceding physical causes that it is necessary for them to postulate an unseen source out of which things are continually manifesting themselves" (Graham 1992: 108–109). Here, Graham assumes that for Cheng, the ten thousand things originate from "Something at the root of the universe," an "unseen source." This "Something unseen" simply does not exist for Cheng. For them everything can be seen, what cannot be seen is the life-giving activity, *li*, which is not a thing.

nothing but the *dao* of life-giving activity (*sheng dao*). Because of this heart/mind, one's body is born. The heart/mind of commiseration is the *dao* of life-giving activity for humans" (*Yishu* 21b.274).[24]

It is also through his interpretation of *li* as the life-giving activity that we can understand that Cheng's metaphysics of *li* is a moral metaphysics, an ontological articulation of Confucian values, as it is closely related to the central Confucian moral value, *ren* (humaneness). *Ren*, rightness, propriety, wisdom, and faithfulness are the five cardinal Confucian virtues. Among these five virtues, *ren* is the most important as in one sense it includes all other virtues (*Yishu* 2a.14) and in another sense it leads other virtues. Thus, in his ontological articulation of Confucian values, Cheng primarily focuses on *ren*. What is *ren*? After he said that "the atmosphere of life-giving activity (*sheng yi* 生意) is most spectacular," his brother CHENG Hao stated that " 'what is great and originating becomes (in humans) the first and chief (quality of goodness).' This quality is known as *ren*. *Ren* is something that makes for oneness with heaven and earth" (*Yishu* 11.120). In other words, *ren* is good not only because it is a human value; it is actually no different from the ultimate reality, the life-giving activity. *Ren* thus not only has to be understood in relation to the idea of *tian* as *li*, which is life-giving activity, but it can also be seen as nothing but this life-giving activity. To be alive is *ren*, to be dead is the lack thereof. With this CHENG Yi completely agrees. In his view, "the heart/mind is just like the seed of grains. *Ren* is nothing but human nature as life-giving activity" (*Yishu* 18; 184). Here Cheng makes an explicit connection between *li* as life-giving activity and moral goodness. In other words, ultimate reality itself is moral.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented CHENG Yi's philosophical ideas with a focus on his moral philosophy. I have tried to show that, after almost a millennium, we still have a lot to learn from it, and a lot that we can learn from it we cannot learn from elsewhere. First, his explanation of why one should be moral is more convincing than any alternative that we can find in the West. Plato and Aristotle also tell us that to be moral is a joyful thing, but they fail to show, as they intend to, that being moral is constitutive of being human, as they regard rationality instead of morality as the distinguishing mark of being human, all the while

[24] The interpretation I present here differs from the one advanced by MOU Zongsan, who claims that CHENG Yi, unlike his brother CHENG Hao, thinks that *li* is static (Mou 1990: 1.44 and 2.78). Mou's view has not only been generally accepted by scholars in Taiwan, many of whom are Mou's students; it has also become popular among scholars in mainland China. For example, PANG Wanli also argues that the two brothers understood *li* differently: whereas CHENG Hao understood it from the perspective of change and movement, CHENG Yi understood it from the perspective of the static structure of things. Pang also cites ZHANG Dainian, among others, in support of this interpretation (Pang 1992: 59).

unable to make the direct link between rationality and morality. Second, Cheng's view that moral knowledge necessarily inclines one to act is also similar to the views of Socrates and Aristotle in denying the possibility of weakness of the will. However, his distinction between superficial knowledge of seeing and hearing and profound knowledge of/as virtue enables him to explain, better than Socrates and Aristotle, apparent cases in which people have knowledge and yet cannot act upon the knowledge. Third, as we enter a global village, where our immediate neighbors include people with habits and customs, ideas and ideals, cultures and religions, very different from ours, Cheng's unique interpretation of love with distinction as loving different people and things in ways that take into consideration their uniqueness is extremely significant. Fourth, we have been used to liberal political theory which is based on the idea that the political is not personal. However, Cheng's idea of government by virtue and propriety shows why the liberal idea is wrong. A political system does not merely set up the rules of games people play but it also affects the type of people who play the game: government exclusively by punitive laws make people vicious, while government primarily by virtue and propriety will make people virtuous. Finally, most of us have moral intuitions and hold some moral values without reflecting upon them. Cheng's moral metaphysics helps us not only to affirm such intuitions and values but further articulate, ontologically, why such intuitions are right and such values are good.

Bibliography

Analects 1980. In *Translation and Annotations of the* Analects 論語譯注, by YANG Bojun 楊伯峻. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Angle, Stephen C. 2009. *Sagehood: The Contemporary Significance of Neo-Confucian Philosophy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Aristotle. 1963. *Ethica Nicomachea*. In *Works of Aristotle*, vol. ix. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Audi, Robert. 1979. "Weakness of Will and Practical Judgment." *Noûs* 13.2: 173–196.

Audi, Robert. 1990. "Weakness of Will and Rational Action." *Australasian Journal of Philosophy* 68: 270–281.

Bol, Peter K. 1992. *This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. (Chapter 9 is a substantive study of CHENG Yi as a Neo-Confucian.)

Bradley, F.H. 1935. *Ethical Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University.

Cai, Fanglu. 蔡方鹿. 1996. *CHENG Hao and CHENG Yi and Chinese Culture* 程顥程頤與中國哲學. Guiyang 貴陽: Guizhou renmin chubanshe 貴州人民出版社. (A comprehensive study of the Cheng brothers' political, metaphysical, moral, hermeneutical, and educational ideas in a cultural and historical context.)

Chan, Wing-tsit (CHEN Rongjie). 1962. *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chang, Carsun. 1963. *The Development of Neo-Confucianism*, vol.1. New Haven: College and University Press. (A study of Neo-Confucian philosophy by a prominent contemporary Confucian, with a chapter devoted to CHENG Yi)

Chen, Rongjie 陳榮捷 (Wing-tsit Chan). 1991. "The Evolution of the Neo-Confucian Concept of *Li* as Principle" 新儒學"理"之思想之演進. In Xiang Weixin 項維新 and Liu Zengfu 劉增福 (eds.), *Essays on Chinese Philosophical Thought: Song and Ming Periods* 中國哲學思想論文集: 宋明篇. Taibei 臺北: Shuiniu chubanshe 水牛出版社. (A classic discussion of the various meanings of *li* in different Neo-Confucian writings)

Chen, Zhongfan 陳鐘凡. 1996. *Introduction to Song Thought* 兩宋思想述評. Beijing 北京:Dongfang chubanshe 東方出版社. (An early study [1940s] of Song thinkers, with a chapter discussing Cheng Yi's dualism of *li* and *qi*.)

Cheng, Hao 程顥, and Cheng Yi 程頤. 2004. *The Works of the Two Chengs* 二程集. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局. (Original texts of the Cheng brothers, including *Surviving Works* [*Yishu* 遺書], *External Works* [*Waishu* 外書], *Collected Writings* [*Wenji* 文集], *Cheng Yi's Commentary on the* Book of Change [*Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan* 周易程氏傳], *Interpretation of Classics* [*Jingshuo* 經說], and *Excellent Sayings* [*Cuiyan* 粹言].)

Cohen, G.A. 2002. *If You're an Egalitarian, How Come You're So Rich?* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Copp, David. 1997. "The Ring of Gyges: Overridingness and the Unity of Reason." *Social Philosophy and Policy* 14: 86–106.

Dancy, Jonathan. 1993. *Moral Reason*. Oxford, UK, and Cambridge, US: Blackwell.

Davidson, Donald. 1970. "How Is Weakness of Will Possible?" In his *Actions and Events*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.

Davidson, Donald. 1982. "Paradoxes of Irrationality." In Richard Wollheim and James Hopkins (eds.), *Philosophical Essays on Freud*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Bary, Wm. Theordore. 1991. *Learning for One's Self: Essays on the Individual in Neo-Confucian Thought*. New York: Columbia University Press. (Ten essays, with a focus on Wang Yangming.)

Feng, Richang 馮日昌. 1991. "The Cheng Brothers's View on The Investigation of Things and The Extension of Knowledge" 二程格物致知論. In Xiang Weixin 項維新 and Liu Zengfu 劉增福 (eds.), *Essays on Chinese Philosophical Thought: Song and Ming Periods* 中國哲學思想論集: 宋明篇. Taibei 臺北: Shuiniu chubanshe 水牛出版社. (A textual study of the Cheng brothers' theory of knowledge.)

Feng, Youlan 馮友蘭. 1995. *A New History of Chinese Philosophy* 新編中國哲學史, vol. 5. Beijing 北京: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社. (Includes a substantive chapter devoted to a combined study of the Cheng brothers.)

Fung, Yu-lan (Feng Youlan). 1953. *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. vol. 2. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (Half a chapter devoted to the Cheng brothers.)

Gewirth, Alan. 1980. "The Golden Rule Rationalized." In *Midwest Studies in Philosophy* 3: 133–147.

Graham, A.C. 1992. *Two Chinese Philosophers*. La Salle, IL: Open Court. (Still the only book-length study of the Cheng brothers in English, with translations of many passages by the Chengs.)

Hobbes, Thomas. 1998. *Leviathan*, edited by J. C. A. Gaskin. New York: Oxford University Press.

Höffe, Otfried. 1992. "'Even a Nation of Devils Needs the State': the Dilemma of Natural Justice." In Howard Lloyd Williams (ed.), *Essays on Kant's Political Philosophy*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Hon, Tze-ki. 2003. "Cheng Hao" and "Cheng Yi." In A. S. Cua (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Chinese Philosophy*. New York: Routledge. (Two in-depth encyclopedia articles on the two brothers.)

Hou, Wailu, 侯外廬 et al. 1997. *A History of Philosophy of* Li *from Song to Ming* 宋明理學史. vol.1. Beijing 北京: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社. (Part of a two-volume set of an intellectual history of Neo-Confucianism, with a long chapter devoted to a combined study of the Cheng brothers.)

Huang, Siu-chi. 1999. *Essentials of Neo-Confucianism: Eight Major Philosophers of the Song and Ming Periods*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. (One chapter is devoted to a philosophical study of Cheng Yi.)

Huang, Yong. 2005a. "Confucian Love and Global Ethics: How the Cheng Brothers Would Help Respond to Christian Criticisms." *Asian Philosophy* 15.1: 35–60. (A discussion of the contemporary significance of the Cheng brothers' interpretation of love with distinction.)

Huang, Yong. 2005b. "A Copper Rule Versus the Golden Rule: A Daoist-Confucian Proposal for Global Ethics." *Philosophy East and West* 55.3: 394–425. (An argument for the moral principle "do (don't do) unto others as they would (would not) like to be done unto.")

Huang, Yong. 2007a. "The Cheng Brothers's Onto-Theological Articulation of Confucian Values." *Asian Philosophy* 17.3: 187–211. (An interpretation of the Cheng brothers' *li* 理 as life-giving activity.)

Huang, Yong. 2007b. "Neo-Confucian Political Philosophy: The Cheng Brothers on *Li* (Propriety) as Political, Psychological, and Metaphysical." *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 34.2: 217–239. (An exposition of the Cheng brothers' *li* 禮 as rules of action, as inner feeling, and as human nature.)

Huang, Yong. 2008a. "How Is Weakness of the Will *Not* Possible? CHENG Yi's Neo-Confucian Conception of Moral Knowledge." In Roger T. Ames and Peter D. Herschock (eds.), *Educations and Their Purposes: A Conversation among Cultures*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. (An attempt to use CHENG Yi's conception of moral knowledge to shed light on the issue of weakness of the will.)

Huang, Yong. 2008b. "Neo-Confucian Hermeneutics at Work: Cheng Yi's Philosophical Interpretation of *Analects* 8.9 and 17.3." *Harvard Theological Review* 101.1: 169–201. (An exposition of Cheng's unique interpretation of these two controversial *Analects* passages.)

Huang, Yong. 2008c. "Why Be Moral? The Cheng Brothers' Neo-Confucian Answer." *Journal of Religious Ethics* 36.2: 321–353. (A discussion of the Cheng brothers' conception of human nature as a response to the question of why be moral.)

Hume, David. 1957. *An Inquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*. New York: The Liberal Arts Press.

Kant, Immanuel. 1965. *Critique of Practical Reason*, translated by Norman Kemp Smith. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Li, Rizhang 李日章. 1986. *CHENG Hao and CHENG Yi* 程顥 程頤. Taibei 臺北: Dongda tushu gongsi 東大圖書公司. (An introductory, comprehensive, and combined study of the Cheng brothers)

Liu, Xiangbin 劉象彬. 1987. *A Study of the Main Categories of the Cheng Brothers' Principle-centered Learning* 二程理學基本範疇研究. Kaifeng 開封: Henan daxue chubanshe 河南大學出版社. (A combined study of the Cheng brothers according to their main philosophical categories.)

Lu, Lianzhang 盧連章. 2001. *A Critical Biography of CHENG Hao and CHENG Yi* 程顥程頤評傳. Nanjing 南京: Nanjing daxue chubanshe 南京大學出版社. (A comprehensive combined study of the Cheng brothers's thought in relation to their life events.)

McDowell, John. 1998. "Comments on 'Some Rational Aspects of Incontinence' [by T.H. Irvin]." *Southern Journal of Philosophy*, suppl. 27: 89–102.

McIntyre, Allison. 1990. "Is Akratic Action Always Irrational?" In Owen Flanagan and Amelie Rorty (eds.), *Identity, Character, and Morality: Essays in Moral Psychology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Melden, A.I.1948. "Why Be Moral?" *The Journal of Philosophy* 45: 449–456.

Mencius. In *Contemporary Translation of the* Mencius 孟子今譯, translated by LIU Fangyuan 劉方元. Nanchang 南昌: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe 江西人民出版社.

Mou, Zongsan 牟宗三. 1990. *Onto-cosmological State of the Original Heart/Mind and Human Nature* 心體 與性體, 3 vols. Taibei 臺北: Zhengzhong shuju 正中書局. (An authoritative study of Song and Ming Neo-Confucianism, with one third of volume 2 devoted to a study of CHENG Yi.)

Murphy, Jeffrie. G. 1999. "A Paradox about the Justification of Punishment." In George Sher and Baruch A. Broady (eds.), *Social and Political Philosophy*: *Contemporary Readings*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Nielsen, Kai. 1989. *Why Be Moral*. Buffalo: Prometheus Books.

Okin, Susan Moller. 1989. *Justice, Gender, and the Family*. New York: Basic Books.

Okin, Susan Moller. 2005. " 'Forty Acres and a Mule' for Women." *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 4 (2): 233–248.

Pan, Fuen 潘富恩, and Xu Yuqing 徐余慶. 1988. *A Study of Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi's Philosophy* 程顥程頤哲學研究. Shanghai 上海: Fudan daxue chubanshe 復旦大學出版社. (The most comprehensive combined study of the Cheng brothers.)

Peterson, Willard. 1986. "Another look at *Li*." *The Bulletin of Sung and Yuan Studies* 18: 13–31. (A classical essay interpreting *li* as "coherence" and surveying its different meanings.)

Pang, Wanli 龐萬里. 1992. *The Philosophical System of the Cheng Brothers* 二程的哲學體系. Beijing 北京: Beijing hangtian hangkong daxue chubanshe 北京航天航空大學出版社. (A valuable study of the Cheng brothers, focusing on the similarities and differences between the two, with an appendix identifying the authorship of passages in the *Yishu* which are not otherwise explicitly attributed.)

Plato. 1963a. *Protagoras*. In Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (eds.), *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Plato. 1963b. *Republic*. In Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (eds.), *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Qian, Mu 錢穆. 1991. "Confucius-Mencius and Cheng-Zhu 孔孟與程朱." In Xiang Weixin 項維新 and Liu Zengfu 劉增福 (eds.), *Essays on Chinese Philosophical Thought: Song and Ming Periods* 中國哲學思想論集: 宋明篇. Taibei 臺北: Shuiniu chubanshe 水牛出版社. (An essay contrasting classical Confucian philosophical thought and Neo-Confucian philosophical thought.)

Qian, Mu 錢穆. 2001. *An Introduction to Neo-Confucianism* 宋明理學概述. Taibei 臺北: Lantai chubanshe 蘭臺出版社. (Chapter 17 is a short introduction to Cheng Yi by a renowned intellectual historian.)

Sandel, Michael. 1982. *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Smith, Kidder, Jr., Peter K. Bol, Joseph A. Adler, and Don J. Wyatt. 1990. *Sung Dynasty Uses of the* I Ching. Princeton: Princeton University. (Chapter Five is a study of Cheng Yi's interpretation of the *Book of Change*.)

Tang, Junyi 唐君毅. 1985. *On the Origin of Chinese Philosophy: Introduction* 中國哲學原論:導論篇. Taibei 臺北: Xuesheng shuju 學生書局. (A multi-faceted study of Chinese philosophy.)

Toulmin, Stephen. 1964. *An Examination of the Place of Reason in Ethics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, Charles. 1989. *The Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Tu, Weiming 杜維明. 1999. "Humanity as Embodied Love: Exploring Filial Piety in a Global Ethical Perspective." In Marko Zlomislic (ed.), *Jen, Agape, Tao with Tu Wei-ming*. Binghamton, Global Publications. (A defense of the idea of filial piety by the most prominent contemporary Confucian.)

Tu, Weiming 杜維明. 2002. (a) "Confucian Anthropology of Body, Heart/Mind, Soul, and Spirit" 從身、心、靈、神四層次看儒家的人學; (b) "Confucius: Reflection on Humanity" 孔子:人的反思; (c)"On Confucian 'Inner Experience': Knowledge of/as Virtue" 論儒家的「體知」: 德性之知的含義; (d) "Human Dignity: From the Perspective of the Inner Experience" 從'體知'看人的尊嚴; (e) "A Contemporary Interpretation of Confucian Tradition of Inner Experience" 儒家'體知'傳統的現代詮釋. In *Collected Works of Tu Weiming* 杜維明文集, vol. 5. Wuhan 武漢: Wuhan chubanshe 武漢出版社. (A group of articles focused on the idea of *tizhi* 體知, knowledge from internal experience.)

Wen, Weiyao 溫偉耀. 1996. *The Way to Sagehood: A Study of the Cheng Brothers on Moral Cultivation* 成聖之道:北宋二程修養功夫論之研究. Taibei 臺北: Wenshizhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社. (A study of the Cheng brothers with a focus on their view of moral cultivation.)

Wong, Wai-ying 2003. "The Status of *Li* in the Cheng Brothers's Philosophy." *Dao: A Journal of Comparative Philosophy* 3.1: 109–119. (An important study of Cheng brothers' conception of propriety.)

Wong, David 1989. "Universalism Versus Love with Distinction: An Ancient Debate Revived." *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 16: 252–272. (A seminal discussion of the ancient debate between Confucians and Mohists.)

Zhang, Yongjun 張永儁. 1988. *A Limited Study of the Two Chengs* 二程學管見. Taibei 臺北: Dongda tushi gongsi 東大圖書公司. (A collection of essays on the Cheng brothers, with a focus on the interpretation of their philosophy by their disciples.)

Zhang, Zai 張載. 1978. *The Complete Works of ZHANG Zai* 張載集. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Ziporyn, Brook. 2008. "Form, Principle, Pattern, or Coherence? *Li* 理 in Chinese Philosophy." *Philosophy Compass* 3.3: 401–422. (A survey article of the various meanings, and various interpretations of these meanings, of *li* in the history of Chinese philosophy.)

The Thesis of Single-Rootedness in the Thought of CHENG Hao

WONG Wai-ying

CHENG Hao 程顥 (1032–1085) was born in Huangpi 黃陂 in what is the present Hubei Province, where his father was a local administrator. Baichun 伯淳 was his courtesy name, but he was better known as Mingdao 明道. Together with his younger brother CHENG Yi 程頤 (1033–1107), he strove to restore the tradition of Confucius and Mencius in the name of "the learning of the way" (*daoxue* 道學), which eventually developed as the main concern in various schools of Neo-Confucian thought. Although the philosophical views of the two brothers are diverse in some respects, they are usually identified as together as the "Cheng brothers" to signify their common contribution to Neo-Confucian thought.[1]

A precocious child, he composed poems at ten, and also excelled in learning. At fifteen he came to study under ZHOU Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073). Although Zhou's own system of thought had yet to be completed, Cheng felt inspired and resolved to dedicate his whole life to the search for the way (*dao* 道). In 1056, he traveled to the capital Luoyang 洛陽 in preparation for the civil service examination. At this time, he also made the acquaintance of ZHANG Zai 張載 (1020–1077), who was destined to be regarded by posterity as another pillar of the Neo- Confucian school. In the following year Cheng was awarded the *jinshi* degree and made an official of the government. He served in various capacities at various places thereafter, discharging his duties creditably. In 1069, he came to the notice of Shenzong 神宗, the new emperor, who gave him audiences from time to time and opportunities to voice his political views. However, insofar as the emperor gave more weight to the advice of Wang

[1] CHENG Yi took a very different approach from that of CHENG Hao in his understanding of core concepts such as principle (*li* 理), heart/mind (*xin* 心), and the way (*dao* 道) of moral cultivation. Although CHENG Yi has had a tremendous impact on the course of Confucian philosophy, and lived 20 years longer than his brother, I do not think he resolved problems inherent in CHENG Hao's positions. The similarities and differences between the two brothers needs to be examined at length and in detail, a task which exceeds the scope of this essay.

W.Y. Wong (✉)
Department of Philosophy, Lingnan University, Hong Kong, PRC
e-mail: wongwy@LN.edu.hk

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*,
Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_5,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086), leader of the reformation campaign whose ideas Cheng Hao adamantly opposed, Cheng was discredited, demoted to lower offices, and eventually dismissed. In 1072, he returned to Luoyang and there, together with his brother Cheng Yi, built a school, and taught until his death.

The main corpus of Cheng Hao's work comprises conversations as recorded by his disciples, collected in the *Surviving Works of the Two Chengs* (*Er Cheng yishu* 二程遺書). He also wrote short essays, poems, and letters. The best-known essays are "Letter on Stabilizing Nature" ("Ding xing shu" 定性書) and "On Understanding *Ren*" ("Shi ren pian" 識仁篇). The citations in this essay are mainly from *Collected Works of the Two Chengs* (*Er Cheng ji* 二程集; Cheng and Cheng 1980),[2] a collection that contains most of the Cheng brothers' writings and conversations. It is an amended edition of the *Complete Works of the Two Chengs* (*Er Cheng quanshu* 二程全書), which includes *Surviving Works* (*Yishu* 遺書), *External Books* (*Waishu* 外書), *Collected Writings* (*Wenji* 文集), *Cheng Yi's Commentary on the* Book of Change (Zhouyi *Cheng shi zhuan* 周易程氏傳), *Interpretation of Classics* (*Jingshuo* 經說), and *Essential Sayings* (*Cuiyan* 粹言). *Surviving Works* consists of sayings by the Cheng brothers recorded by their disciples. In some of these texts the speaker is clearly indicated, but in others not so. Some indicate that the quoted expression was "spoken by the two masters." For these unassigned sayings it has been a problem to identify the speaker. The modern philosopher Mou Zongsan 牟宗三 was the first person to set criteria for distinguishing between sayings by the two brothers (Mou 1969: 2:5–9). Although Mou's criteria are not completely convincing for some scholars (Guo 2006: 44–47), they are so far the most reliable. One criterion is the style of expression of the two brothers: Cheng Hao liked to express ideas in a "sudden and perfect" (*yuandun* 圓頓) way, whereas Cheng Yi did so in an analytical way. *Yuan* signifies a state of perfection and completeness. It also means an all-inclusive state, in that superficially contrary descriptions are included, since it is believed that the duality in conceptual thinking does not apply to the situation being described. *Dun* refers to a kind of transformation without a gradual process. In Buddhism, sudden awakening is contrasted to gradual awakening. Cheng Hao liked to use a "sudden and perfect" way to describe visions that he experienced when he thought that these visions were not the product of logical reasoning. Because of this special way of expression, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) found Cheng Hao's sayings nebulous (*hunlun* 渾淪) (Zhu 1986: 5:93).

In his brother's words, the path that led Cheng Hao to find the way was by "browsing through various schools of thought, looking deeply into Daoism and Buddhism for many decades, coming back to the Six Classics and finally attaining it" (Cheng and Cheng 1980: 638). Cheng Hao inherited and developed the thought of classical Confucianism rather than drawing on preceding Neo-Confucian thinkers such as Zhou Dunyi, Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011–1077), or

[2] All page numbers in this essay refer to this work, and unless otherwise indicated, quotations are those of Cheng Hao.

ZHANG Zai. Among many theses in CHENG Hao's thought, "single-rootedness" (*yiben lun* 一本論) is the most distinctive. It is also the most problematic, both literally and philosophically. The thesis of single-rootedness presents the relationship between Heaven (*tian* 天) and the human, and between that of *dao* and instruments (*qi* 器) and vital energy (*qi* 氣). This thesis also involves the concepts of heart/mind and human nature (*xing* 性). In this essay I examine this thesis with regard to these particular domains.

Heaven and the Human

The term "single-rooted" appears in the following passages by CHENG Hao:

> *Dao* is single-rooted. Someone might say, "To subsume sincerity (*cheng* 誠) within the heart/mind is not as good as subsuming the heart/mind within sincerity; to form a trinity with Heaven and Earth (*tiandi* 天地)[3] with perfect sincerity is not as good as uniting with other people and things with perfect sincerity." This is still double-rooted (*er ben* 二本). Knowing not to be double-rooted is the way of earnest respectfulness that leads to peace throughout the entire world (Cheng and Cheng 1980: 1:117–118).
>
> If it is not single-rooted, how is it possible that "when [the great man] proceeds heaven (*xian tian*), heaven does not act contrary to him; when he follows after heaven he abides by the seasons of heaven"? (ibid.: 1:43)

The meaning of single-rootedness can be apprehended through its opposite: double-rootedness:

> Heaven and the human originally are not two. There is no need to speak of union. (Ibid.: 1:81)[4]
>
> The cold of winter and heat of summer are y*in* 陰 and y*ang* 陽. That by which they are moved and transform is divine (*shen* 神). "Divine is without confines" and therefore "Change is without a body." If, like some, you conceive a Heaven distinct from the human and say that it cannot be subsumed within the human, you imply that the divine has confines. This is double-rooted. (Ibid.: 1:121)
>
> "The extension of knowledge lies in the investigation of things." Investigation means "approaching." It is double-rooted to interpret investigation to mean "abiding in things." (Ibid.: 1:129)

The expression "Heaven and the human originally are not two" unequivocally means that they are one. CHENG Hao explicitly expressed this thought in the sentence "there is no gap between Heaven and the human":

> Now, even if it is understood that "desiring it is good," one still needs to have it within oneself in order to talk about sincerity. On this understanding, sincerity is the way of

---

[3] CHENG Hao sometimes used "heaven and earth" in a metaphysical sense which equates with *dao*, but sometimes he used them to signify a material entity. Hereafter I will use upper case for the former meaning and lower case for the latter.

[4] The speaker of the above two passages has not been specified. The editor of *Song - Yuan Case Studies* (*Song-Yuan xue'an* 宋元學案) combined them and included them in the "case study" of CHENG Hao ("Mingdao xue'an" 明道學案). Mou thought that the combination was a mistake (Mou 1969: 94). Nevertheless, the ideas are in line with the first passage quoted above and therefore probably should be attributed to CHENG Hao.

> uniting inner and outer. However, not to see things as one is merely a product of the mind.[5] Apart from the body there is nothing but principle and on this basis we can speak of uniting Heaven with humans. Yet the unity of Heaven and humans has already become a subject on which ignorant people have applied themselves. There is no gap between Heaven and humans. If one is not able to embody [sincerity] fully then one cannot nurture and cultivate [things]. To talk about assisting nurture and cultivation is already to talk in a way that is removed from humans. (Ibid.: 1:33)

The premise that Heaven and humans are one entails that "there is no need to speak of the union" of Heaven and humans. By the same token, "to form a trinity with Heaven and Earth with perfect sincerity" and "to unite with others and things with perfect sincerity" presupposes that the individual is separated from Heaven and Earth or from other people and things. Similarly, if sincerity and the heart/mind are one, it is nonsense to say either "to subsume sincerity within the heart/mind" or "to subsume the heart/mind within sincerity." Both expressions presuppose that sincerity and the heart/mind are two separate things. This criticism also applies to the issue of "subsuming Heaven within humans" (ibid.: 1:121). Therefore the ideas behind these criticisms are twofold: individual persons, Heaven and Earth, as well as other people and things, are one; and sincerity and the heart/mind are one.

In what sense are humans and Heaven and Earth one? This is intelligible only in the sense that "the way of humans and the way of Heaven and Earth are the same." CHENG Hao understood the way of Heaven and Earth—sometimes expressed as the way of Heaven (*tian dao* 天道), or just the way (*dao*)—not merely as a transcendent and abstract entity, because for him its truthfulness lies in its concrete manifestations. *Dao* manifests itself in every form of existence, but its full manifestation is in sages. In other words, a sage is a person who completely embodies *dao*. We can say that a full-blooded sage is *dao*. Therefore the expression "humans and Heaven and Earth are one" is not a description of fact, but rather a description of a vision, an experience which can be achieved only by moral cultivation and practice. Because of this, the expression in question is neither a logical nor an empirical truth which can be justified by conceptual analysis or by empirical examination. Conceptually speaking, sincerity and the heart/mind are two notions with totally different connotations and denotations. To speak empirically, it is legitimate to talk about "containing the heart/mind with sincerity" or "containing sincerity with the heart/mind." Furthermore, striving to become a sincere person is a common goal for Confucian thinkers. Whether the goal is to subsume (sincerity, Heaven, etc.), or to assist (nurturing and cultivating things), or to unite (humans and Heaven and Earth), they all presuppose that humans and *dao* are two. However, from CHENG Hao's perspective, they are one. We can see that the perspective Cheng adopted is based on the highest achievement of moral practice. The two-ness signifies the empirical fact which can be transcended by human effort.

[5] Here the mind refers to an empirical/habitual mind (*xixin* 習心), therefore I use "the mind" to distinguish it from the heart/mind (*benxin* 本心).

When one reaches the highest achievement, the two-ness or duality would be included by the one root: *dao*. Once one sees this one-ness, it is trivial, if not wrong, to talk about assisting Heaven and Earth or uniting humans and *dao*.

Saying that humans and *dao* are one, is a "sudden and perfect" mode of expression. It is perfect because in the vision that it reveals, there are no more differentiations between *dao* and its manifestations, between inner and outer, or between heart/mind and its full actualization. In this perfect state, the duality of "to assist and being assisted," "to subsume and being subsumed," and to "unite and being united" also dissolve. It is sudden because *dao* and human do not gradually become one. They are one as soon as an individual achieves the vision and fully embodies *dao*. *Dao* and humans are one in a "sudden and perfect" way and this state needs to be expressed also in a "sudden and perfect" way. The idea of doing away with words like "assist," "subsume," and "unite" were presented in the passages quoted above, and here are some more sayings in which this idea is embedded: "In saying 'to experience the cultivation of Heaven and Earth,' the word 'experience' still remains. Merely this is the cultivation of Heaven and Earth. There should not be another Heaven and Earth apart from this one" (ibid.: 1:18). This means that when an agent has really experienced the cultivation of Heaven and Earth, he or she is already identical with the cultivation of Heaven and Earth. This is because Heaven and Earth manifest themselves in their cultivation, which in turn manifests itself in the cultivation of the agent. If there were Heaven and Earth apart from that embodied in the agent, then Heaven and Earth would be abstract entities independent of humans, and which humans cannot fully grasp. Then there would be a gap between Heaven and humans. In CHENG Hao's words: "To talk about assisting nurture and cultivation is already to talk in a way that is removed from the humans" (ibid.: 1:33):

> In all cases, accounts of "fully filling" (*chongsai* 充塞) resemble having the frame of a container and then filling it with vital energy. But this is merely an approximate analogy used to describe [the state of filling up]. Vital energy is vital energy, how can it be said to be "fully filling"? Just like "to nurture" is only "to nurture," how can it be said to "assist"? "Assisting" and "fully filling" are altogether other activities. (Ibid.: 1:35)[6]

CHENG Hao took the expression "full respect leads to the peace of the entire world" as an instance to illustrate the meaning of single-rootedness. How can full respect by an individual lead to the peace of the entire world? This can make sense only when it is understood as a partial description of the highest vision. Through full respect an individual becomes the full manifestation of *dao*, under which the entire world is at peace. Now it is obvious that the way of a sage is no different from the way of Heaven and this is what single-rooted means. This meaning is clearly presented in the following passage:

> By perfect sincerity one can take part in (*zan* 贊) the cultivation of Heaven and Earth, and then one can form a trinity with Heaven and Earth. The meaning of *zan* is "take

[6] The speaker of this saying has not been specified. *Song-Yuan xue'an* includes it in "Mingdao xue'an." Judging from the content as well as the style, it should be attributed to CHENG Hao.

> part in." It means "when [the great man] precedes heaven, heaven does not act contrary to him; when he follows after heaven he abides by the seasons of heaven." *Zan* does not mean helping. There is only one sincerity, how can one speak of helping? (ibid.: 1.133)

The claim that "there is only one sincerity" means that sincerity is both the way of Heaven and Earth and the way of humans. If there is only one way, then with perfect sincerity an agent is already taking the way of Heaven and Earth, and it is more appropriate to say that he or she contributes to the way rather than helps Heaven and Earth. However, sincerity is usually understood as a state of mind or attitude that enhances an agent's moral cultivation, therefore it is considered a virtue. So in what sense can a human virtue also be shared by Heaven and Earth? We may find the answer in the following passage:

> "Heaven and earth have fixed positions and Change (*yi* 易) operates between them": this is nothing but respect. Being respectful is therefore unceasing. It is only sincerity and respect that are able to generate things yet omit nothing. Without sincerity there would be nothing. It is said in the *Book of Odes*, "The decree of Heaven, how profound it is and unceasing. Was it not apparent, the purity of King Wen's virtue?" "Purity likewise is unceasing." Being pure never stops. (Ibid.: 1.118)

This passage conveys the message that sincerity and respect[7] are the way of Change (and of *dao*) and are also the virtues that make King Wen a great king. The commonality between sincerity in the way of Heaven and the way of a great person is that both have the characteristic of ceaselessness. By sincerity Heaven produces and reproduces unceasingly. Similarly, by sincerity a person enhances his or her awareness and activates his or her moral creativity. This activity can also be considered an unceasing act of production and reproduction in the moral realm. For Heaven, the unceasing process of production results in the endless nurture and cultivation of people and things, and this is the same for humans. CHENG Hao makes this clear by saying that "Heaven and humans are unceasing" (ibid.: 1.119). The connection between Heaven and humans as putatively featured in the above-cited ode originally appeared in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, and CHENG Hao here elaborated the idea embedded in it only based on his own understanding. Cheng maintained that Heaven fully manifests itself through sincerity in the activity of production and reproduction and it can be said that there is no Heaven apart from this activity.[8] Therefore Heaven and the way of Heaven (the activity of production) are identical. Furthermore, since the

---

[7] Although sincerity and respect bear different connotations, they can be regarded as constituting a single way of Change.

[8] HUANG Yong understands MOU Zongsan's view of principle (*li*) to be "some thing, some entity, some substance, whose fundamental feature is to act." He argues that "*li* remains a being, although a being that always acts. This is what Mou meant by CHENG Hao's *li* as 'something with both being and activity' " (Huang 2007: 198). I doubt that Huang's understanding of Mou is accurate. Although Mou sometimes spoke of the substance (*ti* 體) of Change, or heart/mind, or *dao*, sincerity, human nature etc., he always emphasized that this substance can only be understood as function or activity. Therefore the relationship between the substance and activity is not a substance-attribute relationship, rather, they are one thing with different names (Mou 1969: 137).

way of Heaven is sincerity, Heaven is identical with sincerity. A perfectly sincere person in his or her unceasing production and reproduction is identical with sincerity itself and thus with Heaven. This is the ontological ground for humans and Heaven being one.

The Heart/Mind and Heaven

CHENG Hao's thesis of single-rootedness not only presents itself in the relationship between Heaven and the human, it also does so in the relationship between Heaven and the heart/mind. Since it is the heart/mind that is responsible for the activity of production and reproduction, it is natural to claim that heart/mind and Heaven are one. This is not a novel claim but is one based on an interpretation of *Mengzi* 7A.1: "He who fully exhausts his heart/mind apprehends his nature. Apprehending his nature, he apprehends Heaven." CHENG Hao revised Mencius' wording to express his own emphasis: "The heart/mind alone is Heaven. By fully exhausting one's heart/mind one can apprehend one's own nature. By fully apprehending one's own nature one will apprehend Heaven. (One version reads: 'the nature is heaven'). We should adopt this [relationship] and should not search outside" (ibid.: 1.15).[9] "'The great man unites his virtue with heaven and earth and his brightness with the sun and the moon', they are not outside him" (ibid.: 1.120). To exhaust an agent's heart/mind fully already presupposes that the agent who exhausts, and the heart/mind that is exhausted, are two separate things. For CHENG Hao, only through sincerity can the agent fully exhaust his or her own heart/mind, but sincerity is not something outside the heart/mind, since the former is already implicit in the latter. Therefore to exhaust means to become conscious of. As related in the previous section, Heaven is sincerity and there is only one sincerity: once an agent becomes fully conscious of his or her implicit sincerity, he or she is identical with Heaven. On this understanding, the agent does not need to "apprehend" Heaven by his or her heart/mind in such a way that Heaven and the heart/mind are two separate things. Again, the claim that Heaven and the heart/mind are one is expressed in a "sudden and perfect" way in that the expression is made from the perspective of someone who has accomplished the highest vision:

> The heart/mind possesses virtue from Heaven. If the heart/mind is not fully exhausted then it is because the virtue from Heaven has not been fully exhausted, then how can it apprehend the nature and Heaven? When one's own heart/mind has been fully exhausted then it can also fully exhaust [the nature of] other people as well as [that of] things and form a trinity with Heaven and Earth and take part in nurturing and cultivating. "To take part in" means to nourish directly. (Ibid.: 1.78)

---

[9] The speaker is not specified. *Song-Yuan xue'an* includes it in "Mingdao xue'an." Judging from the content as well as the style, it should be attributed to CHENG Hao (Mou 1969: 95).

The speaker of the above passage is not identified. If read in the context of the thesis of single-rootedness, however, it supports CHENG Hao's view that in order to form a trinity with Heaven and Earth, one needs only to exhaust one's own heart/mind. The underlying reason is "mere heart/mind itself is Heaven."

The following passage shows that the virtue of the heart/mind is no different from the virtue of Heaven and Earth. "Mingdao [CHENG Hao] said, 'The decree of Heaven, how profound and unceasing it is, isn't this loyalty (*zhong* 忠)? Heaven and earth change and the wood and grass flourish, isn't this empathy (*shu* 恕)?' " (ibid.: 1.392). Loyalty and empathy are ordinarily considered as virtues of the heart/mind, yet here they are used to describe *dao* and its manifestations. It is quite clear from this that humans understand *dao* through their own virtues, which are innate in the heart/mind. Therefore humans do not follow the virtues conferred by Heaven, rather, they see *dao* in terms of these virtues.

Dao and the Instruments and Vital Energy

The relationship between *dao* and vital energy is discussed in the following passage: " 'Above form it is *dao*, below form it is instruments (形而上為道, 形而下為器)'—the emphasis must be stated in this way. *Dao* is also the instruments and the instruments are also *dao*. So long as *dao* exists, then matters of present or future, self or others are irrelevant" (ibid.: 1.4).[10] The sentence "above form it is *dao*, below form it is instruments" is a modification of a much cited sentence from the "Great Appendix" (*xici* 繫辭) of the *Book of Change* (形而上者謂之道, 形而下者謂之器). A.C. Graham noted that DAI Zhen 戴震 (1723–1777) had discussed the difference between "what is meant by" (*zhi wei* 之謂) and "is called" (*wei zhi* 謂之). Since CHENG Hao clearly stated that in the version of the sentence as it appears in the "Great Appendix" "is called" cannot be changed to "what is meant by" (ibid.: 1.361), then Graham, after DAI Zhen, came to the conclusion that, according to CHENG Hao, *dao* and instruments are the same but are simply called by different names to refer to the stages designated as above form and below form (Graham 1992: 124). However, as shown in the passage cited above, CHENG Hao stated that *dao* and instruments are one without analyzing the wording of the sentence used in the "Great Appendix." In what sense are *dao* and instruments the same? It is not from a naturalistic view that all things in nature[11] are *dao,* nor is it the case that CHENG Hao's thinking was so nebulous that he was somehow incapable of distinguishing between the two. CHENG Hao admitted that speaking analytically, *dao* and instruments are differentiated by

[10] The speaker of this saying has not been identified. *Song-Yuan xue'an* includes it in "Mingdao xue'an." MOU Zongsan attributes it to CHENG Hao (Mou 1969: 22).

[11] ZHONG Caijun (1992) has argued that there was naturalistic element in CHENG Hao's thought. I return to this in Section 6.

"above form" and "below form." He further claimed that it had to be said in this way, which meant that it was necessary to make the differentiation. Nevertheless, he said that *dao* is also instruments and instruments are also *dao*. This is also a "sudden and perfect" way of expression. *Dao* is nothing but its manifestation in instruments. All instruments, when their natures are fully actualized, embody *dao*.

This view can also be found in another passage: "Outside *dao* there are no things and outside things there is no *dao*, so that between heaven and earth there is no direction to go which is not *dao*" (Cheng and Cheng 1980: 1.73).[12] However, only a person who has achieved perfect vision can see this. Embracing this vision is a "sudden and perfect" experience and it needs to be expressed accordingly to avoid conceptual analysis.

For CHENG Hao the relationship between *dao* and instruments is analogous to that between *dao* and vital energy.

> According to the "Great Appendix," "Above form it is called *dao*, below form it is called instruments." And, it is said, "[The sage, fixing the lines of the hexagrams,] established them according to the way of Heaven, calling them y*in* and y*ang*, and according to the way of Earth, calling them soft and hard, and according to the way of humans, calling them humaneness (*ren* 仁) and rightness (*yi* 義)." And, it is said, "The y*in* and *yang* in alternation are what is meant by *dao*." The *yin* and y*ang* are also below form, but they are called *dao*; this statement is enough to make it perfectly clear how 'above' and 'below' are to be distinguished. *Dao* has never been anything but these; it is essential for humans to be aware of it in silence. (Ibid.: 1.118)

Here, on the one hand, CHENG Hao adopted the view from the "Great Appendix" that y*in* and y*ang* are below form and, on the other, claimed that they are *dao*. Unlike his brother CHENG Yi, he did not interpret "the alternation of y*in* and y*ang* is what is meant by *dao*" to mean "that by which y*in* and y*ang* alternate is *dao*" (ibid.: 1.67). For CHENG Hao, *dao* manifests itself in *yin* and *yang*, which are the original form of vital energy. It was perfectly clear for him that although *yin* and y*ang* are below form, they represent *dao* which is above form. Again, to say that *yin* and y*ang* are *dao* is expressed in a "sudden and perfect" way means that from the perspective of perfect vision, *dao* is nothing other than its activity of producing. Moreover, in a "sudden and perfect" perspective, the distinction of above and below is transcended. Therefore he said, "*Dao* has never been anything but these [i.e. the y*in* and *yang*]." Now it is apparent that the transcendence has presupposed the distinction. In the last sentence CHENG Hao asked people to be aware of it in silence since he was sure that it cannot be grasped by conceptual thinking, through which distinctions are made.

According to the "Great Appendix" the activity of production and reproduction is what is meant by Change. CHENG Hao regarded it as the divine function of *dao* ("The function of production and reproduction is divine"; ibid.: 1.128). As discussed above, *dao* is nothing other than its activity (Change), it is also

---

[12] The speaker has not been identified but the views expressed are consistent with CHENG Hao's thought.

nothing apart from its function. In this sense *dao*, Change, and the divine are one, with different names to refer to different aspects:

> 'The operations of high Heaven are without sound or smell.' Its substance is called Change, its principle is called *dao*, its function is called divine, and its decree for humans is called the nature (ibid.: 1.4).
>
> 'Production and reproduction are what is meant by Change'; it is this which Heaven regards as its way (*dao*). It is production which Heaven regards as its way, and what succeeds this productive principle is goodness. (Ibid.: 1.29)[13]

For CHENG Hao, substance, activity, and function are not in a relation of opposition. The substance itself is activity and function. However, this assertion does not spring from a "sudden and perfect" perspective. On the contrary, the following passage is expressed in the "sudden and perfect" way: "Outside vital energy there is no divinity, outside divinity there is no vital energy. If it is said that the pure is divine, then is the impure not divine?" (ibid.: 1.121).

Elsewhere CHENG Hao used both an analytic and a "sudden and perfect" way to discuss the relationship between the divine and vital energy, and of that between Heaven and humans: "The cold of winter and heat of summer are *yin* and *yang*. That by which they are moved and change is divine. 'The divine is without confines' and therefore 'Change is without substance.' If, like some, you conceive of Heaven as distinct from humans and say that humans cannot embrace it, you imply that the divine has confines. This is double-rooted" (ibid.: 1.121). Describing phenomenal change to be a function of the divine is expressed in an analytic way, but to understand that Heaven and humans are one requires a "sudden and perfect" perspective. Although CHENG Hao was aware of the different realms to which *yin* and *yang* and the divine belong, he also maintained that Heaven (or *dao* or the divine) is not independent of the humans.

I have shown in this section that the single-rootedness of *dao* presents itself not merely in the Heaven-human relationship, but also in the *dao*-vital energy relationship. In the next section I discuss the ground in human nature that makes the union of humans with Heaven possible.

Human Nature and Vital Energy

In the passage quoted in the last section, CHENG Hao explained his view on human nature. This same passage provides hints on how it is possible that humans and Heaven can be one: "'The operations of high Heaven are without sound or smell.' Its substance is called Change, its principle is called *dao*, its function is called divine, and its decree for humans is called the nature" (ibid.: 1.4). The classical view that human nature is ordained or decreed by Heaven or

[13] The speaker of these two passages has not been specified. *Song-Yuan xue'an* includes it as part of "Mingdao xue'an." Judging from the content as well as the style, it should be attributed to CHENG Hao.

dao can be considered as the ground for the possibility of the union of Heaven and humans. Furthermore, this ground renders possible "apprehending his nature, he apprehends Heaven" (*Mengzi* 7A:1). What has Heaven decreed? It is the unceasing power of production and reproduction:

> "The supreme virtue of Heaven and Earth is to produce." "From the generative forces of Heaven and Earth the myriad things evolve." "Inborn is what is meant by the nature." It is most excellent to look into the vital impulses of the myriad things, this is "the Originating (*yuan* 元) is the leader of goodness," which is what is meant by *ren*. Since humans are one thing with Heaven and Earth, why should they belittle themselves? (Cheng and Cheng 1980: 1.120)

The view that "inborn (*sheng* 生) is what is meant by the nature" is attributed to Mencius' contemporary Gaozi 告子 and means that what is attained at birth constitutes the nature of the human. This expression admits that all the inborn qualities of life such as desires, natural dispositions, and abilities constitute human nature therefore the nature is neither good nor bad. In quoting Gaozi's claim, together with the sentences from the "Great Appendix," CHENG Hao is emphasizing the significance of giving life or producing. This led Graham to translate *sheng* here as "the life in us" (Graham 1992: 111). Nevertheless, CHENG Hao was not "borrowing" the expression from Gaozi to illustrate the act of giving life but rather was quoting it in its original meaning. He did so because he thought that being given life implies receiving all the inborn qualities mentioned above. In this sense he endorsed Gaozi's view that the myriad things are the same in that they possess inborn qualities to become an individual, although he did not agree with Gaozi that all these qualities are held in common.[14] Inborn qualities make one individual being different from another, or at least one species different from another. However, apart from inborn qualities, the productive power in every single thing was decreed when it is produced. The same productive power is shared by each of the myriad things, and this is the most important reason for claiming that all the myriad things are the same. Being the virtue of Heaven and Earth, this productive power is also the virtue of every existing thing. It is presented in their vital impulse and is the origin of goodness. (I will come back to this later). Sharing this unceasing productive power with Heaven and Earth, humans can be one with the latter. Furthermore, since the productive power shared by the myriad things is the same, human and the myriad things can (in principle) become one:

> The reason it is said that the myriad things are all one substance (*ti*) is that all have this [same] principle—it is simply because it is from there that they come. "Production and reproduction is called Change." Once things are produced, all possess this principle complete. (Cheng and Cheng 1980: 1.33)[15]

---

[14] This is shown in his original notes under the quotation from Gaozi.

[15] The speaker of this saying has not been identified. Both MOU Zongsan and A.C. Graham attribute it to CHENG Hao (Mou 1969: 55; Graham 1992: 124).

The myraid things are all one because they completely possess the principle (of production) once they are produced. It also follows that they are complete within themselves and do not need to attain anything outside them to become one with Heaven and Earth: " 'The myriad things are all complete within themselves.' This is so not only of humans but of all things; it is from here that all have emerged" (ibid.: 1.34).[16]

In a passage previously cited (ibid.: 1.120), CHENG Hao used Gaozi and the "Great Appendix" to make the point that the myriad things, including humans and things, obtain the productive power from Heaven as their nature. Therefore the nature of production is the same for humans and things. I have also shown that it is the inborn qualities—vital energy or native endowment—which differentiate humans from things. Since the vital energy of things is impure or turbid, they are unable to actualize their own nature, much less extend their nature to actualize the nature of others. Only humans can nurture and cultivate things and form a trinity with Heaven and Earth. Following the last sentence of the last passage quoted, we read:

> The only difference is that things are incapable of extending it to others, whereas humans are capable of doing so. But does being capable mean that it [principle] has been increased a little bit? Does being incapable mean it has been diminished a little bit? All principles are present, complete and fully disposed (ibid.: 1.34).
>
> Humans can extend whereas things cannot because the vital energy of things is turbid. But it cannot be said that other things do not have this [principle]. (Ibid.: 1.33)

It is clear that for CHENG Hao, humans and things possess the complete principle of production or *dao* once they come into existence, therefore ontologically they have the same nature as each other and also as Heaven. Nevertheless in reality they are different since they are endowed with different inborn qualities. This has the potential to hinder their capacity to actualize their own nature if this nature is obscured.

> "Production and reproduction is what is meant by Change"; it is this which Heaven regards as its *way*. Heaven regards production alone as its *way*. What succeeds this productive principle is goodness. Goodness has the sense of Originating (*yuan* 元). "The Originating is the leader of goodness." That the myriad things all have the impulses of spring is what is meant by "What succeeds [the way] is goodness; that in which it is completed is the nature." But its completion depends on the myriad things completing their natures of themselves. (Ibid.: 1.29)[17]

Ontologically Heaven has decreed the principle of production as the nature of the myriad things. In this sense, they are all complete within themselves. However, in the final sentence of the above passage it is claimed that they should complete their natures themselves. This means that in order to succeed the

---

[16] The speaker of this saying has not been identified. Both MOU Zongsan and A.C. Graham attribute it to CHENG Hao (Mou 1969: 57; Graham 1992: 124).

[17] The speaker of this saying has not been specified. *Song-Yuan xue'an* includes it in "Mingdao xue'an." A similar passage by CHENG Hao is found at Cheng and Cheng (1980: 135). MOU Zongsan and A.C. Graham attribute it to CHENG Hao (Mou 1969: 136; Graham 1992:111).

productive principle, the myriad things have to actualize the principle which is present within their nature merely as potential. Nevertheless, among the myriad things only humans can fulfill this requirement, and therefore goodness can apply only to humans.

Good and Bad

Good and bad are commonly regarded as two contrasting attributes but in CHENG Hao's thesis they spring from one root. According to CHENG Hao, the principle of Heaven subsumes good as well as bad events: "There are good and bad events; all are heavenly principle. Within the principle of Heaven some things must be good and some bad for it is inherent in the condition of things to be unequal" (ibid.: 1.17). For Cheng, the duality of good and bad, just like other contrary qualities, is conceptually as well as factually accepted as a necessary part of principle. From a metaphysical point of view, both good and bad should be accepted equally.

> Of the principles of Heaven and Earth and the myriad things, none stands alone; all must have opposites. All are as they are naturally; it is not that they have been [purposely] arranged. Each time I think of them at midnight, "before I know it, my hands begin to dance them out and my feet step in time to them" [*Mengzi* 4A.27]. (Ibid.: 1.121)
>
> All the myriad things have their opposites (*dui* 對); there is an alternation of *yin* and *yang*, of good and bad. *Yin* diminishes when *yang* grows; bad is reduced when good increases. This principle, how far can it be extended? Humans just need to understand this. (Ibid.: 1.123)

The ideas expressed in these passages conform to the long tradition of Chinese philosophy which holds that both sides of various complementary pairs are necessary components of the cosmos. ZHONG Caijun 鍾彩鈞 points out that this view has a tone of naturalism (Zhong 1992: 18).[18] Nevertheless, the necessary existence of the bad does not imply that it is normatively justified to commit morally bad actions.

When talking about what is morally good and bad, CHENG Hao was upholding Mencius' view that human nature is good, albeit with his own interpretation:

> "Inborn is what is meant by the nature." The nature is vital energy, vital energy is the nature: it is what is inborn. In the endowment of vital energy which humans receive at birth, there will in principle be both good and bad; but this does not mean that we are born with good and bad as two contrasting things present in our nature from the first.

[18] One form of naturalism takes things that appear in the realm of phenomena as the entire content of metaphysical being. In this sense CHENG Hao's thought resembles a kind of naturalism. Nevertheless, for CHENG Hao behind the appearance of the realm of phenomena there is the operation of principle. Therefore I do not think it is appropriate to attribute naturalism to his thought.

> Some are good from infancy, some are bad from infancy; that they are so is due to their endowment of vital energy. The good is of course the nature, but the bad must also be recognized as the nature. (Ibid.: 10–11)[19]

As discussed in the previous section, CHENG Hao used Gaozi's view of "inborn is what is meant by the nature" to maintain that the myriad things are endowed with inborn qualities as well as the principle of production when they are formed with vital energy. Both of these endowments constitute their nature. In other words, the nature, with the principle of production as its content, is embodied in the vital energy of an individual with certain inborn qualities. In this sense, nature and vital energy are inseparable. There is good and bad vital energy that makes some people good from infancy and some bad. While acknowledging that vital energy constitutes part of the nature, he upheld Mencius' claim that "the nature is good" and supported it by the idea embedded in the sentence "what succeeds it is goodness" in the "Great Appendix." In this sentence "it" refers to *dao*. For CHENG Hao, the unceasing productive power of *dao* is the good in itself (which is also the origin of the good), and is decreed to humans as human nature. When looking from *dao* to humans, it is the decree of Heaven, whereas looking from humans to *dao*, it is an act of succeeding. No matter which way we look, nature is good. The cause of badness is vital energy. When an individual is formed and his or her nature is mixed with vital energy, then badness might appear. But, as quoted above, CHENG Hao said the bad should also be recognized as the nature. It sounds confusing, if not contradictory, to say that the nature is good and simultaneously that the nature also consists of badness. This is due to the fact that such a claim involves two senses of the nature. One refers to the act of following after or succeeding the *dao* and the other refers to the inborn qualities endowed in an individual when formed. CHENG Hao was aware of this ambiguity:

> "Inborn is what is meant by the nature." Nothing can be said of that which precedes the birth of humans, a state of stillness. As soon as we speak of the nature it has already ceased to be the nature. Usually when people speak of the nature, they are only talking about "what succeeds it is goodness," for example, the saying of Mencius that the nature is good. (Ibid.)

CHENG Hao thought that it is not proper to speak of the nature before an individual is born. When an individual is born, his or her nature is decreed from the way of Heaven (*dao*) which exists before his or her birth. CHENG Hao also recognized that when an individual is born with vital energy, then the nature we speak of is such that it has already mixed with vital energy and has ceased to be the original nature. According to the phrase, "inborn is what is meant by nature," however, even though it has ceased to be the original nature, it should be regarded as nature as well. Therefore the two senses of nature, i.e. that before birth and that after birth, have different implications concerning the

---

[19] The speaker of this saying has not been specified. *Song-Yuan xue'an* includes it in "Mingdao xue'an."

good or bad attribution of the nature. The nature before one's birth is good (which is what "what succeeds it is goodness" means). After birth, the nature is mixed with vital energy and can be good or bad. However, usually when people speak of the nature, they are only talking about "what succeeds it is goodness." CHENG Hao also adopted this common practice and thus asserted that the nature is good. He used a water parable to illustrate that "this does not mean that we are born with good and bad as two contrasting things present in our nature from the first": water is originally clean and if it becomes muddy it is only because it has been polluted:

> Whatever happens to it, it is still water. But some flows right to the sea without ever being polluted; this needs no effort to keep it clean. Some is certain to get progressively muddier before it has gone far; some gets muddy only after it has gone a long distance. Some has plenty of mud, some only a little; although the muddy water is different from the clean, it must still be recognized as water. This being so, it is necessary that man should accept the duty of cleansing and regulating it. The water will be cleaned quickly if his efforts are prompt and bold, slowly if they are careless. But when it is cleaned it is still only the original water; it is not that clean water has been fetched to replace the muddy, nor is it that the muddy has been taken away and put on one side. The cleanliness of the water corresponds to the goodness of the nature. Hence it is not that good and bad are two contrasting things within the nature which emerge separately. (Ibid.)

When water is clean, it does not possess a particular quality to render its cleanliness. The cleanliness of water is embodied in the water itself, without anything added to it. Therefore when we say that the water is clean, it only indicates the purity of the water. In this sense although "the water is clean" is not analytically true, "the pure water is clean" is. If we take this as an analogy, then goodness is not something added to nature to render the latter good, but rather is something already embodied in nature. We can see from the above discussion that the goodness which belongs to the original nature has transcended the duality of good and bad (inclinations). In this sense we may say good and bad have one root: the unceasing power of production of *dao*.

Conclusion

We have seen that the thesis of single-rootedness of CHENG Hao is presented in the domain of Heaven and humans, heart/mind and Heaven, *dao* and instruments and vital energy, human nature and vital energy, and finally in the good and the bad. Some of these relationships were expressed in a "sudden and perfect" way and some were not. All the surface dualities are integrated in *dao*, which signifies the unceasing power of production and reproduction, and which manifests itself in humans as well as other things. Taking this thesis as the metaphysical background, CHENG Hao's claims regarding the ways of moral practice and cultivation should be easier to understand.

Bibliography

Cheng, Hao 程顥, and Cheng Yi 程頤. 1981. *The Works of the Two Chengs* 二程集. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局. (This is a collection that contains most of the Cheng brothers' writings and conversations. It is an amended edition of *Complete Works of the Two Chengs* 二程全書 published in Qing dynasty.)

Graham, A.C. 1992. *Two Chinese Philosophers: The Metaphysics of the Brothers Ch'êng*. La Salle, Illinois: Open Court Publishing Company. (In this book the author provides an in-depth discussion on the philosophy of Cheng brothers based on their own writings and conversations. He also referred to the interpretations made by Zhu Xi 朱熹.)

Guo, Xiaodong 郭曉東. 2006. *Understanding Humaneness and Stabilizing the Nature* 識仁與定性. Shanghai 上海: Fudan daxue chubanshe 復旦大學出版社. (This is a small book containing a good summary of Cheng Hao's philosophy and its influence.)

Huang, Yong. 2007. "The Cheng Brothers' Onto-theological Articulation of Confucian Values." *Asian Philosophy*, 17:3 187–211.

Mou, Zongsan 牟宗三. 1969. *Onto-cosmological State of the Original Heart/Mind and Human Nature* 心體與性體, vol. 2. Taibei 臺北: Zhengzhong shuju 正中書局. (This work stands out for its extraordinary depth and clarity in the study of Neo-Confucian philosophy of Song and Ming dynasties. It provides a historical as well as philosophical framework to understand various systems of Neo-Confucian philosophy in that period.)

Zhong, Caijun 鍾彩鈞. 1992. "From Naturalism to Teleology: A Study of the General Principles of the Ontology of the Ch'eng Brothers" 二程本體論要旨探究—從自然論向目的論的展開, *Bulletin of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy* 中國文哲研究集刊 2: 385–422. (In this article the author argues that Cheng Hao held an Immanent Vitalism whereas Cheng Yi established a teleology of moral discipline.)

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1986. *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* 朱子語類. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Hu Hong's Philosophy

Hans van Ess

The philosopher Hu Hong 胡宏 (1105–1161; style Renzhong 仁仲, *hao* Wufeng 五峰), played a major role in the process of the transmission of the teachings of the Cheng brothers, Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107) and Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085), to a group of eminent thinkers living at the end of the twelfth century, namely Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137–1181), and Zhang Shi 張栻 (1133–1180) who substantially influenced the path which Confucianism took in the second millennium AD. Hu Hong was born into a family which at the turn of the twelfth century had emigrated from Northern Fujian to the region of Jingmen 荊門 in today's Hubei. When Hu Hong had just passed the age of twenty the Jurchen inflicted a humiliating defeat on the Song army and conquered the northern part of China. In the aftermath of this event, Jingmen became an inhospitable strip of borderland.[1] The Hu family had to leave their home because of the war and founded a new basis at Mount Heng in Hunan. Although they seem to have lost everything they had Hu Hong's father, Hu Anguo 胡安國 (1074–1138), was able to reestablish the family's fortunes by completing his famous commentary to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* in 1137. A year later, Hu Anguo died. According to the account of his life compiled by his adopted son Hu Yin 胡寅 (1098–1156), it was the hardships he underwent when working on the *Annals* that killed him (Hu 1993: 6.149; 25.555, 559).

Hu's commentary became the official interpretation for the *Annals* in the thirteenth century and remained so until the fall of the Ming. The Qing excluded it from the material used in preparing for the civil examinations because Hu Anguo had explained that one of the main aims of the *Annals* was "to expel the

[1] According to Hu Hong, even in 1160, more than 30 years after the war, only 20–30% of the arable land of Jingmen was inhabited (Hu 1987: 117; van Ess 2003a: 281–286).

H. van Ess (✉)
LMU Munich, Department for Asian Studies, Sinologisches Seminar, Kaulbachstr. 51a, 80539 Munich, Germany
e-mail: ess@lmu.de

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*,
Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_6,

© Springer Science+Business media B.V. 2010

barbarians" (*rang yi* 攘夷), a topic which, of course, upset the Manchus.[2] In Southern Song times this topic was received better (van Ess 2006: 85–105). Although for most of his life Hu had refused to serve as an official because of the political circumstances prevailing at court, Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127–1162) rewarded him posthumously with a generous donation of land which became the foundation of the new wealth of the Hu family (Li 1936: 119.1927; Hu 1993: 6.150).

Hu Anguo never studied with the Cheng brothers. Nevertheless, he regarded himself to be their student and was similarly regarded by the community of their followers as well. His activities culminated when at the beginning of the third decade of the twelfth century he, together with Yang Shi (1053–1135), started to compile the *Recorded Conversations* (*Yulu* 語錄) of the Cheng brothers, which marked the beginning of the *daoxue* movement of the Southern Song (van Ess 2005). Firsthand material concerning the thought of the Chengs and that of their major disciples seems to have been in existence throughout Hu Hong's life, a fact crucial to our understanding of his thought. Zhu Xi said that Hu was influenced by Cheng Yi's student Xie Liangzuo (1049–1120?), a claim which Hu himself denied. Hu maintained that he had founded a tradition of the transmission of the thought of the Cheng brothers in his own right. As far as Hu Hong and Hu Yin are concerned, it is clear that their central source of inspiration was not the teachings of other students of the Cheng brothers but their father's commentary to the *Annals*. Hu Yin, who had represented the family as an official at court until he left Hangzhou in 1142 in protest against the peace treaty which the Song had signed with the Jurchen, wrote a moral commentary to Sima Guang's *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒) under the title *My Limited Insights into Reading History* (*Dushi guanjian* 讀史管見) which followed the same style and method Hu Anguo had adopted in his own commentary. Zhu Xi drew heavily on this book in his *Outline of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Tongjian gangmu* 通鑒綱目). In 1141 Hu Hong completed his monumental work *The Great Record of Emperors and Kings* (*Huangwang daji* 皇王大紀) in 80 chapters which is an "account of history from its earliest beginnings down to the end of the Zhou, interspersed with Hu's own clearly labeled comments" (Schirokauer 2004: 121).

Hu never served in government. Apart from a short period at the beginning of the thirties when the Jurchen ravaged Hunan when he had to flee to the South, and from some brief excursions after his arrival in 1130, he stayed at Mount Heng and left the business of official representation of his family's interests to Hu Yin. In 1147 he tried to secure an appointment as director of the Yuelu Academy which he planned to re-establish. It seems, however, that the infamous regent Qin Gui 秦檜 (1090–1155), with whom Hu Anguo had

[2] For this reason, all copies of the Hu Anguo commentary contained in the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* (*Siku qianshu* 四庫全書) were heavily censored. Elsewhere I have dealt with the issue of censorship concerning the work of Hu Anguo and Hu Hong (van Ess 2002, 2004, 2006). See below for the relevance of this topic to Hu Hong's main philosophical work.

initially been on good terms, did not comply with this wish. We know little about Hu Hong's life after that attempt. The only biographical element which is known to have influenced the course of the history of the *daoxue* movement was that 2 months before Hu Hong's death Zhang Shi came to study with him. Zhang Shi was the son of the famous Zhang Jun 張浚 (1097–1164) who had been one of the leaders of the war-faction at court during the 1130s. He became the transmitter of the thought of Hu Hong and the editor of Hu Hong's main philosophical work *Understanding of Words* (*Zhiyan* 知言), a collection of aphoristic sayings written in the style of a "recorded conversations" (*yulu*) but noted down by Hu Hong himself, over a period of several years.

It seems that the arrangement of the text was also done by Hu Hong himself. In its most widespread edition, which goes back to the Ming scholar Cheng Minzheng 程敏政 (1445–1499), *Understanding of Words* is divided into 15 chapters, each of which has a chapter heading. These headings are crucial for understanding the thought of Hu Hong although they have often been neglected in secondary sources. The first of these chapter headings runs "What Heaven has Conferred" (*tian ming* 天命). Of course, this is a quotation from the opening paragraph of the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong*), but also has, as is well-known, the political meaning of "heavenly mandate." The last heading is "The Central Plain" (*zhongyuan* 中原). These two titles suggest that the whole text has something to do with the recovery of the central plain, the territory then governed by the Jurchen. Thus, *Understanding of Words* is probably best understood as a manual on the cultivation of the mind as a prerequisite for recovering the heartland of Chinese culture. Ten paragraphs, the contents of which were heatedly discussed by Zhu Xi, Lü Zuqian, and Zhang Shi, have been shifted together with the comments by these three philosophers to an appendix of the original text by Cheng Minzheng. Today, the results of this discussion are to be found in the collected literary works of Zhu Xi under the heading "Misgivings about Master Hu's *Understanding of Words*" ("Huzi *Zhiyan* yiyi" 胡子知言疑義; Zhu 1980: 73; Hu 1987: 328–337).[3] It is these paragraphs which have attracted the most interest from scholars working on Hu Hong in the twentieth century, a fact which may also be a result of the inclusion of "Misgivings about Master Hu's *Understanding of Words*" in *Song-Yuan Case Studies* (*Song-Yuan xue'an* 宋元學案) in which this discussion makes up the bulk of the information on Hu Hong (Huang and Quan

[3] In the *Complete Collection of the Four Treasuries* (*Siku quanshu jianming mulu* 四庫全書簡明目錄) edition of the *Zhiyan* the 10 paragraphs appear in their original position within the text. However, this edition does not contain chapter headings. The editors of Hu (1987) published the text in the arrangement of Cheng Minzheng but criticized it at the same time (on page eight of their introduction) relying on a statement in the *Annotated General Catalogue of the* Complete Collection of the Four Treasuries (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要) which argues that the chapter headings were added by Ming scholars, probably by Cheng Minzheng himself. Since the *Siku* version deleted the crucial paragraph which provided the heading for the last chapter of the text ("the central plain") their opinion should not be taken too seriously. I have argued for this in more detail in van Ess (2002).

1986: 42.1370–1377).[4] Although the importance of "Misgivings about Master Hu's *Understanding of Words*" should not be underestimated, in this essay I try to do justice to Hu Hong's thought by also taking into account other parts of *Understanding of Words* which have received less attention so far.

Apart from several general introductions into what is generally termed the "school from Huxiang 湖湘" (Zhu 1991; Zhu and Chen 1992) the most important thinker of which is Hu Hong,[5] there are now also several studies on Hu Hong in Chinese (Wang 1978; Lao 1983: 321–328; Chen 1986; Chen 1991; Wang 1996; Xiang 2000) and in Japanese (Okada 1965; Takahata 1996), but virtually nothing has been published on him in any Western language. The few exceptions are Schirokauer (1986, 2003, 2004), Tillman (1992: 29–36), Levey (1994), and van Ess (2002 and 2003b).

The Philosophy of Hu Hong

Main Aims and the Meaning of the Title Understanding of Words

The bulk of the philosophy of Hu Hong is to be found in his main work *Understanding of Words*. In addition, several letters of a philosophical content have been transmitted in Hu Hong's collected work, under the title of "Collection of the [Master] from the Five Summits" (*Wufeng ji*), also edited by Zhang Shi, with the help of Hu Dashi 胡大時, the youngest son of Hu Hong:[6] One letter written to the poet and Buddhist monk Zeng Ji 曾幾 (1084–1166), style Jifu 吉甫, who is called *seng* 僧 (monk) Jifu by Hu Hong, begins with a complaint about the fact that there are so few people with whom one can be humane (*wei ren* 為仁; Hu 1987: 114–117), a topic which is also discussed in a letter with Zhang Shi (Hu 1987: 129) who, as is well-known, himself wrote an explanatory essay about the meaning of humaneness (Tillman 1992: 47–48; see also "Zhang Shi's Philosophical Perspectives on Human Nature, Heart/Mind, Humaneness, and the Supreme Ultimate"). A third important group of philosophical theories is to be found in the letters which Hu Hong sent to a student called Biao Juzheng 彪居正 (Biao Demei 德美, Hu 1987: 134–145). In all these letters Hu Hong stressed the need to apply one's knowledge in practice: "Studying is that whereby one studies to create order" (Hu 1987: 123, letter to Ding Tixing 丁提刑). Also, in his letters to Zhang Shi he says:

[4] There are very few other entries from *Zhiyan* in *Song-Yuan xue'an* (1367–1369 and 1377–1378). Note that the position of the eminent thinker Mou Zongsan (1909–1995) is built mainly on the passages contained in *Song-Yuan xue'an* (Mou 1968: 3.429–545).

[5] Huxiang is roughly the same as today's Hunan.

[6] The text of the whole collection is incorporated without this title in Hu (1987).

> It was the way of the sage kings to be certain to find a function (*yong* 用) once they had found the underlying structure (*ti* 體). When one has the underlying structure but not the function – what difference is there from "the other end" (*Lunyu* 2.16)? The well-field system, the system of enfeoffments, schools, regulations for the army, all these were among the important things for which the sages exerted their heart/minds to the utmost to think about how to bring about function.

Subjects such as the famous well-field system or the bestowal of fiefs mentioned here figure also very prominently in the later chapters of *Understanding of Words* among the means by which Hu Hong thought the world could be changed.[7] It should therefore be stressed again that this text clearly constitutes a plan for a prince and is not to be understood as purely metaphysical philosophy. Nevertheless, Hu Hong thought that in order to achieve success in government it was first necessary to train one's heart/mind. This is the subject of the first part of *Understanding of Words*.

"Understanding of Words" is a quotation from a famous passage in *Mencius* (2A.2), a fact which Hu Hong himself pointed out in one of his letters to his cousin Hu Xian 胡憲 (Hu 1987: 122) as well as at several places in his treatise itself. Mencius had stressed the importance of knowing or understanding the words of others who held different opinions so as to be able to refute them, and he characterized these words as one-sided, extravagant, depraved, and evasive (Legge 1861-: 2:191). In Hu Hong's letter, understanding the words of others is turned into understanding the wrong words propagated by the Buddhists. This is also emphasized in *Understanding of Words*:

> The Buddhists spy into the heart-organ and say therefore that they are all-encompassing. Yet, they do not know how to stick to their place. Therefore they regard human relationships and norms (*li*) as something external and act carelessly. It is not worth discussing the way of Confucius and Mencius with them. Only after one has understood the norms for the changes and transformations of the creative (*qian*) and the receptive (*kun*) and for the way by which the ten-thousand beings receive their destiny can one start to do good things with those who believe in the teachings of the six ways of transmigration, and who believe in such one-sided, extravagant, depraved, and evasive expressions. (Hu 1987: 22)

Only two sentences later, Hu Hong says: "When someone is able to strengthen himself at the place where he walks with his feet, he certainly will not endanger himself by relying on the extravagant and evasive expressions of the Buddhists." Thus, it is clear that the title "Understanding of Words" has to be understood as a critique of Buddhism. Or, to put it differently, Hu Hong's philosophy is an attempt to challenge the intellectual dominance which Buddhist ideas held at his time.[8] We may thus say that as the ultimate goal of his philosophy it was

---

[7] The well field system is mentioned in Chapter 3 (6), 7 (2x in 10 and 12), 8 (29), 10 (19), 13 (6), in 14 (23) and in 15 (9). Fiefs are mentioned in 4 (16), 8 (2), 10 (1), 13 (6), 15 (13, 14 and 15).

[8] One more direct reference to *Mengzi* 2A.2 is made in the second paragraph of Chapter 6 of *Zhiyan*. The reader is here reminded that in 1133/34 Hu Hong's brother, Hu Yin, wrote a strongly anti-Buddhist pamphlet *Revering Correctness* (*Chongzheng pian* 崇正篇) which is contained as part I in Hu Yin (1993) and discussed in van Ess (2003: 172–192).

Hu Hong's aim to challenge Buddhism and to start a process of Confucian self-examination because he thought that this was the first step to a recovery of the central plain. Interestingly, his main references for this agenda were the *Four Books*. Zhu Xi is usually said to have been responsible for the formation of this canon. Yet, it is clear that it is Hu Hong who should actually be given credit for this innovation.

The Heart/Mind and the Nature

Hu Hong was the first scholar of the *daoxue*-movement whose overall stress lay on the importance of the concept of the heart/mind (*xin* 心), a category which, of course, was central to Buddhist philosophy as well. Thus, although this is not mentioned in most histories of Chinese philosophy, it is reasonable to say that he was an immediate predecessor of Lu Jiuyuan (1139–1192) and later, of Wang Yangming (1472–1529). *Understanding of Words* apparently began with a paragraph in which Hu Hong clarified what he meant by "heart/mind" and the "nature" (*xing* 性):

> What is conferred by heaven is called the nature. The nature is the great root of all under heaven. Why was it that among Yao 堯, Shun 舜, Yu 禹, Tang 湯, King Wen 文王, and Zhongni 仲尼, those who reigned before [the next sage king] commanded those who came later, using the word "heart/mind" and not the "nature"? My answer is: The heart/mind is the one organ which knows heaven and earth, which directs the ten-thousand things, and which thereby completes the nature. The six superior men were men who exhausted their heart/mind, and thus were able to establish the great root of all under heaven. Until this day, we can rely on that.[9]

Hu Hong is referring here to the opening sentence of the seventh chapter of *Mencius*.[10] Yet, he also alludes to a concept his father Hu Anguo had developed in the preface to his commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. There, Hu Anguo had described that text as "a central statute for the transmission of the heart/mind [of Confucius] whose intention went beyond [mere] history." This again was a formulation which, on the one hand, went back to Buddhist precedents but, on the other, was reformulated in Confucian terms.[11] The

[9] This paragraph was removed from the main text in the block printings going back to Cheng Minzheng as well as in the modern edition because it was the first paragraph which Zhu Xi discussed with Lü Zuqian and Zhang Shi and was thus included separately in the "Misgivings about Master Hu's *Understanding of Words*." The chapter "Tian ming," which also uses the text of the beginning of this paragraph, indicates that the paragraph was indeed the first one of the whole text. Compare Tillman (1992: 30).

[10] *Mencius* 7A.1: "He who has exhausted his hearr/mind knows his nature. Knowing his nature, he knows heaven."

[11] I have dealt with this subject in van Ess (2003: 204).

heart/mind did not produce illusions: it was the political mind of Confucius and the other sages who had laid the foundations for the well-being of the world.[12] In the last paragraph of the first chapter of *Understanding of Words* Hu Hong said: "What heaven has conferred is the nature. The nature of man is the heart/mind" (Hu 1987: 4). This sentence reduces human nature to the capacities of the heart/mind. Absolutely central to an understanding of Hu Hong is the fact that he thought that consciousness and thinking were those elements which constituted the human condition. In this he greatly differed from Zhu Xi for whom the heart/mind was far less relevant than the nature.

Just as in later times Wang Yangming stressed the unity of knowledge and action, Hu Hong was very much concerned with the two virtues of knowledge (*zhi* 知) and humaneness (*ren* 仁) which, of course, constitute a pair of categories as early as in the *Analects* and which for Hu Hong are the two main capacities of the heart/mind:

> Once there is this heart/mind, then there is knowledge. Without this heart/mind there is no knowledge. Among those men who use clever words and insinuating appearances there has never been one who was able to act humanely once he had lost his heart/mind to superficialities and falsehood. (Hu 1987: 11)[13]

Yet, although Hu Hong said that knowledge is directly related to the heart/mind, he rejected the idea that man is born with knowledge:

> No human being has knowledge when he/she is born. Only after they have been able to become close to a teacher and to make [appropriate] friends do they have knowledge. Thus it is after one knows about crisis that one can plan for stability. It is after one knows destruction that one can plan for preservation. It is after one knows disorder that one can plan for order.... How great is knowledge! Of the ten thousand things in the world none has priority over knowledge. Therefore the superior man must first extend his knowledge. (Hu 1987: 43)[14]

Only the sages were exceptions to the rule that men are born without knowledge (Hu 1987: 14). Despite this, Confucius himself had stated he did not belong to those who had knowledge at their birth (*Analects* 7.20 and 16.9), so one had to go back into far antiquity in order to find human beings which were above the average with regard to this matter.

The heart/mind is concerned only with existing things: "What exists is visible because it coalesces. We call it existing because by means of our eyes we know that it exists. Therefore we call non-existing what is dispersed so that it can not be seen. What exists is real and 'can be trampled under the feet' [*Zhongyong*; Legge 1879-: 389]. We call it existing because by means of our heart/mind we know that it exists. Therefore what is irrelevant and cannot be trampled under the feet we call non-existing" (Hu 1987: 12). "What can be trampled under the

[12] Wang Kaifu (1978: 87) suggests that this is also in accordance with the views of Cheng Hao.

[13] Compare *Analects* 1.3.

[14] Compare the translation in Schirokauer (1986: 485).

feet" is in the *Doctrine of the Mean* opposed to the mean itself and is, thus, of secondary importance. Yet, for Hu Hong it should be the central concern of man. This idea is also reflected in his idea that man should not give external things the power to control him:

> Man has the ten thousand things at his disposal and the worthy are able to incorporate the ten thousand things. Therefore the ten thousand things will operate for him. The things do not have him at their disposal. Therefore the things are not able to incorporate him. What greater lack of wisdom could there be than drudging for the ten thousand things while one should not drudge for them? (Hu 1987: 22)

Again, Hu Hong alludes to *Mencius* who had stated that man has the 10,000 things at his disposal.[15] This topic is mentioned eight times in *Understanding of Words*,[16] especially in a thread of paragraphs in which Hu Hong stresses the difference between man and other beings. It is the heart/mind and its capacity to think which distinguish man from animals and which turn him into the "ultimate [expression of] the nature" (*xing zhi ji* 性之極) (Hu 1987: 14). Although objectively speaking it may seem that knowledge can develop only when affairs come into one's reach, there is also a subjective perspective which is very important to Hu Hong:

> From the perspective of others who look at us, when affairs come, knowledge arises and our humaneness can be seen. As long as affairs do not come knowledge does not arise. Therefore our humaneness cannot be seen. From our own perspective, however, the heart/mind flows together with heaven and earth. What gap should there be between them? (Hu 1987: 12; compare Wang 1978: 48)

This paragraph is interesting in so far as it differentiates between what others who look at our heart/mind and our knowledge think and what we ourselves subjectively perceive to be the function of our heart/mind. For Hu, the heart/mind definitely is more than an organ that thinks. It is transcendent and eternal:

> A disciple asked: Is the heart/mind subject to life and death?
> Master Hu: No, it is not.
> Disciple: In that case, when someone dies where is the heart/mind?
> Master Hu: You already know of its death and yet you ask where it is?
> Disciple: What do you mean?
> Master Hu: It is only because it is not dead that you know it. What is the problem?
> Disciple: I don't understand.

[15] *Mencius* 7A.4: "All things are complete in us. There is no greater delight than to be conscious of sincerity on self-examination. If one acts with a vigorous effort at the law of reciprocity, when he seeks for the realization of perfect virtue, nothing can be closer than his approximation to it" (Legge 1879-: 450).

[16] Once in Chapter 1, three times in Chapter 5, once in Chapter 6, once in Chapter 8 and once in Chapter 14.

Master Hu (laughing): Your obtuseness really is too much! If you consider the heart/mind not in terms of shape, but in terms of heart/mind, you understand it. (Hu 1987: 333)[17]

One further paragraph adds that the heart/mind is everywhere and that it forms a trinity with heaven and earth and has the 10,000 things at its disposal (Hu 1987: 331). There is thus a superhuman heart/mind working in the world. This heart/mind is able to recognize truth, a truth which is the source of order in the world. Since the superhuman heart/mind, which is always operative in the world, is the heart/mind of heaven and earth it naturally produces the best order possible. The sages were in complete accord with heaven and earth and were thus able to pass this heart/mind to later generations in the form of human thinking and in written texts. Did Zhu Xi miss this point when he criticized Hu Hong saying that his conception of the heart/mind came very close to the "Buddhist theory of transmigration"?

> I have discussed the sentence "the nature is neither good nor bad" in detail before. The sentence "the heart/mind is not subject to life and death" is almost the same as the Buddhist theory of transmigration. When heaven and earth engendered beings, man received their best part and became most intelligent. What is meant by the heart/mind is the nature of being capaciously intelligent and having consciousness. This is nothing other than the ears and eyes having the power to see and hear. Between heaven and earth it penetrates old and new without attaining perfection or decay. In men and other living beings, however, it has a beginning and an end in accordance with the body and with *qi*. Once one has understood that the pattern is the same but that the [two] parts are different, what need is there for a theory that the heart/mind is not subject to life and death—a view which merely serves to startle students? (Hu 1987: 333)

Zhu Xi also recognized a transcendent heart/mind which does not die and which penetrates history. Clearly, there is a religious dimension to the thought of Hu Hong and Zhu Xi. Whereas for Zhu Xi there is no need to see a direct relationship between the eternal heart/mind of heaven and earth and the mortal one of living beings, for Hu Hong the heart/mind seems to have been more. One might think that his answer came quite close to the answers which Chan masters gave when their students asked for help with the solution of a difficult *gong'an* 公案. Yet, one can also understand that he hinted at an immortal soul which was inherent in the mortal aspect of the heart/mind.

Interestingly, the "nature" which Hu Hong declares to be the "great root" (Hu 1987: 41, 328) of the world is not just "human nature" (Hu 1987: 328), as is often assumed because of the Mencian discussions of human nature; it sometimes comes quite close to the overall category of "nature" in European philosophy. Everything which belongs to the common behavior of men belongs to the nature. Even the intercourse between men and women, which was reviled by some because of potential dangers inherent in it, is declared as normal and good by Hu Hong (Hu 1987: 3, 7).

---

[17] The translation is by Conrad Schirokauer (1986: 490). I have changed Schirokauer's "mind" to "heart/mind" in my translation of *xin*. Compare Wang Kaifu (1978: 48–49).

> The sage, too, has everything which exists by heavenly ordination and which the average man therefore has. Some people think that the emotions are a burden, yet the sage does not eliminate the emotions. Some people think that talent can do harm, but the sage does not criticize talent. Some people think that desires are not good, but the sage does not cut off the desires. (Hu 1987: 333)

Yet, Hu also says that the "nature establishes everything which exists in the world" (Hu 1987: 21), that the 10,000 things and the 10,000 affairs are the "material of the nature" (*xing zhi zhi* 性之質) (Hu 1987: 14) and also that "the nature is that because of which heaven and earth stand" (Hu 1987: 333). Finally, he says that all "ten thousand patterns are contained in the nature" and that "the ten thousand things are all contained in the nature" (Hu 1987: 28). Thus, it seems that Hu Hong used the word "nature" in most cases for the entirety of naturally existing things. Just as with the heart/mind, in Hu Hong's philosophy, the nature is removed from its exclusive relationship to man. With this approach Hu differs markedly from Zhu Xi who thought that one should concentrate on one's own nature by meditation. Hu Hong believed that the heart/mind—which, somewhat confusingly, he several times gave the same designation as nature, namely the "great root" (Hu 1987: 38, 42)—was the organ which really counted. This is why, much to Zhu Xi's dismay, he said that the nature was not to be described in terms of good or bad:

> "As for the nature, it is the mystery of heaven, earth, demons, and gods. The word 'good' is not adequate to describe it, how much less so the word 'bad'?" Someone asked: "What do you mean by that?" I answered: "I have heard this from my late father: 'The reason Mencius alone stands out from the standard of all other Confucians is that he knew the nature.' I asked him: 'What do you mean by that?' My late father answered: 'When Mencius said that the nature was good he used the word only as an expression of sighing admiration, not with the opposite meaning to "bad" '." (Hu 1987: 333)

Thus, both the heart and nature have to be understood as words for cosmic principles which extend far beyond the human condition.

Nevertheless, the cosmic dimension also had to be projected back into human experience: just as with Mencius (6A.11) Hu Hong explained "humaneness" as the "way of the heart/mind" (Hu 1987: 1). He also said: "Humaneness is the heart/mind of heaven and earth; if the heart/mind is not completely put to work, it can happen that a superior man is not humane" (Hu 1987: 4). For Hu, someone who does not incorporate all things, even though they are at one's disposal, is inhumane (Hu 1987: 4). He adds that the right way consists of structure and function (*ti yong*): "Humaneness is the structure whereas rightness is the function. To be able to put these two virtues together is the way" (Hu 1987: 10).

As with many other Confucian philosophers Hu Hong only rarely gives precise definitions of his philosophical categories. When his student Biao Juzheng asked about humaneness, Hu Hong answered: "If you want to act humanely you first have to understand the structure of humaneness." Asked what this structure was, he said: "The way of humaneness is extremely great and yet deeply pertinent. The one who knows can exhaust its meaning with one

word whereas the one who does not know will not understand it even if he sets up thousands and tens of thousands of words. The one who is able [to be humane] will raise it with one affair whereas the one who is unable will not be able [to act humanely] even if he points to thousands and tens of thousands of affairs." Biao Juzheng apparently thought he understood what his teacher meant and asked: "When the ten thousand things are one with me can I take this as the structure in which humaneness prevails?" Yet Hu Hong answered that the human heart/mind is incapable of mastering such a complex task as becoming one with the 10,000 things. On another occasion, a student who was convinced that the "reason a person is not humane is that he has lost his heart/mind," asked Hu whether one could still look for one's heart/mind after one had already "lost it" (*Mengzi* 6A.11). He answered: "When the King of Qi saw the ox and could not bear for it to be slaughtered, that was the sprout of the originally good heart/mind seen in the midst of desire for profit. Once you see it, hold fast and preserve it, preserve it and nourish it, nourish and fulfill it so that it becomes enlarged. When it is great and cannot be stopped, it will be identical to heaven. This heart/mind is in (all) people, but the beginnings of its expression differ. What matters is to perceive it, that's all" (Hu 1987: 334–335).[18]

The search for the lost heart/mind is one of the major themes in *Understanding of Words* (compare also Hu 1987: 331). Why was this so important to Hu Hong? The reason should be looked for in the paramount importance of the relationship between humans and things. This is the topic which constitutes the center of all his thinking and endeavors.

*To Incorporate Things and Put Them in Order (***ti** 體 *and* **li** 理*)*

What has been translated as "structure" throughout this essay is the word "*ti"* the original meaning of which is "member of a body." This word is often rendered in English language treatments of *daoxue* texts as "substance," a translation which, unfortunately, does not really make sense in Hu Hong's context. He frequently speaks of "*ti"* in a verbal sense. When speaking of the 10,000 things in his first chapter he says that one is not humane, so long as there is still one of them left which has not been made a member, or as long as one has not "incorporated" it (Hu 1987: 4). In a paragraph in his eighth chapter, quoted above, he says that the worthy has to incorporate (*ti*) the 10,000 things and not let himself be incorporated by them. The meaning obviously is that one should not become the object of things but always keep control over them. Here, too, it seems that to "*ti"* someone or something means to make him or it a member of one's own entourage.[19] In the second paragraph of Chapter 6 dealing

[18] Schirokauer (1986: 484). I have changed Schirokauer's "mind" to "heart/mind."

[19] Wang Kaifu understands "*ti"* as "*ticha* 體察": "thoroughly experience and observe" which I do not think is consistent with the other instances in which *ti* is used.

with the very passage from the *Mengzi* text which is the source for the title of *Understanding of Words* Hu Hong says that to exhaust the nature means personally to follow the way, righteously to put things in their place, to let one's *qi* 氣 flow together with the right way and to do all this harmoniously when watching, hearing, speaking, and moving. He adds: "Now, that which in the nature incorporates everything is the heart/mind. Who is able to form a triad with heaven and earth without becoming a thing (*wu* 物)?" (Hu 1987: 16). Here we could also understand *ti* as "to structure a thing," a translation which would also make perfect sense in the 11th chapter, where Hu Hong says with reference to the command of heaven (*tian ming* 天命) that "the sage incorporated—or structured—it without interruption" (Hu 1987: 30). In Chapter 14 he adds that "the sage obeyed the nature of the 10,000 things" and that he "structured" and "enlightened them" so that each of them was put to its appropriate use, "without one single thing being left out" (Hu 1987: 41).

In his tenth chapter Hu Hong tells us that all 10,000 patterns are included in the nature and that the average Confucians understood the nature only with reference to one pattern. None of them was able to see the complete structure (*quan ti* 全體) of what is "commanded by heaven" (Hu 1987: 28). A similar point is made in Chapter 13 (Hu 1987: 39). In Chapter 11 Hu argues that *li* 理, translated here as "norm," is "the grand structure of the world" (天下之大體) (Hu 1987: 29), a combination which also shows up in the twelfth chapter (Hu 1987: 34). In Chapter 2 we read that there is a fixed structure (*ti*) for rightness, which clearly means that there is a fixed set of rules to be adhered to, whereas there is no fixed function of humaneness (Hu 1987: 5). The same chapter tells us that laws and regulations (*fazhi* 法制) are the open side of the way and virtue (*daode* 道德) and that to be without laws and regulations is to be without function (*yong*) whereas to be without the way and virtue is to be without structure (*ti*) (Hu 1987: 6). He declares that the possession of emotions and the lack of emotions are the same structure but different in function (Hu 1987: 9, Tillman 1992: 34), a saying which goes together with another famous one: "Likes and dislikes belong to the nature. The small man likes and dislikes according to himself whereas the superior man likes and dislikes according to the right way. If you look at this then you can understand [the difference between] heavenly norms and human desires" (Hu 1987: 330; compare Tillman 1992: 34).

One should have all of these passages in mind when looking at the last of those paragraphs which Zhu Xi, Lü Zuqian, and Zhang Shi had paid special attention to:

> Heaven and earth are the parents of the sage, and the sage is the son of heaven and earth. Once there are parents then there is a son; once there is a son then there are parents. This is why the ten thousand things become apparent and why the right way has got its name. It is not the sage who was able to name the way, but once there was this way, there was also this name. The sage identified clarity at its structure (*ti*) and called it the "nature," and identified clarity at its function (*yong*) and called it "heart/mind." The nature cannot but move, and once it moves it is the heart/mind. The sages transmitted the heart/mind and taught the world to be humane. (Hu 1987: 336)

For Hu Hong, the "nature" is the structured completeness of all things as well as the whole potential of human nature, and the heart/mind is the governing principle of the nature as well as the thinking force within each human being. Hence, to "incorporate things" (*tiwu* 體物) means to take all things out of the completeness of the nature which is at one's disposal and to make them subject to oneself. Absolutely central to Hu Hong's thinking is the notion that as soon as there are human beings, then their heart/minds become active. The state when feelings are not yet aroused as described in the introductory paragraph of the *Doctrine of the Mean* exists only in theory. Hence, it is not necessary to concentrate on it. Zhu Xi was deeply concerned with this approach and criticized it severely. He suggested that one should change the word "heart/mind" to "feelings" (*qing* 情) in all the paragraphs concerned (Hu 1987: 336) because for him it was vital to preserve a state of heart/mind which was not aroused. Meditation, a mental practice, served to help man to return to the original state of his nature.

"*Li"* meaning "pattern" or also "norm" is a concept frequently mentioned by Hu Hong. In Chapter 2 Hu Hong says that the Buddhists are egoistic because they want to leave the cycle of death and birth. Just as there is a period of rest in the way of heaven, the life of man naturally (*li*) has a beginning and an end (Hu 1987: 4). Chapter 3 states: "It is normal (*li ye*) that things are born and die. When they are born they become visible because they coalesce. Then they constitute existing [things]. When they die they are dispersed and become invisible. Then they constitute non-existing [things]. Now, that which can be seen because of its being existent or non-existent is the form of things. The norm of things has never had an existence or non-existence" (Hu 1987: 8). What Hu Hong wants to say here is that there is an ideal form—a Platonic idea—a norm or a pattern of a thing which cannot be described in terms of "existent" or "non-existent."

The old meaning of *li* was "order," and as such it was opposed to "chaos" (*luan* 亂). However, in works dealing with *daoxue* terminology the word is often translated as "principle" or "pattern." "*Yili* 義理," a combination which forms the title of Chapter 11 of *Understanding of Words* is often rendered as "moral principle" which, unfortunately, does not accord with Hu Hong's usage. The first sentence of Chapter 11, for example, runs: "Rightness (*yi* 義) and *li* are the nature of the manifold living things. Once rightness presides and *li* is clear, then the manifold living things will come and look up [to the one who rules]" (Hu 1987: 29). It seems reasonable to understand "*li*" here as "order" or "norm."

Yet, before proceeding further, again is necessary to look at Hu Hong's use of the word "*li* 理" as a verb which frequently seems to have a meaning very similar to "*ti* 體." This observation may help us to gain a clearer understanding of the concept. In Chapter 1 he writes:

> The Buddhists make their hearts/minds stable but do not put their affairs in order (*li*). Therefore when hearing their words one has the impression that they should penetrate

> [to the truth], but when checking their behavior [we realize that] they are upside down. Confucians keep their affairs in order and have a limit for their heart/minds. Therefore inwardly they do not fail in self-perfection, and outwardly they do not fail in the perfection of things. They can assist in the process of transformation and nourishment and form a trinity with heaven and earth. (Hu 1987: 3)[20]

The same reproach occurs in Chapter 14: "The Buddhists in secret do not know how to serve heaven whereas in public they do not know how to order (*li*) things" (Hu 1987: 41). Then, only three paragraphs later: "To serve heaven and to order things, this is the great enterprise of a Confucian."

Similarly, in Chapter 5 it is said that the sage harmonizes and orders (*li*) the 10,000 things and that this is why men take him as heaven and earth (Hu 1987: 14); then in Chapter 9 "there is nothing which the one who is humane does not love. Therefore he takes 'this erudition' as his task, orders the 10,000 things and forms a trinity with heaven and earth" (Hu 1987: 25). The third paragraph of Chapter 11 states: "If you place them according to the principle of rightness and obtain order (*li*), then the others will not become disorderly. If you treat them respectfully so that love prevails, the objects [of your treatment] will not strive. If you guard this correctly and enact this evenly then the affairs will not take a rebellious course and the world will be in order." Finally in Chapter 14: "There are three great ones in the empire: The great root, the great incipient, and the great law.... The great law is the three bonds.... When you enact the great law then you can order the world" (Hu 1987: 42).

Emphasis is also given to the world in the last chapter where Hu Hong says that the hierarchy of officials has to be corrected before the world can be put in order (*li*) and where the sage is said to be a person who as a single man can order the virtuous nature of all other men and bring their striving and struggling to an end (Hu 1987: 44). It is thus evident that in Hu Hong's usage, the verbal meaning of "*li*" is "to order." This verbal meaning should also influence our understanding of "*li*" as a noun. Consider his definition of *li* given in Chapter 11: "理也者，天下之大體也." If we were to adopt conventional terminology this might be rendered as "principle is the great substance of the world." Hu Hong, however, wants to say something radically different from this:

> The one who rules the world must necessarily base himself on norms/order and rightness. Norms are the great structure of the empire. Rightness is the great function of the world. Norms have to be clear and rightness has to be refined. Once the norms are clear, bonds and guidelines can be corrected; once rightness is refined, the scales can be balanced. When bonds and guidelines are corrected and the scales balanced then the ten thousand affairs can be governed, the hundred clans submitted and all within the four seas can be unified. Now, the norms are what is decreed by heaven whereas rightness comes from the heart/mind of man. Heaven's decree is most subtle; the heart/mind of man loves activity.[21] Because [heaven's decree] is subtle it is hard to know, and because

[20] Compare *Zhongyong* (Legge 1879-: 416).

[21] Compare the famous passage on the heart/mind of man and the heart/mind of the right way in the *Book of Documents*: "The mind of man is restless, prone to err; its affinity for the right way is small" (Legge 1861-: 3:61).

> [the heart/mind] is active it can easily run into disorder. For those who want to make apparent what is subtle, as well as for those who want to calm activities, nothing is better than to learn. (Hu 1987: 29)

The paragraph shows that for HU Hong norms was an abstract category. We have seen above that the "nature of man is the heart/mind." Hence, man has to strive to come as close as possible to the example set by heaven, although only the sage will be able to come into complete accord with it. The primary recipient of this text is the ruler. This is the man who is designated as a "sage" in his appellation, who wants to become a real sage and who wants to put the empire in order. This does, of course, not exclude other readers from practicing on a smaller level what HU Hong recommends, namely to learn how to become a sage. Learning is demanded because this is the means to quell negative activities arising in any human heart/mind, and the heart/mind is the organ which allows man to come closer to the goal of congruency with the norms set by heaven. This is the rationale behind the famous paragraph about heavenly norms and human desires: "Heavenly norms and human desires are structured in the same way but come into function differently. Although one acts the same way, there are different feelings. The superior man who seeks to improve himself should clearly keep these two apart" (Hu 1987: 329). HU Hong means that there is an ideal form for how human desires—which belong to human nature—should be enjoyed. Yet, since there is always a human component in them it is very difficult to act in accordance with these norms. Thus, for example a man's love for a woman is perfectly in accordance with his heavenly destined nature, but in this love he may well have egoistic feelings which may lead to problems in his household. These feelings should be removed in order to get closer to the ideal of heavenly norms. Yet, since feelings are natural, this attempt is difficult and can be successful only when man works hard to improve himself. The same statement is made in what has been quoted above already: "Likes and dislikes belong to the nature. The small man likes and dislikes according to himself whereas the superior man likes and dislikes according to the right way. If you look at this then you can understand [the difference between] heavenly norms and human desires" (Hu 1987: 330).

ZHU Xi strongly criticized this understanding of both heavenly norms and human desires. For Zhu, heavenly norms are not, as HU Hong thought, an abstract ideal that is extremely difficult to approach due to one's inborn human desires. On the contrary, heavenly norms belong to man's inborn nature whereas human desires develop only due to the negative effects of inappropriate socialization, bad habituation, or physical problems such as an imbalanced mixture of *qi* (Hu 1987: 329). Therefore, when commenting on HU Hong's remarks about likes and dislikes belonging to nature, he wrote:

> This paragraph precisely has the meaning that the nature is neither good nor bad. Should that be the case, then the nature would just dispose of likes and dislikes and have no models for good and bad.... When Master YANG [Shi] from Turtle-Mountain (Guishan 龜山, YANG Shi's courtesy name) said: "Heaven's decree is the nature, and human desires are not the nature" he pertinently hit upon the meaning of [a line from

> the *Odes*, quoted before, concerning the virtuous nature of human disposition]. Yet, Master Hu refuted it. He was mistaken! (Hu 1987: 330)

There are several more passages in which Hu Hong praises heavenly norms. In Chapter 10, for example, he calls the *Annals* the best source by which to purify human desires and re-establish heavenly norms (Hu 1987: 28). Interestingly, many of the relevant passages are concerned with the political structure of the world such as in Chapter 14 where the absence of heavenly norms is said to provoke the invasion of barbarians (Hu 1987: 42) or in Chapter 15 where the bestowal of fiefs is called the means by which emperors and kings obeyed heavenly norms (Hu 1987: 47). "Heavenly norms" here seems to mean good social practice.

It has already been mentioned that Hu Hong strongly emphasized the ultimate goal of forming a trinity with heaven and earth, to be achieved only when all things are put in order. The superior man is a person who does not himself act but in whose realm all things nevertheless get their appropriate lot (各當其分) (Hu 1987: 3). This is according to Hu Hong's interpretation what was meant by the famous saying 2.4 from the *Analects*. There Confucius is said to have known heavenly destiny at the age of fifty: at this time he was able to "flow together with the 10,000 things and to place them in such a way that each one got its lot" (與萬物同流，處之各得其分也) (Hu 1987: 32). Again, there is a clear connection to politics. In Chapter 3 (Hu 1987: 8) Hu Hong says that a situation in which each man finds his place (各得其所) can be reached only when the well-field system is reenacted. In Chapter 8 he says that when "the sage puts the empire in order his ultimate goal is to let the 10,000 things each find its place; for this, the well-field system and the bestowal of fiefs are the great law" (Hu 1987: 21). Chapter 5 relates the correct use of institutions and punishments as the means by which the sage harmonizes and orders the 10,000 things and lets them each find their place. "This is a situation which men take as their heaven and earth" (Hu 1987: 14). The culmination of this argument is to be found in Chapter 14 of *Understanding of Words*:

> The one who wants to cultivate himself and pacify the empire first has to know heaven. The one who wants to know heaven, first has to recognize the heart/mind. The one who wants to recognize the heart/mind first has to recognize the creative force (*qian* 乾). The creative force is the nature and feeling of heaven. The way of the creative force changes and transforms and has, for each case, the correct nature and decree. This is why the decree never stops, why nature never is one, and why the ten thousand things are different in ten thousand ways. As for the nature of the ten thousand, each has its own lot (各有分) as far as its movement, engendering power, size, or height is concerned. If he follows their nature and does not disturb them with his desires, then there will be not a single thing which does not find its place (不得其所). Who but the one who knows the right way is able to recognize this? Therefore the sage obeys the nature of the ten thousand things, he treats the five social arrangements with generosity, he harmonizes the five ceremonies, he decorates the five uniforms, and he uses the five punishments.[22] There are differences between the worthy and the stupid; there are [different]

[22] *Book of Documents* (Legge 1861-: 3:73–74).

> relationships for those who are close and those who are distant; there is a sequence for the noble and the humble and a hierarchy for high and low; and there is a balance for light and heavy. He incorporates the ten thousand things and enlightens them so that each finds its appropriate function (當其用) and not one single object is left out. We may call the teaching of the sage excellent, indeed! (Hu 1987: 41)

Hu Hong apparently understood the world as a system which had been brought into disorder because of moral failure. His idea was that the old world order could be recovered by introducing conservative reforms. The well-field system and the awarding of fiefs are subjects that frequently show up in his treatise and in his other writings. Most probably the fact that Hu Hong stressed these topics so much was a reaction to the practical problems which Hu Hong and his family had encountered after the turmoil created by the invasion of the Jurchen. The land where the Hu had settled was lost and it seems that the distribution of landed property in the territory near the border with the Jurchen was chaotic.[23]

This may be the practical background for Hu Hong's appeal to order and for his attempt to give a proper place in society to every human being. The order of the world was *li*, and although every single thing in this world had an ideal *li* form it seems that *norms* for Hu Hong were first of all a set of several elements of moral behavior coupled with ancient institutional patterns which, according to Hu Hong, had to be reenacted. Learning from *Understanding of Words* one could ultimately be able to reestablish an ideal form of society the loss of which had taken place much earlier than at the time of the Song.

Conclusion

Maybe it is surprising to find that the treatise *Understanding of Words* is predominantly concerned with order and not with metaphysical principles. However to achieve this order philosophical premises must first be established. Order evolves out of individual human beings who are able to structure and to order their surroundings. To collect things, to incorporate and order them so that each one can find its appropriate place—this is what to be humane means, and this is also what finally constitutes true knowledge. To achieve this goal man has to train his heart by learning. Only then will he be able to form a trinity with heaven and earth. Zhu Xi disapproved of the idea that in order to act humanely one first had to study and to recognize the structure of humaneness (Hu 1987: 335). He thought that humaneness was already an inherent aspect of human nature. Hu Hong, however, was convinced that the central task of man was to use his heart/mind and to learn before he could act in a humane way.

The first and most important addressee of what is outlined in *Understanding of Words* is the ruler. He is the one who is asked to improve his heart/mind. Of course, other men are invited to do the same—and it is clear that Hu Hong must

---

[23] I have dealt with this problem in van Ess (2003a: 281–286).

have taught ordinary students because he was aware of the fact that the emperor was not within his reach. Yet, it is clear that in order to make HU Hong's philosophical system work, one at least had to have things, subjects, or simply other people at one's disposal. Thus, his concept of humaneness was particularly suitable to heads of clans, or to those who, as he stressed several times, should be enfeoffed in order to stabilize the territory. The overall concern of *Understanding of Words* was to stabilize a land which was in disarray. The establishment of feudal lords is recommended several times, especially in the latter part of the text. With the help of this group of people HU Hong wanted his dynasty to strengthen the state and recover the lost homeland of his father and of Chinese civilization.

Bibliography

Chen, Gujia 陳穀嘉. 1991. *Research on ZHANG Shi and the Huxiang School of Thought* 張栻與湖湘學派研究. Changsha 長沙: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe 湖南教育出版社. (Historical overview over the influence which ZHANG Shi had on the development of the school founded by HU Hong.)

Chen, Qizhu 陳祺助. 1986. *Research on HU Hong's Theory of Heart/Mind and the Nature* 胡五峰之心性論研究. (Masters thesis submitted at the Guoli Gaoxiong shifan xueyuan 國立高雄師範學院, which includes discussions of HU Hong's relationship to ZHOU Dunyi, ZHANG Zai, and the Cheng brothers; of his own philosophy; and a chronological biography).

Hu, Hong 胡宏. 1987. *Collected Works of HU Hong* 胡宏集. Beijing 北京 : Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Hu, Yin 胡寅. 1993. *Collection of the Accomplished* 斐然集. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Huang, Zongxi 黃宗羲 and QUAN Zuwang 全祖望. 1986. *Song-Yuan Case Studies* 宋元學案. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Lao, Siguang 勞思光. 1983. *History of Chinese Philosophy* 中國哲學史. Taibei 臺北: Sanmin shuju 三民書局.

Legge, James 1861–1872 and 1879–1895. *The Chinese Classics* vols. 1–5. Hong Kong and London: Oxford University Press.

Levey, Mathew. 1994. "The Clan and the Tree: Inconsistent Images of Human Nature in Chu Hsi's 'Settled Discourse.'" *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 24: 101–143.

Li, Xinchuan 李心傳. 1936. *Digest of the Yearly Events since the* Jianyan *Period* 建炎以來繫年要錄. Shanghai 上海: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.

Mou, Zongsan 牟宗三. 1968–1969. *Onto-cosmological State of the Original Heart/Mind and Human Nature* 心體與性體. Taibei 臺北: Zhengzhong 正中.

Okada, Takahiko 岡田武彥. 1965. "HU Wufeng 胡五峰." *Tōyō bunka* 東洋文化 10: 23–33.

Schirokauer, Conrad. 1986. "Chu Hsi and Hu Hung." In *Chu Hsi*, edited by Wing-tsit Chan. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Schirokauer, Conrad. 2003. "Hu Hung." In Antonio S. Cua (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Chinese Philosophy*. New York: Routledge.

Schirokauer, Conrad. 2004. "HU Hung as a Historian." In Thomas H.C. Lee (ed.), *The New and the Multiple: Sung Senses of the Past*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

Takahata, Tsunenobu 高畑常信. 1996. *Research on the Song School from Hunan* 宋代湖南學の研究. Tokyo: Matsuyama Shoten.

Tillman, Hoyt Cleveland. 1992. *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

van Ess, Hans. 2002. "Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu Editions of Sung Dynasty Texts and the Yung-lo ta-tien." *Asiatische Studien* 56: 635–646. (Discussion of textual problems in the *Siku quanshu* editions of Hu Anguo's and Hu Hong's works.)

van Ess, Hans. 2003a. *Von Ch'eng I zu Chu Hsi. Die Lehre vom Rechten Wege in der Überlieferung der Familie Hu. Asien und Afrika-Studien der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin* 13 Wiesbaden: Verlag Otto Harrassowitz. (Attempts to put works and ideas of the three core members of the Hu family into a historical and political context.)

van Ess, Hans. 2003b. "Hu Hong." In Xinzhong Yao (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Confucianism*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.

van Ess, Hans. 2004. "China und die Barbaren: Ein Beitrag zur Zensurpraxis im Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu." In *Saeculum, Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte* 55: 237–251.

van Ess, Hans. 2005. "The Compilation of the Works of the Ch'eng Brothers and its Significance for the Learning of the Right Way of the Southern Sung Period." *T'oung Pao* 90: 264–298. (Article which tries to prove that parts of the works of the Cheng brothers were edited by HU Anguo and his successors and that these parts differ from those which ZHU Xi edited.).

van Ess, Hans. 2006. "Eidbund und Blutrache im Ch'un-ch'iu – Kommentar des Ch'eng I und seiner beiden wichtigsten Nachfolger Hu An-kuo und Kao K'ang und die Politik der beginnenden Südlichen Sung." In Raimund Th. Kolb and Martina Siebert (eds.), *Über Himmel und Erde. Festschrift für Erling von Mende*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Wang, Kaifu 王開府. 1978. *HU Hong's Learning of the Heart/Mind* 胡五峰的心學. Taibei 臺北: Xuesheng shuju 學生書局. (Without doubt still the most important modern work on HU Hong's philosophy in Chinese.)

Wang, Lixin 王立心. 1996. *HU Hong* 胡宏. Taibei 臺北: Taiwan xuesheng shuju 臺灣學生書局.

Xiang, Shiling 向世陵. 2000. *Above Good and Evil. HU Hong and His Learning of Nature and of Pattern* 善惡之上：胡宏•性學•理學. Beijing: Zhongguo guangbo dianshe chubanshe 中國廣播電視出版社. (PR China counterpart to WANG Kaifu's book. Thorough yet traditional discussion of HU Hong's philosophy.)

Zhu, Hanmin 朱漢民. 1991. *The Huxiang School and the Yuelu Academy* 胡湘學派與岳麓書院. Beijing 北京: Beijing jiaoyu chubanshe 教育科學出版社. (More interested in the influence which the members of the Hu family and ZHANG Shi had on the establishment of the Yuelu Academy at Changsha than in their philosophical thought.)

Zhu, Hanmin 朱漢民 and CHEN, Gujia 陳穀嘉. 1992. *Development of the Huxiang School* 胡湘學派源流. Changsha 長沙: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe 湖南教育出版社. (Introduction to life and thought of the main thinkers of the Huxiang tradition.)

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1980. *ZHU Xi's Collected Writings* 朱文公文集. Taibei 臺北: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan 台灣商務印書館.

ZHANG Shi's Philosophical Perspectives on Human Nature, Heart/Mind, Humaneness, and the Supreme Ultimate

Hoyt Cleveland Tillman and Christian Soffel

ZHANG Shi 張栻 (1133–1180; also known by his courtesy names Jingfu 敬夫 or Qinfu 欽夫, as well as his literary name Nanxuan or Nanxian 南軒) was an important Song thinker who continued the philosophical tradition of CHENG Hao and HU Hong, and maintained significant intellectual exchanges with ZHU Xi for almost two decades. Moreover, Zhang was one of the few twelfth-century philosophers to be included with ZHU Xi in the official 1345 *Song History* (*Song shi* 宋史) special category of "learning of the way" (*daoxue* 道學) Confucians, which had already in 1241 attained special endorsement as orthodoxy by the Southern Song government. A longstanding summary judgment articulated by QUAN Zuwang 全祖望 (1705–1775) about Zhang's ideas still echoes among many China scholars: ZHANG Shi was like CHENG Hao, and ZHU Xi was like CHENG Yi (Huang and Quan 1986: 50.1609).

Despite Zhang's historical importance, East Asian scholars often focus narrowly on his role in prompting Zhu to develop new theories on such crucial concepts as the heart/mind (*xin* 心), human or inner nature (*xing* 性), and humaneness (*ren* 仁). After Zhu edited Zhang's collected writings, his philosophy appears to differ only slightly from Zhu's, and thus his legacy was soon largely eclipsed by Zhu's. However, in the twentieth century MOU Zongsan 牟宗三 (1909–1995) resurrected ZHANG Shi's teachings as a more Mencian alternative to the Cheng-Zhu and the Lu-Wang schools (Mou 1968–1969; especially vol. 3; Liu 1989: 263–264). Scholars in the West have still rarely explored his ideas and philosophy independently. Excursions into Zhang's thought might yet enhance contextual understanding of broader philosophical developments in the mid-twelfth century.

When in 1163 he met ZHU Xi for the first time, ZHANG Shi surely appeared to be the more prominent intellectual for at least three reasons. First, Zhang was renowned for his excellent virtue and exceptional intelligence. For instance, Zhu

H.C. Tillman (✉)
School of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies at Arizona State University, Tempe, USA
e-mail: Hoyt.Tillman@gmail.com

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*, Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_7,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

praised him for having the "virtue of *daoxue*" and being a rare "pure Confucian" (Zhu 1996: 81.4163). In a letter to a friend, Zhu further acknowledged that Zhang's "knowledge is so outstanding as to be unreachable, and having been in his company for a long time, I repeatedly learned a lot from him" (Zhu 1996: 42.1980; tr. Tillman 1992: 59).

Second, Zhang enjoyed a more famous lineage and record. Although Zhu was three years his senior and also the son of a war-party intellectual with allegiance to the legacy of the Cheng brothers, Zhang's father, Jun 浚 (1097–1164), was a well-known commander who had striven (however unsuccessfully) to defend Shaanxi and Sichuan against the invading Jurchen女真 Jin金 troops after 1127 and had served as a high central government official during the mid-1130s. According to some accounts, his renown increased when he was exiled by the peace party of QIN Gui 秦檜 (1090–1155). In other sources, however, ZHANG Jun bore much of the blame for the military loss to the Jurchen (Wang 1992: 379). Such accounts have impacted popular culture through the centuries: ZHANG Jun was condemned for cooperating with Qin in the execution of the heroic YUE Fei 岳飛 (d. 1141), so statutes of him and Qin remain kneeling in humiliation in front of Yue's tomb in Hangzhou today. In any event, when the Jin renewed its bellicosity, ZHANG Jun was recalled to governmental service in the key military base of Jiankang (Nanjing) in 1161 and then called to the capital in 1163 to advise the court on the renewed war against the Jurchen. ZHANG Shi accompanied his father to the capital but had to withdraw from service in 1164 to observe mourning when the old general died and the peace party regained its dominance in the capital and again negotiated a treaty with the Jurchen.

Third, ZHANG Shi benefited from his father's friendships with members of the *daoxue* fellowship, and his father had encouraged him to study with HU Hong in Hunan. Although his time with Hu was limited to a few months, his teacher was so impressed with his sincerity, intellectual capacity, and his written statement about humaneness that the teacher proclaimed, according to Zhu's eulogy: "The school of the sages has such a person; how fortunate, how fortunate for the *dao* of ours" (Zhu 1996: 89.4545)! When Hu died soon thereafter, Zhang emerged as the leading philosopher of this branch of the learning of the Cheng brothers and as the master of the Yuelu Academy (岳麓書院, which some refer to as the Marchmount Hill Academy) in Tanzhou 潭州 (modern Changsha, Hunan).

Despite falling out of favor a couple of times during the peace party's dominance, ZHANG Shi had a distinguished career in the government bureaucracy. Several times he served at the capital briefly as expositor-in-waiting to the emperor and as a member of the Ministry of Personnel and the Secretariat. While responding to the emperor, Zhang demonstrated his use of philosophical terms in relatively archaic religious and political senses; for instance, he declared, "His Majesty's heart/mind is the heart/mind of the heavens (*tian xin* 天心)" (Zhang 1999: 1164). On another of his seven audiences with the emperor, the emperor asked about *tian* 天 (usually glossed as heaven, but originally the lord or power in the heavens), and Zhang answered that it did not refer to the

sky, but rather to the Lord on High (*shangdi* 上帝), so the emperor should be cautious about provoking the anger of this Lord on High (Huang and Quan 1986: 50.1633). However, the majority of his service was as a local official. He served for more than ten years at various posts—most significantly supervising military affairs in two different locations during the six years before he died in 1180. Moreover, his government service was regarded as an exceptional and exemplary expression of Confucian ideals (e.g., Yu 2003). For instance, ZHU Xi's eulogy proclaimed: "Very few officials of high or low rank have been able to step forward to fulfill their duties without regarding their own safety; and even among those, no one can be compared to you in terms of filial piety in sustaining the family, devoted loyalty to the country, clarity and impartiality in administering justice, and thoroughness in deliberation" (Zhu 1996: 89.4549; tr. Tillman 1992: 44).

ZHANG Shi was also active as a classical scholar and philosophical writer. His commentaries of the *Book of Change*, the *Analects*, and the *Mencius*, along with his collected short writings and his biography of the administrator and commander ZHUGE Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234), are all now available in a modern, punctuated edition in three volumes (Zhang 1999); however, the standard edition remains the eighteenth-century imperial *Complete Collection of the Four Libraries* (republished as Zhang 1987 a-d). His commentary on ZHOU Dunyi's "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" ("Taiji tu"太極圖) was lost until rediscovered in the 1980s; it will serve below as the basis for analyzing his view of the Supreme Ultimate. However, his commentary on the Classic *Book of History* and some of his writings on statecraft are no longer extant. Most unfortunately from a philosophical perspective, his two major works on humaneness were not preserved. Of these two, his treatise on *Record of Admiring Yanzi* (*Xi Yan lu* 希顏錄) was particularly important. ZHU Xi lauded Zhang for using the composition of this work to discipline and cultivate himself: "What he learned was profound and far-reaching, but he never dared to consider himself adequate.... For more than ten years, he ceaselessly investigated, evaluated, practiced and embodied [what he learned about humaneness]" (Zhu 1996: 89.4545). Surprisingly, Zhu apparently made no effort to preserve this work and several of Zhang's letters to Zhu on humaneness when Zhang's family entrusted Zhu with the task of editing Zhang's writings for publication in 1184.

Human Nature and the Heart/Mind

Human nature, the perennial philosophical touchstone for Confucians, was an issue that demonstrates an important evolution of thinking from CHENG Hao to HU Hong and on to ZHANG Shi. CHENG Hao had argued that although human nature was in essence good, one could not deny that evil was also human nature. From this recognition that human nature possesses both good and evil, Hu developed the claim that human nature in itself transcended conventional distinctions of good and evil. The fundamental reason for this claim was to

make human nature into an absolute as the foundation for all things; for example, he proclaimed: "Without human nature, there are no things; and without vital breath or energy (*qi*), there are no forms, and human nature is the foundational basis of this vital energy!" Following this lead, Zhang said, "When there are these principles, there are things and affairs; that which possesses these principles is human nature" (Chen 2006: 347). [In this essay, we will follow convention in glossing *li* 理 as "principle"; however, readers might well keep in mind that the Chinese term encompasses order, coherence, pattern, and norm(s).] In projecting human nature as encompassing all ethical norms or principles and the basis of all things, Hu and Zhang departed from Mencius who reserved the term *xing* (inner nature) to refer specifically to what distinguished humans from animals. Hu and Zhang were attributing this inner nature to all things as a foundational goodness beyond conventional notions of the human capability to be morally good in contrast to animals and things.

Despite this, against the backdrop of HU Hong's looser formulation of human nature as being neither good nor evil, ZHANG Shi appears to have pulled back somewhat from his teacher and turned toward Mencius. Zhang endorsed Mencius' idea that human nature was good because it possessed the beginnings or germinating seeds of the four virtues: "Mencius called the nature good because it is where humaneness, rightness, propriety, and wisdom are maintained. And if in their expression there are no self-centered human desires to disorder them, there is then nothing but the heart/mind of commiseration, shame and dislike, deference and compliance, and right and wrong" (Zhang 1999: 311; Zhang 1987b: 3.1b).

Nonetheless, Zhang also departed significantly from Mencius' priority of the four beginnings as more fundamental than the four virtues. Whereas Mencius had identified the beginnings with human nature and the virtues with the manifestation of the nature, Zhang regarded the virtues as inner nature and the beginnings as heart/mind: "Humaneness, rightness, propriety, and wisdom are all located in human nature, and their manifestations that can be observed are the sense of commiseration, shame and dislike, deference and compliance, and right and wrong" (Zhang 1999: 290; Zhang 1987b: 2.27b). Associating the inner nature with the not-yet-expressed state and the heart/mind with the already-expressed state, Zhang made a sharper distinction than Mencius between human nature and the heart/mind. This enhanced status of the four virtues inherent in human nature provided a more absolute character to Confucian relationships in family and society because he could cite the first sentence of the *Zhongyong* 中庸 (usually referred to as the *Doctrine of the Mean*) to highlight the classical linkage of one's inner nature to the objective order in transcendent nature (*tianming* 天命, conventionally glossed as "heaven's mandate").

Identifying human nature as what the heavens impart to people, Zhang not only highlighted the goodness of human nature but also moved toward an explanation of why people often appeared to be evil. Particularly in his commentary on the *Mencius*, Zhang elaborated on this universal goodness of nature inherent in all things as "heaven's mandated nature" (*tianming zhi xing* 天命之性): an

objective order grounded in the transcendent heavens. For instance, "When people are first born, heaven's mandated nature is pure and completely good and without any sprout of evil"; and "How could this be true only of humans; when things begin to be produced, there are also none that are not good" (Chen 2006: 360, 364). Heaven's mandated nature in both humans and all things was the same as principle and the perfect virtues of humaneness and justice. However, this abstract inner nature easily became unbalanced or muddled as it became the nature of particular individuals or things embedded in vital energy. This concretized physical nature was the individual's physically endowed nature (*qibing zhi xing* 氣稟之性). Heaven's mandated nature universally shared the same good essence, but embodied in the physical, its concrete functioning easily lost its original state of purity (Chen 1991: 44–54). Zhang concedes that people are endowed with different degrees of purity of *qi*; however, what seems important is that it is precisely the same *xing* that enables everyone to improve and achieve fulfillment.

Drawing upon Mencius' analogy between the goodness of human nature and the essence of water, Zhang likewise claimed that only artificial interference could distort the inherent penchant either of water to flow downward or of human nature to be good: "Without any interference, letting it be thus as it is, the rectitude of human nature and feelings is what is called good. Then, any intent to interfere is not good" (Zhang 1999: 427; Zhang 1987b: 6.4a). By linking noninterference with rightness and interference with human cravings or desires (*ren yu* 人欲) for selfish advantage, he sharpened the ethical contrast between alternatives.

An even more fundamental way Zhang addressed the problem of evil was to follow CHENG Hao in ascribing the rise of evil or dysfunctional behavior to the material body, which was the locus of human desires. Zhang explained why people were not good: "Because there is this body, form obtains something to which to be attached, vital energy obtains something with which to be mixed, the desires obtain something through which to be enticed, and so the feelings begin to be disordered. When the feelings become disordered, the rectitude of the inner nature is lost, and this is what is regarded as not good. But is it really the fault of human nature itself" (Zhang 1999: 426; Zhang 1987b: 6.3b)? Thus, disorder and evil arose with the physical endowment or nature of people, and not their ethical nature. Drawing on both Mencius' analogy of water and HU Hong's notion that human nature was tranquil but had to be active, Zhang identified the desires as human nature's response to things: "Using the analogy of water, deep and clear is its essence. Water cannot but move, so fluidity is also its nature. When it flows rapidly, gushing through soil and sand, it becomes muddy. How could this muddy state be its true nature?" (Zhang 1999: 827; Zhang 1987c: 19.19a). Even though activity and physicality were not evil, they easily led to imbalance and turbidity which provided occasions for evil.

Regarding the heart/mind, Zhang's position placed him between CHENG Hao and LU Jiuyuan because they all identified the heart/mind with principle. Cheng had proclaimed: "The heavens are principle," and then, "the heart/mind is these heavens." Zhang unified the relationship more completely: "Heart/mind and

principle are one and don't need to await one to be integrated with the other; moreover, the original thusness of the inner nature and the original constitution and provision of the multifold myriad things are all obtained in it" (Cai 1991: 76, 77). Principle did not exist independently, but rather resided or existed in the heart/mind, for the heart/mind's emptiness or potentiality was naturally home to the substantial content of principle. Thus, the heart/mind encompassed and commanded the myriad things and principles. Lu Jiuyuan's philosophical hallmark of the "heart/mind is principle" was similar to, but even more totalistic than, Zhang's emphasis on the oneness of heart/mind and principle; although Lu surely received his inspiration from reading Mencius directly, rather than from Zhang, this proposition distinguished both of them from Zhu Xi's differentiation between heart/mind and principle.

Although Hu Hong and Zhang Shi regarded *xing* 性 as essential or foundational to all in the heavens and earth, they ascribed an even greater role to the heart/mind. For instance, Hu had declared, "The heart/mind is that which comprehends the heavens and the earth and commands the multifold myriads of things in order to bring human nature to completion or fulfillment" (Zhu 1996: 73.3858). Zhang identified the essence of both the inner nature and the heart/mind as being one with the mandated or objective order from the transcendent heavens (*tian ming*). For instance, he proclaimed: "The naturalness of principle is called the mandated order of the heavens. In people it becomes human nature, and in being master of human nature, it is heart/mind. The heavens, human nature, and heart/mind have the same essence, although what is taken as function differs" (Zhang 1999: 464; Zhang 1987b: 7.1a). As such, the heart/mind was the master or lord of both inner human nature and external things: "The heart/mind is that which links the manifold myriad activities and controls the manifold myriad principles in order to be lord of the myriads of things" (Zhang 1999: 724; Zhang 1987c: 12.2a). We could regard Zhang's position simply as an extension of Mencius' emphasis on the original, ethical heart/mind (*benxin* 本心) and the innate morally knowing heart/mind (*liangzhi* 良知), both of which also corresponded to the original goodness of human nature. However, Zhang's position also reflected the evolving distinctions during the Song between the heart/mind and human nature, for although Zhang continued to associate them closely together as having the same essence, he was attributing to the heart/mind distinctive functions in controlling human nature, principle, and external things. In this sense, he was bringing to completion a notion of the innately ethical and active heart/mind, grounded in the writings of Mencius, Cheng Hao, and Hu Hong.

Since heaven's mandated nature within people's heart/minds remained in itself good, Zhang Shi portrayed a positive view of the possibility of education and cultivation countering apparent weakness or deficiencies in people. In response to traditional notions of different levels of human nature, he argued that such apparent differences were not unchangeable. Such differences demarcated only stages of progress: "Although those who acquired knowledge with difficulty were below the level of the other two, it was the original goodness of

human nature that enabled them to achieve fulfillment just like the others" (Zhang 1999: 211; Zhang 1987a: 8.24b). Different physical and mental endowments were obvious; nonetheless, "although there are differences in physical qualities with which people have been endowed, there is nothing set or unchanging about their goodness or badness, for they are all human" (Zhang 1999: 2005; Zhang 1987a: 8.14a). Since evil arose in the physical endowment and its bodily desires, evil could be overcome by drawing upon the capacity of original goodness within the innate nature of each person. He was thus influenced by ZHANG Zai's notion of transforming one's physical nature through cultivating one's ethical inner nature.

Such self-cultivation required rigorous discipline and was the core of ZHANG Shi's conception of education. Although one might expect his view of the heart/mind and human nature to incline him to regard studying principle to be rather simple or intuitive, he rejected the notion that people could merely follow their own conscience and sense of propriety. Judging that approach to be too subjective, he countered: "If one's moral discipline were not complete and one were to take one's own opinion as the principal rule, would it not be a natural mistake to regard selfishness as not being self-centered and impropriety as propriety?" (Huang and Quan 1986: 50.1618). To guard against such subjectivity, he insisted that people investigate things to extend their knowledge. Although he regarded principles as possessed by the heart/mind, he rejected as too Buddhistic those who focused one-sidedly on the individual heart/mind, rather than on the investigation of external things (ibid.). Instead, he sought a middle course between the more externally directed investigation of things and the mental attentiveness, reverence or seriousness (*jing* 敬) with which one approached one's tasks. For example, "it is because of extending our knowledge that we can make this heart/mind clear, and mental attentiveness enables us to hold onto this [clarity of] heart/mind and never lose it" (Zhang 1999: 724; Zhang 1987c: 12.3a). Concentrating the heart/mind was also crucial: "Concentrating on the one is called mental attentiveness; maintaining mental attentiveness, one can then have purposefulness without confusion, priority without disorder, constancy without being rushed, so that what one does will be simple" (Zhang 1999: 106; Zhang 1987a: 3.11b). By simple, he conveyed that one's activities would not be complicated by extraneous things because one's heart/mind would not be stirred to premeditated interference or enticed and distracted by desires. As natural to human nature, desires could be restrained by ethical training focused on the principles and propriety within the heart/mind and inner nature, but Zhang rejected what he regarded as the Buddhist extreme of extinguishing desires.

The absoluteness in ZHANG Shi's view of the goodness of human nature echoed throughout his ethics, particularly the opposition between taking action in accord with what was right or just (*yi* 義) and seeking what brought advantage, utility or profit (*li* 利). Mencius and other early Confucians had rigorously distinguished between these alternatives, but the Cheng brothers sharpened the mutual tension or contradiction. Here again, Zhang followed CHENG Yi instead

of Hu Hong. Highlighting the tension, Zhang identified rightness with the principles or patterns of the heavens (*tianli* 天理) and advantage with selfish desires: "The good is the impartiality of the principles of the heavens, and those who diligently do good preserve this and never discard it. As for advantage, it is nothing more than one's individual self-centeredness: when applying one's heart/mind, one only does so to augment one's own advantage" (Zhang 1999: 478–479; Zhang 1987b: 7.25a). From Zhang's perspective, these ethical alternatives differentiated Confucians from Buddhists: "The principles of the world are altruistic or for the public good (*gong* 公) and do not have anything on which to attach our ego centeredness; this is why the way (*dao* 道) of humaneness is great and the principle of destiny is small. From the Buddhist point of view, all things are made by our heart/minds and produced from our heart/minds. Such is their ignorance of the original essence of the Supreme Ultimate and their quest for self-benefit and self-interest; in such conditions, heaven's mandate cannot penetrate and flourish. Therefore, what they call the heart/mind is nothing but the human heart/mind (*ren xin* 人心), without any recognition of the ethical heart/mind of the way (*dao xin* 道心)" (Huang and Quan 1986: 50.1619–1620). Thus, he sought to use what he regarded as the realism or truth of Confucian ethics to refute the Buddhists, who could only perceive the ordinary human heart/mind, but not the ethical principles within the original heart/mind. Of course, Zhang did not actually regard the heart/mind as divided into two, but this was a traditional way (which Zhu Xi would adopt more enthusiastically) of distinguishing between human moral frailty and the ethical norms within the heart/mind. The above passage also raised the issue of humaneness and its relation to impartiality, which was among Zhang's most major themes or contributions.

Humaneness

Humaneness had been Zhang Shi's principal focus since at least his 1161 draft of *Record of Admiring Yanzi*, which he began under the direction of Hu Hong; furthermore, until his final postface in 1173 Zhang continued to revise this commentary on selected statements over the centuries about humaneness. The timing of that postface was thus in the same year as his "Treatise on Humaneness" ("Ren shuo" 仁說) and also two years after his "Record of the Confucian School's Comments on Humaneness" ("Zhu-Si yan ren lu" 洙泗言仁錄), of which only Zhang's preface remains (Zhang 1999: 752–753; Zhang 1987c: 14.6a–7a). The "Treatise on Humaneness" is the only one of these works that Zhu Xi preserved while editing Zhang's writings; thus, it is the one always taken as representative of Zhang's views of humaneness.

Zhang's "Treatise on Humaneness" was of course in dialogue with centuries of discussions and interpretations of this concept (*ren* 仁), which is usually translated as humaneness and sometimes as benevolence. Even though modern

scholars have shown that two poems in the classic *Book of Odes* used this term to describe someone's appearance, behavior, and character as beautiful or manly, Chinese traditionally interpreted those passages in light of Confucius' use of the term to describe perfect human virtue or humaneness; moreover, Confucius had discussed humaneness as love and also in relation to following ritual propriety. In addition to identifying humaneness as the human heart/mind, Mencius clearly established humaneness as one of the four basic virtues in human nature. DONG Zhongshu 董仲舒 (176–104) had identified humaneness with the heavens and heavens' heart/mind, but other Han Confucians had interpreted humaneness simply as love. HAN Yu 韓愈 (768–824) had promoted humaneness as compassion for others. The Cheng brothers had shifted attention away from love because they regarded love as a mere feeling; furthermore, they identified humaneness with human nature because they saw it as the representative summation of all four cardinal virtues. Most of their followers followed their penchant to ignore the aspect of compassion in humaneness, and this unfortunate trend prompted ZHANG Shi to devote so many years of study to retrieve the meaning and significance of the term.

Zhang's "Treatise on Humaneness" is so important that it is here translated almost in its entirety.

> The nature of people possesses the four virtues of humaneness, rightness, propriety, and wisdom. Its principle of love is humaneness. The principle of what is appropriate is rightness. The principle of yielding is propriety. The principle of knowledge is wisdom. Even when these four virtues do not yet have form to be seen, their principles are certainly rooted there [in the inner nature], so the body really possesses these. In its centrality or state of equilibrium, the inner nature only has these four virtues, and the myriads of the good are all managed from here. What is called the principle of love is the heart/mind of the heavens and earth to give birth to things and that from which they are born. Therefore, humaneness is the chief of the four virtues and can also encompass them. Human nature's state of equilibrium has these four virtues; thus, when the inner nature is manifested through the feelings, it acts as the beginnings of commiseration, shame and dislike, the sense of right and wrong, as well as deference and yielding. And what is called commiseration can also unify and penetrate the rest. This is why the nature and feelings are related as essence and function, and the way of the heart/mind resides as master in the nature and feelings. People [often] simply becloud or block it with their own self-centeredness and thus, losing contact with the principle of their inner nature, become inhumane—even to the point of being jealous and cruel. Are these [in accord with natural] human sentiments! Their sinking is to a low level. For this reason, in becoming humane, nothing is more important than overcoming the ego.
>
> When the self-centered ego has been overcome, there will be an altruistic commitment to the public good, and the principle of love that was originally stored in the nature will have nothing blocking it. When the principle of love is not blocked by anything, it will be connected to the meridians of the heavens, earth and the multitude myriads of things, and its function will also reach everywhere completely. Therefore, designating love to name humaneness is to be blind to its essence. (Master Cheng meant this when he said, "Love is feelings and humaneness is human nature.") Yet commitment to the altruistic public good is the reason people can be humane.
>
> When tranquil, the substance of humaneness, rightness, propriety, and wisdom is present. And when in motion, the beginnings of commiseration, shame and dislike, respect and reverence, and right and wrong are realized.... For this reason, Mencius

> summarized humaneness by saying, "Humaneness is the human heart/mind." It is like preserving the four virtues of the heavens and earth, as set forth in the *Book of Change*, and referring to them collectively as the awesome origination of all in the heavens and earth. All this being so, is it at all possible for those who study to regard seeking humaneness as unimportant and overcoming the ego as not the way? (Zhang 1999: 18.803–804; Zhang 1987c: 18.1a–2b; tr. adapted from Tillman 1992: 47–48)

This essay follows philosophical convention in glossing *ti* 體 as "substance" and sometimes as "essence"; however, for Hu and Zhang, the term would more often convey inherent structure or an embodied order among related members. Although Zhang did not here make a distinction between the Cheng brothers, all the passages quoted were from CHENG Yi (Chen 1988: 375–376).

Zhang's treatise utilized the breakthrough idea that humaneness is the "principle of love." This idea avoided prior alternatives of understating humaneness as a mere feeling or overstating it as compassionate love. This new notion of the principle of love was consistent with, but also an advance beyond, CHENG Yi's identification of humaneness with human nature, because both philosophers viewed human nature as synonymous with principle. Moreover, this new formulation also avoided the negative consequences of CHENG Yi's having designated love as a feeling, a legacy that had led most disciples of the Chengs to devalue the compassionate component of humaneness. Because Zhang had focused his studies on the concept of humaneness for so many years, it is tempting to credit him with this breakthrough formulation; however, one of his letters to LÜ Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137–1181) makes clear that the phrase was introduced by ZHU Xi (Zhang 1999: 893).

Supreme Ultimate

Another area of Zhang's pivotal contributions to *daoxue* Confucianism was his writings on the Supreme Ultimate (*taiji* 太極), in which he promoted ZHOU Dunyi's "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" ("Taiji tu shuo" 太極圖說) and credited Zhou with the rediscovery of the long-lost "orthodox transmission of the way" (later commonly called the *daotong* 道統).[1]

Zhou's "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" combined parts of the canonical Appendix to the *Book of Change* 周易 (*Zhou Yi* 1995: 65/80/9) with Daoist ideas; thus, he created an ontological framework to challenge the Buddhist worldview. Nevertheless, the diagram and Zhou's "Explanation" did not have much influence until raised to prominence by ZHANG Shi, ZHU Xi, and LÜ Zuqian from

[1] Despite Tze-ki Hon's (see the first essay in this volume) acceptance of Joseph Adler's gloss of *ji* as "Polarity" and *taiji* as "Supreme Polarity," we continue to prefer the more standard gloss of "Ultimate" and "Supreme Ultimate" because Adler's gloss does not work well for ZHANG Shi. Furthermore, although Adler's gloss is a reasonable attempt to convey ZHU Xi's usage, his gloss fails to capture the range of ZHU Xi's meaning and usage as effectively as "Ultimate" does.

around 1170. Maybe due to the diagram's esoteric flavour, it was virtually ignored by the Cheng brothers and ZHANG Zai. By the twelfth century, not only had the exact interpretation of the diagram become unclear, but also the text of the "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" itself was available in different, conflicting versions (Su 2007a: 390–391; Tillman 1992: 222). During the first decades of the Southern Song, the influence of Zhou's works was practically limited to those associated with the Hunan school, which is no surprise, since ZHOU Dunyi himself hailed from Daozhou 道州 in southern Hunan. One prominent example was ZHU Zhen 朱震 (1072–1138), tutor of the heir apparent and an authority on the *Book of Change*, who was admired by HU Hong. ZHU Zhen included Zhou's diagram as well as his "Explanation" in his major commentary on the *Book of Change*. Nevertheless, he skipped over ZHOU Dunyi when he declared that the transmission of the way, which had been lost since Mencius, had been recovered by the Cheng brothers (Tillman 1992: 20–21). Yet, HU Hong himself elaborately detailed the evolution from the Supreme Ultimate to the Eight Trigrams at the beginning of his *Great Record of Emperors and Kings* (*Huang wang da ji* 皇王大紀) (Hu 1987a: 1.1a–2b). Moreover, in his preface to Zhou's *Tong shu* 通書 (*Penetrating the* Book of Change), he enhanced Zhou's position by describing him as the one who communicated lost teachings to the Chengs, an accomplishment akin to the contributions of Confucius and Mencius (Hu 1987b: 3.15a). Hunan's capital was also an important publishing location for ZHOU Dunyi's works. The 1179 postface to a new edition of *Penetrating the* Book of Change praised the Changsha edition from the late 1120s as the best available source text. Different accounts attribute this postface to ZHANG Shi or to ZHU Xi, a pattern of disputed authorship that we will observe in some of Zhang's other writings (Zhou 1987: 1.56b; Zhu 1996: 76.3967).

Zhang continued HU Hong's focus on ZHOU Dunyi. Zhang's major work on this topic was *Master Zhang's Explanation of the Supreme Ultimate's Meaning* (*Zhangzi taiji jie yi* 張子太極解義), which is mentioned in a bibliography from the mid-thirteenth century (Chao and Zhao 1987: 5b.42b) but was subsequently lost. We are fortunate that in the 1980s CHEN Lai 陳來 discovered in Beijing an "Alternative Version of [Zhang's] Explanation" ("Jie yi huo ben" 解義或本) that had, in large part, been preserved in a late Song print of the *Collected Writings of Master Zhou from Lianxi* (*Yuan Gong Zhou xiansheng Lianxi ji* 元公周先生濂溪集), which was reprinted in 1988 as a facsimile edition (Zhang 2007: 516; Zhou 1988). HU Hong certainly inspired Zhang's initial interest in the diagram. His interest further developed due to his exchanges with ZHU Xi and LÜ Zuqian as they realized its usefulness in providing an ontological and cosmological foundation for their moralist teachings, which had been developed from classical texts like the *Mencius* and the *Zhongyong*. Due to the paucity of extant sources, Zhang's exact contribution during these exchanges is difficult to fathom; however, his contemporaries certainly considered him to be an expert on Zhou's diagram and its philosophical extrapolations.

The focus of Zhang's philosophy of the "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" was the Supreme Ultimate itself. One controversy of that time was, how to understand the relationship between the Ultimateless (*wuji* 無極), and the Supreme Ultimate, since the description in the first few characters of ZHOU Dunyi's *Explanation* is ambiguous. On the one hand, the Ultimateless and the Supreme Ultimate could be interpreted as two separate entities, i.e., the Ultimateless is the utmost origin giving birth to the Supreme Ultimate, just as not-having (*wu* 無) gave birth to having (*you* 有) according to the *Laozi* 40 (*Laozi* 1996). This reading was supported by a textual variant that circulated in 1186 in an official Song edition of ZHOU Dunyi's works, which read "from the Ultimateless and then became the Supreme Ultimate" (自無極而為太極) (Zhu 2002: 13.63; Tillman 1992: 222). On the other hand, Zhang and Zhu claimed that the Ultimateless and the Supreme Ultimate, mutually penetrating each other, were just two facets of the same ultimate reality. Aside from reconciling the traditional dualism between having and non-having, their position also thus facilitated distinguishing the diagram clearly from Daoist thought.

Zhang regarded the Supreme Ultimate as the origin and manifestation of the inner nature. He wrote: "Inner nature has but one source. But when its flow reveals itself, there is a complete difference between its endowment in humans and in things. Is there anything that does not come from the Supreme Ultimate? Or is there anything that is not already present in the Supreme Ultimate? It is the oneness of [inner nature's] source" (Zhou 1988: 70 or 3.9b). This statement echoed the ideas of HU Hong, who assigned to inner nature an all-encompassing role similar to the *dao* (Tillman 1992: 30–35). In a letter to one of his disciples, Zhang went even so far as to claim that the Supreme Ultimate was in fact the inner nature (Zhang 1999: 976; Zhang 1987c: 31.4b). But this does not signify that he viewed the inner nature as fully equivalent to the Supreme Ultimate. Rather, he meant that the Supreme Ultimate manifests itself in the inner nature, so it was not a separate entity exerting influence from the outside.

Zhang characterised the essence of the Ultimate as utmost tranquil, imperceptible, and all-encompassing. He stated: "Mentioning the Ultimateless does not mean that above the Supreme Ultimate exists another so-called Ultimateless. The Supreme Ultimate is essentially the Ultimateless. Therefore, we call it utmost tranquil, and the myriad things thrive within this utmost tranquillity" (Zhang 2007: 518; Zhou 1988: 71 or 3.11a–12b). Thus, we see that Zhang located the Supreme Ultimate's tranquillity in its aspect as the Ultimateless. This utmost tranquillity penetrated and represented both states of the feelings as aroused (*yifa* 已發) and not-yet-aroused (*weifa* 未發). Despite being utmost tranquil, Zhang's Ultimate encompassed movement (*dong* 動) as well as tranquillity; this projection was similar to the concept of "change" (*yi* 易) in the *Book of Change*, encompassing both change and non-change. ZHOU Dunyi also presented the Ultimate in motion as giving birth to the *yang*, and in tranquillity as giving birth to the *yin*. Zhang emphasized that motion alone could not give birth to tranquillity, and that tranquillity alone could give birth to motion.

Hence, *yin* and *yang* owed their existence directly to the Ultimate, and thus were unable to produce each other directly.

Regarding the implications for ethics, ZHOU Dunyi had stated that the sages had created the virtues and thus had established Ultimate Ethics (*ren ji* 人極), or the guiding principles for humankind. In other words, the sages had the same fundamental relationship to human ethics as the Supreme Ultimate had to the myriad beings. Zhang further developed this idea: "The inner nature given by the heavens is pure and completely good; this is the Supreme Ultimate's reality present in humankind.... Without the sages the world would be chaotic, nobody would know the way of self-restraint, and the Ultimate could not be reached. The sages established Ultimate Ethics the same way that the Supreme Ultimate establishes its Ultimateness.... They received the way of the Supreme Ultimate and possessed it personally" (Zhang 2007: 519; Zhou 1988: 72 or 3.13b–14a). Here again, he identified the inner nature with the Supreme Ultimate. The process of the sages in creating the Ultimate Ethics was in fact the Supreme Ultimate at work manifesting its Ultimateness (*ji* 極).

When speaking about the sages' defining human virtues, ZHOU Dunyi had maintained that this process was centered on tranquillity, which itself was a result of being without cravings or selfish desires. With a subtle shift, Zhang argued that since the Supreme Ultimate could not be fathomed by one's intellect alone, one necessarily had to rely totally on reverence (*jing* 敬, also glossed as seriousness or mental attentiveness). In the state of the feelings not yet aroused, reverence had the merit of intensifying the process of developing one's nature and clarifying one's comprehensions. The process of self-cultivation then affected the state of the aroused feelings, too (Zhang 2007: 519; Zhou 1988: 72 or 3.14b). Zhang's substitution of reverence for Zhou's tranquillity testifies to the influence of HU Hong, who promoted reverence as crucial for self-cultivation (Tillman 1992: 35). In contrast, ZHU Xi interpreted this passage from Zhou's "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" in terms of the dualism of tranquillity and motion (Zhu 2002: 13.75).

We should briefly analyze ZHANG Shi's interactions with ZHU Xi regarding the Supreme Ultimate since it was to become such a central concept for Zhu. Zhu originally had grown up under the influence of the Fujian school, represented by YANG Shi 楊時 (1053–1135), LUO Congyan 羅從彥 (1072–1135), and LI Tong 李侗 (1093–1163), a tradition in which ZHOU Dunyi had not been particularly popular. Nevertheless, Zhu's attention to Zhou's "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" arose quite early as evident in a question posed to his teacher LI Tong. Zhu proposed that the state of the Supreme Ultimate in motion should be identified with the state of aroused feelings in the heavens and earth, and also that this metaphor be further applied to the feelings of humankind (Zhu 2002: 13.328–329). However, Li rejected Zhu's theory and maintained his own claim that the Supreme Ultimate in motion was nothing but principle expressed in creative activity (*zuo* 做).

Zhang might well have influenced Zhu's enhanced interest in the "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate," an interest that increased dramatically from around

1170. Because no records of their discussions during Zhu's three-month visit in 1167 have been preserved, the content of those personal conversations have been a subject of debate among later scholars. Based on the vocabulary used in poems that the two friends exchanged at the end of the visit, HONG Quwu 洪去蕪 (late seventeenth century) argued that they mainly discussed the Supreme Ultimate. WANG Maohong 王懋竑 (1668–1741) rebuked that assertion in his standard biography of ZHU Xi, and claimed that Zhu and Zhang had exchanged views on the *Zhongyong*, particularly the states of feelings before and after being aroused. Wang's main argument was that the states of the feelings constituted the major topic in extant letters between Zhu and Zhang in the 1160s, and that those letters used the term "Supreme Ultimate" to denote the state of unaroused feelings (Wang 1987: 1.16a–17a). Wang's position has been accepted by most scholars to this day. Nevertheless, earlier statements by Song and Yuan scholars can be used to support HONG Quwu's view (Zhen 1987: 31.76a; Wu 1987: 3.31b). Although the main topic of Zhu and Zhang's discussions might indeed have been the states of the feelings, it is reasonable to assume that Zhu learned a lot from Zhang about the "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" since it was so popular among Hunan scholars. Zhu soon prepared a combined edition of Zhou's "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" and *Penetrating the* Book of Change, which was then published by Zhang before 1170 (Zhang 1999: 1007–1008; Zhang 1987c: 33.6b–7a). ZHU Xi completed a revised edition in 1173 toward the end of his most extensive exchange of letters with Zhang (Su 2007a: 387; Wang 1987: 1.30a); moreover, he issued a final version in 1188, four years after editing Zhang's collected works (Zhu 2002: 13.65).

Several letters exchanged between ZHANG Shi and ZHU Xi confirm that the two friends had an ongoing debate regarding how to interpret ZHOU Dunyi's "Explanation" and diagram. One particular passage Zhu read as "the true core of the Ultimateless and the essence of *yin/yang* and the Five Phases wonderfully come together and solidify" 無極之真, 二五之精, 妙合而凝 (Zhu 2002: 13.73). Zhang disagreed. He argued that the first four characters, which Zhu quoted, belonged to the previous sentence, and therefore should be read as "the Five Phases emerge, and they have but one inner nature, which is the true core of the Ultimateless" 五行之生也, 各一其性, 無極之真 (Zhen 1987: 1.51b; Su 2007a: 387–388). Hence, Zhang maintained the Hunan view that the true core of the Ultimateless was connected to inner nature and not to the essence of *yin yang* and the Five Phases.

Zhang's and Zhu's eventual commentaries on the "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" remained quite different. Zhang interpreted the Supreme Ultimate as inner nature, while Zhu—just like his teacher LI Tong—understood it as principle (Liu 1984: 283). Still, they did not highlight their disagreements, but mostly elaborated on mutually compatible viewpoints, just with different emphases. Zhu did not mention Zhang a single time in his final draft, but he did not bring up LÜ Zuqian's name either, even though we can see that he definitely had implemented several of Lü's suggestions (Lü 1987:

16.1a–4b). In the extant parts of Zhang's draft, he quoted Zhu twice, but in no way does he seem to be dominated by Zhu's exegesis.

Their differing philosophical orientations aside, both Zhang and Zhu realized the crucial importance of ZHOU Dunyi's ideas to give their philosophical system a solid ontological foundation. Because they considered Zhou's contribution to be so essential, it became imperative for them to prove his legitimacy within the mainstream Confucian lineage. To do so, it was necessary to establish Zhou's firm philosophical ties to the Cheng brothers and ZHANG Zai in order to counteract the lack of explicit textual interaction between them and ZHOU Dunyi. Furthermore they strove to confirm his key position in the "orthodox tradition of the way" as being the one who resumed the lineage which had been disrupted since Mencius. At first, ZHANG Shi had assumed that only the Cheng brothers were able to reveal the truth about *daoxue* virtues and to continue the transmission of the way. In a shrine inscription from 1158, Zhang describes Zhou merely as a starting point for the Cheng brothers' findings (Zhang 1999: 704; Zhang 1987c: 10:13a; Su 2007a: 377). This assessment had, however, been reversed by 1170, when Zhang praised Zhou highly as the pivotal figure in the orthodox tradition, a view that intensified at least through 1178 (Su 2007a: 377–378). Aside from his increased philosophical interest in the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, his meeting with HU Hong in 1161 must also have been an integral stimulus for this change, since Hu had included Zhou into his version of the transmission.

The task to establish a philosophical link between Zhou and the Cheng brothers was difficult because the writings of the Chengs never elaborated on the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, even though they had been disciples of Zhou for a while. Of course it was easy to postulate that the diagram was a mysterious secret teaching (*wei yan* 微言) received from Zhou, about which they did not dare talk publicly. But Zhang and Zhu managed to provide more solid evidence. Firstly, they pointed out that Zhou's *Penetrating the* Book of Change championed concepts, such as sincerity, motion and tranquillity, principle and inner nature, which could easily be related to the Cheng brothers' thinking (Su 2007a: 382). Secondly, Zhang claimed in the above-mentioned postface that the teachings of the Chengs were in fact based on the diagram, a fact which could be realized only through sincere and respectful contemplation.

ZHANG Shi and ZHU Xi

ZHANG Shi's extensive exchanges with ZHU Xi on three other major topic areas have been widely recognized as historically and philosophically crucial in Zhu's intellectual maturation and the beginnings of his philosophical system. Since these have been so thoroughly discussed by East Asian scholars and are more germane to Zhu's maturation as a philosopher, we will only briefly set forth the issues; moreover, although highlighting the impact on Zhu's philosophy is

obviously important, the focus here will be on Zhang's position and the impact on his philosophical legacy. The topics overlapped, but generally progressed first from the self-cultivation issue of the quest for equilibrium and harmony, to a discussion of *Master Hu's Understanding of Words* (*Huzi Zhiyan* 胡子知言), and then on to the characterization of humaneness. When the two first met and became friends in the capital in 1163, they surely began their dialogue and continued it during Zhu's visits in 1164 and 1167. Although little record remains about those conversations, some of their letters and treatises especially from the late 1160s and early 1170s provide considerable insights into their evolving views. Between 1169 and 1173, the dialogue reached the point of producing mature statements of their perspectives.

Self-Cultivation

Self-cultivation through the stages of equilibrium and harmony, the first major issue, was rooted in the opening section of the *Zhongyong*. This classical passage identified equilibrium or centrality (*zhong* 中) as the state before the feelings of pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy were aroused, and harmony (*he* 和) as having these aroused feelings attain their proper measure and degree. The emphasis here on stages when the emotions were not yet aroused and then were already aroused made the subject more complex and philosophical than in the *Analects*; however, the issue remained centered on the question of moral cultivation. Northern Song *daoxue* masters further developed the Confucian concepts of heart/mind and inner nature and also the practice of personal discipline in self-cultivation; however, their views were rather diverse. For example, CHENG Hao encouraged intuitive awareness of one's heart/mind and also spontaneous responses to realize oneness with all things. CHENG Yi's greater sensitivity to the difficulty of being moral demanded enhanced mental attentiveness and concentrating the heart/mind; moreover, he identified the heart/mind's essence with the not yet aroused state and the heart/mind's function with the already aroused state. He was critical of seeking tranquility or quiet calmness before the emotions were aroused, and thus advocated mastering quiet calmness at the time when the emotions began to be aroused. Thus, he set the agenda for preserving and nourishing the feelings before they were aroused as well as examining these feelings after they had been expressed. Disciples of the Chengs tended to develop CHENG Yi's ideas about self-cultivation differently, and Zhu and Zhang's discussions demarcated these differences more clearly into two alternative approaches (Su 2007a: 404–409).

ZHANG Shi, representing the Hunan approach, expanded on CHENG Yi's identification of the heart/mind with the already-expressed state of the feelings and also HU Hong's view of the heart/mind as the function of the inner human nature. Zhang thus focused on self-cultivation and the heart/mind in the midst of one's actual encounters with the world. Instead of quiet sitting in meditation,

one could use the heart/mind's potential—arising from its essential oneness with human nature—to observe the subtle first stirrings of the virtues as one interacted with the world and grasped its principles. Thus one should apprehend principles through the extension of knowledge before attempting to preserve and nourish them through personal cultivation. This approach was particularly compatible to Zhang's active life as a public official and his personal penchant for making quick decisions and taking decisive action.

One summation of Zhang's view was expressed in an engraved inscription for his and Zhu's mutual senior friend, WEI Shanzhi 魏掞之 (1116–1173), whose Genzhai 艮齋 studio was the focal theme of the inscription because the term highlighted stopping to rest or reside in the *dao*:

> We must examine the manifestations of the so-called four beginnings (humaneness, rightness, propriety, and wisdom); and not only must we think, but we must act accordingly. When we discipline ourselves to a certain extent, then we will be able to understand the broad principle. This is not imposed on us from without; it is like spring which comes on its own accord. Understanding is the beginning of realizing the ultimate. Under adverse conditions we are restraining our wandering thoughts, and holding on to principles with a sense of trembling. Although there are a myriad of things in the world, each follows its own principle. There is nothing else but to follow the essentials of our inner nature. Guileless, sincere and honest, we move and rest according to the times. It is here that we realize the wonder of abiding with the *Gen* hexagram [i.e., in accord with the *dao*]. (Zhang 1999: 1039; Zhang 1987c: 36.2b–3b; tr. modified from Liu 1989: 255)

Following Mencius here, Zhang emphasized understanding what is implicit in human nature through the manifestations of the beginnings of the heart/mind. Moreover, Zhang highlighted not only understanding but also taking ethical action and engaging in rigorous effort to become a better person with the helpful encouragement of colleagues.

Thus, Zhang advocated for many years that one must first examine and reflect before one could preserve and nourish. As such, his position was originally grounded in HU Hong's view that one's inner nature and heart/mind, whether before or after the feelings were aroused, were united as one. The inner nature was substance and the heart/mind was its function; however, there was no gap separating them into two things. If one grasped this insight and took action, one could rather spontaneously overcome the self and maintain one's moral seriousness or mental attentiveness, and thus boldly accomplish what one set out to do.

The alternative approach was developed in Fujian by YANG Shi and then by ZHU Xi's principal teacher LI Tong. The focus in this tradition was on the state before the feelings became aroused because they regarded the state after the feelings were expressed as too disordered to serve as the basis for self-cultivation. Thus, in contrast to ZHANG Shi, they emphasized quiet sitting in meditation as a foundation for self-cultivation. According to Zhu's letters and comments, initially he was not attracted to this Fujian approach and did not seize the opportunity to focus on this subject while his teacher was alive; thus, he was left to wrestle with the

problem of how to achieve equilibrium and harmony in his self-cultivation. By temperament, Zhu was also more analytical and scholarly and less meditative than his teacher; hence, when he began to appreciate his deficiency regarding this topic, he was easily drawn toward the Hunan approach and went to Changsha to explore the topic with Zhang.

During the 1167 visit, although Zhu and Zhang debated the issue without coming to full agreement, Zhu's doubts about Li Tong's approach were augmented, and he thus embraced much of Zhang's approach. Zhu accepted the point that the inner nature is the state before the feelings are aroused, and the heart/mind is the state after the feelings were aroused. In four letters after returning home, Zhu documented the changes in his perspective. Moving away from Li's focus on quiet-sitting to find equilibrium, Zhu was turning toward Zhang's emphasis on examining the heart/mind as it interacted with things to extend its knowledge. Conceding that previously he had wrongly regarded substance and function as two different things, Zhu also moved toward the Hunan view of their simultaneity and also toward the identity of the inner nature and the heart/mind. Zhu further adopted Zhang's view of the self as a more active agent and the master of external things, a viewpoint that made cultivation more spontaneous and easier than in Li's approach. Zhu seemingly never fully followed the nuances of the Hunan approach, and he later appended brief comments to these four letters declaring that his views in these four letters were incorrect (Chan 1989: 409–414; Liu 1989: 249–262). In addition to unease about abandoning his principal teacher's approach, Zhu also felt that his ethical rigor had declined after he moved away from Li's concentration on the state of tranquility in quiet sitting.

In 1169 Zhu wrote a letter to his friends in Hunan in an attempt to convince them that their view of equilibrium and harmony was fundamentally flawed. He argued that instead of involving the inner nature, the problem of attaining equilibrium and harmony centered in the heart/mind: before the feelings were aroused was the heart/mind's substance, and after the feelings were aroused was the heart/mind's function. Instead of passages from the Chengs upon which their discussions had focused, Zhu sought to convince them with other passages from his recently edited edition of *Surviving Works of the Two Chengs* (*Er Cheng yishu* 二程遺書). The most crucial passage was from Cheng Yi: "Self-cultivation requires seriousness; the pursuit of learning depends on the extension of knowledge" (Cheng and Cheng 1981: 188; tr. Chan 1989: 414). In 1172, Zhu's preface to *My Old Views of Equilibrium and Harmony* (*Zhong he jiu shuo xu* 中和舊說序) set forth the three periods of his changing views that had led him to his mature position with its balanced inclusion of serious mental attentiveness and the extension of knowledge to address the essence and function of the heart/mind in its task of self-cultivation. He observed that although most of his friends in Hunan were still very skeptical and unreceptive Zhang Shi approved of his synthesis (Zhu 1996: 75.3949–3950; Liu 1989: 265–269).

Following Zhang's evolution on this issue is difficult because Zhu's editing did not preserve much of Zhang's early writings on such subjects because Zhu

apparently felt that readers might become confused or fail to focus on Zhang's "new views" that were much closer to Zhu's. Thus, we have to rely heavily on Zhu's comments and criticisms to piece together fragments of Zhang's early views. The inscription (quoted above) for WEI Shanzhi is one of the few extant writings from the early period where Zhang himself articulates some points of the view that he had inherited from HU Hong. From Zhang's exchange of letters with WU Yi 吳翌 (1129–1177), we can observe that by 1170 Zhang was being reproached by some of his colleagues for abandoning Hu's position in favor of Zhu's, for Zhang now presented preserving and nourishing as having priority over examining. Furthermore, in a 1175 letter to Zhu, Zhang briefly referred to the "old view" that he had earlier held before embracing Zhu's balanced synthesis of nourishing and examining (Zhang 1999: 948, 952, 869; Zhang 1987c: 28.13a, 29.3a, 23.4a; Su 2007b: 417–431). Besides Zhang's acceptance of most of Zhu's new formulation, the failure of other Hunan scholars to engage Zhu adequately on this issue certainly led to the decline and eventual eclipse of Zhang's Hunan tradition.

HU Hong's Understanding of Words

Through these extensive interactions with Zhang on equilibrium and harmony, ZHU Xi had been influenced profoundly by Zhang, but was able eventually to establish his own perspective and attain his independent maturity as a philosopher. Zhang's emphasis on tranquility in activity served as a transitional stage from which Zhu sought motion in tranquility. Perhaps the Hunan conception of inner nature as essence and the heart/mind as its function prompted Zhu to seek both essence and function in the heart/mind. Having experienced the angst of abandoning and later altering his own principal teacher's approach, Zhu surely developed more self-confidence and was thus empowered to make corrections to established understandings of the works of the Chengs. Scholars generally regard this interaction with Zhang as Zhu's most crucial watershed of philosophical development, a maturation point from which he went on to develop his philosophical system (e.g., Mou 1968–1969; Liu 1989; Chan 1989; Tillman 1992). However, Zhu's difficulty in maintaining his own new balanced approach to cultivation is quite apparent in his response to LÜ Zuqian's admonition to respect the balanced approach instead of one-sidedly condemning a statement in HU Hong's *Understanding of Words*. Zhu quipped: "Certainly neither of the two modes of cultivation should be emphasized at the expense of the other, but the teachings of the sages emphasize holding fast and preserving far more than apprehending and examining, which is the opposite of the meaning in this section from Hu's text" (Zhu 1996: 74. 3866; Tillman 1992: 64).

Zhu's critical remark is preserved in his "Misgivings about Master Hu's *Understanding of Words"* ("Huzi zhi yan yi yi" 胡子知言疑義), a record of Zhu's doubts about eight of Hu's passages and his written exchanges with ZHANG Shi

and Lü Zuqian about these passages. Besides self-cultivation and humaneness, the other topic of discussion was the inner nature and the heart/mind. For instance, Hu had proclaimed that human nature was the great foundation of all under the heavens, but the heart/mind ordered the myriads of things and brought the inner nature to completion or fulfillment. Thus, as discussed above, Hu viewed the inner nature as essence and the heart/mind as its function. Zhu wanted to change Hu's wording by substituting a phrase from Zhang Zai: "the heart/mind directs and unites the inner nature and the feelings." Zhang Shi offered instead, "the heart/mind masters nature and the feelings," but Zhu was not satisfied with this suggestion. Hu had also said that the principles of the heavens and the desires of humans shared the same essence but differed in function; thus, a major task of ethical cultivation was to distinguish desires and principles. Objecting, Zhu asserted that while principles were innate in human nature, desires were not innate because they arose only after people indulged in habits and became confused by feelings. Early in the discussion of Hu's text, he had asserted that the three friends "would not alter the original manuscript," but only express their individual views of what wording would have been better. Nevertheless by the end, he remarked, "I would like to preserve this passage but slightly change the wording." (Zhu 1996: 74.3858–3867; Tillman 1992: 64–70; and Chan 1989: 416–417.) Thus, he had apparently convinced himself of the need to alter Hu's text; moreover, the eight passages to which Zhu objected were later omitted in some editions of Hu's works. Although Zhu's "Misgivings" quotes Zhang as agreeing with some of his objections, Zhu later told his students that Zhang stubbornly held to Hu's belief that what is called good in the inner nature is only an expression of praise and is not set in contrast to evil (Zhu 1986: 103.2606).

Humaneness

Humaneness was the topic of the third major philosophical discussion between Zhang Shi and Zhu Xi. Since all the followers of the Chengs paid special attention to this concept, the discussion of this topic with Zhang probably began years earlier; moreover, as in Zhang's case with his mentor, Zhu had also discussed this concept with his own teacher Li Tong. Nonetheless, enhanced attention turned to this concept when Zhu wrote a 1171 letter to Zhang that expressed the crucial need for a better formulation or explanation of the concept of *ren* than earlier generations of Confucians had achieved: "Unless one establishes a definite idea on the meaning and content of humaneness through learning, one encounters the danger of being mired in aimless confusion." Moreover, his proposed starting point implicitly faulted the misdirection within the school of the Cheng brothers which had deemphasized love: "When one wants to gain a clear understanding of the meaning and content of humaneness, one will do well if one uses the concept of love as the aid. When one realizes

that humaneness is the source of love and that love can never exhaust humaneness, then one has gained a definite comprehension of humaneness" (Zhu 1996: 31.1312; tr. Satō 1986: 216–217). Thus, although Zhu's and Zhang's discussions of this topic did not begin in 1171 with Zhang's composition of the *Record of the Confucian School's Comments on Humaneness* (Chen 2007: 224–225), it probably still served as a significant catalyst for making humaneness such a central issue between 1171 and 1173. Zhang had completed this work in 1171, and Zhu responded to it. Moreover, the work pulled together the comments, especially of Confucius, Mencius, and the Cheng brothers, along with Zhang's own reflections. From Zhu's reply to Zhang and his later remarks to others, we know that Zhu objected to Zhang's composing a work solely on this one major concept because he feared that students would rely on this compilation to the neglect of the broader content of such texts as the *Analects* and the *Mencius* (Zhu 1996: 31.1312; Zhu 1986: 103.2605–2606; Chen 2007: 204–207). Hence, from this objection, it is not surprising that Zhu did not preserve Zhang's two compilations on humaneness when he edited and published Zhang's collected writings in 1184. In any case, each philosopher apparently in 1171 began a sustained exchange of suggestions about humaneness which continued into 1173 and culminated in each writing their own "Treatise on Humaneness." Since Zhang's Treatise was quoted and discussed above, here we will highlight Zhu's Treatise and discuss briefly some of the major points of difference.

Scholars have debated the dating of Zhu's treatises and the authorship of Zhang's. ZHU Xi's disciple, CHEN Chun 陳淳 (1159–1223), claimed that Zhang's Treatise was really written by Zhu, and LIU Shuxian [LIU Shu-hsien 劉述先] has endorsed that judgment (Liu 1983: 173–188). CHEN Lai highlights aspects of HU Hong's legacy in Zhang's treatise to refute the claim that it was written by Zhu (Chen 2007: 227). Wing-tsit Chan (CHEN Rongjie 陳榮捷; 1901–1994) dismissed CHEN Chun's claim as poorly informed (Chan 1989: 176–177). Furthermore, Chan expended considerable effort to document his own assertion that Zhu's Treatise was almost certainly completed in 1171 and surely before Zhang's (Chan 1989: 155–157, 175). However, Tillman has raised questions about Chan's interpretation, and has thus suggested that both Treatises continued to be revised into 1173 (Tillman 1992: 72–73; Tian 2008: 118–119). It is crucial for Chan's mainstream tradition to maintain that Zhu's Treatise was completed long before Zhang's because such dating would cement the traditional view that Zhu's formulation of the concept of humaneness was solely his original contribution.

Zhu's Treatise set forth the famous formulation that humaneness was "the principle of love" (*ai zhi li* 愛之理) and the "virtue of the heart/mind" (*xin zhi de* 心之德). As discussed above in the case of Zhang's Treatise, designating humaneness as "the principle of love" was critical for correcting CHENG Yi's disassociation of humaneness and love, but making this correction in a way that could be made consistent with Cheng's philosophy. In other words, CHENG Yi was right that love was a feeling and humaneness was the inner nature; hence, emphasizing "principle" solved the problem because the inner nature was

principle. Although Zhang's Treatise, as well as his *1173 Explication of the* Analects (*Guisi* Lunyu *jie* 癸巳論語解) and his *1173 Commentary on the* Mencius (*Guisi* Mengzi *shuo* 癸巳孟子說), all used the phrase "principle of love," Zhu is universally credited with coining the phrase.

"Virtue of the heart/mind" is more complex. Zhu was building upon CHENG Yi's novel interpretation of the heart/mind as comparable to seeds of grain, and humaneness to the nature of growth, so that humaneness was associated with the perpetual renewal of life in natural processes. Moreover, HU Hong had said that humaneness was the *dao* of the heart/mind, so Hu's comment might have also inspired Zhu to substitute virtue (substance) for *dao* (function). Yet, as Chan observes, Zhang's Treatise "refrained from talking about" this phrase; moreover, "the consensus of scholars over the centuries" is that Zhu contributed both phrases (Chan 1986: 159, 175). Thus, both images of humaneness, as two sides of a coin, have long been trumpeted as Zhu's brilliant breakthroughs or innovations.

Nonetheless, two modern scholars have pointed to evidence that the characterization of humaneness as "virtue of the heart/mind" was actually first set forth by Zhang, and Zhu initially rejected it (Liu 1983: 180; Liu 1984: 145, 189–190; Tillman 1992: 80–81). The crucial evidence is found in Zhu's twenty-fifth letter to LÜ Zujian 呂祖儉 (d. 1196), datable to 1185 (possibly 1186) because of Zhu's account therein of his reply to two recent letters from CHEN Liang 陳亮 (1143–1194). For Lü, Zhu recounted that Zhang "had wanted to change [Zhu's wording]—'the virtue of the nature and the foundation of love'—into 'the virtue of the heart/mind and the foundation of the good,' as well as to say that the heavens, earth, and the myriads of things all share my essence." Zhu went on to say that he rejected Zhang's phrase because he feared it was too vague and could be read in diverse ways (Zhu 1996: 47.2303). Indeed, if the phrase is translated in the conventional way as the "character of the heart/mind," it is easy to see how the phrase reflected Hu and Zhang's view of the heart/mind. Although Zhu's recollection was made at least a dozen years after the original exchange, he had recently completed editing Zhang's collected writings, and rereading Zhang's letters had surely refreshed his memory. Thus, Zhu's testimony should not be discounted by the passage of time. Moreover, Zhang had died five years before Zhu wrote this 1185 letter, so he was not at this time under any compulsion to acknowledge Zhang's contribution. It is all the more surprising that Zhu made this admission that the phrase was originally Zhang's because when editing Zhang's letters for publication, Zhu omitted the letter in which Zhang made this point. One wonders if the phrase originated from Zhang's *Record of Admiring Yanzi* or his *Record of the Confucian School's Comments on Humaneness*, neither of which Zhu chose to preserve while publishing Zhang's collected writings. Zhu's 1185 statement was a somewhat rare acknowledgement of a specific and significant intellectual debt to a contemporary; thus, scholars for centuries have easily overlooked it, too.

A brief overview of two major subtopics of humaneness will provide a sense of the differences between Zhang and Zhu, as well as the progress made in

lessening those divisions. We will set aside their complex and nuanced, but foundational, views of the relationship of humaneness to the heart/mind of the heavens and the earth and its penchant for giving life to all things (Chan 1989: 170–172; Tillman 1992: 74–76; Chen 2007: 205, 211–217). The first example provides some of the context which eventually led to their shared phrase "principle of love" and suggests that there was some difference in how each understood the phrase. Zhang had focused on the shared public good or the altruistic public interest (*gong* 公) and being one with all others and extending love to them. For instance, in a letter to Zhu, ZHANG Shi had written: "The way of humaneness is difficult to name, only (a commitment to) the altruistic public good approximates it; however, one cannot regard humaneness simply as the altruistic public good.... In fact, if we share the public good with the whole world without any selfish feelings dividing ourselves from others, then its love will prevail everywhere" (Zhang 1999: 847; Zhang 1987c: 21.7a). In his letter to Zhang about their treatises, Zhu explained why he was rejecting Zhang's emphasis on commitment to the altruistic public good as an approximation for humaneness: "If impartiality, which is extended to the whole world and which eliminates the selfishness that divides the self and others, is considered the substance of humaneness, I am afraid that that impartiality is totally devoid of feeling, like the emptiness of wood and stone" (Zhu 1996: 32.11394, 1395; tr. Chan 1989: 171). Unfortunately as here, modern commentators have followed Zhu's characterization of Zhang's view by glossing *gong*, the concept of a commitment to the altruistic public good, as nothing more than mere "impartiality"— even when discussing Zhang's view. Thus, the term conventionally used in English reinforces Zhu's perspective and makes his objection more compelling. However, rendering *gong* in a way that is more consistent with its traditional usage would illustrate that Zhang's ideal was far from devoid of feeling, but instead, actually embodied a strong commitment to commiserating and sharing with others. Nonetheless, Zhang's final version of his Treatise (as translated above) still proclaimed, "Commitment to the altruistic public good is the reason people can be humane."

The other example of their differences is the concept *jue* 覺, another case where modern commentators tend to follow ZHU Xi's reading of the term to gloss it as "consciousness" and thus conflated with knowing or wisdom (*zhi* 知 or 智). Although consciousness is included in the meaning of *jue*, what Zhang referred to was conscience arising from being mindful of, and thus empathic toward, others' suffering. As Mencius (2A.6) had proposed, the mind/heart that could not bear to see others' suffer would respond spontaneously and appropriately, as in the famous example of saving a child in danger of falling into a well. Therefore to Zhang, *jue* meant the spontaneous ethical responses and actions arising from the heart/mind and inner nature. Modern scholars' use of the word consciousness weights the debate in Zhu's favor. Unfortunately, Zhu did not preserve Zhang's letter on this issue, so we are quite dependent on Zhu's reply for the flavor of this exchange: "However, consciousness is merely the functioning of wisdom. Only the humane person can have both humaneness

and wisdom. Therefore it is all right to say that a humane person certainly has consciousness, but it is not all right to say that the heart/mind's consciousness is humaneness" (Zhu 1996: 32.1396; tr. adapted from Chan 1989: 171). Even Chan concedes that Zhu "went too far in criticizing his friend." He also admits: Zhu's "understanding of consciousness left something to be desired. As Mou Zongsan has pointed out, 'Zhu Xi mistakenly considers the consciousness of humaneness as the consciousness of wisdom. Because of this misunderstanding, he has confined consciousness to wisdom'" (Mou 1968–1969: vol. 3, p. 280; tr. adapted from Chan 1989: 172). Nonetheless, Chen Lai judges Zhu's distinctions to be reasonable; moreover, he quotes Zhu distinguishing sharply between the Hunan position and that of Mencius because Mencius simply meant "knowing these affairs and being conscious of these principles" (Zhu 1996: 42.1956; Chen 2007: 220, 226–227). Hence, following Zhu's argument that this Hunan position was grounded in the philosophy of Xie Liangzuo 謝良佐 (1050-c. 1120), Chen implicitly discounts Mou Zongsan's thesis that Zhang's position on the heart/mind and humaneness was grounded in the *Mencius*.

In conclusion, even though he championed Zhu Xi's contributions and centrality, Wing-tsit Chan conceded that Zhu "would have been utterly different in personality and thought had it not been for" Zhang Shi (Chan 1989: 396). The present essay has gone further in demonstrating that Zhang contributed even more significantly than Chan imagined. For example, it is clear that one-half of Zhu's famous redefinition of humaneness was initially set forth by Zhang. Mou Zongsan not only thoroughly criticized Zhu's perspectives but also sought to reestablish Zhang as a viable alternative to Zhu's school. Yet, he also faulted Zhang for an inadequate defense of what he regarded as the true orthodox view of the heart/mind and inner nature, which was not only inherited from Hu Hong and Cheng Hao, but also grounded in the *Mencius*. Liu Shuxian has even complained about the lack of any trace of Hu Hong's distinctive ideas in Zhang's collected writings—which Zhu edited. However, we have begun to show how even extant writings suggest that Zhang maintained more of Hu Hong's Hunan tradition than conventionally recognized. For instance, Zhang's writings on the Supreme Ultimate reveal a particularly crucial area of impact on Zhu Xi. Zhang was the catalyst that furthered Zhu's development of his thoughts on the Supreme Ultimate, a field that was originally especially strong in the Hunan school. This influence extends to both the philosophical implications of the Supreme Ultimate idea, and the position of Zhou Dunyi in the transmission of the way (*daotong*). In such cases, it is becoming obvious that Zhang did not simply yield to Zhu's findings, but also continued to uphold his own perspectives, which had been influenced by Hu Hong. Perhaps Wing-tsit Chan and other members of the Zhu Xi school may have somewhat discounted Zhang's contributions, while Mou Zongsan and his followers may have been too critical of Zhang for the decline of what they regard as their true orthodox philosophical lineage. For instance, although Zhu did influence Zhang to pay particular attention to Cheng Yi, it is apparent that Zhang's primary source of philosophical inspiration was surely the *Mencius*.

Now that a modern punctuated edition of most of Zhang's extant writings is available, perhaps a greater number of scholars will explore his thought and legacy with the detailed scrutiny that they deserve. As editor of Zhang's works and ultimately as the authoritative reader of the Classics and the *daoxue* tradition, ZHU Xi certainly reduced the diversity of the *daoxue* tradition in his selective preservation of Zhang's writings. Still, when considering the importance of seeing the relevance of Zhu's 1185 letter to LÜ Zujian and especially CHEN Lai's discovery in the 1980s of much of Zhang's writings on the Supreme Ultimate, it might be possible to retrieve additional traces of Zhang's ideas in various sources and thus enhance the clarity of our portrait of his philosophy and praxis.

Bibliography

Cai, Fanglu 蔡方鹿. 1991. *Master Teacher of a Generation: ZHANG Shi and his Philosophy* 一代學者宗師 - 張栻及其哲學. Chengdu 成都: Bashu shushe 巴蜀書社. (Concise account of Zhang's thought on politics, philosophy, and education, as well as his exchange with ZHU Xi.)

Chan, Wing-tsit. 1989. *Chu Hsi: New Studies*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. (Chan was the single most important scholar in the promotion of ZHU Xi Studies in America, and this book is his major culminating work on topics he felt had been inadequately addressed.)

Chao, Gongwu 晁公武 and ZHAO Xibian 趙希弁. 1987. *Record of Readings at the Prefect's Residence* 郡齋讀書志. *Siku quanshu* edition 四庫全書本. Shanghai 上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社. (Chao's [1105–1180] book is China's earliest preserved private annotated bibliographical work, and it was extended by Zhao in the thirteenth century.)

Chen, Gujia 陳谷嘉. 1991. *Research on ZHANG Shi and the Huxiang School of Thought* 張栻與湖湘學派研究. Changsha 長沙: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe 湖南教育出版社. (Description of Zhang's philosophical thought in the context of the Hunan school.)

Chen, Gujia 陳穀嘉. 2006. *Research on the Ethical Thought of the Song Era's School of Principle* 宋代理學倫理思想研究. Changsha 長沙: Hunan daxue chubanshe 湖南大學出版社.

Chen, Lai 陳來. 2007. "ZHU Xi's 'Treatise on Humaneness' and the Evolution of Song Era *Daoxue* Discourse" 朱熹的〈仁說〉與宋代道學話語的演變. In CHEN Lai 陳來 (ed.), *The Formation and Evolution of the Early Period of Daoxue Discourse* 早期道學話語的形成與演變, Hefei 合肥: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe 安徽教育出版社. (Written by Peking University Philosophy professor, this essay is a good representation of the erudition with which he has addressed ZHU Xi's thought since the early 1980s.)

Chen, Rongjie [Chan, Wing-tsit] 陳榮捷. 1988. *ZHU Xi: New Studies* 朱子新探索. Taibei 台北: Xuesheng shuju 學生書局.

Cheng, Hao 程顥, and CHENG Yi 程頤. 1981. *Collected Works of the Two Chengs* 二程集. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Hu, Hong 胡宏. 1987a. *Great Record of Emperors and Kings* 皇王大紀. *Siku quanshu* edition 四庫全書本. Shanghai上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社.

Hu, Hong 胡宏. 1987b. *Collected Writings of HU Hong* 五峰集. *Siku quanshu* edition 四庫全書本. Shanghai上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社.

Huang, Zongxi 黃宗羲 and QUAN Zuwang 全祖望 (eds.) 1986. *Song-Yuan Case Studies* 宋元學案. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局. (This work, which was begun in the late eighteenth century, remains a major secondary interpretation of Confucian thought during the Song and Yuan periods.)

Laozi. 1996. The Chinese University of Hong Kong Institute of Chinese Studies, compiler, *A Concordance to the Laozi*. Hong Kong: The Commercial Press.

Liu, Shuxian [Liu, Shu-hsien] 劉述先. 1983. "Further Examination of ZHU Xi's 'Treatise on *Ren*,' The Concept of the Supreme Ultimate, and Orthodox Tradition of the Way – Reflections on Participating at the International Conference on ZHU Xi 朱子的仁說、太極觀點與道統問題的再審查." *Shixue pinglun* 史學評論 5: 173–188.

Liu, Shuxian [Liu, Shu-hsien] 劉述先. 1984. *Development and Completion of Master Zhu's Philosophical Thought* 朱子哲學思想的發展與完成. Taibei 台北: Xuesheng shuju 學生書局.

Liu, Shu-hsien 劉述先. 1989. "On Chu Hsi's Search for Equilibrium and Harmony." In Liu et al. (eds.), *Harmony and Strife: Contemporary Perspectives, East and West*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press. (This solid essay also provides a window into the perspective of the MOU Zongsan school of thought, of which Liu is the foremost representative today.)

Lü, Zuqian 呂祖謙. 1987. *Secondary Collection of Lü Zuqian* 東萊集別集. *Siku quanshu* edition 四庫全書本. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社.

Mou, Zongsan. 1968–1969. *Onto-cosmological State of the Original Heart/Mind and Human Nature* 心體與性體. Taibei 台北: Zhengzhong 正中. (This critical work in three volumes is by the most creative philosopher among the twentieth-century "new" Confucians.)

Satō, Hitoshi, 1986. "Chu Hsi's 'Treatise on *Jen*.'" In Wing-tsit Chan (ed.), *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. (This article provides a solid overview from the perspective of Japanese scholarship.)

Su, Xuansheng 蘇鉉盛. 2007a. "ZHANG Shi's *Explanation of the Supreme Ultimate* 張栻的《太極解》." In CHEN Lai 陳來 (ed.), *The Formation and Evolution of the Early Period of Daoxue Discourse* 早期道學話語的形成與演變. Hefei 合肥: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe 安徽教育出版社. (Thorough analysis of Zhang's thought on the Supreme Ultimate, making extensive use of newly discovered material.)

Su, Xuansheng 蘇鉉盛. 2007b. "ZHANG Shi's Views of Equilibrium and Harmony" 張栻的中和說. In CHEN Lai 陳來 (ed.), *The Formation and Evolution of the Early Period of Daoxue Discourse* 早期道學話語的形成與演變. Hefei 合肥: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe 安徽教育出版社. (This solid essay is by one of CHEN Lai's former PhD students.)

Tian, Hao 田浩 (Hoyt Tillman). 2008. *ZHU Xi's World of Thought* 朱熹的思維世界 (Revised and expanded edition 增訂版). Taibei 台北: Yunchen wenhua 允晨文化. A simplified-character edition was published under the same title: Nanjing 南京: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe 江蘇人民出版社江, 2009. (Book's core is Tillman 1992; however, it contains much more material and documentation and is addressed to a Chinese audience.)

Tillman, Hoyt Cleveland. 1992. *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. (Places ZHANG Shi and others in the context of the evolution of the twelfth-century *daoxue* fellowship into state orthodoxy in 1241.)

Wang, Maohong 王懋竑. 1987. *Investigation of Discrepancies in Master Zhu's Chronological Biography* 朱子年譜考異. *Siku quanshu* edition 四庫全書本. Shanghai 上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社. (Despite notable modern efforts, Wang's remains the standard biography of Zhu.)

Wang, Yu 王煜. 1992. "Review of CAI Fanglu's *Master Teacher of a Generation: ZHANG Shi and his Philosophy*" 評蔡方鹿《一代學者宗師 - 張栻及其哲學》. *Philosophy and Culture* 哲學與文化 19.4: 378–382.

Wu, Cheng 吳澄. 1987. *Collected Writings of WU Cheng* 吳文正集. *Siku quanshu* edition 四庫全書本. Shanghai 上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社. (Wu [1249–1333]) was a fourth generation disciple of ZHU Xi.)

Yu, Yingshi 余英時. 2003. *ZHU Xi's Historical World* 朱熹歷史的世界. Taibei 台北: Yunchen wenhua 允晨文化. (This major reinterpretation of ZHU Xi demonstrates manifold affinities between ZHANG Shi and ZHU Xi, as well as with other *daoxue* Confucian intellectuals, in their views on Song political culture and policies.)

Zhang, Shi 張栻. 1987a. *1173 Explication of the* Analects 癸巳論語解. *Siku quanshu* edition 四庫全書本. Shanghai 上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社.

Zhang, Shi 張栻. 1987b. *1173 Commentary on the* Mencius 癸巳孟子說. *Siku quanshu* edition 四庫全書本. Shanghai 上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社.

Zhang, Shi 張栻. 1987c. *Collected Writings of ZHANG Shi* 南軒集. *Siku quanshu* edition 四庫全書本. Shanghai 上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社.

Zhang, Shi 張栻. 1987d. *ZHANG Shi's Commentary on the* Book of Change 南軒易說. *Siku quanshu* edition 四庫全書本. Shanghai 上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社.

Zhang, Shi 張栻. 1999. *ZHANG Shi's Complete Works* 張栻全集, 3 vols. Changchun 長春: Changchun chubanshe 長春出版社. (Convenient modern edition with punctuation, but Zhang 1987 is more standard.)

Zhang, Shi 張栻. 2007. *Explanation of the Supreme Ultimate's Meaning* 張栻《太極解義》, reconstructed by SU Xuansheng 蘇鉉盛. In CHEN Lai 陳來 (ed.), *The Formation and Evolution of the Early Period of Daoxue Discourse* 早期道學話語的形成與演變. Hefei 合肥: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe 安徽教育出版社. (So far the only available reconstruction of one of Zhang's major works, which had been lost for centuries.)

Zhen, Dexiu 真德秀. 1987. *Record of Readings by ZHEN Dexiu* 西山讀書記. *Siku quanshu* edition 四庫全書本. Shanghai 上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社.

Zhou Yi 周易. 1995. The Chinese University of Hong Kong Institute of Chinese Studies, *A Concordance to the Zhou Yi*. Hong Kong: The Commercial Press.

Zhou, Dunyi 周敦頤. 1987. *Collected Writings of ZHOU Dunyi* 周元公集. *Siku quanshu* edition 四庫全書本. Shanghai 上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社.

Zhou, Dunyi 周敦頤. 1988. *Collected Writings of Master Zhou from Lianxi* 元公周先生濂溪集. Reprinted in *Collection of Old Rare Editions from the Beijing Library* 北京圖書館古籍珍本叢刊, vol. 88. Beijing 北京: Shumu wenxian chubanshe 書目文獻出版社. (Reprint of a late Song edition of Zhou's works, containing some of ZHANG Shi's writings not preserved elsewhere.)

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1986. *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* 朱子語類. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1996. *Collected Writings of ZHU Xi* 朱熹集. Chengdu 成都: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe 四川教育出版社.

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 2002. *Complete Writings of Master Zhu* 朱子全書. Shanghai 上海: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社.

ZHU Xi's Cosmology

John Berthrong

David Hall and Roger Ames, writing as comparative philosophers interested in the dialogue between Chinese and Western philosophy, provide the following definition of a fairly standard Western understanding of philosophical cosmology:

> In the Western tradition, cosmology has carried two principal connotations. First, *ontologia generalis*, general ontology, which is concerned with the question of the being of beings. The second sense is that associated with the term, *scientia universalis*, the science of principles. The first type of cosmology is well represented by the project of Martin Heidegger, who pursued the question, "Why is there something rather than nothing at all?" The second type of speculation address the question: "What kinds of things are there?" Whitehead represents this sort of philosophic activity. (Hall and Ames 1987: 199)

Hall and Ames submit that Master Kong was proposing neither a Western-style theory of general ontology nor a science of coherent principles in terms of a cosmological worldview. Rather, Master Kong's "is an aesthetic understanding, an *ars contextualis*, in which the correlatively of 'part' and 'whole'—of focus and field—permits the mutual interdependence of all things to be assessed in terms of particular contexts defined by social roles and functions" (Hall and Ames 1987: 248). Writing later they note: "Our focus/field model must be understood in terms of the general vision of *ars contextualis*. It is the 'art of contextualization' that is most characteristic of Chinese intellectual endeavors. The variety of specific contexts defined by particular family relations or socio-political orders constitute the 'fields' focused by individuals who are in turn shaped by the field of influences they focus" (Hall and Ames 1995: 273).

ZHU Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) inherited and expanded this classical cosmological sensibility as a form of *ars contextualis*, although he is eager to account for the coherent principles that inform the contextualization of the focus/field of the

J. Berthrong (✉)
Associate Professor of Comparative Theology, Boston University School of Theology, and Deputy Director of the Division of Religious and Theological Studies, Boston, USA
e-mail: jhb@bu.edu

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*,
Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_8,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

myriad things and events (*wushi* 物事) constituting the cosmos.[1] Zhu Xi's *ars contextualis* is a particular kind of axiological cosmology, an *ars contextualis* that addresses the question of what kinds of things and events compose, are manifested in, and function together in the cosmos. Moreover, as we shall see below, Zhu's "learning of the way" (*daoxue* 道學) closely resembles Julia Ching's and Robert Neville's notion of an architectonic axiological cosmology, a fundamental concern for moral and aesthetic values and intersubjective ethical self-cultivation and conduct.

In her profound meditation on the religious dimensions of Zhu Xi's thought, Julia Ching (2000: viii) writes "I think that the best word to describe his system of thought is *architectonic*, since it contains many parts that are held together by certain main concepts."[2] Zhu provides us with an architectonic of how the myriad things find their focus within the field of ever changing *dao* 道. Along with his *daoxue* disciples such as Chen Chun 陳淳 (1159–1223),[3] Zhu presented his cosmological *ars contextualis* via clusters of architectonic terms. It is the coherent presentation of *how* Zhu Xi orders and connects his key cluster concepts that has always made him relatively unique among Song and post-Song philosophers. Some later thinkers such as Wang Fuzhi and Dai Zhen,

---

[1] Robert C. Neville (1995: 27, 40) maintains that "a more specific study than either ontology or metaphysics is the examination of the system of categories distinguishing, integrating, and interpreting all the various kinds of determinations there are.... It is the kind of speculative philosophy Whitehead and Peirce did, and it can be called *cosmology*." He further notes that when we add a theory of values, an axiology, to the mix "axiological cosmology is therefore more 'realistic' than the philosophy of organism." If we accept for the moment that Zhu's fundamental world view is a form of axiological cosmology, then it is plausible to argue that his philosophy is both realistic and pluralistic.

The best introductions to Zhu's thought in English include Ching (2002), Munro (1988), Levey (1991), Kim (2000), Tillman (1992), Wittenborn (1991), and Bol (2008). Levey's dissertation provides very detailed discussions of the best Chinese scholarship up to the 1990s on Zhu's philosophy. It should also go without saying that the various translations and interpretive works of Wing-tsit Chan also add depth to our understanding of Zhu's achievements. Daniel Gardner's (1990) translations from the *Yulei* are also an excellent introduction to part of Zhu Xi's extensive educational project. Needless to say the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese literature on Zhu is vast and growing (Wu 2005). Bol's work is not only an introduction to Zhu but to whole Neo-Confucian tradition. Makeham (2003) illustrates Zhu Xi's talents as a commentator, a key form of Neo-Confucian discourse.

[2] In her use of "architectonic" Ching is acknowledging the work of Walter Watson and David Dilworth (1989) on a theory of cross-cultural architectonic hermeneutics. I have also employed this kind of architectonic analysis (Berthrong 1998).

[3] I will make extensive use of the work of Chen Chun as found in his philosophical lexicography of Zhu Xi. His philosophical dictionary has served as an introductory textbook for *daoxue* philosophy for hundreds of years in China, Korea, and Japan; see Tucker (1998) for a discussion of the Japanese history of this philosophical lexicography as a genre. Chen has the great skill of organizing and condensing many of the most salient architectonic concepts important to understanding Zhu's cosmology. See Chan (1986) and Zhang (2004), respectively, for an English translation of Chen's text and for a fine modern Chinese study of Chen's work. Zhang also includes an excellent critical edition of the Chinese text in an extended appendix to his study.

and, of course, Xunzi among the classical Ruist thinkers, are similarly orderly. Furthermore, because of the vast scope of Zhu's preserved corpus it is highly probable that there are a number of likely stories to be told about various plausible cosmological architectonics to be discovered in Zhu's *daoxue*.

It is, however, critical to remember that an architectonic system for system's sake is not what interests Zhu Xi. System is a heuristic device that allows for better thinking; and better thinking is a key to becoming a better person, a crucial aspect of the long process of self-cultivation of the person in service to the world that is the goal of the Confucian *dao*. So while Zhu is never shy about trying to be clear, this philosophical clarity is subject to the moral ambitions of a Confucian master. Like the finger pointing at the moon, if we become too fascinated by the system or forget its real function as one of the means for moral self-cultivation, then we have missed Zhu's vision of the ultimately moral role a human person performs in the wider cosmos. As the classical tradition taught, the human person has a role to play, along with heaven and earth, in the completion of the cosmos.

An examination of Zhu's architectonic of key cosmological themes, motifs, and concepts can be highly revealing of what Stephan Pepper called the root metaphor or metaphors any philosopher employs in framing a worldview. This can be understood as Zhu's philosophical lexicon. Thus the interwoven mosaic of his cosmological architectonic reveals the deep pattern of Zhu's complicated *daoxue* worldview. In some cases it deals with contested terms such as "coherent principle" (*li* 理).[4] On the other hand, neither Zhu nor other members of the *daoxue* fellowship or its early critics argued very much about how to define the notion of *qi* 氣, a root metaphor for Song speculative philosophy. It appears that *qi*, even as a primordial constituent of Confucian cosmology was so omnipresent that no Song thinker, save for Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1077) of course, felt the need to talk about it's precise philosophical definition—even though later Yuan, Ming, Qing, Korean, and Japanese Confucians realized that they had to grapple much more carefully with understanding the cosmological role of *qi*. This lack of discussion implies that *qi* functioned as a metaphysical commonplace in Song *daoxue* philosophical lexicography. As Whitehead once observed, any real metaphysical concept is deemed so obvious that on occasion it is neglected because it is considered simply self-evident to any thinking person. What follows is one, I hope, plausible interpretation of the structure of Zhu's rich cosmological architectonic.

[4] The emphasis on "coherence" I owe to the ongoing and mostly still unpublished work of Brook Ziporyn. Ziporyn's analysis has convinced me to translate the concept of *li* as "coherent principle." I should also note that Willard Peterson has also suggested that *li* carries the meaning of coherence. I retain "principle" based on a conversation with Wm. Theodore de Bary who explained to me that he and Wing-tsit Chan selected "principle" because it suggests both the moral and normative nature of the cosmos in English. We are all aware that the term principle also caries a heavy Western philosophical heritage; but then, what philosophical term does not have a history? Adding coherence stresses the notion of pattern, order, and rationale that are also part of the *daoxue* semantic range.

Zhu Xi's Cosmological Architectonic

Zhu Xi devoted a great deal of effort to explain how the various objects and events of the world emerge, flourish, decay, and ultimately fall apart as part of a relational and realistic cosmology. His favored term for this realistic pluralism is "events and objects" (*shiwu* 事物); in modern Chinese usage the compound means things, articles, or objects. It is an interesting combination of terms in the context of the development of *daoxue* discourse. *Wu* usually means some definite object, a concrete thing. For instance, when he was teaching, Zhu Xi would often use his fan as an example of a concrete object in need of analysis and explanation as to how it came to be and what its use was (Zhu 2002: 14:239–240).[5] *Shi* often means something like an event, which Zhu Xi takes to be just as real as his fan. According to Zhu, a refined ethical ritual act is just as real as the fan. For Zhu, ethical conduct is as concrete as any event or physical object. He also used the term *shi* 實 to indicate the reality of these objects and events, the "ten thousand things" (*wanwu* 萬 物) that constitute the cosmos. *Shi* 實 means what is real and solid and Zhu understood it to indicate the difference between the pluralistic and realistic worldview of the Confucian tradition in contradistinction to Buddhist emptiness (*kong* 空) and Daoist void (*xu* 虛). The basic architectonic was organized around four major conceptual clusters which I call the condition or state of any thing or event (form, pattern, coherent principle) (*ti* 體), the functional process of the things and events (*yong* 用), unifying action (*he* 和), and moral goal (*de* 德) traits of cosmological actualization.[6] For human beings this actualization comes about via self-cultivation of human nature (*xing* 性) as the coherent principle (*li* 理), state, condition, or rationale within the field of generative vital energy (*qi* 氣) manifested in the body (身 *shen*) as the emotions (情 *qing*) inscribed within the heart/mind (*xin* 心) of each person as they pursue the goal of achieving (*cheng* 誠) sagehood (although Zhu would settle for becoming a good and worthy person as a realistic aspiration for most students of the way).

---

[5] This comprehensive modern edition of Zhu's collected writings in twenty-seven volumes is to be distinguished from the well-known the eighteenth-century anthology of the same title (Li 1977).

[6] In earlier versions of the architectonic I identified *ti* 體, *yong* 用, *wen* 文, and *de* 德 as Zhu's correlates to what I was seeking to define with form, dynamics, unification, and goal in Berthrong 1998, 2008. I have changed the Chinese terms now to *ti* 體 state or conditional traits, *yong* 用 functional (dynamic) traits, *he* 和 unifying action traits, *de* 德 goals or moral traits of self-cultivation. I believe this is more descriptive of Zhu's philosophical aims. However, as with most questions of translation of loaded terms on both sides of the cultural divide, there is probably no way to fine perfect or even remotely elegant fit.

The Architectonic of States/Conditions, Functions (Dynamics), Unification, and Moral Goal

*The State or Condition (***ti** *體) of Coherent Principle (***li** *理)*

Formal states, conditions, or normative traits are those defining characteristics that serve to distinguish one object from another thing or event. For Zhu Xi everything has its own contextual marker, its own special relational coherent principle.[7] In terms of the human person, *li* is called *xing* 性, which means the disposition or tendencies of the maturing person. It is, however, critical to remember that coherent principle is more than merely a logical description of the state, condition, pattern or order of the person, object, or event, although it is certainly that in a very strong sense. *Li* defines what a person ought to be, not just the natural character or disposition that derives from the natural allotment of generative vital energy (*qi*) provided by her parents at birth and shaped by the environment of the family, society, and culture.

For instance, when Chen Chun asked Zhu Xi about the various meanings of principle, Zhu replied that it is the normative or ethical meaning of coherent principle as "what ought to be" (*dangran* 當然) which informs all the other shades of meaning of principle (Zhu 2002: 23:2736). Zhu and Chen used this sort of language because it brings out clearly the ethical and normative dimension of *li*. But *li* can be further defined as the *suoyiran* 所以然 or the *raison d'être* of any person, object, or event. Zhu pointed out that it was the natural state or condition of a piece of bamboo to be both round and straight (Qian 1971: 1:252). Part of the bamboo *li* as coherence is defined by the qualities of roundness and straightness. Of course, the nature (*xing*) implies more than a description of its external physical qualities, especially when speaking of the human person, the most perfect creature of the cosmos, according to Zhu.

All things have boundaries that help us to define what they are as individuals, and these boundaries can be physical, ethical, or even cultural, in scope. When Zhu was asked about the *li* of a writing brush, he stoutly defended the proposition that the brush does have its own coherent principle but refused to define the brush in terms of human ethical dispositions (Zhu 2002: 14:189). Thus we can see that the *li* of a sentient human person is quite different from that of a writing brush, for a human has the potentiality for self-actualization and ethical action that the brush lacks, being itself a human artifact. Although all things have the urge to live in a technical sense of being part of the ceaseless fecundity of the

---

[7] Some contemporary Chinese and Western scholars feel uncomfortable with "principle" because it strikes them that the term is too static. *Li* is always a trait of life, of the active, generative nature of the cosmos. However, as Wm. Theodore de Bary once explained to me, "principle" in English actually carries two connotations having to do with being determined, ordered, and patterned as well as being resolute and moral. These two ways of reading *li* make "coherent principle" a plausible translation of the Chinese philosophical concept as a marker for the states or conditions of anything whatsoever.

way, it is only in human beings that *li* become a complete coherent principle of ethical fullness (Zhu 2002 14:325; 486). All things share this life principle even though it is obscured in what Zhu calls dry and withered things. It is, however, worth repeating that for Zhu these are heuristic distinctions. Once the coherent pattern is grasped, the vision is holistic and axiologically focused on human values and forms of civility.

CHEN Chun provides a summary of *li* based on ZHU Xi's cosmological architectonic:

> The way (*dao*) and coherent principle (*li*) are generally one thing, but they are discriminated as two concepts because they ought to be so separated. When the way, in the sense of meeting no obstruction wherever one goes, is compared to principle, the way is comparatively general while the principle is comparatively "real" (*shi* 實). *Li* has the connotation of having solid, unchanging definition. Therefore what is eternally unimpeded is the way, and what is eternally unchanging is principle. *Li* is without shape, so how can it be seen? *Li* is the necessary norm of things and events. This necessary norm functions as a rule or standard. This norm connotes [things and events] being determined and unchanging [in terms of coherent principle]. It is the norm of things and events being harmoniously coordinated [*qiahao* 恰好] without any excess or deficiency....
>
> When *li* and the nature are compared, *li* is the coherent principle in things while the nature is *li* in my person. In things it is the common coherent principle of the way of heaven, earth, humanity, and the things. In my person it is the *li* that makes me what I am.
>
> When *li* and justice/rectitude (*yi* 義) are compared, *li* is the [fundamental] condition (*ti*) and justice/rectitude is the function. *Li* is the necessary criterion while justice/rectitude is the way these principles are [set forth in the world]. Therefore Master CHENG Yi said: "Inherent in things as *li*, ordering things as justice/rectitude." (Zhang 2004: 288–289)[8]

What, then, do we make of CHEN Chun's claim that principle is "real"?[9] The attribution of broadness or generality to the way is not surprising because the way is also construed as a road or pathway (Chen 1986: 105–108; Zhang 2004: 284–288). The way can mean a highway or public thoroughfare. Here again Chen is playing on the Confucian conceit that the Confucian doctrine of *li* is active and concerned with the real world, whereas Daoist and Buddhist teachings are not.

Chen succinctly notes that "obviously *li* is not something dead, just lying there. As the *qi* of the One Origin spreads out, it produces man and things. There are thus lines and veins, as it were. They are the way followed by man and things. This is what it is when one traces the source of the creative process"

---

[8] I have provided my own rather literal translation of this passage in order to highlight certain features of the rhetoric and lexicon I deem important. For a more elegant translation of the material see Chen (1986: 112–113).

[9] For an explanation of how the Cheng brothers saw this issue, see Graham (1992: 41–42; 119–126). Recently HUANG Yong (2008) has started publishing a set of reflections on the philosophical vision of the Cheng brothers that will expand our understanding of this famous pair of thinkers.

(Chen 1986: 106; Zhang 2004: 284–285). The normative state, condition or mandated quality of *li* is not something purely abstract or static: it is manifested in human ethical conduct, just communities, and the ceaseless fecundity of the cosmos. *Li* provides proper states, conditions, forms, or patterns of moral intentionality and cognitive awareness when a person responds in a completely appropriate fashion as a moral agent in any situation that demands moral and intellectual clarity of thought and action. Mere random motions, or immoral actions, are not what define the person from the *daoxue* perspective. If a coherent principle is in the person, creature, object or events which act, then activity is, at least, a subaltern factor in the definition of *li*.

Coherent principle serves as a norm for action in two ways: coordination of the unification of the conditional or normative traits with the functional (dynamic) trait and appropriateness or rightness as justice/rectitude (*yi* 義), with both traits pointing to the act of coming together, of becoming what a person, event, or object ought to become. Many of the key definitions of *li* are assembled in the first section (*juan* 卷) of the *yulei* 語類 dialogues and stress the theme of the states or conditions of coordination and definiteness (boundaries) in realized entities. Qian Mu has analyzed the precepts from this and the other major sources of Zhu's massive corpus.[10] "In the world there is never vital force without coherent principle and never coherent principle without vital force" (Qian 1971: 1:238). Moreover, *li* can never be separated from the entities of the world for a single instant and be said to exist in any fashion whatsoever (Qian 1971: 1:245). Although Zhu wants to use the language of vital force and coherent principle as separate philosophical categories, he never wearies in telling us that they cannot be separated in terms of actual entities or events.

Zhu constantly uses language illustrating the quality of individuation or distinctiveness: *li* is a boundary, a limit or section, as with a petal of a flower (*tiaoban* 條瓣), and also that this boundary that is clearly defined or outlined in context (*tiaoli* 條理) as ordered pattern or what is clearly reasonable (Qian 1971: 1:252). For example, there is functional fitness in the fact that boats can travel on water whereas carts can travel on land and not the other way around (Zhu 2002: 14:236). Here again we see the proclivity to mix description and stipulation that is so common in Zhu's exposition of *daoxue*.

One of clearest statements about principle comes in a pivotal passage in Zhu's "Further Comments on the *Daxue* 大學 [Great Learning]": "Coming to the things of the world, what is called *li* is that each one has reasons why it is what it is and the norm by which it ought to be" (Zhu 2002: 6:512). It is important to notice the context of the definition: it appears right after the point in the main text of the *Great Learning* where the eight steps to achieve the unity of the empire have been introduced. The crux of Zhu's teaching is that the extension of knowledge resides in the investigation of events and objects as

[10] In the modern period, Qian Mu's five-volume work (Qian 1971) is the best collection and analysis of Zhu's writings drawn from all the traditional sources. In the Qing period the other major anthology is Li (1977).

gewu 格物: the exhaustion of the meaning of *li* in the total act of understanding the complex states, conditions, or patterns of any entity in its relation to its own internal constitution and in relationship to the rest of the cosmos.

Zhu discriminates between exhausting and knowing coherent principles. At one point, he defines *zhi* 知 as "to recognize" (Zhu 2002: 6:510). The notion of "to know" is not conjoined with the notion "to exhaust" (*qiong* 窮) at this point. To exhaust clearly implies something rather more expansive than a purely cognitive act of recognition, although it may include knowing as one of its traits. *Qiong* indicates an active appropriation of the real state or condition of the object of study such that a person will actualize the coherent principle. To know something is to realize its limits, the boundaries of what it is and to learn to cope with this knowledge in terms of appropriate action: "to comprehend it and reach its limit is what is going on when a person exhausts the coherent principles of a thing" (Zhu 2002: 6:512).

The key to Zhu's epistemology is the following: "The myriad things each set forth one coherent principle and the myriad principles commonly emerge from one source. This is the reason we can extend from this and comprehend [everything]" (Zhu 2002: 6:525). Zhu contends that because all the myriad things have coherent principles they can be analogously comprehended in theory if not always in fact due to human finitude, ignorance, and error. This theoretical claim for cognitive analogy is tempered by practical concerns as well. Zhu concurs with CHENG Yi's famous precept that the cultivation of the person consists in following reverence and extending knowledge. He says that the very foundation of the praxis of self-cultivation is the examination of things in order to extend the activity of empathetic knowing (Zhu 2002: 6:525). The state or condition, sound, shape, and texture of the myriad things are all given by heaven and earth, and are not the subjective creation of human beings alone, although humans do play a role in the creative process together with heaven and earth. Zhu often emphatically denies a subjectivist understanding of perception (Zhu 2002: 6:527). Each thing in the world has its necessary state, condition, or pattern as an independent entity, however slight this reality might seem from a distant or different perspective. Zhu is defending a kind of objective, albeit intersubjective and relational, view of reality that is pluralistic and does not reduce these entities to shadows in the heart/mind of the beholder even if we cannot empirically examine all the ten thousand things—such, as the Buddhists would say, as all the grains of sand on the banks of Ganges or the great Yangtze. He accepts the witness of the external phenomena as part of his verification of reality, although he does not hold that physical objects are all there is (Zhu 2002: 6:528).

The Functional *(yong* 用*)* Configuration of Active *Qi* 氣

The second critical trait or domain of Zhu's cosmological lexicon is the ubiquitous vital force or energy (*qi*). What is *qi*? It is everything that was, is, or can be. This kind of vague definition, although accurate, does not help us very much in figuring out how *qi* functions. One reason is that generative or vital energy does

not seem to have been a lexicographical term that perplexed the Song Confucians very much. Later in the Ming, Yuan, and Qing dynasties, as well as in Korea and Japan, many thinkers did become fascinated with the explanative power and scope of *qi*. Yet vital energy, as ZHANG Dainian (2002) notes, has been a critical component of Chinese second-order reflection since very early in the formation of the classical tradition.[11]

For Zhu's *daoxue*, vital force is the configurational or functional energy of all that exists, or what he calls the things and events of the world "below form" (形而下). Vital energy is related to all phenomena because there is nothing to be experienced that is not a product of the modifications and manifestations of vital energy in one of its myriad phases. It is agential because *qi* shapes what changes and becomes. Nothing departs from it: there is no thing that is greater or more expansive than the vital energy that produced or shaped it. This primordial vital energy (*yuanqi* 元氣) is something like a cosmogonic force, without form but with the function of ceaseless manifestation and creation.

In Zhu's theory about the relationship of *li* and *qi*, the most perplexing component is the various statements about the priority of vital energy or coherent principle. Zhu is very clear that he does not think that the priority issue is a good way to put the question of the relationship of the *li*-*qi* dyad. In response to a question about whether there is first *li* and then vital energy, he flatly states that this is not an acceptable formulation (Zhu 2002: 14: 115). He says that in speaking of coherent principle and vital energy, there is no simple "before and after" dichotomy. "You cannot say that today there is coherent principle and tomorrow there is vital energy. Following this distinction of before and after, it is really like the myriad mountains and rivers of the world flowing down. Finally, coherent principle is in this [process]" (Zhu 2002: 14:116). For Zhu, the flow of mountains and water does not differ from one point in the stream to any other point in the stream, for there is a continuity of coherent principles informing vital energy that is fundamental to all entities.

How can this explanation be squared with the common belief that Zhu considered *li* to exist prior to vital energy? "Question: Is there first *li* or is there first vital energy? Answer: Coherent principle can never be separated from *qi*. However, *li* is that which is above form (形而上) while vital energy is what is within form. From the perspective of what is above and what is within form, how can you not have a before and after? *Li* is without concrete form, while vital energy is coarse, having sediment" (Zhu 2002: 14:115). The implication is obvious: vital energy, having a specific state, condition, or form, must logically come after what is formless in any material sense, or in the sense of the recognition of any entity.

> Someone asked: Must there be *li* and afterwards must there exist vital energy? Answer: This is fundamentally something that cannot be described in terms of before and after.

---

[11] James Liu (1975) has an excellent discussion of the role of vital energy or force in Chinese culture; yet the term remains elusive. See the essay by Robin Wang and DING Weixiang in this volume for an historical overview.

> However, if you wish to push on to their common origin, then it follows that first there is coherent principle. But *li* is never separated from being something, and always exists in the midst of vital energy. Without vital energy coherent principle would lack any place to be located. Vital energy is like metal, wood, water, and fire, whereas coherent principle is like humanity, rightness, ritual action, and knowledge. (Zhu 2002: 14:115)

Li is viewed as that component of a definite entity which makes it what it is: it is not all that an entity is, as we shall see, but it is a state or conditional form of definiteness, and thus in terms of cognitive pattern recognition, there is a sense in which it is prior to anything else—but only in terms of how we come to recognize the events and objects of the world by first noting their states or conditions of definiteness. For actual events or things, there is no before or after coherent principle and vital energy. Because *li* defines the constant interaction of *yin* and *yang*, coherent principle remains an unchanging norm, and this is what Zhu meant by claiming that *li* is constant (*chang* 常).

"*Li* is only a vast and empty realm, without form or traits, and cannot produce anything [on its own]. Vital energy can ferment, congeal, and produce things. But where there is vital energy then coherent principle is in its midst" (Zhu 2002: 14:116). Thus what preserves both vital energy and coherent principle from the unreality of emptiness is the fact that both architectonic traits are always involved with each other. As Chen Chun says, "This dual vital energy [referring to *yin* and *yang*] that prevails eternally, which produces without ceasing, cannot be this empty vital energy. It must have something that directs it, which is called *li*. Coherent principle is in its midst like a pivot. Therefore it grandly prevails and produces without ever ceasing" (Zhang 2004, 237; Chen 1986, 38). *Yin* and *yang* and the five phases (*wuxing* 五行) constantly interact and give rise of the myriad things through the primordial cosmological relationship of the *li*/*qi* dyad.[12]

The Unification *(he* 和*)* of *Xin* 心, *Ming* 命, and *Taiji* 太極

In *daoxue* moral anthropology and cosmology, the most primordial relational or unifying trait is represented by the heart/mind (*xin* 心) within the cultivated person. Zhu proposed that the heart/mind is the director of the nature and feelings, and the ruler of the person (Zhang 2004: 249; Chen 1986: 57). The *shen* 身 or body of the person refers to the entire psycho-physical person. The heart/mind is the agent controlling our thoughts and actions, appetites and perceptions. When our actions are not controlled by the heart/mind, we are in a master-less, directionless state of mind, and the master-less person is said to be empty or void, neither of which are terms of praise and indicate that a person is actually sick, that is, lacks a proper sense of balance so necessary in Chinese theories of health (Kohn 2005).

[12] My hypothesis about the "living" quality of coherent principle is probably the most contested aspect of my essay. Given the vast nature of Zhu's dialogues, publications, and correspondence, one might draw alternative interpretations.

Chen Chun summarizes Zhu's teaching about the unifying activities of *xin* as follows:

> Heart/mind has [a fundamental] condition (*ti*) and function (*yong*). Setting forth all *li* is its condition; responding to the myriad affairs of the world is its function. Quiet and unmoving, this is its condition; stimulated and engaged, this is its function. Its condition is called nature (*xing*), and we refer to it in terms of quiescence. Its function is called feeling (*qing*), and we refer to it in terms of movement. (Zhang 2004: 250; Chen 1986: 57–58)

Chen deems that vital energy must have a director, and that this director functions in the midst of vital energy "as a pivot" (Zhang 2004, 237; Chen 1986, 38). Following Zhu Xi, Chen again employed the analogy of a pivot in discussing the Supreme Ultimate. Just like the decree (*ming* 命), *taiji* 太極 functions as a pivot in the midst of vital energy (Zhang 2004: 291–292; Chen 1986: 117). *Ming* and the Supreme Ultimate function in the cosmological architectonic as relational or unifying traits just as the heart/mind functions to fuse the nature and feelings in the moral anthropology of a person.

In terms of precepts about the heart/mind, Zhu thought that none surpassed Zhang Zai's notion that the heart/mind controls the nature and feeling (心統性情). Zhu also quoted with approval Hu Hong's definition which, in turn, provides a commentary on Zhang's theory of the heart/mind: "the heart/mind controls the virtue of the nature and feeling/emotion" (心妙性情 之德) (Qian 1971: 2:35 for both precepts). Zhu glossed the word *miao* as "to control" (*zhuzai* 主宰), to use (y*unyong* 運用)—or to fuse the virtues inherent both in the nature and emotions. In one sense this tells us what the heart/mind does, but it does not explain what the heart/mind is in itself. To know what something does is not always the same as knowing what it is, although it can be. Zhu implies, for instance, that the heart/mind is not inert in the same sense that a pen or brush is a stable object. *Xin* always manifests as an active agent of the living, dynamic unification of the living moral person.

The heart/mind is more than just coherent principle: people receive an allotment of generative vital energy to form the heart/mind. As Chen says, "Generally speaking, a person obtains the coherent principle of heaven and earth as the nature and the vital energy of heaven and earth as the raw material, so that coherent principle and vital energy unite in such a way that they become this heart/mind" (Zhang 2004: 249; modified Chen 1986: 56). The special quality of heart/mind as vital energy is that it is conscious (*jue* 覺). "With the union of the nature and consciousness, we produce this heart/mind, and thus we have this name of the heart/mind" (Zhang 2004: 252; Chen 1986: 61).

The liveliness or responsiveness of the heart/mind comes from this functionally dynamic interaction of principle and vital energy. This is why Mengzi said that Kongzi held that the heart/mind could be held fast and also be lost (Zhang 2004: 250–251; Chen 1986: 58–59). The heart/mind's activity in the world is not the locus of error per se; it is only when the heart/mind becomes unbalanced that it becomes prone to error. In its essential state the heart/mind is a well-balanced scale. Of course, this balance is only achieved via interaction with the world, so the process is one of constant exchange. When the heart/mind is properly

balanced, and when there is contact with the world, the response of the balanced heart/mind is appropriate to or properly in balance with the situation, the focus of the field of the cosmos at that moment. The metaphor of a balance is interesting. As an aside, ZHU Xi did not have a completely 'external' view of the things in the world: things had, as it were, to be on the balanced scale to be responded to, that is, they had to be part of the focus of the field of the heart/mind. They had to be related to the heart/mind in order to be perceived, but they were not totally dependent on the heart/mind for their existence.[13] For Zhu, the capacity of the heart/mind to respond to stimuli occurs because the heart/mind is balanced via cultivation by responding to the functions (dynamics) of the world and its myriad events and things. Although Chen points out that the heart/mind is not greater than an inch in size (clearly a rhetorical account of the size of the heart/mind), its capacity is unbounded (Zhang 2004: 251; Chen 1986: 59). There is no coherent principle it cannot appropriate or manifest nor any event or thing beyond its theoretical control. It does, however, require the effort of study (*xue* 學) to bring the heart/mind to completion. When the heart/mind is truly cultivated, there should be nothing left unrealized, no unbalanced response to the world. At this point, ZHU Xi's rationalism passes over into a kind of religious faith, a quest for self-actualization and self-transformation via self-cultivation.

There is no better definition of the heart/mind's unifying program and the anticipated results than ZHU Xi's famous short essay "Interpretation of Fully Fathoming the Heart/Mind" ("Jinxin shuo" 盡心說):

> "One who fully fathoms his heart/mind knows his nature. Knowing his nature then he knows heaven" [*Mencius*]. This says that in being able to know the heart/mind, a person knows his nature; and to know the nature enables a person to know heaven. This is because heaven is coherent principle as it is in itself (*ziran* 自然) and the source from which human beings are born. The nature (*xing*) is coherent principle in its undiminished state and that which a person receives to become a person. The heart/mind is that by which a human takes control of their person and so possess this principle. "Heaven is great and boundless" [a quotation from ZHANG Zai (Wang 1974: 27)] and nature is fully endowed with it. Therefore the state of a person's fundamental heart/mind is itself expansive and without limitation. Only when it is fettered by the selfishness of concrete things, hemmed in by seeing and hearing pettiness, does it become concealed and incomplete. A person can in each event and in each thing exhaustively examine their coherent principles until one day the person will penetratingly comprehend them all without anything being left out. Then a person can make whole the expansiveness of their fundamental heart/mind. That whereby I am my nature and heaven is heaven rests in nothing more than this; moreover they are interconnected as one. (Zhu 1711: 2:1239)[14]

[13] TANG Junyi (1975: 266) in his study of the notion of education makes this point very clearly. The events and things which Zhu speaks about are external in one sense, but they are also in the heart/mind when the heart/mind reflects on its own content, and hence this is not a form of simplistic objectivism.

[14] MOU Zongsan provides an extended commentary on this short text (Mou 1968–1969: 3:439–447), contending that this essay shows how far ZHU Xi had departed from the teachings of CHENG Hao and HU Hong on the nature of the heart/mind. Levey is less sure that Zhu got it

In this short essay ZHU Xi provides a short explanation of the nature of the mind/heart as the unifying agent of the person, with the heart/mind functioning as the mediator that unifies the nature and heaven, manifesting the coherent principle of the person. Because the heart/mind can know or interpret the will of heaven, it can likewise know the coherent principles that are given to every person by *tian*; and here we need to remember that *tian* is an equivalent for the *dao* as the ultimate way of the cosmos. The state or condition of the person combines the feelings the person has when she "knows" or correctly interprets the things and events of the cosmos with an understanding by means of her own coherent principle, her true nature in accord with the comprehensive feeling of the right order of the her person in relation to the things of the world. Hence the person and *tian* come to manifest the same coherent principle, a true knowledge of heaven itself, the *dao*. However, Zhu points out that as fallible humans we are liable to be hemmed in by the pettiness of our disordered and excessive feelings; so although ultimately there is nothing wrong with the things and events of the world, they can mislead us into following the pettiness of inordinate self-concern to which all human beings are prone without sufficient self-cultivation and study of the *dao*.

Although it is partially true, as Angus Graham noted,[15] that the Neo-Confucians did not over-"qualify" some of their concepts (Graham 1992: 40–41), from time to time Zhu and Chen did try to clarify both *what* and *how* an agent acts. This short essay on the fully fathoming the mind/heart is an example of how Master Zhu provided his students with an epigrammatic explanation of the nature, role, and function of the mind/heart. Having noted that the mind/heart is the unifying (*he* 和) agent of the triad of nature (coherent principle) and feeling (vital energy as the things and event known by the mind/heart), I will show below how Zhu attempted to elucidate a precise definition of the role and nature of the mind/heart.

ZHU Xi buttresses his basic argument about the nature and role of the heart/mind using a number of special observations. In the first place, he denies that we have any special *a priori* access to the principles we find in the heart/mind independent of the connection of the heart/mind to the world. "The heart/mind is a person's consciousness *zhijue* 知覺 which controls the person and which responds to external objects" (Qian 1971: 2:116). For Zhu, the heart/mind is pure consciousness and the repository of external impressions of other objects. It is important to note that the events and things the heart/mind attends to are in the heart/mind and not external to it when it comes to making ethical choices. Again the Hall-Ames metaphor of the focus-field model is helpful. The person is a specific focus, to be sure, but a focus within the larger field of the dynamic functional vital energy of the cosmos.

---

all wrong (1991). HUANG Yong (2008) has also provided a careful re-examination of the work of the Cheng brothers and how later Confucian scholars received their philosophy.

[15] Graham brilliantly explains how this works in his study of the two Cheng brothers. Levey (1991) also provides an incisive and extended discussion of *xin*.

In the second place, Zhu Xi's well known aversion to the Buddhist concept of enlightenment (*wu* 悟) is related to this twofold definition. We judge on the basis of what is *in* the heart/mind, not by ridding the heart/mind of all its content. The heart/mind without its various impressions and activities would be like "a scale without markings" (Qian 1971: 2:179). The test of true profundity of the heart/mind is the depth and width of civilized experience and action. Zhu says that what we call the way is really common to everyday life, and not some sort of isolated spiritual awakening or recognition of some arcane moral principles (Qian 1971: 2:179). Putting the problem in terms of *wei fa* 未發 and *yi fa* 已發, Zhu states that they are really one effort aimed at the humanization of the person. " 'Before manifestation' (*wei fa*) certainly is self-cultivation and 'after manifestation' (*yi fa*) is careful study" (Qian 1971: 2:187).

Ming

After our excursus on the relational and unifying role of the heart/mind, I now turn to *ming* 命 or decree. Chen Chun begins his extended discussion of the role and nature of *ming* stating that "*ming* is a command, like an order from a superior official" (Zhang 2004: 236–237; Chen 1986: 37).[16] As vital energy becomes individuated, *ming* divides and gives all things their fundamental nature as the decree of heaven.

Chen explains that *ming* must be defined in terms of *li* 理 and *qi* 氣. He argues that we have one general meaning for decree as it manifests coherent principle and two additional explications in relation to vital energy. Since vital energy is basically undifferentiated, it must have some kind of director or *li* which functions like a pivot on a door. It was the directional decree that Kongzi in *Analects* 2.4 referred to when he said he knew the decree of heaven when he was fifty. In this mode, the decree is clearly the nature (*xing*). This also illuminates how the decree can be a form of "enlightenment," for the true realization of the decree implies a complete comprehension and appropriation of heavenly principle. This realization is the perfected state in which sagely wisdom and action are unified in self-realization (Zhang 2004: 236–237; Chen 1986: 35–37).

Decree also carries two distinct meanings as it informs *qi*. The first is the common notion of fate. A person has an allotted lifespan which cannot be altered and this fate is the person's decree. The second kind of decree is the relative lucidity or turbidity of the person's psycho-physical endowment of vital energy. This is the reason some people are naturally intelligent whereas others are stupid; and why some things are coarse and others refined. But this second

[16] Although Chen does not explain why he began his philosophical glossary with an account of *ming*, but there is a good chance that he was following the advice of Zhu Xi to start with the concrete application or manifestation of the architectonic, hence with *ming* as a form of coherent, concrete action. Lupke (2005) provides a superb set of essays that deal with various aspects of the role of *ming* throughout Chinese philosophical, social, and literary history.

meaning of the decree does not imply a form of fatalism because it is only one of a number of implications of the term. The *daoxue* philosophers often recalled Mengzi's example of a man foolishly standing under a damaged wall waiting for it to fall down on him as Chen notes in his discussion. Since the man knew that the wall was defective, he really could not claim that it was fate that finally caused the wall to fall on him. His own decision was the real cause of his potential death.

Zhu is actually quite clear on the issue of the role of *qi*. One of his students asked him why *ming* has a critical meaning informing both coherent principle and vital energy. Zhu answered by stating that it was true that the meanings of *ming* in each were not completely compatible, at least on the surface. However, he continued, if heaven was not itself at least partially *qi*-related, it could not command the person, and if the person was not in part constituted by vital energy, then the person could not receive the command of heaven (Zhu 2002: 14:207). Zhu was aware that there is a tension between the two senses, but he concludes that this is a necessary and fruitful tension. It does not thwart the relationship of human beings and heaven. On the contrary, Zhu thinks that it facilitates their mutual interaction.

What the sage knows as decree are the moral roots within each one of us (Zhu 2002: 14:209). And there is nothing determined about whether we will choose to nourish and cultivate or neglect these seeds of virtue. "It is like all people commonly looking at a stream. The ordinary people see only the water flowing by, while the sage knows the source of the stream" (Zhu 2002: 14:210). Zhu implies that it is not enough to know the physical facts of the world—one must also know the real origin of these facts, which are to be found in their true source, the moral creativity of the universe.

Chen also provides another shade of meaning for *ming* by linking it to coherent principle. Since *qi* begins in an undifferentiated state, it must have a director or master as noted above. It must have some mode of informing coherent principle. This director is decree, which is like a pivot of a door (*shuniu* 樞紐) or the axis (*gendi* 根柢) of creation (Chen 1986: 117; Zhang 2004: 291). This is highly suggestive of the heart/mind as well. The decree is the same *ming* that Kongzi referenced when he said he knew the decree of heaven he was fifty. In this mode, decree is clearly identified with human nature, which is the normative state or condition for the person in Chen's *daoxue*. The function of *ming* can be thought of as a two-stage process: (1) in the first (axiological) stage it flows forth from heaven as a command, a coherent principle of what ought to be, a lure of the emergence of any thing or event, but (2) there is also an (epistemological/hermeneutical) element of conscious choice involved in the human reception of *ming* such that the person appropriates this command as the informing coherent principle of the allotment of vital energy in need of moral self-cultivation. *Ming* is the heavenly decree for each person as human nature, and the command trait is that each person must realize (*cheng* 誠) the heavenly command or decree to become a fully moral and responsible person. What

initiates the process as *tianming*, the command of heaven, becomes something personal when a person realizes (*cheng*) the command as their true nature.

At one point in his exposition, CHEN Chun links *ming* to a theory of creativity (*zaohua* 造化) based on the four originating principles of the *Yijing* (Chen 1986: 42, 37, 106; Zhang 2004: 200, 236, 239–240). These four origins or principles are taken to represent the four phases in the evolution of any process: (1) inception, (2) development, (3) maturation, and (4) fruition. Hence *tianming* 天命 is the very coherent principle of life and the actual process by which life is embodied in the creatures of the world. Decree is the relational trait that helps to unify coherent principle and vital energy as a state or function of creative action (dynamics).

Supreme Ultimate

In most respects whatever is said about the Supreme Ultimate (*taiji* 太極) will be a repetition of what is assumed about coherent principle. As Zhu states, *taiji* is a species, albeit a very special one, of coherent principle. Every person has a special, specific *li* that is unique in terms of the patterned state or condition within the field of the *dao*. This *li* as *taiji* resides within each person, and can also aid in the investigation and comprehension of the *li* of the myriad things of the world by means of the coherent analogy of being as a unity of state/condition, and function. But there is a distinct difference in the functionality of the two kinds of coherent principle. The *li* that are known through the investigation of things are the informing coherent principles of those things and not the principle of the knower as a person. This does not imply that the other *li* are passive in the internal constitution of those other things. Quite to the contrary, the self-creativity of any particular person is intimately connected with the person's appropriation of the decree as manifested in the *taiji* for the person. In a sense a person's decree is what the person is commanded to be, while the Supreme Ultimate is what the person ought to become because of the command if and only if the command is manifested properly and completely through proper self-cultivation. In this unique respect the Supreme Ultimate is to be discriminated from all other objective and subjective species of principle.[17]

[17] There was, as needs to be remembered, a great debate about the proper interpretation of the Supreme Ultimate. Zhu followed ZHOU Dunyi's lead in making this a critical concept of the emerging *daoxue* school, but other scholars were much less impressed with the Confucian pedigree of the term, especially when it was linked, as Zhou and Zhu did, with the notion of Ultimateless (*wuji* 無極). Of course, *taiji* does have an impeccable source within the hallowed text of the *Yijing*. Although CHEN Chun admitted that the concept of the Supreme Ultimate was not clarified until ZHOU Dunyi wrote his commentary on the Diagram of the Supreme Utimate, he even maintained that *wuji* had a legitimate Confucian heritage (Zhang 2004: 294; Chen 1986: 120).

Generally speaking, *taiji* has two main meanings for ZHU Xi's *daoxue*. The first is the most important, and when it is contrasted with the second, part of the source of confusion about *daoxue* usage becomes clearer when we keep these two sets of meaning in mind. The first meaning is axiological: *taiji* is the highest normative synthesis of values to be found in any creature, object, or action whatsoever. It represents the perfected goal of each individual and also the perfection of the whole cosmos as *dao*. The second meaning defines the function of the Supreme Ultimate as the norm of perfection of the *yin yang* forces. It is the condition or state (*ti* 體) of this activity, whereas *ming* is the function (*yong* 用) of the actual operation. As Zhu states, "Coherent principle is the condition of heaven; *ming* is the function of principle" (Zhu 2002: 14:215).

This is the usage that has caused hermeneutical problems for later scholars. When Zhu talks about *taiji* in this mode, he often has recourse to such metaphors as a man riding a horse or the trigger of a crossbow. The first metaphor, the rider on a horse, caused some later Confucians to wonder if it might be the case of dead coherent principle riding a live vital energy, which would imply the contradiction of a directionless flow of energy in the universe, or at least a disconnect between principle and vital energy at some fundamental level. Both metaphors were discussed at by the great Yuan scholar WU Cheng 吳澄 (1249–1333), and Wu pointed out how neither metaphor really helped solve the philosophical problem of the true nature and role of *taiji*.[18]

Zhu's main point is missed if we continue discussing *taiji's* function as "doing" something such as riding upon or triggering vital energy. In itself *taiji* does none of these things because it is a form, a pattern, a state or condition of coherence and not an agent like *yin yang* 陰陽 or *wuxing* 五行. The activity is symbolized by *ming* 命 in this case as the direction to be taken by *qi* as configured by *yin/yang* and the *wuxing*. In Zhu's philosophy, to ask for the reasons for any kind of action is to ask about the kinds of things that act and not the terms, even the functional or action terms, with which these things are described. The Supreme Ultimate is a term for explaining how things act and not the action itself, except as this action is considered in abstraction from the creative act, which is plainly implausible for Zhu. *Taiji* is definitely something that can be stipulated, but this does not mean that it is something that exists or subsists in abstraction from the concrete reality of the world.

> Someone asked about *taiji*. The Master said: The Supreme Ultimate is only the supreme good and perfected principle of the *dao*. Each person has a *taiji* and each thing has a *taiji*. ZHOU Dunyi has said that the Supreme Ultimate is the most perfect and best manifested virtue of heaven, earth, man, and the myriad things. (Zhu 2002: 17:3122)

---

[18] For an excellent discussion of WU Cheng's contribution to this debate, see Gedalecia (1999). It should also be pointed out that the great Korean scholars YI T'oegye (1501–1570) and YI Yulgok (1536–1584) debated this issue with great care as part of the justly famous Four-Seven Debate in sixteenth-Century Korea. Levey (1991) has an extended discussion of these issues. LI Minghui (2005) has also contributed a major study to this fascinating debate.

The most important characteristic of the Supreme Ultimate is that it is instantiated in every creature, object, or event and becomes complete by the process of the reception and cultivation of *ming*, although it only reaches its highest perfection in human self-actualization (*cheng* 誠).

Zhu, respecting the unity of the world based on the process of selection and evaluation choice, says "The Supreme Ultimate is the coherent principle of the myriad things of heaven and earth" (Qian 1971: 1:263). Then, how can he claim that *taiji* is both in each thing as its normative coherent principle and also be the generalized principle in the cosmos? Zhu says, "The Supreme Ultimate is the most exalted good and supremely perfect principle of the way" (Zhu 2002: 17:3122). For Zhu, , the fundamental state or condition of *taiji* is that it functions as a goal or lure for the decision of the person to be self-determined and fully actualized (*cheng*). The Supreme Polarity functions as a goal or lure that the emerging creature should seek to actualize in order to realize its maximum potential for completing its own nature. The goal is specific to each person and can be seen as a process of becoming fully moral, with all the twists and turns involved in the complexities and ambiguities of life. It is an end, a goal, but not an end that can be predetermined because the effort, the will, and resolve to become moral can transform even the vagaries of chance and fortune. The process of self cultivation is not blindly teleological or foreordained. By noting the perfection of the Supreme Ultimate as an ethical goal, Zhu is affirming a fundamental axiology, a creation of true values as a unifying trait in his cosmology.

A second meaning of *taiji* is developed from the first meaning because the myriad things manifest the Supreme Ultimate as a goal for perfecting the entire cosmos. Therefore, as CHEN Chun notes by quoting the *Yijing*, change itself is the transformation of *yin* and *yang* such that "The principle of the transformation of *yin* and *yang* is the Supreme Ultimate.... That which is the pivot of the myriad transformations, the basis of the variety of things, explains the meaning of *taiji* " (Zhang 2004: 290–291; Chen 1986: 115, 117). This kind of explanation of the Supreme Ultimate in no way contradicts the first meaning and shows the connection of *taiji* as a condition or state (*ti*) intimately connected to *ming*'s role as the function of the process of creativity. It simply takes the ethically perfecting nature of the Supreme Ultimate for granted, and pushes on to show how this nature becomes explicit in the cosmic process of generation with cessation.

In the final analysis, Zhu's *taiji* is the *telos* of all thing collectively and of the individual things separately—and this kind of dialectically complex definition is no doubt the reason for so much debate about what Zhu actually meant by his theory of the Supreme Ultimate. According to Zhu:

> Originally there is only one *taiji*; yet each of the myriad things manifests it, such that each in itself contains the Supreme Ultimate in its entirety. This is like the moon, of which there is one in the sky, and yet, scattering its reflection upon the rivers and lakes, it is seen to be everywhere. But one cannot say from this that the moon itself has been divided. (Li 1977: 49:10b–11a)

Zhu's concept of *taiji* is a reflective and creative river, lake, or mirror manifesting all reality: the ethical unity of coherent principle as assembled in the *dao* of

all that was, is now, or ever will be. The Supreme Ultimate has, as one of its definitions, the symbolic function of evoking the feeling that things ought to be the best they can become, or, in Zhu's terms: "To speak of the supreme extension of the body of the *dao*, this is to talk about *taiji*" (Qian 1971: 1:279). Of course, this is just the kind of hopeful conflation of the 'is' and 'ought' that drives post-Hume Western philosophers wild. It is a kind of pansophy on a grand scale in speculative philosophy that has fallen completely out of favor in modern Western philosophical circles.

Furthermore, *taiji* has a normative or formal side: it is the goal of the events and things as they seek to manifest their own coherent principle in a particular state or condition, most importantly ethical norms, for human beings. Its instantiation in *qi* must also be considered. Even though *taiji* is not concrete *per se*, Zhu thought that any description of the actual world had to rely on *taiji* as a state or condition for *ming*'s ordering process. The Supreme Ultimate plays a vital role in the constitution of everything whatsoever. It is the normative goal for the configuration of the functionality of *qi* in the same way that the heart/mind manifests humaneness (*ren* 仁) as the unifying trait for human nature and feeling. Zhu's depiction of *taiji* as the goal of *tianming* 天命, as the highest form of coherent principle, points to its relational and triadic structure in his *daoxue* discourse yet again.

Axiological Goals **(de 德)** *of* **Cheng 誠, Zhong 中,** *and* **He 和**

Above I have outlined the basic tripartite structure of Zhu's cosmological architectonic based on the conceptual clusters of state or condition, function, unification, and goal. Yung Sik Kim (2000) has done a brilliant job of presenting how Zhu goes about discussing the order, emergence, and details of the natural world spinning forward and out from the ceaseless creativity (生生不息) of the *yin yang* and *wuxing* forces and energies generated by the fusion of coherent principle and vital energy. Yet there is another aspect of Zhu's worldview that demands attention, namely his adamant assertion that all human thought, action, and passion must be governed by moral norms, the axiology of the *dao*. Zhu never strayed far from declaring that no aspect of the *daoxue* speculative cosmological architectonic was merely intellectual reflection; *daoxue* was a methodology with an aim, an ultimate goal that was always ethical in nature. In other places I have argued that Zhu's worldview supports a realistic and pluralistic primordial axiology in the sense that Zhu's consistent overriding concern was the flourishing of certain values within a relational cosmos of ceaseless creativity (Berthrong 1998, 2008). At a practical level these were the values of the five great virtues of humaneness, rectitude, civility, wisdom, and faithfulness. Moreover, although Zhu contested any notion of art for arts sake, he did believe that one of the outcomes of self-cultivation was the creation of *siwen* 斯文 "this culture of ours."

Wen 文 is the ideal of a civilized society and one of the greatest of the early sages was the revered King Wen of the Zhou dynasty. *Wen* is the goal of

harmony *he* 和. It is always salient to remember that any Confucian will be as concerned with the harmonious patterns of society as she or he would be about personal self-actualization. Every *wen* or civilized society must have harmony *he*. The famous political adage that the king without and the sage within is always upheld as representing the linked sides of the one coin of social life. Although ZHU Xi never played a major role at the Southern Song court, we know that he was vitally concerned about the politics of his day and believed that the true test of any society was that it would manifest the true marks of a civilized society (Yu 2003), a true *siwen* "this culture of ours."

There are many ways to articulate what Zhu taught about the cosmology and axiology of values—these are both moral virtues but they can also manifest themselves as fine poetry, painting, and calligraphy as the aesthetic domain of a civilized society. I will briefly sketch a view of these human goals commensurate with the architectonic approach developed above. Although it would be more traditional to give a list of the critical Confucian virtues, what is important for a study of Zhu's cosmology is to show how he placed these virtues within his worldview, especially via the use of self-actualization (*cheng* 誠) as the method by which the five constant virtues become manifested in human action and social organization. For instance, in the social realm between the individual and the state, Zhu was a passionate advocate of the family compact system designed to provide social welfare beyond the confines of the natal family to entire clans. The rationale for the cosmological goal of this method of harmonious self-actualization is to become centered (*zhong* 中) and harmonious (*he* 和) by means of the process of self-actualization (*cheng* 誠).

ZHU Xi recognized two major definitions of *cheng*: a historical exegesis and a *daoxue* extension into the realm of self-actualization. The historical meaning of *cheng* is the state or intention of being sincere *chengque* 誠慤 (Zhu 2002: 14:240) and Zhu acknowledged that this is a perfectly adequate rendering in many cases. But he also wrote: "*cheng* is that which really has *li*," and "*cheng* is real," and finally "*cheng* is *li*" (Zhu 2002: 14:239–240). Zhu is indicating that in its most essential mode *cheng* provides us with a process for organizing the harmony and balance within the proper state or condition of anything that is. He is indicating that in its most essential mode *cheng* provides us with a process for organizing the harmony and balance in anything that is. As we shall see below, when we become conscious of *cheng* by means of self-examination, we become aware and conscious of the process wherein *cheng* is the real, the concrete, the actual—that which is in harmony and balance as Zhu would like to phrase it. Moreover, intention itself is a form of consciousness per se. For instance, when we intend to become reverent (*jing* 敬), we are conscious of our moral effort to become reverent in our mind/heart.[19]

---

[19] For CHEN Chun's discussion of *jing* 敬 reverence see Chen (1986: 100–103). Chen does begin, oddly it seems to me, by stating that *jing* and *cheng* are not related. I take this to mean that there is no close philological connection although there is certainly a close philosophical connection. For the Chinese text see Zhang (2004: 281–283).

Using the example of a fan (an example Zhu likes to use often), he explains that if nature *xing* is like the fan, then *cheng* can be compared to this fan being well formed, that is, harmonious and balanced when we cool ourselves with its use (Zhu 2002: 14:240). C*heng* becomes symbolic of complete perfection without a flaw (Zhu 2002: 16: 2121). In discussing Cheng Yi's notion that being firmly established is reverence (*jing* 敬), he adds "the unity itself is *cheng"* (Zhu 2002: 14:242). He explains:

> *Cheng* is the way of heaven. *Cheng* is coherent principle which is self-determination without being falsely ordered. How to realize *cheng* is the way of humanity (*ren* 仁). It is to carry out this real *li* and therefore to make an effort to realize it. Mengzi said "All things are complete in us"—this is *cheng*. "[There is no greater delight] than to be conscious of *cheng* upon self-examination"—this is how to realize *cheng*. Self-examination is merely to seek (*cheng*) in oneself. *Cheng* refers to the fact that all things are complete without defect. (Zhu 2002: 16:2106–2107)

The architectonic of state/condition, function, and unification always linked to the goal of the manifestation of personal and social civility is here manifest again: there is the way of heaven, the way of humanity, and their mediation through the process of *cheng* ending in realized humaneness. If *ren* is the core of Zhu's ethics, *cheng* is the actualizing process which provides proper active solidity and depth of meaning within an axiological cosmology.

Of course, Zhu extensively discussed moral anthropology and ethics. In this presentation of Zhu's cosmological architectonic I have sought to delineate an outline of the deep architectonic structure of his worldview, the fundamental concepts, traits, and themes that have caused generations of Confucian scholars to recognize the highly organized nature of his philosophical worldview. The details are embedded in a highly structured and refined axiological architectonic, a cosmology of state or condition (*ti* 體), function (*yong* 用), unification (*he* 和), and ultimate goals (*de* 德). The axiological goals tie the architectonic inextricably to the moral vision that informs all of his discourse about the ten thousand things. Like all great Confucian philosophers Zhu asked not only what *is* but what *ought* to be and how the ought could become a living reality for human beings, and indeed the whole cosmos.

Bibliography

Berthrong, John H. 1998. *Concerning Creativity: A Comparison of Chu Hsi, Whitehead, and Neville*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Berthrong, John H. 2008. *Expanding Process: Exploring Philosophical and Theological Transformations in China and the West*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Bol, Peter K. 2008. *Neo-Confucianism in History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center.

Chen, Chun 陳淳 (1159–1223). 1986. *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained (The Pei-hsi tzu-i) by Ch'en Ch'un (1159–1223)*. Translated and edited by Wing-tsit Chan. New York: Columbia University Press.

Chen, Lai 陳 來. 1990. *Studies in Zhu Xi's Philosophy* 朱熹哲學研究. Taibei 臺北: Wenjin chubanshe 文津出版社.

Chen, Lai 陳 來. 1993. *Song-Ming Philosophy of Coherent Principle* 宋明理學. Taibei 臺北: Hongye wenhua 洪葉文華.
Chen, Lai 陳 來. 2000. *A Study of Master Zhu's Thought* 朱子哲學研究. Shanghai 上海: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe 華東師範大學出版社.
Chen, Lai 陳來. 2008. *Nine Essays on East Asian Ruxue* 東亞儒學九論. Beijing 北京: Sanlian shudian 三聯書店.
Chen, Rongjie 陳榮捷 (Wing-tsit Chan). 1982. *Master Zhu's Disciples*. Taibei 臺北: *Xuesheng shuju* 學生書局.
Chen, Rongjie 陳榮捷. 1996. *The Concepts and History of Song-Ming Learning of Coherent Principle* 宋明理學之概念與歷史. Taibei 臺北: Zhongyanyuan wenzhesuo 中研院文哲所.
Ching, Julia. 2000. *The Religious Thought of Chu Hsi*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
Confucius 2000. (http://confucius2000.com/admin/lanmu2/rujia.htm). (This Website has an extensive current list of publications about Confucianism. It has a section on Song and post-Song thought and material about ZHU Xi can be found there.)
Dilworth, David. A. 1989. *Philosophy in World Perspective: A Comparative Hermeneutic of the Major Theories*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Gardner, Daniel K (trans.) 1990. *Learning to Be a Sage: Selections from the Conversations of Master Chu, Arranged Topically*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Gedalecia, David. 1999. *The Philosophy of Wu Ch'eng: A Neo-Confucian of the Yüan Dynasty*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
Graham, A. C. 1992. *Two Chinese Philosophers: The Metaphysics of the Brothers Ch'eng*. La Salle, IL: Open Court.
Hall, David L. and Roger T. Ames. 1987. *Thinking Through Confucius*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
Hall, David L. and Roger T. Ames. 1995. *Anticipating China: Thinking Through the Narratives of Chinese and Western Culture*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
Huang, Yong. 2008. "The Cheng Brother's Onto-Theological Articulation of Confucian Values." In On-Cho Ng (ed.), *The Imperative of Understanding: Chinese Philosophy, Comparative Philosophy, and Onto-Hermeneutics*. New York: Global Scholars Publications.
Kim, Yung Sik. 2000. *The Natural Philosophy of Chu Hsi, 1130–1200*. Philadephia, PA: Memoirs of the American Philosophic Society.
Kohn, Livia. 2005. *Health and Long Life: The Chinese Way*. Cambridge, MA: Three Pines Press.
Levey, Matthew A. 1991. "Chu Hsi as a 'Neo-Confucian': Chu Hsi's Critique of Heterodoxy, Heresy, and the 'Confucian' Tradition." PhD dissertation. Chicago: University of Chicago.
Li, Guangdi 李光地 (ed.). 1977. *The Complete Works of Master Zhu* 朱子全書. 2 vols. Taibei 臺北: Guangxueshe yinshuguan 廣學社印書館.
Li, Minghui 李明輝. 2005. *The Four Sprouts and Seven Emotions: An Investigation Concerning the Comparative Study of Philosophical Moral Sentiments*. 四端與七情: 關於道德情感的比較哲學探討. Taibei 臺北: Taida chuban zhongxin 臺大 出版中心.
Lin, Meihui 林美惠. 2008. *Researching Master Zhu's "Ritual Studies"* 朱子 "禮學"研究. Taibei 臺北: Hua Mulan wenhua chubabshe 花木蘭文化出版社.
Liu, James J.Y. 1975. *Chinese Theories of Literature*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
Liu, Shuxian 劉述先. 1982. *The Development and Completion of ZHU Xi's Philosophical Thought* 朱子哲學思想的發展與完成. Taibei 臺北: Xusheng shuju 學生書局.
Lupke, Christopher. 2005. *The Magnitude of Ming: Command, Allotment, and Fate in Chinese Culture*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
Makeham, John. 2003. *Transmitters and Creators: Chinese Commentators and Commentaries on the Analects*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Asia Center.
Mou, Zongsan 牟宗三. 1968–1969. *Onto-cosmological State of the Original Heart/Mind and Human Nature* 心體與性體. 3 vols. Taibei 臺北: Zhengzhong 正中.

Munro, Donald J. 1988. *Images of Human Nature: A Sung Portrait*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Neville, Robert Cummings. 1995. *The Cosmology of Freedom*. New edition. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Qian, Mu 錢穆. 1971. *A New Study of ZHU Xi* 朱子新學案. 5 vols. Taibei 臺北: Sanmin shuju 三民書局.

Qian, Mu 錢穆. 2002. *Outline of Master Zhu's Learning* 朱子學提綱. Beijing 北京: Sanlian shudian 三聯書店.

Shu, Jingnan 束景南 1992. *Biography of Master Zhu* 朱子大傳. Fuzhou 福州: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe 福建教育出版社.

Shu, Jingnan. 2001. *Expanded Chronological Biography of ZHU Xi* 朱熹年譜長編. Shanghai 上海: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe 華東師範大學出版社.

Tang, Junyi 唐君毅. 1975. *Fundamental Exposition of Chinese Philosophy: On Education* 中國哲學原論: 原教篇. Hong Kong: New Asia Research Institute.

Tillman, Hoyt Cleveland. 1992. *Confucian Discourse and Chu His's Ascendancy*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Tucker, John Allen. 1998. *Itō Jinsai's Gomo jigi and the Philosophical Definition of Early Modern Japan*. Boston: E. J. Brill.

Watson, Walter. 1993. *The Architectonics of Meaning: Foundations of the New Pluralism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wittenborn, Allen (trans.). 1991. *Further Reflections on Things at Hand: A Reader, Chu Hsi*. Lanham: University Press of America.

Wu, Zhanliang 吳展良 (ed.). 2005. *New Edited Bibliography of ZHU Xi Studies* 朱子研究書目新編. Taibei 臺北. Taiwan daxue chuban zhongxin 臺灣大學出版中心.

Xiang, Shiling 向世陵. 2007. *Among the Theories of Li, Qi, Xing, and Xin: The Diversification and the Four Systems in the Song-Ming Neo-Confucianism* 理氣性心之間. Beijing 北京: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社.

Yang, Rubin 楊儒賓 (ed.). 2002. *Essays on Zhuzi Studies in East Asia: Proceedings of the Conference on Zhuzi Studies and East Asian Civilizations* 朱子學的開展:學術篇 vol. 1; 東亞篇 vol. 2. Taipei 臺北: Center for Chinese Studies 漢學研究中心.

Yang, Zuhan 陽祖漢. 2003. "The Four-Seven Debate and The Completion of Morality". 四端七情之辯與成德之教. Taipei 臺北. *Ehu xuezhi* 鵝湖學誌. *Ehu Journal*, No. 30.

Yu, Yingshi 余英時. 2003. *The Historical World of ZHU Xi: Investigations into the Political Culture of the Song Scholar-Officials* 朱熹的歷史世界—宋代士大夫政治文化的研究. Taibei 臺北: Yunchen wenhua 允晨文化.

Zhang, Jiacai 張加才. 2004. *Interpretation and Construction: CHEN Chun and the Study of ZHU Xi* 詮釋與建構: 陳淳與朱子學. Beijing 北京: Zhongguo zhexue qingnian xueshu wenku 中國哲學青年學術文庫.

Zhang, Liwen 張立文. 1981. *A Study of ZHU Xi's Thought* 朱熹思想研究. Beijing 北京: Xinhua shudian 新華書店.

Zhang, Liwen. 1995. *A Comparative Study of the Thought of ZHU Xi and* YI T'oegye 朱熹與退溪思想比較研究. Taibei 臺北: Wenjin chubanshe 文津出版社.

Zhang, Liwen. 2008. *A Critical Biography of ZHU Xi* 朱熹評傳. Changchun 長春: Changchun chubanshe 長春出版社.

Zhong, Caijun 鍾彩鈞 (ed.). 1993. *Collected Proceedings of the National Conference on Master Zhu Studies* 國際朱子學會議論文集. 2 vols. Taibei 臺北: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan 中央研究院.

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 2002. *The Collected Works of ZHU Xi* 朱子全書. Edited by ZHU Jieren 朱傑人, YAN Zuozhi 嚴佐之, and LIU Yongxiang 劉永翔. 27 vols. Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 上海古籍出版社, Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe 安徽教育出版社.

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1711. *ZHU Xi's Collected Writings* 晦庵先生朱文公文集. Photo-reproduction of the 1711 recension, which is a re-engraving of the Ming 1532 edition. Taibei 臺北: Dahua chubanshe 大化出版社.

ZHU Xi's Moral Psychology

Kwong-loi Shun

In this essay I discuss ZHU Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) views on the psychological makeup of human beings and the relation of this psychological makeup to the ethical life. I consider his views on the human psychological makeup, the sources of ethical failure, the self-cultivation process, and what it is to be fully ethical. Confucian thinkers do not draw a sharp distinction between what we would describe as the psychological and physical aspects of the person, and thus to speak of the psychological is already to frame our discussion in a way that goes beyond the way they would themselves present their views. Still, using the term is a convenient way of highlighting the focus of our discussion, which will be centered on the way ZHU Xi views the heart/mind (*xin* 心) in relation to the ethical. Before moving on to the main discussion, I will introduce a key concept and a related distinction in his thinking that will come up repeatedly in the paper. Although the focus of the paper is the psychological aspect of ZHU Xi's thinking, it will be difficult to avoid frequent references to his views on *li* 理 (pattern) and on the distinction between *li* 理 and *qi* 氣 (material force).

In early Chinese thought, *li* is used verbally in the sense of "give order to," and is often related to another term *zhi* 治, which means "bring order to" or "be in order" (*Xunzi* 5.7a; *Hanfeizi* 6.6b; *Guanzi* 10.3b, 16.3a; *Huainanzi* 21.8a). *Li* pertains to things as well as to affairs such as orderly or disorderly government (*Xunzi* 15.9b; *Huainanzi* 21.3a; *Liji* 11.15a–b; *Zhuangzi* 10.14a; *Hanfeizi* 20.7b). It is also something to be conformed to or followed (*Mozi* 3/3/15–17; *Guanzi* 13.8b; *Hanfeizi* 20.8a; *Zhuangzi* 10.18a). So, *li* resides in things and affairs, is the order or pattern of the way things operate, and one should follow *li* in dealing

Materials in this article are based on research on a book in progress on ZHU Xi's thinking. Parts of the materials have appeared in previously published articles listed in the bibliography, and I am grateful for copyright permission from the editors of *Dao* and of *The Imperative of Understanding: Chinese Philosophy, Comparative Philosophy, and Onto-Hermeneutics* (New York: Global Scholarly Publications, 2008).

K.-l. Shun (✉)
The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, PRC
e-mail: klshun@cuhk.edu.hk

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*,
Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_9,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

with things and affairs. The notion of *li* continued to be developed by later thinkers. For example, GUO Xiang 郭象 (d. AD 312) regarded *li* as pertaining to everything and governing its operations, whereas SHAO Yong 邵雍 (1011–1077) emphasized the idea of responding to things in accordance with their *li*, putting this in terms of viewing things with things or viewing things with their *li* (Guo 1965: 1.19a; Shao 1965: 6.26a–b.). ZHU Xi continued to emphasize the notion of *li*. For him, *li* resides in things, and it accounts for the way things are (*suo yi ran* 所以然) as well as the way things should be (*dang ran* 當然) (Zhu 1986: 414, 863; Zhu 1983–1986b: 2.6a; Zhu 1983–1986a: 2.11a; Zhu 1983–1986c: 9.14b). Following the Cheng brothers, he regarded the nature (*xing* 性) to be constituted by *li* (Cheng and Cheng 1965c: 22a.11a; Zhu 1986: 92–93, 1387, 2427). Furthermore, because *li* resides in human beings and constitutes their nature, it takes the form of the Confucian virtues (Zhu 1986: 63–64, 83, 92). So for him, the nature is identical with *li* and is originally good, and badness is due to *qi* 氣 (material force).[1]

Qi is viewed in early Chinese thought as something filling heaven and earth as well as the body of human beings; for example, *qi* grows in a person through the intake of the senses, and the proper balance of *qi* accounts for the proper operation of the senses (*Guoyu* 1.10a, 3.13b; *Zhuangzi* 3.11a). Thinkers, such as DONG Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104), continued to advocate the proper balance of *qi* in oneself, whereas other thinkers, such as WANG Chong 王充 (27-ca. 100), regarded human beings as having different endowments of *qi* (Dong 1965: 10.3b; Wang 1965: 2.14a–b, 18.4a). By early Song, thinkers such as ZHANG Zai 張載 (1020–1077) spoke of the purity and impurity of *qi*, and referred to the nature (*xing*) that is constituted by one's endowment of *qi* as the material nature (氣質之性) (Zhang 1965: 2.3b, 2.18b–19a.). ZHU Xi regarded things as comprising both *li* and *qi*: *li* does not exist without *qi* and vice versa (Zhu 1986: 2–3). Thus, although the nature is constituted by *li*, this *li* must reside in an endowment of *qi* that the thing has (ibid.: 61, 64, 66, 88, 323, 1422). Although the nature in a human being is constituted by *li* and is perfectly good, the endowment of *qi* can be pure or impure, and this accounts for the ethical differences among people (Zhu 1965: 74.20a; Zhu 1986: 8, 56, 64–69, 72–74, 2429; Zhu 1983–1986d: 2.16a–b). The endowment of *qi* in a person is also part of the nature, and material nature refers to *li* that is embedded in *qi* (Zhu 1986: 67). Accordingly, ZHU Xi endorsed the Cheng brothers' distinction between two ways of viewing the nature—original nature (本然之性) and material nature (氣質之性)—regarding the former as perfectly good and the latter as having the potential to be not good (ibid.: 89, 2431).

[1] The following discussion of *li* and *qi* summarizes the discussion in Shun (2008b: 212–213).

The Human Psychological Makeup

As Zhu Xi's view of the human psychological makeup draws on several ideas in early Chinese thought, we will begin with a review of these earlier ideas.[2] The early Chinese viewed the different parts of the body as having their own distinctive capacities, such as the eye's capacity of sight, as well as certain distinctive tendencies, such as the eye's being drawn toward beautiful colors. These tendencies are referred to as *yu* 欲, a term that can also describe the tendencies of the person as a whole, such as the desire for life and honor. That human beings have such tendencies is regarded as a fact that is pervasive and difficult to alter; such a fact is referred to as *qing* 情. By the third century BC, *qing* came to refer to what we would describe as emotions and feelings, including such things as joy, sorrow, and anger.

Of the various parts of the body, *xin* 心, the organ of the heart, is particularly important because it is viewed as the site of what we now would describe as cognitive and affective activities. *Xin* (the heart/mind) can have *yu* (desires, tendencies) in that it can be drawn toward certain things; it also has *qing* (emotions, feelings) and can take pleasure in or feel displeasure at certain things. One capacity that is particularly important for Confucian thinkers is its capacity to set directions that guide one's daily activities as well as one's life as a whole. These directions of the heart/mind are referred to as *zhi* 志 (goals, intentions); *zhi* can refer to specific intentions or general aims in life such as the goal of learning to be a sage. *Zhi* differs from *yu* (desires, tendencies) in that, whereas *zhi* pertains specifically to the heart/mind, *yu* can pertain to the heart/mind or to other parts of the body such as the senses. Also, while *zhi* involves focusing the heart/mind in a way that guides one's actions or one's life in general, *yu* involves tendencies that one may choose to resist rather than to act on.

Another term, *yi* 意 (thoughts), refers to tendencies that differ from both *zhi* and *yu*. *Yi* can refer to one's thoughts or opinions, as well as one's inclinations, which involve one's wanting to see certain things happen or one's thinking of bringing about certain things. Unlike *yu*, which can involve tendencies (such as those of the senses) that just happen to obtain without one's having a reflective awareness of one's wanting certain things, *yi* is something one is aware of as part of one's thoughts, which pertain to the heart/mind. On the other hand, *yi* is in a less directed state than *zhi* in that, while *yi* can be just a thought in favor of something without one's actually having decided to act in that direction, *zhi* involves one's actually forming the intention to so act. That the heart/mind can form *yi* and *zhi* shows that it has the capacity to reflect on one's life and reshape one's life accordingly. In early Confucian texts, there is frequent discussion of self-examination and self-cultivation on the basis of such self-examination, and this capacity for self-cultivation is ascribed to the heart/mind.

[2] The following discussion of the early Chinese view of the human psychology summarizes the discussion in Shun (2004: 184–186).

Turning to Zhu Xi, he also emphasized the guiding role of the heart/mind, describing it as master of the whole person (Zhu 1986: 464; Zhu 1983–1986e: 2.16a-b). *Qing*, in the sense of emotions and feelings, include such emotional responses as delight, anger, sorrow, and joy, as well as likes and dislikes (Zhu 1986: 64, 96). In contrast to *xing* (the nature) which is inactive, *qing* is described as active and, more specifically, as the activation of *xing* (Zhu 1986: 96, 2514). Zhang Zai held the view that the heart/mind encompasses or is the master of both *xing* and *qing* (心統性情) (Zhang 1965: 14.2a). Endorsing Zhang's view, Zhu Xi regarded the heart/mind as containing *xing* (nature), which is identical with *li* (pattern), as well as *qing* (emotions), the outward manifestation of *xing* (Zhu 1986: 91, 2513; Zhu 1965: 67.1a). The four beginnings highlighted by Mencius pertain to *qing* and are the manifestation of *li*, although *qing* can also take on other forms such as anger and joy and, as such, *qing* provides certain capabilities (Zhu 1986: 89, 1380, 2428). By contrast, *yu* (desires) involves one's being drawn toward specific things, unlike *qing* (emotions), which is less directed (ibid.: 93–94, 349, 2242). *Yu* is the specific form that *qing* takes; *qing* is like the flow of water and *yu* the waves: as water flows, it makes waves depending on what it encounters (ibid.: 93–94).

As we saw earlier, *yu* may or may not pertain to the heart/mind. To the extent that it pertains to the heart/mind, it is close to *yi* (thoughts). Zhu Xi describes *yi* as wanting to do certain things (ibid.: 349). The difference between *qing* and *yi* is that *qing* emphasizes certain capacities while *yi* is more directed; liking and disliking is *qing*, but liking beautiful color and disliking bad odor is *yi* (ibid.: 96). *Yu* (desires, tendencies) is also more directed by comparison to *qing*, and the difference between *yi* and *yu* is that, whereas *yu* can just come about without someone consciously wanting such and such, *yi* is more deliberative and self-conscious (ibid.). As for the difference between *yi* and *zhi* (goals, intentions), although both pertain to the heart/mind, *zhi* is by comparison more crystallized and manifest. Whereas *yi* can be just a thought in favor of something, *zhi* involves some decision or intention that is directed toward action (ibid.: 2514). For this reason, Zhu Xi cited with approval Zhang Zai's idea that *zhi* is public (*gong* 公) and *yi* is private (*si* 私), explaining that *zhi* involves one's actually making a decision and publicly acting, whereas *yi* involves one's private and submerged thoughts (ibid.: 96). *Yi* is the deliberating and pondering that lies at the root of *zhi*, whereas *zhi* involves the heart/mind pointing itself in a certain direction (ibid.).

A capacity of the heart/mind that Zhu Xi particularly emphasized is *zhi* 知, a term often translated as "understanding" or "knowing." Understanding guides action in the way that the eyes guide the legs when walking; understanding precedes action although it is action that is the more important (ibid.: 148). In this regard, Zhu Xi is like Xunzi who also emphasized the guiding role of understanding. According to Xunzi, it is only when one understands the way (*dao*) that one will approve of it and abide by it (*Xunzi* 15.4a–b, 16.9b). And, when one's understanding is *ming* 明 (bright, clear), one's action will not be at fault (*Xunzi* 1.1a). The use of *ming* to describe understanding occurs frequently

in *Xunzi* where *ming* is often compared to the brightness of the sun and moon and is supposed to enable one to discern *li* (*Xunzi* 4.6b–7a, 11.11a, 12.12a–12b, 13.15a, 15.7a, 20.12a). Zhu Xi likewise uses *ming* to characterize understanding, describing how *ming* of understanding can light up *li* (Zhu 1983–1986a: 5.8a; Zhu 1965: 67.18a–b). This characterization of understanding suggests a perceptual metaphor for the relation of the heart/mind to *li*, and Zhu Xi on other occasions talks about how the heart/mind can see (*jian* 見) *li* or view (*guan* 觀) *li* (Zhu 1986: 1983, 2086). He also uses various metaphors that emphasize brightness or clarity to describe the ideal relation between the heart/mind and *li*: still and clear water, clear mirror, fire, the sun and moon (Zhu 1986: 177, 205, 206, 265). His difference from Xunzi is that whereas Xunzi regards *li* as something learnt, Zhu maintains that the heart/mind already has *li*, although it can be obscured. Thus, the heart/mind is originally like a clear mirror but it can be obscured by dust (Zhu 1965: 67.3b–4a; Zhu 1986: 267). It follows from this view that self-cultivation is a restorative process, comparable to the process of clearing the mirror to recover its original brightness (Zhu 1986: 92–93). Put in terms of the distinction between *li* and *qi*, whereas *li* is already in the heart/mind, the endowment of *qi* can be clouded and so one still needs to work on purifying *qi* to restore the proper perception of *li* (Zhu 1986: 1347).

To understand Zhu Xi's ethical views, we need to go beyond his views on the human psychological makeup and consider his views on the relation between human beings. Since all things are permeated by *li* and *qi*, he regards an individual as connected to all other human beings and things. This connectedness between oneself and others is reflected in his understanding of *ren* 仁 (humanity), which he characterizes in terms of two ideas: one's forming one body (*yi ti* 一體) with all things, and a ceaseless life giving force (*sheng sheng* 生生) running through all things.[3]

In early texts, heaven (*tian* 天), or the ideal ruler, is often described as forming one body with other people and things. The *Book of Rites* (*Liji*) describes the ideal ruler as someone who regards the common people as part of his body, whereas the *Guanzi* describes him as one who forms one body with the common people (*Liji* 1965: 17.16a; *Guanzi* 1965: 10.18a). *Zhuangzi* describes heaven and earth (*tian di* 天地) as forming one body with, and oneself as being one with, the ten thousand things (*Zhuangzi* 1965: 1.18a, 10.21a). Later thinkers continued to advocate similar ideas, and characterize *ren* (humanity) in these terms. For example, Zhang Zai describes the ten thousand things as being one, and *ren* as embodying all affairs, just as heaven embodies all things without omission (Zhang 1965: 2.5a, 2.11b, 3.1a–2a). The Cheng brothers likewise describe the self as not separate from things and explains *ren* in terms of this idea (Cheng and Cheng 1965c: 2a.3a–3b; Cheng and Cheng 1965a: 1.7b, 1.10b–11a). They use a medical analogy to present their views; just as medical texts describe the

[3] The following discussion of Zhu Xi's understanding of *ren* summarizes the discussion in Shun (2005: 1–3).

numbness in the four limbs as a lack of *ren*, one's failure to be sensitive to the conditions of other things is also a lack of *ren* (Cheng and Cheng 1965c: 2a.2a–2b, 2a.15b; Cheng and Cheng 1965a: 1.4a; Cheng and Cheng 1965b: 3.1a–1b).

Zhu Xi endorsed similar ideas. He regarded heaven and earth and the ten thousand things as originally forming one body with oneself, and used the Cheng brothers' medical analogy as a way to describe how *ren* involves forming one body with all things (Zhu 1983–1986g: 2b; Zhu 1983–1986a: 3.18a–b; Zhu 1986: 2562). Ideally, one's heart/mind should be the same as the heart/mind of heaven and earth. Referring to Zhang Zai's idea that heaven is all encompassing without exclusion (天大無外), he thinks that humans are originally also all encompassing, and that it is humans who have belittled themselves (Zhang 1965: 2.5b; 1.12b, Zhu's commentary). *Ren* involves being the same body as all things, and this idea is related to *gong* 公 (impartiality), which is contrasted with the *si* 私 (partiality, selfishness) of acting for oneself (Zhang 1965: 1.7a–7b, 1.9b–10a, Zhu's commentary). *Si* involves a separation of oneself from things, so that there is an opposition between the two; as a result, one's heart/mind regards things as external to oneself, unlike the heart/mind of heaven which has no exclusion. The task of self-cultivation is to enlarge one's heart/mind, until one sees everything as connected to oneself (Zhu 1986: 2518–2519). Thus, for Zhu Xi, *ren* (humanity) and *gong* (impartiality) are related to heaven, and *si* (partiality, selfishness) is a separation of oneself from other things that removes one from heaven.

Early texts also describe heaven and earth as giving birth to the ten thousand things (*Xunzi* 5.7a, 6.6a, 13.2b; *Zhuangzi* 7.1b). The *Book of Change* (*Yijing*) highlights the idea of *sheng sheng* 生生 (continuously giving life), and speaks of giving life (*sheng* 生) as the "great virtue" of heaven and earth (*Yijing* 7.4a, 8.1b). In later Confucian thought, Zhang Zai explains the *ren* of heaven and earth, in terms of its giving birth to and nourishing the ten thousand things (Zhang 1965: 5.4b). The Cheng brothers refer to giving life as the way of heaven; citing the idea of the heart/mind of heaven and earth from early texts such as the *Liji*, they describe giving life to things as the heart/mind of heaven and earth (*Liji* 7.8a–8b; Cheng and Cheng 1965a: 1.5a; Cheng and Cheng 1965b: 3.1a). The heart/mind of humans should be identical with the heart/mind of heaven and earth and should also be that of giving life (Cheng and Cheng 1965c: 2a.1a). This is *ren*, which is compared to the life giving force of a seed (Cheng and Cheng 1965a: 1.4b; Cheng and Cheng 1965c 18.2a). The Cheng brothers relate this idea of ceaselessly giving life to the idea of forming one body with the ten thousand things; in giving life to all things it is as if all things are parts of one's own body (Cheng and Cheng 1965c: 2a.15b).

Zhu Xi likewise describes the heart/mind of heaven and earth as giving life to things; this is *ren*, and *ren* is likewise compared to the life-giving force of seeds (Zhu 1986: 4, 85, 464–465, 1791, 2419, 2634; Zhu 1965: 67.20a–21b; Zhu 1988: 142). For him, the heart/mind of commiseration and that of not being able to bear the suffering of others described in *Mengzi* are illustrations of the

life-giving force that characterizes *ren* (*Mengzi* 1A.7, 2A.6;[4] Zhu 1983–1986b: 2.13a; Zhu 1983–1986f: 26.8a–b; Zhu 1986: 1280, 2440). Just like the Cheng brothers, he relates the idea of giving life to all things to the idea of forming one body with heaven and earth and with the ten thousand things (Zhu 1986: 2810). Thus, on his view, every human being in the original and ideal state forms one body with all things by being sensitive to the conditions of things and by continuously nourishing and giving life to them. As for how human beings could have deviated from this state of existence, he would, as we saw, explain this in terms of the impurity of *qi*. In psychological terms, he would explain ethical failure in terms of *si* 私, a kind of separation of the self from other things, and a notion that we will consider further in the next section.

Ethical Failure

Before considering how things can go astray, one useful point of clarification is that, for ZHU Xi, although *qing* (emotions) and *yu* (desires) can take on problematic forms, they are in themselves inevitable and not necessarily problematic. He explicitly opposes the elimination of all *qing* or *yu* (Zhu 1986: 1381; Zhu 1983–1986e: 2.19b–20a). The desires for food, drink, and sex are shared by all human beings, cannot be eliminated, and are not problematic as such (Zhu 1986: 2428; Zhu 1983–1986e: 2.19b–20a). Although he occasionally uses the term "human desires" (*ren yu* 人欲), a term often used pejoratively, to describe the desire for food when hungry and for clothing when cold, on other occasions he clarifies that eating and drinking is a basic part of the human constitution, and that it is only the desire for delicious food that constitutes problematic human desires (Zhu 1986: 224, 2009). Thus, what he opposes is not desires as such, but desires coming from the individual that go beyond the basic desires that all human beings share.

His views on the emotions are similar. Commenting on a passage in the *Lunyu* which describes how YAN Hui did not transfer his anger nor repeat his errors, ZHU Xi, following the Cheng brothers, acknowledges that even the sage will be angry when appropriate (*Lunyu* 6.3; Cheng and Cheng 1965a: 2.34b–35a; Cheng and Cheng 1965c: 18.22a; Zhu 1986: 2445). He refers to such anger as righteous anger (Zhu 1986: 239). Such anger is a response called for by the situation one confronts and is not due to one's own preconceptions; also, after the incident is over, the anger that was initially an appropriate response goes away and is not stored in oneself (ibid.: 2445). In this sense, he also describes the sage as having no anger (Zhu 1986: 776). So, what he opposes is not emotions as such, but emotions that are not called for by the circumstances but instead originate from one's own preconceptions.

[4] Following the numbering of passages, with book numbers 1A–7B substituted for 1–14, in Yang (1984).

In what way, then, are inappropriate desires and emotions generated?[5] To answer this question, let us examine his view of the senses. In a number of early texts, the senses are presented as potentially problematic if not regulated by the heart/mind. For example, *Mengzi* ascribes ethical failure to the senses, regarding the heart/mind as the organ that should regulate their operation (*Mengzi* 6A.15). ZHU Xi likewise emphasizes the governing role of the heart/mind over the senses, while highlighting the notion of desires (*yu*) in this connection. His views derive from the "Yueji" chapter of the *Liji*, which talks about how, when human beings come into contact with external things, likes and dislikes arise, and how, if unregulated, such likes and dislikes can do damage to the pattern of heaven (*tianli* 天理). Humans are affected by things without limit, and if human likes and dislikes are not regulated, human beings become transformed into things and the pattern of heaven is lost while people are moved to exhaust their human desires (*ren yu* 人欲) (*Liji* 1965: 11.8b–9a). ZHU Xi endorses these ideas from *Liji*, from which he also takes over the contrast between the pattern of heaven and human desires. According to him, desires arise when the senses come into contact with external objects. Although desires are inevitable, external things are without limit and so such desires can become numerous (Zhu 1983–1986e: 1.5a–5b). When desires are plenty and are unregulated, they become problematic (Zhu 1983–1986b: 7.28a). Thus, it is one's own lack of regulation of these likes and dislikes that is the source of the problem, resulting in one's emotions and feelings being subordinated to things (Zhu 1986: 92, 262, 2253).

The *Liji* presents what is problematic as giving vein to and exhausting human desires (*qiong ren yu* 窮人欲), and it advocates using the way (*dao* 道) to regulate such desires (*Liji* 1965: 11.8b–9a, 11.15b–16a). Thus, human desires as such need not be problematic, and it is only when one fails to regulate them properly that they become problematic. Although ZHU Xi occasionally acknowledges this point, he, along with other later Confucians, more often speaks of human desires pejoratively because of the way they are contrasted with the pattern of heaven (*tian li* 天理). He also speaks of material desires (*wu yu* 物欲) pejoratively, at times using the two notions interchangeably (Zhu 1986: 224–225, 982; Zhu 1983–1986b: 2.13b, 2.14b; Zhu 1965: 67.8a–8b, 74.20a; Zhu 1983–1986g: preface, 1a–2a). Probably, the notion of material desire emphasizes the attractive force that external things exert on humans, whereas that of human desire emphasizes the human failure to regulate the likes and dislikes that arise when one comes into contact with things.

There is another contrast that is related by some later Confucian thinkers to that between the pattern of heaven and human desires. In the *Shangshu*, the human heart/mind (*ren xin* 人心) is contrasted with the moral heart/mind (*dao xin* 道心), the former being described as precarious (*wei* 危) and the latter as

[5] The following discussion of ZHU Xi's view of the senses summarizes the discussion in Shun (2005: 4–5).

minute and subtle (*wei* 微) (*Shangshu*: 61). Some later Confucian thinkers, such as the Cheng brothers, explain the human heart/mind in terms of human desires, and the moral heart/mind in terms of the pattern of heaven (Cheng 1965b: 3.2a). Lu Xiangshan opposes this way of understanding the contrast between the human heart/mind and the moral heart/mind, insisting that this is a contrast between two different perspectives in viewing the same heart/mind (Lu 1965: 34.1b). Zhu Xi holds a similar view, opposing the position of the Cheng brothers on the ground that the way they interpret the contrast suggests the idea of two different heart/minds when in fact there is only one (Zhu 1986: 2009–2010).

According to Zhu Xi, the notion of human heart/mind focuses on the heart/mind viewed in relation to desires such as the desire to eat when hungry, drink when thirsty, or put on warm clothing when cold, as well as the desires of the senses. It is described as precarious (*wei* 危) in that these desires by themselves have no moral direction and can go astray if not properly regulated. By contrast, the notion of moral heart/mind focuses on the heart/mind viewed in relation to morality (*yi li* 義理). It is described as minute and subtle (*wei* 微) in that the initial manifestation of *yi li* in the heart/mind, as illustrated by the four beginnings that Mencius highlights, is minute and not easy to discern (*wei yin* 微隱; *wei er nan zhu* 微而難著), while the way the moral heart/mind operates is profound and subtle (*wei miao* 微妙). It is important for the moral heart/mind to guide the human heart/mind; to put more it accurately, in order to reflect the point that there is only one heart/mind, it is the function of that aspect of the heart/mind that relates to *yi li* to guide that aspect of the heart/mind that relates to desires. The relation between the two is like that of the rudder to a boat, with the former guiding the latter (Zhu 1986: 1487, 2009–2011, 2864).

So far, we have considered how desires, if not properly guided and regulated, can become problematic. Zhu Xi also refers to the problematic forms of desires as selfish desires (*si yu* 私欲), at times also characterizing material desires and human desires in terms of *si* 私 (Zhu 1986: 2584; Zhu 1983–1986b: 3.1a–1b; Zhu 1983–1986e: 2.17a; Zhu 1983–1986g: 5b). In addition, he also refers to the problematic elements of the heart/mind as selfish thought (*si yi* 私意), where the difference between selfish thoughts and selfish desires is that the former refers to thoughts about what to do that emerge from the heart/mind, whereas the latter refers more often to the desires associated with the senses (Zhu 1986:1046, 1585–1586; Zhu 1983–1986d: 3.31b). The notion of *si* 私 (partial, selfish, private) is quite prominent in his thinking and is contrasted with *gong* 公 (impartial, public). He regards this contrast as parallel to that between the pattern of heaven and human desires (Zhu 1986: 225). What, then, is *si*, and how does the contrast between *gong* and *si* relate to that between heaven and humans?[6]

Si, when used to refer to what has to do with oneself, does not by itself carry any negative connotations. However, in early texts, *si* often carries a negative

[6] The following discussion of *si* summarizes the discussion in Shun (2005: 5–6).

connotation when contrasted with *gong*. *Gong* is opposed to another term *pian* 偏, where *pian* has the connotation of being one-sided or focusing on one part to the exclusion of others (*Hanfeizi* 1965: 6.4a; *Xunzi* 1965: 2.6a, 7.9b). *Si* is a kind of one-sidedness that is focused on oneself; it is to focus on what is related to oneself in a way that prevents a balanced perspective. Thus, *gong yi* 公義, or propriety that is "public" or "objective," is contrasted with resentment that is self-centered (*si*), with private (*si*) affairs, or with selfish (*si*) desires (*Mozi* 1948: 9/8/20; *Xunzi* 1965: 1.13a, 8.5a). The notions of selfish desire and selfish thought, understood in a negative sense, already occur in early texts (*Xunzi* 1965: 1.13a, 4.6a; *Guoyu* 1965: 5.5b, 17.3a, 17.7a; *Lüshi chunqiu* 1988: 3.19b; *Hanfeizi* 1965: 17.14a; *Huainanzi* 1965: 16.11; *Guanzi* 1965: 21.11a). Likewise, the contrast between *gong* and *si* is also related to the contrast between heaven and humans in early texts, where the operation of heaven is often described as being without *si* (Creel 1974: 358; *Liji* 1965: 15.12b–13a; *Zhuangzi* 1965: 3.15a; *Mozi* 1948: 4/4/9; *Guanzi* 1965: 13.6a).

In later Confucian thought, heaven's operation continued to be described in terms of *gong*, and *si* is characterized as a separation of the self from other things (Zhou 1990: 40; Cheng and Cheng 1965a: 2.23b). ZHANG Zai describes the superior person as being without the *si* of the opposition between things and self, and the Cheng brothers characterize *ren* (humanity) in terms of *gong*, which involves equally illuminating both things and self (Zhang 1965: 2.25a; Cheng and Cheng 1965c: 15.8b). For the Cheng brothers, the sage is sensitive to and responds to everything, and in that sense is without the self (*wu wo* 無我), unlike someone who is *si* and has a special attachment to one thing to the exclusion of others (Cheng and Cheng 1965a: 1.30b).

Returning to ZHU Xi, he usually uses *si* in a pejorative sense, contrasting it with *gong*. To form one body with the ten thousand things is *gong*, whereas *si* has to do with focusing on oneself or on close associates in a way that inappropriately neglects other people and things (Zhu 1986: 117; Zhu 1983–1986e: 1.14a–b). When one does not regulate the many likes and dislikes that arise as one is affected by external things continuously, one is drawn along unthinkingly by things. The notion of selfish desires emphasizes the fact that the desires that emerge in this context involve one's putting undue weight on one's relation to certain objects, so that it prevents one from appropriately taking into account all things. The notion of selfish thoughts, by contrast, emphasizes the role of the heart/mind. Selfish thoughts are thoughts of the heart/mind that give undue emphasis to oneself or to one's close associates. Just like the Cheng brothers who speak of being without the self, Zhu's opposition to selfish desires and selfish thoughts is sometimes presented in a way that downplays the self. For example, citing and endorsing the Cheng brothers' view, he describes YAN Hui's anger as residing in things but not in the self (Zhu 1983–1986a: 2.10b).

Thus, for ZHU Xi, *si* has to do with the heart/mind's failure to take a balanced perspective, and with its failure to regulate one's desires and shape one's emotions accordingly. This results in one's putting undue weight on oneself or on those close to oneself. *Gong* 公, by contrast, involves a balanced view that

gives all things their appropriate place. Heaven exhibits *gong* in its operations, and the *ren* person is like heaven and earth in that the *ren* person nourishes things in the way that heaven and earth does (Zhu 1986: 977, 983, 2415; Zhu 1983–1986e: 2.41b). Without *si* in one's heart/mind, one would be like heaven and earth in responding appropriately to everything one comes into contact with, but with *si*, one's responses would focus on oneself or on what is closely associated with oneself (Zhu 1986: 1814). So, for Zhu Xi, *si* involves an inappropriate focus on oneself that separates one from other people and things; as a result, the life-giving force of *ren* fails to reach other people and things as it should. One restores the *ren* state of the heart/mind by eliminating the *si* in oneself (Zhu 1986: 2833; Zhu 1965: 67.20a–21b).

Self-Cultivation

Given the view that people originally have clear insight into *li* (pattern) and given the account of ethical failure described in the previous section, self-cultivation basically involves restoring the insight into *li* that has been lost because of the effect of *si*. In discussing self-cultivation, Zhu Xi emphasizes two aspects of this process, one directed to managing the inner activities of the heart/mind to pre-empt or eliminate *si*, and the other directed to actively seeking a clear grasp of *li*. These two aspects of self-cultivation roughly parallel Cheng Yi's idea of nourishing the heart/mind with *jing* 敬 (seriousness) and advancing learning through *zhi zhi* 致知 (extension of understanding), an idea that Zhu Xi often cited with approval and sometimes put in terms of dwelling in *jing* and exhausting *li* (居敬窮理) (Zhu 1986: 150, 403–404, 2779). In this section, we will consider these two aspects of self-cultivation in turn.

In relation to actively seeking clear insight into *li*, Zhu Xi took this to be the content of *zhi zhi* 致知, one of the steps in a self-cultivation process highlighted in *Daxue*. On his view, this involves extending one's understanding of *li* by actively reaching out and probing things and affairs. He takes the idea *ge wu* 格物—another step in the self-cultivation process highlighted in *Daxue*—to mean reaching out to things and affairs to probe the *li* in them (Zhu 1986: 255, 257, 2752, 2878–2879, 2908). The process involves not just inquiring into and thinking through the way one should conduct oneself in a certain situation, but also personally acting and experiencing how it feels to so act. It also involves the study of the Confucian classics. According to Zhu, there are certain insights of the sages that might not be explicit but lie behind the ideas recorded in the classics; these insights are referred to as the sages' *yi* 意 (thoughts). Our most important task in reading the classics is to go beyond the analysis of texts and come to grips with such insights (Zhu 1986: 162). To do so, we need to relate what we obtain from the classics to our own personal experiences, and to practice and embody them in ourselves (ibid.: 161, 165, 176, 181). So, the process involves an interplay between our present experiences and the past

insights of the sages, with the assumption that these insights are as relevant to the present as they were to the past. Since these insights are unchanging in their relevance, the process is like that of listening to the ancient sages through the classics, and we should empty our mind of any pre-conceptions so that we can accurately hear the voices of the sages (ibid.: 177, 179, 180, 185, 186). What one learns from the classics is something already in us, and one should embody what one has learnt from the classics in one's personal life and ensure that it does resonate with the *li* in us (ibid.: 161, 165–168, 2941).

As we mentioned earlier, although ZHU Xi regards understanding (*zhi* 知) as preceding action, he sees action as the more important of the two. Furthermore, to the extent that one apparently has understanding but does not act, one's understanding is still too shallow (ibid.: 148). The idea that one's understanding can be more deep or shallow reflects his view that understanding admits of degrees, a view that he sometimes put in terms of understanding being more or less "mature" (ibid.: 2744). It is only when one's understanding is fully mature that one truly sees *li* or becomes one with *li*, and it is only when one has genuine understanding (*zhen zhi* 真知) that one's understanding is truly in oneself (ibid.: 145, 157, 2810). The view that understanding can be more deep or shallow he took from CHENG Yi (Cheng and Cheng 1965c: 15.16b, 18.5a). CHENG Yi also emphasized the notion of genuine understanding: to have genuine understanding is not just a matter of being able to speak about or having beliefs about something; one has to be personally engaged with what one understands in an intimate way. Cheng illustrates this idea with the example of someone who has in the past been attacked by a tiger: the way he reacts to news of a tiger approaching is totally different from the way someone who has not had such past experience would react, and it illustrates the personal and intimate way in which he understands the danger of the tiger (ibid.: 2a.2b–3a). Another example Cheng used comes from *Lunyu*, namely, the person who has genuine understanding would view badness as if it were to put one's hand into boiling water (*Lunyu* 16.11; Cheng and Cheng 1965c: 15.3b–4a). Thus, anyone who claims to understand but does not act accordingly does not have genuine understanding (Cheng and Cheng 1965c: 15.6b). ZHU Xi endorses both the view that genuine understanding will necessarily lead to action, and the illustration of genuine understanding with the examples of the tiger and of dipping one's hand into boiling water (Zhu 1965: 72.35a–b; Zhu 1986: 309, 390, 2793; Zhu 1983–1986e: 2.12b; Zhu 1983–1986a: 8.13a). He also relates genuine understanding to the notion of *cheng* 誠, a notion we will consider in the next section (Zhu 1983–1986a: 8.13a; Zhu 1986: 1436).

Two additional points concerning ZHU Xi's views on understanding are in order. First, although he describes understanding as preceding and guiding action, he regards the two as complementing each other in the self-cultivation process. That is, in order to "deepen" one's understanding, one has to act on it and personally experience it, and so the two should proceed simultaneously (Zhu 1986: 2816). Second, understanding of *li* is different from understanding that comes from the senses (*jian wen zhi zhi* 見聞之知); it is a matter of the insight of the heart/mind into *li*. Now, ZHANG Zai tends to downplay the importance of

the understanding that comes from the senses, describing it as "small" and "narrow" and as something that can become a burden on the heart/mind (Zhang 1965: 2.17a, 2.21a, 2.22a). The Cheng brothers likewise distinguish between the two kinds of understanding, describing the understanding that pertains to morality (*de xing zhi zhi* 德性之知) as not dependent on the understanding that comes from the senses (Cheng and Cheng 1965a: 2.21b, 2.27a, 25.2a). Zhu Xi, by contrast, regards the former as building on the latter: one has to start with the latter although one should eventually go beyond it (Zhu 1986: 2518–2519). This position is understandable given his emphasis on the examination of things and affairs and on learning, both of which depend on understanding that comes from the senses.

Turning to the other aspect of the self-cultivation process that focuses on the inner management of the heart/mind's activities, two ideas are particularly worth highlighting: *jing* 敬, which we referred to earlier, and *shen du* 慎獨, which Zhu Xi uses to explicate that idea of *cheng yi* 誠意, another step in the self-cultivation process highlighted in *Daxue*. They differ from *zhi zhi* 致知 (extension of understanding) in that their focus is not on directly seeking an understanding of *li*, but on pre-empting or correcting any activities of the heart/mind that might adversely affect one's acting in accordance with *li*.[7]

Jing (seriousness) is used in early texts to refer to an attitude directed not just toward deities or persons, but also toward affairs (*Lunyu* 1.5, 13.19, 15.38, 16.10). It is related to both *jie* 戒 (being on guard) and *shen* 慎 (being cautious), and so involves an attitude of caution (*Zuozhuan* 1965: 16.23a, 19.23b). It is presented as a way to cultivate oneself or to straighten what is within oneself, as well as a quality of the superior person (*Lunyu* 12.5, 14.42; *Yijing* 1965: 1.7a). The Cheng brothers see *jing* as a way to cultivate oneself, viewing it as a quality that one should have prior to interacting with things (ibid.: 1.17a). They also explain it in terms of having oneness as master so that one stays centered without being moved (Cheng and Cheng 1965c: 15.5a; Cheng and Cheng 1965a: 1.3b).

Zhu Xi endorsed these views of the Cheng brothers. For him, having oneness as master means the heart/mind is not divided, so that one is not distracted by other things when focused on one thing (Zhu 1986: 2464, 2467, 2635). One should be like this whether active or inactive (ibid.: 2465, 2875). He relates *jing* to the attitude of caution and fearfulness found at the beginning of the *Zhongyong* (Chapter 1),[8] and characterizes it as a posture of being constantly alert (ibid.: 494, 2471, 2767, 2788, 2936). For him, *jing* involves a focus of attention, concentration, freedom from distraction, caution and alertness. It is a posture that one should have, whether interacting with things or not; even when one is not engaged in affairs, one should nourish oneself with *jing* (ibid.: 2456, 2779). When directed to something one is interacting with, whether a person or an affair, it involves a full

[7] The following discussion of *jing* and of *shen du* summarizes the discussion in Shun (2008a: 264–265, 268–269).

[8] Following Zhu Xi's division of the text into chapters in Zhu (1983–1986g).

devotion of attention, caution, and alertness to possible distraction or incorrectness. *Jing* pre-empts activities of the heart/mind that might lead to deviation from *li*. Referring to the idea of *ke ji* 克己 (overcoming the self) from *Lunyu*, which he interprets to mean overcoming one's selfish thoughts and desires, Zhu Xi observes that *jing* is like guarding the door while *ke ji* is like warding off a robber: if one practices *jing*, then there is no need to *ke ji* (*Lunyu* 12.1; Zhu 1986: 151).

Ke ji, on this interpretation, is close to *shen du* 慎獨 but still different. They are similar in that both are directed to the activities of the heart/mind. They are different in that *shen du* is directed specifically to the subtle and incipient activities of the heart/mind that are just emerging, and can be pre-emptive rather than corrective. S*hen du* is mentioned in several early texts; for example, it is related to an attitude of caution and fearfulness at the beginning of the *Zhongyong*. The character *du* 獨, literally meaning "alone," probably refers to the subtle activities of the heart/mind, and *shen du*, or being watchful over *du*, to a kind of inner self-management. In the "Li Qi" chapter of the *Liji*, *du* is mentioned in connection with what is inside the heart/mind (*Liji* 1965: 7.16a–16b). At the beginning of *Zhongyong*, it is mentioned in connection with what is hidden and minute, suggesting that *du* has to do with the inner workings of the heart/mind. In the *Daxue*, its occurrence is preceded by a reference to how *cheng* 誠 (wholeness) on the inside takes shape on the outside, an idea bearing a similarity to the *Zhongyong* observation about how nothing is more visible than the hidden and more manifest than the minute (*Daxue* Chapter 6).[9] Thus, *du* as it occurs in *shen du* probably refers to the inner workings of the heart/mind.

Zhu Xi interprets *du* in this manner, explicating it in terms of what others do not know but one oneself alone (*du*) knows, and taking it to refer to the thoughts of the heart/mind that others do not know about (Zhu 1983–1986h: 6a–6b; Zhu 1983–1986g: 2a; Zhu 1983–1986d: 3.10b–11a; Zhu 1986: 567, 1504). For him, the observation in *Zhongyong* about caution and fearfulness regarding what one does not see and hear refers to one's attitude when one's heart/mind has not yet been activated (Zhu 1986: 1499; Zhu 1983–1986d: 3.13a–13b). By contrast, *shen du* refers to one's posture when one's heart/mind has already been activated; one should be cautiously watching over the minute and subtle workings of the heart/mind that are known only to oneself and not yet to others (Zhu 1986: 1502, 1503, 2469). It serves both a pre-emptive and a corrective function. Cautiously attending to these incipient activities of the heart/mind helps prevent their going astray, and also helps correct them as soon as thy start to go astray. This posture relates to *cheng yi* 誠意 in that it is a way of managing one's thoughts (*yi* 意), thereby ensuring that one is thoroughly good both inside and outside (Zhu 1986: 326, 335). That *yi* (thoughts) rather than *zhi* (intentions) is emphasized in the inner management of the heart/mind is because such inner management should be directed to one's thoughts as they emerge, before they crystallize into actual intentions or actions.

[9] Following Zhu Xi's division of the text into main text and chapters of commentary in Zhu (1983–1986h).

The Ethical Ideal

Thus, for ZHU Xi, the process of self-cultivation involves seeking a clear grasp of *li* by inquiry and learning and by clearing the heart/mind, both preemptively and correctively, of any problematic influence. This clear grasp of *li* is put in terms of genuine understanding, which we saw earlier to be related to *cheng* 誠. The idea of *shen du* also occurs in relation to *cheng* in *Daxue*, and *cheng* for ZHU Xi provides another description of the ethical ideal in addition to *ren* (humanity) and *zhen zhi* (genuine understanding). Besides *cheng*, there are two other terms that ZHU Xi often used to characterize the ethical ideal, *xu* 虛 and *jing* 靜. In this final section, we will continue the discussion of ZHU Xi's conception of the ethical ideal by examining the ideas *cheng*, *xu,* and *jing*.

Cheng is used in early texts with the meaning of what is truly so, and is often contrasted with *wei* 偽, what is fake or false (*Lunyu* 13.11; *Mengzi* 1A.7; *Liji* 1965: 11.17a; *Xunzi* 1965: 14.3a).[10] It is used to refer to a personal attribute in several early texts, and plays an important role in the thinking of several later Confucian thinkers, such as LI Ao and ZHANG Zai (Li 1983–1986a: 2.1a–3b; Zhang 1965: 2.17a). ZHOU Dunyi characterizes *cheng* in terms of an absence of deviance, an idea that he takes from the *Yijing* and that he interprets to refer to the absence of any activity that is not good (*Yijing* 3.5b; Zhou 1990: 38). The Cheng brothers, in addition to explicating *cheng* in terms of the absence of deviance, also relate it to what is genuine (*zhen* 真) (Cheng and Cheng 1965c: 21b.1b).

ZHU Xi endorses these explications of *cheng*, and in addition relates it to *shi* 實, what is real and has substance (Zhu 1983–1986g: 11a, 17b–18a). *Shi* refers to what is truly the case, and Zhu takes *cheng* to mean that *li* (pattern) is truly (*shi*) in oneself (Zhu 1986: 102, 1544). The *cheng* person is consistently good both inwardly and outwardly, and follows the way with ease and without effort (Zhu 1986: 543; Zhou 1990: 14, Zhu's commentary). *Cheng* is also related to oneness, which is contrasted with being two or being mixed, where being mixed is seen as a form of *wei* 偽 (fake, false) (Zhu 1986: 304, 338). The state of being mixed involves a discrepancy within oneself; it is like having two people within one's heart/mind, pulling one in different directions (Zhu 1986: 304, 1721). So, for ZHU Xi, *cheng* is a state of the heart/mind in which it is fully oriented in accordance with *li*, without any internal division and without any discrepancy between one's outer behavior and inner dispositions.

Let us next consider *xu* and *jing*.[11] In early texts, *xu* is often contrasted with *shi* 實 (being real) as well as with two terms meaning "being full" or "filled up," *ying* 盈 and *man* 満 (*Lunyu* 7.26, 8.5; *Xunzi* 1965: 6.11a, 13.11a; *Zhuangzi* 1965: 6.7b, 7.18a). Thus, *xu* has the connotation of being empty or unfilled, and it can also be used verbally in the sense of making empty (*Mozi* 1948: 5/5/24, 37/25/20).

---

[10] The following discussion of *cheng* summarizes the discussion in Shun (2008a: 262–263).

[11] The following discussion of *xu* and *jing* summarizes the discussion in Shun (2006).

Although *xu* is often contrasted with *shi*, the two terms are also related in interesting ways. Some texts idealize individuals who, while *shi*, appears as if *xu*, and some texts refer to those who are also *shi* despite being apparently *xu* (*Lunyu* 8.5; *Huainanzi* 1965: 7.5a; *Lüshi chunqiu* 1965: 26.1a). Some even refer to how, starting with *xu*, one ends up with *shi,* or how *shi* comes from *xu* (*Zhuangzi* 1965: 2.16a; *Huainanzi* 1965: 1.11a, 2.5a). That *xu* is idealized in this way has to do with its connotation of receptivity and responsiveness. If one is *xu* in the sense of being vacuous or unfilled, then one is also open to receiving what is *shi*, namely what is real and substantive. Thus, a number of texts refer to how one uses *xu* to receive what comes in and to await it, including specific references to using *xu* to receive *shi* (*Yijing* 1965: 4.1a; *Hanfeizi* 1965: 2.8b; *Huainanzi* 1965: 7.5a). Furthermore, one whose heart/mind is *xu* will not have preconceptions and so will not have one's thoughts constrained (*Hanfeizi* 1965: 6.1a). This receptivity and the lack of prior constraints allow one to have a proper understanding of things, enabling one to respond appropriately to situations (*Hanfeizi* 1965: 1.10a; *Huainanzi* 1965: 1.8a). So, *xu* carries the multiple connotations of being unfilled and without substance, being unconstrained, and being receptive and responsive in appropriate ways.

Zhu Xi uses *xu* in three related senses to describe the ethical ideal. First, the heart/mind is *xu* in that it is capable of storing; it is because the heart/mind is *xu* that it can store the multitude of *li*, and in that sense there is *shi* within *xu* (Zhu 1986: 88, 232, 2514). Since *li* is already in the heart/mind, *xu* is not a matter of receptivity to *li* that one learns but a matter of the capacity to store the multitude of *li*. Second, he also uses *xu* in the sense of being unfilled, specifically, being free from what is *si* 私 and what is *wei* 偽 (Zhu 1986: 1575). Drawing on the idea of the "air in the early morning" in *Mengzi*, he thinks that this is the state of the heart/mind in the early morning when one just awakens from restful sleep, although that state can soon be lost after one starts interacting with things (*Mengzi* 6A.8; Zhu 1986: 349, 1393, 2875). And third, for the heart/mind to be *xu* is also for it to be properly responsive. By being *xu* in the sense of being free from *si*, one is able to observe and follow *li* (Zhu 1986: 145, 155). This is the original state of the heart/mind prior to the influence of *si* (ibid.: 94).

As for *jing* 靜, it is often contrasted with *dong* 動: a contrast between not moving and moving, or between inactivity and activity (*Lunyu* 6.23). It is sometimes used to describe the inactive state of human beings before they start interacting with things (*Liji* 1965: 11.8b; *Huainanzi* 1965: 1.4a). However, *jing* also characterizes the state of water when it is still and free from disturbance (*Guanzi* 1965: 16.2b; *Daxue*: main text). When water is still, sediments will settle and the water is clear; when it is disturbed water loses this clarity (*Lüshi chunqiu* 1965: 1.6b). When water is clear, it acts like a mirror and can accurately reflect what is brought in front of it (*Zhuangzi* 1965: 2.17a, 10.18b–19a). Used in this context, *jing* is a desirable state of existence, in contrast to a state in which one is subject to disturbances that distort one's response to things. In this sense, *jing* is contrasted with *dong* in the sense of disturbance but not with *dong* in the sense of activity, since one can be active (*dong*) while one's heart/mind is still (*jing*) in the

sense of being free from disturbances (compare *Mengzi* 2A.2 with *Xunzi* 1965: 15.4b). Indeed, being *jing* in this sense is a preparation for *dong* (activity), just as *xu* in the sense of receptivity and responsiveness is a preparation for *shi* (*Zhuangzi* 1965: 5.12a; *Hanfeizi* 1965: 1.10a).

Returning to ZHU Xi, he sometimes uses *jing* in contrast to *dong* to refer to one's state prior to interacting with things. *Xing* (nature) is *jing*, and *qing* (emotions)—the activation of *xing*—are *dong*. He takes this contrast to be the point of the observation in the "Yue Ji" chapter of *Liji* about how *xing* refers to stillness (*jing*) at birth, and how the desire (*yu*) of *xing* refers to activation upon contact with things (Zhu 1965: 8a–8b). At the same time, he often uses the contrast between *jing* and *dong* to refer to the contrast between the unperturbed state of the heart/mind and a state of the heart/mind that is unsettled. In this sense, if the heart/mind is not *jing*, it would be fluctuating between different directions and would not be at ease (Zhu 1986: 278). *Jing* refers to a state when the heart/mind is not so torn and is not vulnerable to uncertainty, and one can achieve this state by holding on to *li* (Zhu 1986: 275; Zhu 1983–1986h: 1b; Zhu 1983–1986e: 1.9a–10a).

Cheng, *xu*, and *jing*, as different ways of characterizing the ethical ideal, are intimately related. Whereas *cheng* emphasizes the complete ethical orientation of the heart/mind, *xu* and *jing* emphasize the absence of any elements of the heart/mind that can detract from this ethical orientation. *Xu* and *jing* differ from one another in that *xu* emphasizes the absence of these elements whereas *jing* emphasizes the absence of their disturbing effects. These notions are also related to *ren* (humanity), a relation that can be brought out through the notion of *si*. As we have seen, ZHU Xi uses *ren* to emphasize the connectedness between all things, and *si* has to do with desires and thoughts that come from the self and that separate oneself from other things. He compares *ren* to the brightness of a mirror, *si* to dust, and *gong* to the absence of dust; it is *si* that prevents the brightness of the mirror from shining forth, and so it is the removal of *si* that enables the manifestation of *ren* (Zhu 1986: 267, 781, 2454). Thus, whereas *xu* emphasizes the absence of *si*, and *jing* the absence of the disturbing effects of *si*, *ren* emphasizes the connectedness between things that is manifested when *si* is absent. *Cheng*, on the other hand, describes the complete ethical orientation of the heart/mind when one attains such a state.

Bibliography

Cheng, Yi 程頤 and CHENG Hao 程顥. 1965a. *Choice Words* 粹言, in the *Complete Works of the Two Chengs* 二程全書. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Cheng, Yi 程頤 and CHENG Hao 程顥. 1965b. *External Works* 外書, in the *Complete Works of the Two Chengs* 二程全書. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Cheng, Yi 程頤 and CHENG Hao 程顥. 1965c. *Surviving Works* 遺書, in the *Complete Works of the Two Chengs* 二程全書. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Creel, Herrlee G. 1974. *Shen Pu-Hai: A Chinese Political Philosopher of the Fourth Century B.C.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Dong, Zhongshu 董仲舒. 1965. *Abundant Dew on the Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋繁露. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Guanzi 管子. 1965. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: 中華書局.
Guo, Xiang 郭象. 1965. *Commentary on* Zhuangzi 莊子注. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Guoyu 國語. 1965. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Hanfeizi 韓非子. 1965. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Huainanzi 淮南子. 1965. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Legge, James. 1985. *The Chinese Classics, Volume III: The Shoo King*. Reprint. Taibei 臺北: Southern Materials Center, Inc. 南天書局有限公司.
Li, Ao 李翱. 1983–1986. *Collected Writings of Li Ao* 李文公集. *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition. Taibei 臺北: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.
Liji 禮記. 1965. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: 中華書局.
Lu, Xiangshan 陸象山. 1965. *Xiangshan quanji* 象山全集. 1965. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Lunyu 論語. Yang (1980).
Lüshi chunqiu 呂氏春秋. 1988. Xu Weiyu 許維遹, *Collected Interpretations of Master Lü's Spring and Autumn* 呂氏春秋集釋, fourth edition. Taibei臺北: Shijie shuju 世界書局.
Mengzi 孟子. Yang (1984).
Mozi 墨子. 1948. *A Concordance to Mo Tzu*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement 21. Peking: Harvard-Yenching Institute.
Shangshu 尚書. Legge (1985).
Shao, Yong 邵雍. 1965. *Book of Supreme World-ordering Principles* 皇極經世書. 1965. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Shun, Kwong-loi. 2004. "Concept of the Person in Early Confucian Thought." In Kwong-loi Shun and David B. Wong (eds.), *Confucian Ethics: A Comparative Study of Self, Autonomy and Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Shun, Kwong-loi. 2005. "Zhu Xi on *Gong* and *Si*." *Dao* 5.1: 1–9.
Shun, Kwong-loi. 2006. "Purity in Confucian Thought: Zhu Xi on *Xu, Jing,* and *Wu*." In Kim Chong Chong and Yuli Liu (eds.), *Conceptions of Virtue: East and West*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish.
Shun, Kwong-loi. 2008a. "Wholeness in Confucian Thought: Zhu Xi on *Cheng, Zhong, Xin,* and *Jing*." In On-cho Ng (ed.), *The Imperative of Understanding: Chinese Philosophy, Comparative Philosophy, and Onto-Hermeneutics*. New York: Global Scholarly Publications.
Shun, Kwong-loi. 2008b. "Zhu Xi and the *Lunyu*." In David Jones (ed.). *Confucius Now*. LaSalle: Open Court.
Yang, Bojun 楊伯峻. 1980. *The* Analects *with Translation and Commentary* 論語譯注, second edition. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Yang, Bojun 楊伯峻. 1984. Mencius *with Translation and Commentary* 孟子譯注, second edition. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Wang Chong 王充. 1965. *Discourses Weighed in the Balance* 論衡. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Xunzi 荀子. 1965. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Yijing 易經. 1965. Zhou Book of Change *with Wang Bi and Han Kangbo's Commentary* 周易王韓注. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Zhang, Zai 張載. 1965. *Complete Works of Master Zhang* 張子全書. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Zhongyong 中庸. Zhu (1983–1986g).
Zhou, Dunyi 周敦頤. 1990. *The Collected Writings of Zhou Dunyi* 周敦頤集 Beijing北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1965. *Complete Works of Master Zhu* 朱子大全. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1983–1986a. *Collected Annotations on the* Analects 論語集注. *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition. Taibei 臺北: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.
Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1983–1986b. *Collected Annotations on* Mencius 孟子集注. *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition. Taibei 臺北: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.
Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1983–1986c. *Questions and Answers on the* Analects 論語或問. *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition. Taibei 臺北: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.
Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1983–1986d. *Questions and Answers on the* Doctrine of the Mean 中庸或問. *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition. Taibei 臺北: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.
Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1983–1986e. *Questions and Answers on the* Great Learning 大學或問. *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition. Taibei 臺北: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.
Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1983–1986f. *Questions and Answers on* Mencius 孟子或問. *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition. Taibei 臺北: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.
Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1983–1986g. *Section and Sentences Commentary on the* Doctrine of the Mean 中庸章句. *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition. Taibei 臺北: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.
Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1983–1986h. *Section and Sentences Commentary on the* Great Learning 大學章句. *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition. Taibei 臺北: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.
Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1986. *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* 朱子語類. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1988. *The Original Meaning of the* Zhou Book of Change 周易本義, second edition. Tianjin 天津: Tianjinshi guji shudian 天津市古籍書店.
Zhuangzi 莊子. 1965. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Zuozhuan 左傳. 1965. *Mr Zuo's Tradition of the* Spring and Autumn Annals *with Mr Du's Collected Interpretations* 春秋左氏傳杜氏集解. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 edition. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Lü Zuqian's Political Philosophy

Kai Marchal

Northern Song thinkers like Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤, Zhang Zai 張載, and the Cheng brothers (Cheng Hao 程顥 and Cheng Yi 程頤) are often seen as marking a turning point in the long history of Chinese philosophy. Unlike earlier Confucian thinkers, who paid little attention to abstract issues, these thinkers apparently had turned toward "pure thought" and advanced cosmological, even metaphysical explanations of the world. In fact, they seem to be true "philosophers" in the original Greek sense. However, this description misses one crucial point: the followers of the Learning of the Way (*daoxue* 道學) never practiced the "value-free" contemplation of the world *sub specie aeternitatis*: they always maintained that their ideas about the cosmos and moral cultivation would eventually result in the radical transformation of the political, cultural, and social worlds. This notion of profound renewal certainly has less in common with the ideas of a traditional Western philosopher like Plato who retreated from the muddiness of the human world by founding the famous academy and who never thought of society as perfectible (Plato 2000: 312 [592b]). Rather, it more closely resembles the views of modern thinkers like Marx, Heidegger, or Wittgenstein, who called for the abandonment of the philosopher's detached "theoretical stance," arguing instead for a close engagement with the realm of human practice.

The study of one thinker in particular promises to shed light on the "practical political" nature of Learning of the Way thought: Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137–1181; also known by his literary name Lü Donglai 呂東萊). Alongside his close associate and friend, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), Lü was deeply involved in the factional conflict within the Southern Song bureaucracy. This feud may not have been as violent as the one in the Northern Song, but it was nonetheless a bitter fight for political control (Shen 2005; Levine 2008). In these struggles, the followers of the Learning of the Way movement tried to implement their original vision of

K. Marchal (✉)
Soochow University, Department of Philosophy, 70 Linhsi Road, Shihlin, Taipei 111-02, Taiwan, R.O.C.
e-mail: marchal@scu.edu.tw

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*, Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_10,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

Confucian culture in the political sphere, both at the court and at the grassroots level of local institutions (Yu 2003). Whereas Zhu Xi was strangely reluctant to engage fully in the political sphere, and preferred to organize this fight for dominance from behind the scenes (Schirokauer 1962), Lü willingly served the emperor in high offices and cooperated with the imperial bureaucracy. Deeply committed to the Cheng brothers' ethical doctrine, he constantly explored how the idea of a comprehensive moral order as embodied in the notion of "the way" (*dao* 道) could effectively become a social and political reality; at the same time, he always emphasized the need for compromise and promoted reconciliation between the younger scholars influenced by the Cheng brothers and more conservative elements at the court. If we want to explore further the relationship between the Learning of the Way movement and politics, there may be no better person than Lü Zuqian.

But who was Lü Zuqian? He certainly was one of the most prominent intellectual figures of the second half of the twelfth century, widely renowned as both a political figure and classical scholar. He was part of a new generation of young thinkers who rose to prominence in the 1160s and 1170s, trying to re-articulate the Confucian tradition in line with the heritage of the Cheng brothers. Being close to Zhu Xi, who was already on the way to becoming the leader of the Learning of the Way movement, Lü succeeded in maintaining close friendships with various thinkers who did not necessarily all agree with the Cheng brothers. It is this openness and philosophical curiosity which makes him one of the most interesting thinkers of the Southern Song dynasty. However, this very breadth of philosophical concern makes it difficult to grasp the essence of Lü's thought; indeed, this may be one of the reasons his writings have never received much attention in the Chinese world. (Another reason, of course, is that Zhu's ascendancy to orthodoxy shortly after his death threw Lü Zuqian into obscurity). Although his contributions to literary criticism (Wong and Lee 1989; De Weerdt 2007; Du 2003a) and historical studies (Liu 1986; Tang 2000: 253–275) have been studied to some extent, his philosophical thought in general has widely been ignored. (The only comprehensive intellectual biography dates from the early 1990s [Pan and Xu 1992].) Finally, although sinologists have demonstrated his importance in the intellectual history of the Southern Song, and in particular his role in the Learning of the Way movement (Tillman 1992; Bol 1998; Ichiki 2002), a comprehensive study of his thought has never been attempted either in Japan or in the West.

Given the scope of the present essay, it would be impossible to present a comprehensive picture of Lü's thought. The discussion here is confined to issues which relate to political and practical philosophy in a wider sense. Nevertheless, I hope I will be able to give the reader an idea of the philosophical richness which we encounter in this thinker who, unfortunately, has been overshadowed by Zhu Xi's posthumous fame. Although on a first reading Lü may seem to be lacking in philosophical acumen—an impression reinforced by subsequent Neo-Confucian hagiography—a second look will reveal that he was actually a highly creative, original thinker who examined some crucial questions. The fact

that Lü is so hard to pin down may have caused scholars to keep their distance over the years, but the time has certainly come for more critical attention.

Before we begin with the analysis, one question remains: In what sense can Lü be considered a "political philosopher"? He certainly never produced anything comparable to the systematic treatises on questions concerning the state, natural law, religious versus secular authority, and so on, which we find in medieval European thought (e.g. Aquinas) or classical Islamic thought (e.g. Al-Farabi). This apparent lack of a systematic doctrine is mainly due to the fact that he, like many other Confucians, understood himself as a "transmitter" of the "way," not as a creator of unified theories about the world: he only wrote commentaries and did not write systematic treatises. Therefore, his statements are often heavily context-bound and allusive rather than explicit, making it difficult to isolate their meaning and place them in the context of his wider thought. However, we never have reason to doubt that Lü thought of his writings as answers to questions which he and his students were asking about the nature of the world and the nature of politics in particular. Thus, there is need for a "work of retrieval," through which Lü's beliefs and philosophical convictions, embedded as they are in many layers of Confucian tradition, may be made accessible to the modern mind (compare Taylor 1991: 23). At the same time, we must always be aware of the political, social, and cultural contexts in which Lü advanced his claims. Hence, in this essay, I seek to re-politicize our way of speaking about Lü, while at the same time taking him seriously as a philosopher and creative thinker. I first provide the reader with a short biographical sketch of Lü Zuqian; I then focus on more specific features of his political thought, in particular: (1) the moral ideal (the quest for sagehood); (2) political institutions and the issue of political reforms; and (3) the relationship between moral and institutional health. It is hoped that this tentative interpretation of Lü's political thought, along with the new edition of his works, may help the reader further explore this unjustly forgotten thinker. In the end, we may be able to understand Lü Zuqian as an important philosopher and political theorist in his own right.

Life and Career

Born in 1137 in the city of Guilin 桂林, Lü Zuqian came from one of the most well-known families in the Northern Song dynasty, a family which had produced countless high officials and scholars (Xu 2005: 3–20; Pan and Xu 1992: 5–17). The Lü family was characterized by its internal diversity and famed for its promotion of ideas of harmony, tolerance, and general openness towards various philosophical traditions. Yet the learning of the Cheng brothers played a particularly important role for many members of this family (Tillman 1992: 83–89). Lü Zuqian was undoubtedly deeply influenced by this family tradition and its liberal leanings. In his early years, teachers like Liu Mianzhi 劉勉之

(d. 1149), Lin Ziqi 林子奇 (1112–1176), and Hu Xian 胡憲 (1082–1162) had educated him in the Confucian canon, in particular the contemporary interpretations of Zhang Zai and the Cheng brothers (Pan and Yu 1992: 18–21; Xu 2005: 27–29; Du 2003a: 32–37).

After the fall of the "infamous" chancellor Qin Gui 秦檜 (1090–1155), Lü began his political career with a minor posting in 1159. In 1163, at the age of 27, he won the title of "advanced scholar" and also successfully passed the extremely difficult Eruditus Literaturus examination (*boxue hongci ke* 博學宏詞科). From that year on, his academic and political career was practically guaranteed. In 1169, he became professor at the Imperial Academy in Yanzhou 嚴州. In the 1160s and 1170s, he frequently served as an official court historian and in various projects for the young Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1162–1189). Leaving public office upon the death of his mother in 1166, Lü established a private academy east of Jinhua 金華, at close distance to the temporal capital Hangzhou 杭州 (later called the "Friendship Academy" Lize shuyuan 麗澤書院; for the term *lize* see hexagram Dui 兌). There, he trained students for the national examinations and gained a large following. His scholarly fame and his connections at the court may have ultimately catapulted him to the top of the bureaucracy, the chancellorship. However, a stroke in 1178 forced him to resign from all active posts. Even after his retirement, Lü continued teaching and writing for three more years. He died in 1181 at the age of forty-four.[1]

One is certainly not tempted to romanticize Lü Zuqian's biography, particularly in contrast to Chen Liang's rather tempestuous life, which included a series of angry outbursts at court and several prison stints. Lü lived the regular, uneventful life of a loyal Confucian scholar-official, husband, and successful teacher, but there was nevertheless a certain tragic flavor in his life: he outlived his three wives and was sick for most of his later years. Maybe as a result of this, a deep sense of insecurity afflicted him. He certainly was not as brilliant, self-confident, or talented as his friend Zhu Xi, and he often describes himself in relatively modest terms (even though he was a gifted prose writer, as his travel writings prove [Du 2003a: 78–86]). In short, he was much less self-assertive than most of his contemporaries. This also explains why he could be on friendly terms with many extremely divergent thinkers including Zhu Xi, Zhang Shi 張栻, Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵, Chen Liang 陳亮, Ye Shi 葉適, Xue Jixuan 薛季宣, and Chen Fuliang 陳傅良.

The body of his works is extremely large. It comprises (1) his "Literary Collections" (*wenji* 文集), namely private and public writings such as his poems, letters, official writings to the court, and other documents; (2) his lectures and commentaries on canonical texts such as the *Book of Documents* (*Shangshu* 尚書), the *Book of Odes* (*Shijing* 詩經), the *Book of Change* (*Yijing* 易經), the *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語), and the *Mencius* (*Mengzi* 孟子); (3) various

[1] For a more detailed account of Lü Zuqian's life and career, see Tillman (1992: 83–103); Chan (1989: 424–434), Xu (2005), Du (2007), Ichiki (2002: 288–289), Marchal (2006: 60–102).

textbooks and teaching materials which are closely related to the civil service examination and were used at his academy, for example, the *Detailed Explanations of Institutions throughout the Ages* (*Lidai zhidu xiangshuo* 歷代制度詳說) (an annotated collection of source materials on the institutional history of China), the *Extensive Deliberations* (*Zuo shi boyi* 左氏博議) (a collection of model essays on the *Zuo Tradition*, also known as *(Mister) Donglai's Extensive Deliberations* [*Donglai boyi* 東萊博議]; 1168), and the *Key to Ancient Prose* (*Guwen guanjian* 古文關鍵) (an anthology of literary texts); (4) the compilation projects in which he was involved either in his function as a court official (the *Mirror of Song Literature* [*Song wen jian* 宋文鑒], 1179), or scholar (the *Record for Reflection* [*Ji si lu* 近思錄], the famous philosophical anthology, which he compiled together with Zhu Xi in 1175). Unfortunately, this large oeuvre has barely attracted any attention from modern scholars.[2]

Before moving to a more detailed discussion of Lü's thought, there is an important question still to be raised: what exactly was Lü's relationship to the Learning of the Way movement? In his seminal study on Zhu Xi's rise to dominance, Hoyt C. Tillman calls Lü the leading figure of the Learning of the Way movement between 1170 and 1180, before his premature death allowed Zhu Xi to take his place (Tillman 1992). According to Tillman, during the 1160s and 1170s, there was a relatively diverse group of young scholars around Zhu Xi who claimed affiliation to the Learning of the Way movement. Only in later years would the Learning of the Way become the highly exclusive group of followers of Zhu Xi that it is known as today. When we shift our attention to Lü Zuqian, this shift becomes much clearer: in Lü's time, the fellowship of the "Way" was as much a political grouping of diverse scholars with diverse views as it was an intellectual movement in its own right.

As Yu Yingshi has demonstrated by analyzing the correspondence between Lü Zuqian, Zhu Xi, Zhang Shi, and Lu Jiuyuan, a common "political project" linked these men. Although having different perspectives on how to realize their goals, they were united in seeking to convince the emperor and other high officials of the necessity for moral renewal, large-scale reforms, and a more aggressive stance towards the Jurchen (Yu 2003: 2:25–97; compare Tang 2000: 35–44). All these men believed that these three measures were the preconditions for strengthening the Southern Song state and ensuring the future recovery of

[2] For a more comprehensive assessment see Huang and Wu (2008, 1:28–57); compare also the relevant entries in Balazs and Hervouet (1978). The new edition of the *Complete Works of Lü Zuqian* includes 27 works in total and provides a detailed discussion of edition, authorship, and dating for all these works (see also Liu 1986: 33–73; De Weerdt 2007: 393–396). It seems indisputable that the main body of these works has its origin in the years between 1168 and 1181; however, as many of these works are based on Lü Zuqian's lectures and were not printed until after his death, the precise dating is extremely difficult. I tentatively assume that Lü's thought did not undergo a major change, but that all these works reflect a unified viewpoint. All quotations of Lü's writings in this essay refer to Huang Linggeng's edition. I refer to individual works by an abbreviation (see bibliography), the number of the volume and the page.

Northern China. Lü and Zhu both believed that this profound transformation had to begin at the level of individual morality, only then proceeding to the complete implementation of the comprehensive ethico-political order of the Zhou dynasty. This was the broad vision the two men agreed upon in the *Record for Reflection* in 1175 (Lü actually played a major role in the compilation process [Du 2003b]). In two letters from the early 70s, Lü indirectly identifies the restoration of this order as the main political goal (Lü 2008: WJ 1:404–405).

It could even be argued that it was precisely this sense of a common political mission that let Lü and Zhu forget their intellectual differences. Lü's intellectual style differs remarkably from that of Zhu. Unlike the latter, who advocated the exclusive continuation of the Cheng brothers' heritage, Lü's thought is markedly more open to other traditions and thinkers. Although he was also deeply involved in the process of compilation and printing of the Cheng brothers' works (Du 2007: 82, 125, 126, 133), he showed only limited interest in defining an exclusive core message for the Learning of the Way and never expressed the need for a new classical canon (the Four Books).[3] Furthermore, he never endorsed the kind of analytical interlinear commentary that Zhu Xi practiced. Instead, he stressed the need for a holistic interpretation of central concepts, thereby preserving the integrity of the original (see for example his critique of Zhu's "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" ["Taiji tushuo jie" 太極圖說解], [Lü 2008: WJ 1:589, WJ 1:72]; compare Xu 2005: 149–151). This refusal to engage in too much intellectual analysis should not be seen as a sign of shallowness. Actually, it has much in common with Cheng Hao's thought, which also stressed the holistic (or what the modern philosopher Mou Zongsan has called "monistic") dimension of the "way" (Mou 1968/69: 2:1–21).

Lü Zuqian was without doubt the most important protagonist of the *daoxue* "political project," as he was well connected at the court and served in important posts in the imperial bureaucracy. It may be that, with his death in 1181, the political project lost its momentum. Zhu Xi seems to have gradually shifted away from the idea that the Cheng brothers' ethical doctrine could be implemented at the political level as part of a new institutional framework. He focused solely on the goal of moral renewal and the grassroots development of local institutions. According to Hoyt C. Tillman, before his death Lü Zuqian had represented "a more practical, inclusive and cosmopolitan alternative

---

[3] In 1170, Lü and his close associate Rui Ye 芮燁 (1114–1172?) were involved in a reform of the curricula standards (Du 2007: 83–84, 87). In his letters to Lü of that year, Zhu Xi insisted on the necessity to counter the influence of "Ancient Prose" and to implement the doctrines of the Chengs. Lü, however, refused to endorse this claim and advocated a combination of existing curricula standards and the teachings of the Cheng brothers (Yan 2004; compare De Weerdt 2007: 301–305). Also, as far as I see, he nowhere declared a belief in the need for a genealogy of true transmission of the "way." Although he participated in the compilation of the *Record for Reflection* which represents an important step in the process of purification of the Learning of the Way tradition, he never seems to have wished that this anthology should entirely replace the traditional canon.

within the *Dao xue* fellowship" (Tillman 2003: 403–404). It may be that in his final years Zhu Xi had to suppress this alternative in order to preserve his idea of single-minded moral commitment, and at the same time prove to his disciples that he had never concentrated his energies on a political scene that had ultimately betrayed him.

The Moral Ideal

In this section I focus on Lü Zuqian's description of the moral ideal as the ultimate goal of self-cultivation. I address the following questions: What moral ideal did Lü envision? How can human beings attain this moral ideal? And, finally, how does this moral ideal relate to the political, natural, and temporal worlds?

Northern Song thinkers like Zhou Dunyi, the Cheng brothers, and Zhang Zai all shared a strong concern for cosmological, even "metaphysical" issues, which had no precedent in earlier Confucianism. At the same time, however, they were united in a new understanding of the introspective element of morality and articulated new modes of self-concern and self-discovery. Not only did they understand human beings as autonomous moral actors, they also insisted that every human being has access, through the process of moral cultivation, to the moral ideal (the idea of sagehood). This new dimension is mainly due to the importance these thinkers attributed to *Mencius*, a text that had come to be seen as a core Confucian text only during the eleventh century. As *Mencius* 7A.1 states: "For a man to give full realization to his heart/mind is for him to understand his own nature, and a man who knows his own nature will know the heavens" (*Mencius* 2003: 145 mod. slightly). This passage highlights the problem which every Neo-Confucian thinker over the following centuries had to face: how are "mind," the "nature," and the "heavens" related to each other? In other words: how can we discover or even actualize the "nature" or the "heavens" in the process of moral self-cultivation? In sum, all these thinkers had to solve the problem of how to ground their account of moral practice in a meaningful description of the order of the cosmos.

When we now turn to Lü Zuqian, we cannot but notice the deep influence Zhou Dunyi, the Cheng brothers, and Zhang Zai exercised on his thought, both in his understanding of moral agency and his usage of cosmological, "metaphysical" terms like pattern (*li* 理), Supreme Ultimate (*taiji* 太極), or the nature (*xing* 性). However, as Lü has not received much scholarly attention until now, his precise understanding of these terms is still unclear. It has sometimes been claimed that Lü's thought represents an attempt to harmonize the two different approaches represented by the Cheng brothers, namely the more "subjective" approach focusing on the "heart/mind" (Cheng Hao) and the more "objective," analytical one focusing on "pattern" (Cheng Yi) (Pan and Xu 1992: 232; Huang and Wu 2008: 1: "Preface" 11–12; compare Huang 1999). It has also been

claimed that he comes close to the philosophy of mind expounded by Lu Jiuyuan (Pan and Xu 1992: 241). Lü Zuqian never published a systematic commentary on texts such as the *Analects*, *Mencius*, the *Doctrine of the Mean* or the *Great Learning*, which were soon to become the core of Confucian doctrine; this certainly makes a comprehensive assessment quite difficult (only his lectures which were printed after his death as the *Collected Teachings of the Friendship Academy* allow us some insight into his understanding of these texts [Ichiki 2002: 286–317]). Due to the limited scope of this essay, I only briefly discuss some of the major problems, thereby hopefully casting some light on Lü Zuqian's basic stance.

Lü Zuqian certainly accorded great philosophical significance to the notion of "heart/mind" (*xin* 心). In many of his works (in particular the *Extensive Deliberations* and his writings on the *Zuo Tradition*, but also in his lectures), this term plays a crucial role. His concern for the heart/mind reflects a strong interest in investigating the inner, psychic dimension of human life; in his *Extensive Deliberations*, Lü meticulously analyzes various motives for political acts and finds that numerous traditional views were based on an insufficient understanding of the hidden motives of the actors (the fact that this work still finds readers today proves that Lü succeeded in striking a chord with these colorful case studies [Xu 2005: 85–96]). For Lü, the heart/mind is the true motor of human agency; it is endowed with nearly unlimited powers, as well as certain innate predispositions toward the moral ideal (Pan and Xu 1992: 233–245). The power of the heart/mind is particularly visible in the actions of sages and historical heroes, whereas it is less visible in ordinary people who are not drawn to the moral ideal and exert little or no effort in this direction (see, for example, Lü 2008: ZSBY 6:106–108). In the highest state of cultivation, as Lü claims in his analysis of the various dreams described in the *Zuo Tradition*, the heart/mind actually "encompasses" (*bei* 備) all phenomena in the world (Lü 2008: ZSBY 6:240–241; ZSBY 6:372–374; 6:553–555; LZLSJL 2:49–50; 2:179–180). Following *Mencius* 7A.4, Zhang Zai's belief in the omnipotence of the heart/mind, and Cheng Hao's famous "Letter on the Stabilization of the Nature" ("Dingxing shu" 定性書) (Mou 1968/1969: 2:233–244), Lü Zuqian stated that by suspending the boundary between inner and outer realms (human subjectivity and the cosmos), we will ultimately realize a state of oneness. This certainly does not mean that the existence of the phenomenal world depends on the "mind"; instead, Lü Zuqian regards the heart/mind as the most powerful source of moral energy which can effectively influence the outer world (Xu 2005: 90–92). Unlike Zhu Xi, who regarded Zhang Zai's description of the heart/mind as overly imaginative and corrected him by dampening down his vision of penetration to the mere idea of grasping the patterns (*li*) of things (Tillman 1987: 39–40), Lü Zuqian apparently never confined the heart/mind by subordinating it to pattern; on the contrary, he often directly identifies the heart/mind with pattern (Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:196; 2:255; ZSBY 6:240–241; Pan and Xu 1992: 242). Thus, it seems that Lü in fact never decided whether

to follow Cheng Hao (heart/mind) or Cheng Yi (pattern), but, to a certain extent, merged both terms into a single vision.

Lü's reliance on the heritage of Northern Song Neo-Confucians means that he in principle shared the Mencian belief in human goodness, which is associated with the term "the nature" (*xing* 性). However, maybe as a result of his practical orientation, his account remains somehow vague. He endorsed the Cheng brothers' claim that every man is endowed with an individual nature which is perfectly good but which more often than not is obscured by some innate tendencies (the distinction between "original nature" [*benxing* 本性] and "material nature" [*qizhi zhi xing* 氣質之性] [Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:186; 2:244; 2:248]). However, the optimism inherent in the Mencian notion of human goodness, which already had become somehow bleaker in the writings of the Cheng brothers, further darkened with Lü Zuqian. His frequent usage of the terms "evil" (*e* 惡), "sin" (*xie* 邪), and "sinful thoughts" (*xie nian* 邪念) in his exegesis of the *Book of Change* certainly tells us much about his bleak picture of the struggle for moral perfection (Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:8; 2:22–23; 2:35; 2:51; passim). Also, Lü occasionally directly challenged the Mencian optimism (Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:212), and his realistic descriptions of political power, authority, and military violence certainly reveal the influence of Xunzi 荀子 (Lü 2008: LDZDXS 9:129–139; LZLSJL 2:11–13; 2:180–181; ZSBY 6:312–313). In the end, Lü Zuqian did not provide a systematic definition of "the nature" and many questions remain unanswered. For example, he never tells us what place is left in this grim picture for the life of the emotions, and although identifying "the nature" with "feelings" (*qing* 情) on at least one occasion (Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:250), we mostly get the impression that he was not willing to give the free flow of the emotional life much moral credit.

Another proof of his indebtedness to the Northern Song Neo-Confucians is his treatment of the notion of vital energy (*qi* 氣). He accepted the role that the *qi* present in one's body plays in the process of self-cultivation by endorsing Mencius's famous statement on the "flood-like breath" *haoran zhi qi* 浩然之氣 (*Mencius* 2A.2; Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:243; ZSBY 6:106–108; 6:303). Interestingly, in his analysis of the *Zuo Tradition*, he sometimes refers to *qi* as one important cause of the rise and decline of states (Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:136–137); yet, this certainly did not lead him to embrace a "deterministic" view of human history. The ultimate cause always lies in the heart/mind of human beings (Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:202; 7:144–145; 7:71–74). Furthermore, while analyzing the hexagram Lü 履, Lü Zuqian endorsed Zhang Zai's vision of the cosmos, claiming that *qi* fills the space between the "heavens" and the "earth," circulating between them (Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:15). Again, he did not seem to worry too much about how to connect this notion with the cosmological key-concept he refers to in his interpretation of the first hexagram Qian 乾, namely the Supreme Ultimate (*taiji* 太極) (Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:1–2; see also 2:107–108). All this demonstrates that Lü, while accepting the new world-view of the Northern Song Neo-Confucians, did not particularly seek to organize this heritage in a systematic fashion.

This impression is further reinforced by his use of another Neo-Confucian key-concept: "the heavens" (*tian* 天). On this question, his stance is basically skeptical: the influence of the heavens in the human realm is difficult to prove (Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:176). Thus, one recurrent theme in his exegesis of the *Zuo Tradition* is the criticism of rulers who claim to act in the name of the heavens: he constantly criticized traditional beliefs in omens as a source of legitimate authority (Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:21; ZSBY 6:71–72; 6:287–289). On the rare occasions where he admits the existence of heavenly signs, he makes it clear that their power does not stem from any supra-human force, but manifests the influence of *qi* which has been moved by the power of the human heart/mind (Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:22). Similarly, in his interpretation of the *Book of Change*, Lü claims that the auspiciousness of the omen is nothing more than a manifestation of the practitioner's own heart/mind (Tillman 1992: 119–122).

Now, from the above account it could easily seem that Lü Zuqian radically emphasized human agency or even human moral autonomy, as if he conceived of human life as something self-contained or as something which has nothing outside it, creating value out of itself. This view is, however, undermined by another important term: "heavenly pattern" (*tianli* 天理). This term—which is almost equivalent to, and often interchangeable with, "the heavens," "pattern," and even "heart/mind"—describes nothing less than the timeless order of the human world (Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:18; 2:47; Pan and Xu 1992: 219–233; Tillman 1992:122–123). When Lü wanted to describe the whole of human relationships from a normative perspective, he often referred to "heavenly pattern": natural and political relationships have a normative value and circumscribe human actions (Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:208). Any attempt to alter or consciously influence "heavenly pattern" will ultimately fail, as the slightest loosening of the bonds of human relationships will certainly lead to anarchy. Whenever this eternal order has been violated, for example by a tyrannical ruler, heavenly pattern will make itself manifest again through the feelings of the population—and not through inauspicious signs (Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:135–136; 11:135). Lü Zuqian ultimately held to the idea of retribution as expressed in the *Zuo Tradition*: good actions will lead to good outcomes, bad actions to bad ones (Zhu 1994: 2952; compare Pines: 62–63). Zhu Xi reproached his friend on this account: for Zhu, the value of an action depends not on future outcomes, but solely on the purity of moral intention (Zhu 1994: 1179, 3009, 2952). Indeed, there is a certain tendency in Lü Zuqian to blur the distinction between intentions and results in his understanding of moral action; it may be that this distinction was of secondary importance to him or that he consciously tried to overcome this distinction. In sum, heavenly pattern stands for the natural order embodied in human behavior. The notion of order is not imagined as a supernatural or mystical force beyond the human realm, but is to a considerable extent internalized and rationalized in human psychology and behavior. Although the notion of heart/mind seems to represent a new sense of human agency, heavenly pattern stands for the fundamental dependence of human beings on the heavens. Remarkably, Lü Zuqian never resolved this apparent contradiction.

One last question remains: how can we, according to Lü Zuqian, attain the moral ideal? As is well known, Zhu Xi provided his students with a definite procedure which he elaborated in his interpretation of the *Great Learning* 大學 (Gardner 1986). According to Zhu, the activity of the innate moral mind and the quest for empirical knowledge about the outer world (through the study of classical texts) are equally important for attaining the highest state of self-cultivation (the famous "balanced approach"). In contrast, Lü never proposed a single, universal method that can be relied upon to attain sagehood. His insistence on the heart/mind could easily be interpreted as a "subjectivist" tendency (similar to that of Lu Jiuyuan), focusing on the spontaneous dimension of the innate moral mind and neglecting the slow process of reading and studying. In fact, when Lü describes the moral ideal, he often refers to the idea of "recovery" (*faxian* 發現; 發見) of goodness in the heart/mind (Lü 2008: WJ 1:406–407; LZLSJL 2:42–43; 2:143; 2:182; 2:199; 2:201; ZSBY 6:180). This certainly reminds us of Lu Jiuyuan or Wang Yangming, both of whom insisted on the suddenness of moral enlightenment, and makes us wonder how it could be that Lü Zuqian was interested in historical studies at all. I think we need more detailed studies before a systematic and comprehensive interpretation of Lü's model of self-cultivation can be written. However, it is clear that Lü emphasized both the suddenness of moral enlightenment and the need for broad empirical knowledge. Although his account of knowledge seems to be much more positive, and his attitude to book-learning much more flexible, than that of Zhu Xi (Tillman 2008), he also has much in common with Zhu. Like Zhu, Lü emphasized the notion of "reverential attention" (*jing* 敬) as the beginning of the cultivational process (Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:256; 2:265–266) and he occasionally endorsed the famous phrase in the *Great Learning*: "extending knowledge and apprehending the (patterns in) things (*zhizhi gewu* 致知格物)" (Lü 2008: WJ 1:456–457). Actually, it could be that his idea of balancing the two dimensions of self-cultivation decisively influenced Zhu Xi's development (Tillman 1992: 64).

One crucial difference between Lü and Zhu is the fact that the former almost never spoke about the role of meditation in self-cultivation, but rather spoke constantly about the relationship between self-cultivation and political action. Thus, he highly admired "political" sages like the mythical emperors of antiquity Yao and Shun (Lü 2008: ZSBY 6:270), and, unlike most other adherents of the Learning of the Way, seldom mentioned the sage-like student of Confucius, Yan Hui 顏回, who nearly succeeded in attaining the highest moral ideal but never entered public life. In other words, Lü believed, even more than Zhu Xi, that it would be futile for the heart/mind to remain in itself; instead, it must direct itself toward the outer, political world. This stance on self-cultivation in all likelihood stemmed from his experience as a teacher preparing students for civil service examinations and careers in the Song bureaucracy. However, it certainly also reflects a genuine philosophical commitment: he deeply cared about the political or practical meaning of Confucianism and feared that his contemporaries would ultimately embrace an overly introspective version of the moral self.

Institutions and the Issue of Political Reforms

Although he regularly wrote and lectured on issues of moral self-cultivation, there can be no doubt that Lü Zuqian was even more interested in institutions and laws. Hoyt C. Tillman correctly describes Lü's "commitment to nationwide political issues and historical and institutional studies" as one key difference separating Lü from Zhu Xi and Zhang Shi (Tillman 1992: 86). Thus, in the following pages, I will first give a brief overview of Lü's understanding of institutions and political issues in the wider sense, and examine the relationship between this interest in institutions and the concern for moral self-cultivation.

We must not forget that Lü conducted his institutional studies, and his inquiry into political phenomena in the widest sense, in a general climate of suspicion. Two of his closest friends, Zhu Xi and Zhang Shi, frequently criticized him for his failure to concentrate on the essentials of self-cultivation (De Weerdt 2007: 146–147). He himself was well aware of the danger inherent in this kind of study: it could easily lead to missing the proper goal and result in a piecemeal account of morally meaningless data (compare the telling passage in a letter to Zhang Shi [Lü 2008: WJ 1:395]). And yet, he always insisted on institutional studies as a necessary complement to self-cultivation. How, then, do we explain this unique concern? I think the reason lies not only in his divergent views on self-cultivation but also in his comprehensive vision of the Confucian tradition, a vision which differs markedly from that of Zhu Xi or Zhang Shi. Lü always maintained that the Confucian ideal could never be realized in the private sphere of the individual alone or in the mere extension of this private ideal to the whole empire, but must necessarily fall into and prove itself in the political sphere. In other words, while we are searching to attain the moral ideal, he wants us to gaze at a larger whole of which our self is only a part and not merely gaze at our self. This is especially clear in his discussions of the "normative form of governance" (*zhiti* 治體), the "large structure" (*dati* 大體), and "the whole" (*titong* 體統 /*tongti* 統體). With these notions, he constantly tried to direct his students' gaze away from the individual and towards the larger context in which political action necessarily takes place (Lü 2008: WJ 1:561; ZSZS 7:1–4; 7:77–78).

A particularly illuminating example of this belief can be found in Lü's lectures on the *Analects*, where he explained the enigmatic passage *Analects* 13:14. In this passage, Ran Qiu 冉求 is asked by Confucius why he came back from court so late. Ran answers that he was busy with "governmental affairs" (*zheng* 政), to which his master ambiguously replies: "I expect it was administrative business (*shi* 事). If there had been government, though I am not employed, I expect that I would have heard about it" (Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:163; Brooks and Brooks 1998: 101, mod. slightly). According to Lü Zuqian, by making this distinction between "governmental affairs" and "business", Confucius wanted to highlight the importance of the former: as he feared that his disciples were unable to understand the real nature of politics, the Master,

in this very erratic passage, tried to transmit to them the most essential features of rulership (*wei guo zhi dagang* 為國之大綱). According to Lü, Confucius' idea of rulership is not about regulating the details of piecemeal political life (which Lü identifies as "administrative business"), but about making bold decisions about the larger structure of the state and its institutions ("governmental affairs"). Only by understanding the Master's idea of rulership, his disciples, once in high office, would be able to preserve the state and ensure the longevity of the polity. Thus, unlike Zhu Xi who read this passage from a purely historical perspective as a critique of the reigning power in the state of Lu 魯 (Zhu 2001: 144–145), Lü found a deeper lesson in Confucius' brief statement: that the core of Confucian teachings is the concern not for self-cultivation, but for the larger institutional framework which corresponds to a comprehensive ethico-political order.

At this point, the reader may easily be reminded of Wang Anshi, the famous reformer of the Northern Song dynasty. During the 1060s and 1070s, his ambition had been to realize a vision of moral and institutional renewal through a large-scale reform of the institutional framework of the Song state (Bol 1993: 160–166). Most recently, Yu Yingshi has claimed that Zhu Xi shared the reformer's broader vision and sought to continue his project (Yu: 1:1–26). It is not the goal of this essay to examine whether Yu Yingshi's claim about Zhu holds true, but we could certainly apply it to Lü Zuqian. Although Lü sometimes criticized the character of the reformer, he was highly sympathetic to his political vision. One of the leitmotifs in his writings is the idea of "putting things in order" (*zhengdun* 整頓): a large-scale remodeling of the institutional framework of the state by an active government which responded to social and political challenges with a comprehensive system of institutional innovations (Lü 2007: ZSZXS 7:1–7; 7:47; ZSZS 7:14; 11:135; LZLSJL 2:27–31). This is precisely the kind of reform Wang Anshi tried to implement.

Lü's concern for institutional change is particularly apparent in his various works on the *Zuo Tradition*. The *Zuo Tradition* records the political history of the Spring and Autumn period (trad. 722–453 BC), which was characterized by the slow dissolution of the Zhou dynasty, the rise of new powers, and the struggle between the ancient aristocratic lineages and the new class of the *shi* 士 (Pines 2002: 1–7). Lü obviously thought that his students could learn important lessons in statecraft by studying the Spring and Autumn period. In his lectures, he meticulously analyzed how strong leaders of that time were able to establish a powerful state through institutional change and achieve international supremacy by repelling foreign tribes. He has much praise for strong "overlords" (*ba* 霸) like Lord Huan of Qi 齊桓公 (r. 685–643; Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:14–15; 7:17–18) or Lord Dao of Jin 晉悼公 (r. 572–558; Lü 2008: ZSZS 7: 93). His analysis of Gongsun Qiao 公孫僑 (d. 522 BC; also known as Zichan 子產), a famous administrator of Zheng 鄭, is especially significant. Lü not only meticulously analyzed Gongsun Qiao's reform of the land system (Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:104; 7:115–117, 117–118) and the penal code (Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:129–130), he also demonstrated that the population was deeply divided about the reforms

(Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:126–127). Although he criticized GONGSUN Qiao to a certain extent, he highly praised his profound understanding of the state (Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:115). Obviously, the historical precedent of WANG Anshi's failed reforms colored Lü's memory. Although the notion that the gentry could play a major role at court had suffered a great deal after Wang's failure and the collapse of the Northern Song dynasty, LÜ Zuqian still believed in the gentry's political mission at the court (Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:203–204). Unlike other followers of the Cheng brothers such as YANG Shi 楊時 (1053–1035), Lü did not turn away from the idea of institutional change but entered into detailed discussions of the technical problems reformers like GONGSUN Qiao had to face. He apparently believed that these historical case studies in institution-building would help future officials cope with the domestic and external challenges the Song state faced after the loss of Northern China. Consequently, Lü made the historical experience of the Spring and Autumn leaders the standard for successful political action in his own time. For instance, in his memorial to Emperor Xiaozong in 1170, he strongly criticized the appeasement policies of the court and directly recommended following the precedent of King Goujian of Yue 越句踐 (r. 496–465), who had successfully become overlord of the southeastern part of the Zhou world (Lü 2008: WJ 1:55).

Moreover, in his *Detailed Explanations of Institutions throughout the Ages*, Lü directly addresses technical questions of economic growth, monetary policy, state monopolies, and land reform, a clear continuation of WANG Anshi's economic activism. Like Wang, he wanted the state to manage the wealth of society and exploit the rapidly growing commercial economy by imposing state monopolies (see for example his discussion of the salt monopoly [Lü 2008: LDZDXS 9:72–75]). Unlike ZHU Xi or the Cheng brothers who criticized the Northern Song reformer for encouraging egoism and utilitarian thought, Lü was not afraid of regarding the "profit of the state" (國家之利) as the highest goal of successful policies (Lü 2008: LDZDXS 9:95–96; compare Pan and Xu: 363–369).

We can see that his positive notion of top-down political reform never changed if we examine his final work, the *Chronicle of Major Events* (1180/1181). There, Lü meticulously describes the reforms carried through by SHANG Yang 商鞅 (d. 338 BC) in Qin 秦 and thus disputes the account of SIMA Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), who in his *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑) tried to dilute the historical importance of SHANG Yang in an obvious attempt to criticize the idea of "reform" (*bianfa* 變法) per se (Lü 2008: DSJ 8:310–311; 8:322–823; 324–325). Again, we find that LÜ Zuqian—although highly critical of the direction in which SHANG Yang had led his state—has great sympathy for the way Shang was able to realize institutional reforms.

LÜ Zuqian's political activism is ultimately informed by the vision of a comprehensive, hierarchically structured political order described in the *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhouli* 周禮) and which deeply influenced the Song gentry and animated its historical imagination (Yu 2003: 1:253–270; Lü 2008: WJ 1:731;

LZLSJL 2:136–143). As early as the Northern Song, Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, and Zhang Zai, despite their divergent opinions about how to restore the Zhou system, agreed in principle that its restoration was both possible and necessary (see, for example, "Debate at Luoyang" ["Luoyang yilun" 洛陽議論] of 1077; Cheng and Cheng 2004: 110–116). In their writings, they repeatedly demanded: the restoration of (1) the descent-line system (*zongzi fa* 宗子法; a system in which the different clans are ordered according to the principle of primogeniture); (2) the original Zhou enfeoffment system (*fengjian* 封建); (3) the well-field system (*jingtian* 井田), which was based on kinship and directly reflected the economic output of peasant households; (4) the Zhou rites (*li* 禮); and (5) the military system where local militia are recruited from the population (see *A Record for Reflections* IX:12, 13, 18; IX:27; IX:26, 27; IX:14, 15, 25; IX:3, 8; compare Ebrey 1991). At first glance, Lü appears more realistic than his Northern Song predecessors: not only was he well aware that the court in Hangzhou was much weaker than the Northern Song court (Lü 2008: LDZDXS 9:118), but he also meticulously describes the new economic situation after the original land system of the Zhou had been destroyed in AD 780, when the official Yang Yan 楊炎 liberalized the trade of land and aggressively pushed for a money-based economy (Lü 2008: LDZDXS 9:45–46). And yet, Lü believed that human will alone could reverse economic trends. He was optimistic that, one day in the future, the emperor would begin restoring the close-knit social and political order of the Zhou (Pan and Xu 1992: 100–108). This belief is well illustrated by a passage in his *Detailed Explanations of Institutions throughout the Ages*:

> It is certainly difficult immediately to restore the system of chariots and horses [a system to organize the population in small units of the Zhou dynasty] and the well-field system; however, whoever intends to realize active policies can slowly restore an institutional framework in which personal property would be restricted and a system of local militia would be realized. (Lü 2008: LDZDXS 9:47)

Lü's optimism was challenged by the endless political struggles of the 1160s and 1170s. Emperor Xiaozong, although at first sympathetic to the young scholars around Zhu Xi and Lü Zuqian, ultimately never fully endorsed their claims. When Lü succeeded in convincing Zhu Xi to accept the post of prefect of Nankang 南康 in 1178, the prospect of reform at the court seems to have become very unlikely. In Lü's *Detailed Explanations of Institutions throughout the Ages* (which most probably date from those years), we find bleak assessments of the fundamental difficulty in implementing political goals (Lü 2008: LDZDXS 9:118–119). And yet, whereas Zhu Xi became more and more pessimistic about the implementation of land reforms in later years (Tillman 1994: 49–54), this never happened to Lü Zuqian. Even shortly before his death, he sought to keep alive the spirit of Wang Anshi's large-scale institutional reforms by studying a collection of memorials from that period (Du 2007: 289–290). Whether this optimism would have faded if he had lived longer will of course never be known.

In sum, we can clearly see that Lü Zuqian was deeply committed to the ideal of profound renewal, which was primarily to be realized by institutional innovations inspired by the ethico-political order of the Zhou. Although he was certainly deeply concerned with the moral self, he never wanted the gentry to retreat from state service and solely focus on the ethical transformation of the family or local society. This emphasis on the state speaks against recruiting him for the now fashionable "localization" camp: while he was involved in local contexts (for example by establishing academies and granaries), as far as I can see, he never saw the need to reflect upon this involvement at a conceptual level. Also, I believe, it is misleading to describe him as being a proponent of compromise (Qian 1977: 200): in his writings he clearly endorsed one of the most radical versions of political idealism we encounter in the Song dynasty. Although Zhu Xi may appear as the most vociferous critic of court policy, Lü Zuqian certainly stood for similarly fundamental changes, but from within the bureaucracy, not from without. Thus, it may even be that Zhu's moral criticism was much easier to mitigate than Lü's institutional idealism that undoubtedly was better grounded in the reality of court politics.

The Relationship between Moral and Institutional Renewal

So far I have been speaking about the two issues of moral self-cultivation and institutional reform as if they were completely unconnected. In fact, by going through Lü's many works, we easily get the impression that he never succeeded in genuinely connecting these two issues and treated both as two entirely different realms. For example, in his *Detailed Explanations of Institutions throughout the Ages* or his last work, the *Chronicle of Major Events*, Lü concentrated on institutional issues such as establishing the prefecture-system, the development of the penal code and the tax system, and so forth, while avoiding the Cheng brothers' terminology of "heart/mind," the "nature," "pattern," etc. (Xin 2006). Thus, some may wonder whether Lü was actually, as Peter Bol has claimed, a "compartmentalizing pedant" (Bol 1998: 92) who always separated the two realms of the moral self and institutional reality and maybe never realized their fundamental incompatibility. However, I believe, this interpretation unjustly distorts Lü's thought, as he in fact cared deeply about how to merge his institutional analysis with his concern for the moral self. It may only be because of his premature death that he failed to articulate a final, unifying vision.

In fact there are many passages in which Lü Zuqian tries to combine these two issues. In his exegesis of the *Zuo Tradition*, for example, he frequently investigates both the sphere of the heart/mind and, simultaneously, the sphere of institutional reality (Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:21–22; 7:37; 57–58). Sometimes, he seeks to legitimate this endeavor in more philosophical terms, as when he uses Wang Tong's 王通 (d. 617) distinction between heart/mind and "trace (*ji* 跡)":

since the heart/mind manifests itself in the outer, institutional, and political world, we are right to make the latter the object of our curiosity (Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:177–178; Tang 2000: 257). Another way of conceptualizing the relationship between the privacy of the inner world and the turmoil of the political world lies in the notion of "extension" (*tui* 推), which Zhu Xi stressed in the famous eight steps of the *Great Learning* and regarded as the only correct way to connect both realms: we must extend the inner world until it embraces the outer world. Lü Zuqian sometimes endorsed the model of extension, yet never devalued the political and institutional world as Zhu Xi did (2008: ZSZS 7:11; 7:54; 7:79–81; LZLSJL 2:90). At times Lü also suggests that both spheres may interpenetrate each other, thereby making the very notion of "extension" meaningless (Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:87). In the end, as far as I can see, Lü never stipulated which of the three models (actualization, extension, or interpenetration) would be the most adequate description, yet endorsed all three models simultaneously (Lü 2008: DLSS 3:374–375). What is indisputably clear is that, for Lü, all these models legitimate detailed studies on institutions, as they are seen as immediately connected to the concerns of the heart/mind.

Lü's conviction that both realms—the inner, private sphere and the public sphere— are ultimately identical is mirrored in his conception of virtue (*de* 德) as an outer condition like political or historical circumstances or power structures (*shi* 勢). For example, in his exegesis of the *Zuo Tradition* he declares:

> How could it be that one's circumstances and one's virtue would be two different things?! One's circumstances are like one's body, and one's virtue is like one's breath. It has never happened that one relied on the full strength of one's breath and still died; as it has never happened that one relied on the flourishing of one's virtue and still destroyed one's own country. (Lü 2008: ZSBY 6:344)

Thus, in his judgments on historical actors of the Spring and Autumn period, he often not only refers to their inner motives, but also reflects on the results of their actions and considers the quality of the means in light of the ends achieved. However, this identification results in some difficulties: how shall we, for example, explain the disturbing fact that historical actions which brought about good results often have origins in bad motives? And what about bad actions which result from good intentions? And, finally, how shall we understand the relationship between human actions and institutions? Lü would probably respond to these and similar questions by insisting that the ultimate source of lasting institutions and truly worthy actions always lies in the goodness of the heart/mind of the human actors involved (Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:202; 7:144–145; 7:71–74). This answer may sound hollow to us (who live under the influence of thinkers like Machiavelli and Max Weber), but it does explain certain events in the political history not only of China but also of other cultures. A similar logic seems to be at work in Lü's treatment of the famous distinction between the true king (*wang* 王), who rules by the sole authority of his moral example, and the overlord (*ba* 霸), who rules by force, a distinction prominently advanced by Mencius and the Cheng brothers. As is well known,

this distinction became a cornerstone of Zhu Xi's "philosophy of history" (Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:48; 7:139–140; Tang 2000: 270–272). Lü, however, tried to circumvent the clear-cut moral choice inherent in this distinction. For instance, even the rule of King Ling of Chu 楚靈王 (d. 529 BC), one of the harshest rulers of the Spring and Autumn period, had some positive aspects (Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:130). As he always insisted on the partial identity of virtue and power, Lü came dangerously close to abandoning entirely the difference between the sphere of facts and the sphere of values: actions are undertaken for their own sake, they are self-sufficient, and there is no need for judging them according to a higher standard at all (see his intriguing analysis of Lord Huan of Qi [Lü 2008: ZSBY 6:246–468]). Nevertheless, Lü certainly did not want this distinction to collapse entirely, as his critique of Chen Liang's position demonstrates (Pan and Xu 1992: 80; Liu 1986: 178–187; Tillman 1982). To sum up briefly: Lü Zuqian stressed the need for a comprehensive assessment of human actions which not only focuses on their dependence on inner motives, but also on their embeddedness in larger contexts, such as institutions, power structures, and the web of human relations. In other words, he regarded human intentions and human actions as necessarily connected.

Viewed from the perspective of Zhu Xi's thinking in his later years, Lü's stance directly endangered the purity of the moral self. Zhu feared that Lü's students, when they entered the Song bureaucracy and became political actors, would care more about the results of their actions than about the purity of their motives. However, although Zhu heavily criticized his friend, both men, during the 1160s and 1170s, were in fact committed to the same goal; namely, the realization of their "political project" at the court. Moreover, we must not forget that, unlike thinkers like Chen Liang or Ye Shi, Lü never openly challenged the ideas of Zhou Dunyi, Zhang Zai, or the Cheng brothers on human morality and its ontological foundation, but seems to have endorsed them more or less completely for most of his life. I believe that the best proof of Lü's indebtedness to the Learning of the Way tradition is that he never abandoned the belief that, first, some higher sphere which is at least partly embodied in the human heart/mind actually transcends political power; and second, that it is the gentry that shall restrain the imperial authority and, thus, actualize the ideal order represented by the "way."

Several issues need to be addressed in this regard. I begin with the idea of "restraining imperial authority." As Yu Yingshi has vividly described in his seminal work on Zhu Xi, Northern Song politics was largely influenced by the idea of shared governance (*gongzhi* 共治). The gentry (the elite of scholar-officials) sought to play an active political role by ruling the empire together with the emperor. The model of a strong chancellorship created by Wang Anshi reflects this claim by the gentry (Yu 2003: 1:287–312; 313–337). This same notion of "shared governance" undeniably influenced Zhang Zai and the Cheng brothers in their way of conceiving politics. For example, Zhang Zai's "Western Inscription" ("Xi ming" 西銘), one of the most influential and controversial texts of the twelfth century, is a powerful vision of an

all-encompassing, hierarchical order, in which the individual is linked to the whole universe in a parental relationship. This new notion of order directly reflects the elevated standing of the gentry (Yu 2003: 1:200–218; De Weerdt 2007: 34–35). In his seminal commentary to the *Book of Change*, Cheng Yi expressed a similar vision of "shared governance" (Yu 2003: 1:218–238; Hon 2005: 110–134). The fall of the Northern Song dynasty threw imperial authority into a deep crisis, to which Emperor Gaozong and in particular his son, Emperor Xiaozong, reacted by resorting to new forms of autocracy and weakening the power of the chancellorship (see Gong 2009). In this new situation, the young scholars around Zhu Xi sought to implement Zhang Zai's and the Cheng brothers' vision of unified hierarchical moral order and heavily criticized Xiaozong's autocracy.

In Lü Zuqian's political career, we find a similar engagement. In a particularly telling letter to Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126–1204), Lü complained about the over-concentration of political authority in the hands of Emperor Xiaozong (Lü 2008: WJ 1:446–447). As mentioned above, it seems that Lü may well have had at least a theoretical chance of becoming chancellor himself, if he had lived longer. Thus, in 1174, when his close associate Zhou Bida was appointed chancellor, his mood became very optimistic (Du 2007: 149). On a philosophical level, Lü undoubtedly endorsed Zhang Zai's and Cheng Yi's vision of order. Although he had some qualms about Zhu Xi's interpretation of Zhang Zai's "Western Inscription" (Lü 2008: WJ 1:407–408), he shared its philosophical vision and apparently agreed to its inclusion in the *Record for Reflection*. More importantly, Lü used similar notions to describe the fundamental oneness of all human beings in the cosmos (Lü 2008: ZSBY 6:268–270; LZLSJL 2:196–197). In his lectures on the *Book of Change* he in general closely followed Cheng Yi's commentary. He not only endorsed Cheng Yi's claim that the gentry has a right to form a power-bloc of like-minded colleagues which thus effectively challenges imperial authority, but he also regarded the 64 hexagrams as one large struggle between great men (*junzi* 君子) and petty people (*xiaoren* 小人). Accordingly he subscribed to the idea that the gentry must play a decisive role in ruling the empire (Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2: 75; 2:85; 2:99; passim; Hon 2005: 124–131; Xu 2005: 97–101). Similar ideas permeate his lectures on *Mencius*: once, for example, he demanded that the ruler shall "limit his power" (*liang li* 量力), while the official has to be extremely exacting towards himself and "consider (all governmental affairs) to be his responsibility" (*zi ren* 自任). Lü certainly not only had *Mencius* 5B.1 in mind, but he also directly referred to Fan Zhongyan's 范仲淹 (989–1052) famous words describing the new self-confidence of the gentry: "to regard all under the heavens as one's own responsibility" (以天下為己任) (Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2:53; Yu 2003: 1:30–31).

Furthermore, in one of the most striking passages in the *Extensive Deliberations*, Lü directly links the issue of moral self-cultivation to the need for limiting the ruler's political power. According to the *Zuo Tradition*, the minister Guan Zhong 管仲 (d. 645 bc) convinced Lord Huan of Qi to abandon the unlawful invasion of Zheng 鄭 by warning his ruler that all his acts would be documented

in future history books (Lü 2008: ZSBY 6:238–241). In one of the most dialectical passages of the *Extensive Deliberations*, Lü then rhetorically asks whether GUAN Zhong's remonstrance and his appeal to his ruler's concern for posterity were not in fact an example of "trying to restrict the heart/mind by external means" (以物制心) (namely by highlighting the very real possibility of damage to his posthumous image). Apparently, GUAN Zhong tried to scare the ruler away from the planned invasion not by demonstrating that his intention to invade another state itself was wrong, but by convincing the ruler that the results of his action would be harmful to the ruler's self-esteem. Strictly speaking, GUAN Zhong's remonstrance is not in accordance with the principles of moral inwardness as espoused by the Cheng brothers and others: the minister should have sought to criticize directly the ruler's wrong intentions (what Lü calls "restricting the heart/mind with the help of the heart/mind" [以心制心]). However, Lü then gives the striking answer that recourse to the ruler's posthumous image cannot be considered an "external means"; indeed, nothing can, as there is nothing "external" to the sagely mind:

> There is nothing outside of the highest pattern. It is only due to their egoistic tendencies that (human beings) start conceiving of a distinction between inside and outside. Because they are obstructed by egoistic cleverness, they begin to call their body the inside and discard the rest as outside things. Now, the heart/mind of the sages contains all the ten-thousand things; and as there is no inside, how shall there by any outside? Historical writings are writings about the mind; and documents are documents about the heart/mind. (Lü 2008: ZSBY 6:240–241)

It has been claimed that in this passage Lü, similar to subjective idealists like Johann Gottlieb Fichte in the West, asserts that reality is found entirely in the subject of moral action, in the "spirit", but not in the "matter" (Pan and Xu 1992: 233–234). If we examine the context closely, however, it is not difficult to discern that Lü is less concerned with making a universal statement about the nature of the world, than with analyzing the relationship between moral self-cultivation and political power. In a sudden twist, Lü not only approves of GUAN Zhong's remonstrance, but also, at least in this passage, endorses the claim that the appeal to the language of moral inwardness can efficiently restrict the ruler. Lü's sensitivity to the political use of moral self-cultivation is quite striking (which, obviously, is another argument for regarding him as a genuine "political philosopher").

At this point, we cannot but notice one crucial difference between Lü and ZHU Xi. As is well known, the latter made the moral improvement of the "imperial mind" the core of all his political interventions. In all his audiences with the emperor, quoting the *Great Learning*, Zhu claimed that the starting point (the "first step") for the renewal of the empire is the emperor himself. Only when the emperor "sets straight the seat of his emotive and cognitive faculties and achieves a state of integral wholeness in the inner depths of his consciousness" (正心誠意) could the empire be put in order. The *Great Learning* is the basis of ZHU Xi's political philosophy (Xiao 1982: 511), or, as YU Yingshi writes, the bridge between the inner, private realm and the outer, political world (Yu 2003: 2:48). Remarkably, Lü repeatedly endorsed the eight-step model proposed in

the *Great Learning* (Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:11; 7:54; 7:79–81; LZLSJL 2:90). Nevertheless, in his memorials to the throne and other political writings, it is striking that he never mentioned the *Great Learning*. In his first memorial of 1170, Lü in fact calls on the emperor to focus on moral self-cultivation, but refers only to the *Book of History*, not to the *Great Learning* (Lü 2008: WJ 1:54–56; Du 2007: 79–82; Xu 2005: 125–127). In his policy response of 1171, Lü advised the emperor to concentrate on the "heart/mind of the heavens" (*tian xin* 天心), which, to a certain extent, he identifies with the ruler's heart/mind; however, he did not further expand on this issue (Lü 2008: WJ 1:86–93; Du 2007: 97; Xu 2005: 129–131; De Weerdt 2007: 150; Tillman 1992: 122–123). In 1177, he avoided the issue of self-cultivation completely and concentrated on the institutional framework of Xiaozong's rule. Why did he avoid the *Great Learning*?

We could speculate that political astuteness required him to conceal his "true opinion" or made it impossible for him to self-identify as a follower of the Learning of the Way. But this assumption seems less plausible than to regard his decision not to refer to the *Great Learning* at the court as merely a sign that he did not fully embrace its political ideas. As Lü himself writes in his exegesis of the *Zuo Tradition*, when a minister seeks to improve his ruler's heart/mind, he "must pay attention to the general situation" (需看大勢) (Lü 2008: ZSZS 7:78). In his 1177 memorial, he recommended Emperor Xiaozong return to the "the normative form of governance" (治道體統): after having analyzed the numerous disadvantages of the over-concentration of the decision-making process in one person, he asked the emperor to restore the Southern Song system of checks and balances, in which the emperor did not interfere in the regular decision-making process, thereby leaving the chancellor and the various ministries effectively to rule the empire (Lü 2008: WJ 1:56–60; Du 2007: 206–209; Xu 2005: 227–229). Unlike Zhu Xi, Lü did not believe in the transformation of the "imperial mind" alone. Although in principle Lü endorsed the idea that political power could be circumscribed by the discourse of moral self-cultivation, he was well aware that this approach necessarily fails in circumstances which may be beyond the control of the moral self. This view certainly has much to do with Lü's understanding of political power and human agency in general; for although he was influenced by Mencian political idealism, he understood the fragility and complexity of the political realm too well to regard the moral self as the sole source of legitimacy and durability.

In the end, Lü Zuqian appears as a highly complex thinker. His awareness of the relative autonomy of the political realm did not lessen his belief in the ability of the moral mind to transcend political power. And yet, he actively searched for alternatives to the discourse on the moral self. According to scholars like Yu Yingshi, the Cheng brothers' notion of the moral self stands for an idea of spiritual liberation which at the same time implies the idea of political emancipation of the gentry. Although we find traces of both ideas in Lü Zuqian's thought, we have reason to believe he had realized a fundamental truth about moral selfhood. The emphasis on the inwardness of morality eventually led the

followers of the Learning of the Way to project this notion of moral selfhood onto the emperor himself, thus creating the paradoxical result that the idea to influence or restrict the emperor's behavior by external force appeared philosophically illegitimate. It was only conceivable to "move" the emperor by appealing to his innate heart/mind. Thus, the concern for moral autonomy almost imperceptibly turned into the unconditional acceptance of imperial authority. Lü seems to have realized the political consequences of this "internalization" of morality earlier than other thinkers, and tried to reach back to a more comprehensive view of the political sphere. When he criticized the emperor in 1177, his primary goal may have been to protect the interests of the gentry, yet he never abandoned the idea of the moral self and thus ultimately failed to find a solution for the profound dilemma in which he and his peers were trapped (see, for example, his annotation to the second line of hexagram Gu 蠱 [Lü 2008: LZLSJL 2: 30]).

Conclusion

In Lü Zuqian's writings, we observe strong contrasts and conflicting positions which were never successfully reconciled: on the one hand, the conflict between a model of self-concern and self-actualization, and, on the other, the idea of an unchangeable natural and social order beyond human control. Then there is Lü's view of the heart/mind as an independent, omnipotent agent simultaneously embedded in political and historical contexts. He had an optimistic view of the gentry as representing the hope of moral and political renewal, but also a fear of decay and chaos which only the most intransigent version of the Confucian social order would eventually overcome. Many important questions remain unanswered, but this may be the privilege, or even the definition, of an important thinker, the very feature that attracts the interest of future generations of scholars. For the very ambivalence and breadth of his thought, Lü certainly merits our attention.

In the twentieth century, thinkers like Mou Zongsan have tried to combine the Neo-Confucian language of the moral self with Immanuel Kant's idea of self-legislating reason in order to secure the foundations for a modern democratic and pluralistic state in China (Mou 2003). Whether this attempt to coordinate the essential features of Western modernity and traditional Chinese philosophy has been successful still remains contested. Nonetheless, it seems safe to say that this model has tended to overlook the intricacy of political practice and the fragmented nature of the modern self. In contrast, Lü Zuqian was well aware that any meaningful political order must recognize both the importance of self-cultivation and the moral muddiness of political rule. With this in mind, he refused to withdraw to some "higher" ground, but rather directly addressed the political sphere. With Lü in mind, it might be interesting to rethink the role of moral agency in Neo-Confucian thought: could it be that, with his emphasis on the moral self in action, Lü provides us with an alternative

framework, one which would give more space than that of either Zhu Xi or Wang Yangming to explore the interaction between the isolated nature of the moral self and the necessarily pluralistic character of political action? Could it be that his belief both in strong institutions and a broad consensus on spiritual values may become important again for Chinese (and global) political theory in the twenty-first century?

Acknowledgements I am indebted to Hoyt Tillman, Hilde De Weerdt, Christian Soffel, Chu Ping-tzu and in particular John Makeham, editor of the present volume, for their helpful comments on a first draft of this essay. I am also grateful to S. Barret Dolph and Jonathan Keir for proofreading the final draft.

References

I quote Lü Zuqian's writings according to the new edition of his *Complete Works* (Lü 2008). In order to distinguish his various writings, I use the following abbreviations, plus the number of the volume and the page number in the *Complete Works*:

WJ – containing the *Literary Collections* 文集, *Further Collections* 別集, and *Outer Collections* 外集, edited by Lü Zujian 呂祖儉 and Lü Qiaonian 呂喬年 (1204).

LZLSJL – *Collected Teachings of the Friendship Academy* 麗澤論說集錄. (Contains Lü's lectures on classical texts like the *Book of Change*, the *Analects*, and *Mencius*, but also his remarks on other topics).

ZSBY – *Extensive Deliberations on Master Zuo* 左氏博議. (Lü's collection of model essays on the *Zuo Tradition*; 1168).

ZSZS – *Explanations of Master Zuo's Tradition* 左氏傳說. (Lü's collected annotations to the *Zuo Tradition*, presumably dating from the early 1170s).

ZSZXS – *Further Explanations of Master Zuo's Tradition* 左氏傳續說. (Sequel to *Explanations of Master Zuo's Tradition*, providing supplementary information; presumably dating from the late 1170s).

DLSS – *Explanation of the Book of Documents* 東萊書說. (Lü's collected annotations to the *Book of Documents*, presumably mostly based on lectures he gave in the winter 1179/80).

DSJ – *Chronicle of Major Events* 大事記. (Lü's critical, yet incomplete redaction of Sima Guang's *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* 資治通鑒, compiled in 1180/1181).

LDZDXS – *Detailed Explanations of Institutions throughout the Ages* 歷代制度詳說. (Based on the lectures Lü gave on various institutional and historical issues).

Balazs, Etienne, and Yves Hervouet (eds.). 1978. *A Sung Bibliography/Bibliographie des Sung*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

Bol, Peter K. 1993. "Government, Society, and State: On the Political Visions of Ssu-Ma Kuang and Wang An-shih." In Robert Hymes and Conrad Schirokauer (eds.), *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bol, Peter K.. 1998. "Reading Su Shi in Southern Song Wuzhou." *East Asian Library Journal* 8.2: 69–102.

Brooks, E. Bruce and Brooks, A. Taeko. 1998. *The Original Analects. Sayings of Confucius and His Successors*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Chan, Wing-tsit 1989. *Chu Hsi*: *New Studies*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Cheng, Hao 程顥 and Cheng, Yi 程頤. 2004. *The Works of the Two Chengs* 二程集. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

De Weerdt, Hilde. 2007. *Competition over Content. Negotiating Standards for the Civil Service Examinations in Imperial China (1127–1279)*. Harvard: Harvard University Asia Center. (Analyzes Lü Zuqian's various textbooks and teaching materials and provides important insights into his role in the ideological struggle over the civil service examinations.)
Du, Haijun 杜海軍. 2003a. *Research on Lü Zuqian's Literature* 呂祖謙文學研究, Beijing 北京: Xueyuan chubanshe 學苑出版社. (Concise account of Lü's thought on literature and literary criticism.)
Du, Haijun 杜海軍. 2003b. "*Lü* Zuqian and the Compilation of *A Record for Reflection* 呂祖謙與《近思錄》的編纂." *Zhongguo zheuxe* 中國哲學 2003 (4): 43–49. (Argues that Lü played a more important role in the compilation of the *Record for Reflection* than did Zhu Xi.)
Du, Haijun 杜海軍. 2007. *Chronicle of Lü Zuqian* 呂祖謙年譜. Beijing北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局. (Thorough account of Lü's biography, due to become the standard biography of Lü alongside Xu 2005.)
Ebrey, Patricia Buckley 1991. *Chu Hsi's Familiy Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Gardner, Daniel K. 1986. *Chu Hsi and the Ta-hsueh: Neo-Confucian Reflection on the Confucian Canon*, Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University.
Gong, Wei Ai. 2009. "The Consolidation of Southern Sung China: The Reign of Hsiao-Tsung (1162–1189)." In Paul Smith and John W. Chaffee (eds.), *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 5, pt. I, *The Five Dynasties and Sung China, 960–1279 A.D*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hon, Tze-ki. 2005. *The Yijing and Chinese Politics, Classical Commentary and Literati Activism in the Northern Song Period, 960–1127*. New York: State University of New York Press.
Huang, Linggeng 黃靈庚, and Wu Zhanlei 吳戰壘 (eds.). 2008. *Complete Works of Lü Zuqian* 呂祖謙全集. Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang guji chubanshe 浙江古籍出版社. (Critical modern edition with punctuation, due to become the standard edition of Lü's works.)
Huang, Siu-chi. 1999. *Essentials of Neo-Confucianism: Eight Major Philosophers of the Song and Ming Periods*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
Ichiki, Tsuyuhiko 市來津由彥. 2002. *Investigation into the Formation of Zhu Xi's Fellowship* 朱熹門人集團形成の研究. Tokyo: Sōbunsha 創文社. (Contains an important chapter on Lü's scholarly activity.)
Levine, Ari Daniel. 2008. *Divided by a Common Language: Factional Conflict in Late Northern Song China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
Liu, Zhaoren 劉昭仁. 1986. *On Lü Zuqian's Studies of Literature and History* 呂東萊之文學與史學. Taipei 臺北: Wenshizhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社. (Concise account of Lü Zuqian's thought on literary and historical writing.)
Lü, Zuqian 呂祖謙. 2008. *Complete Works of Lü Zuqian* 呂祖謙全集, edited by Huang Linggeng 黃靈庚 and Wu Zhanlei 吳戰壘. Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang guji chubanshe 浙江古籍出版社.
Marchal, Kai. 2006. "Die Ordnung des Politischen und die Ordnung des Herzens – Eine Studie zum politisch-philosophischen Denken des Lü Zuqian (1137–1181)." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Munich. For the full text see http://edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/5553/.
Mencius 2003. Trans. by D.C. Lau. Revised edition. New York, Middlesex: Penguin.
Mou, Zongsan 牟宗三. 1968–1969. *Onto-cosmological State of the Original Heart/Mind and Human Nature* 心體與性體. 3 vols. Taibei 臺北: Zhengzhong shuju 正中書局. (Seminal study by one of the most important Chinese philosophers of the twentieth century.)
Mou, Zongsan 牟宗三. 2003. *On the Way of Administration and the Way of Politics* 政道與治道. Taibei 臺北: Xuesheng shuju 學生書局. (Important work on political philosophy.)
Pan, Fu'en 潘富恩, and Xu Yuqing 徐余慶 1992. *Critical Biography of Lü Zuqian* 呂祖謙評傳. Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe 浙江人民出版社. (The only comprehensive study of Lü's thought in China and the West.)

Pines, Yuri 2002. *Foundations of Confucian Thought. Intellectual Life in the Chunqiu Period 722–453 B.C.E.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
Plato. 2000. *The Republic*. Edited by G.R.F. Ferrari, trans. by Tom Griffith. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Qian, Mu 錢穆. 1977. *Introduction to Song and Ming Principle-centered Learning* 宋明理學概述. Taibei 臺北: Xuesheng shuju 學生書局.
Schirokauer, Conrad M. 1962. "Chu Hsi's Political Career: A Study in Ambivalence." In Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett (eds.), *Confucian Personalities*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Shen, Songqin 沈松勤. 2005. *Southern Song Literati and Factionalism* 南宋文人與党爭. Beijing 北京: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社. (Important study on the factional struggle in the history of the Southern Song dynasty and the ideology of the literati.)
Tang, Qinfu 湯勤福. 2000. *The Historiographical Thought of Zhu Xi* 朱熹的史學思想. Jinan 濟南: Qilu shushe 齊魯書社. (Contains a helpful analysis of the differences and similarities between Zhu Xi's and Lü Zuqian's historiographical thought.)
Taylor, Charles. 1991. *The Ethics of Authenticity*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Tillman, Hoyt C. 1982. *Utilitarian Confucianism: Ch'en Liang's Challenge to Chu Hsi*. Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University.
Tillman, Hoyt C. 1987. "Consciousness of T'ien in Chu Hsi's Thought." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47.1: 31–50.
Tillman, Hoyt C. 1992. *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. (Seminal study describing the evolution of the twelfth-century *daoxue* fellowship into state orthodoxy; contains the most comprehensive overview of Lü Zuqian's thought in any Western language.)
Tillman, Hoyt C. 1994. *Ch'en Liang on Public Interest and the Law*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
Tillman, Hoyt C. 2003. "Lü Zuqian." In Xinzhong Yao (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Confucianism*. London: Routledge Curzon.
Tillman, Hoyt C. 2008. "Either Self-Realization or Transmission of Received Wisdom in Confucian Education? An Inquiry into Lü Zuqian's and Zhu Xi's Constructions for Student Learning." In Roger T. Ames and Peter D. Hershock (eds.), *Educations and Their Purposes. A Conversation among Cultures*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. (Thorough analysis of Zhu Xi's and Lü Zuqian's different views on education and curricula standards.)
Wong, Siu-Kit, and Kar Shui Lee. 1989. "Poems of Depravity: A Twelfth-Century Dispute on the Moral Character of the *Book of Songs*." *T'oung Pao* LXXV: 209–225. (Comparison between Zhu Xi's and Lü Zuqian's divergent views on the *Book of Odes*.)
Xiao, Gongquan 蕭公權. 1982. *A History of Chinese Political Thought* 中國政治思想史, Taibei 臺北: Zhongguo wenhua yinshuachang 中國文化印刷廠.
Xin, Deyong 辛德勇. 2006. "On Lü Zuqian's Historical Criticism: The Origin of the Wuyuan Prefecture" 以五原郡的始設時間為例述呂祖謙之歷史考辨. *Research on Jiangnan Culture* (Special issue on Lü Zuqian and Zhedong Scholarship) 江南文化研究 (呂祖謙與浙東學術研究專輯). Beijing北京: Xueyuan chubanshe 學苑出版社: 110–129. (Meticulous case study of Lü's use of history.)
Xu, Ruzong 徐儒宗. 2005. *The Founder of Wu Learning – A Biography of Lü Zuqian* 婺學之宗──呂祖謙傳. Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe 浙江人民出版社. (Thorough account of Lü's biography, due to become the standard biography of Lü.)
Xunzi 荀子. 1997. *Collected Commentaries to the Xunzi* 荀子集解, edited by Wang Xianqian 王先謙. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Yan, Zuozhi 嚴佐之. 2004. "Historical and Literary Reading of the Correspondence between Zhu Xi and Lü Zuqian in the Qiandao and Chunxi Eras" 乾淳間朱呂往復信劄的文學解讀和歷史解讀. In Zhu Jieren 朱傑人 and Yan Wenru 嚴文儒 (eds.), *Complete Works of Master Zhu and Studies about Master Zhu – Volume for the 2003 International Conference* 朱子全書與朱子學, 2003年國際學術討論會論文集. Shanghai 上海: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe 華東師範大學出版

社. (Analyzes the relationship between Zhu Xi's and Lü Zuqian's political agendas and their debates on examination standards and literature in the early 1170s.)

Yu, Yingshi 余英時. 2003. *The Historical World of Zhu Xi : Investigations into the Political Culture of Song Scholar-Officials* 朱熹的歷史世界—宋代士大夫政治文化的研究. Taibei 臺北: Yunchen 允晨. (Seminal study on Zhu Xi's role in the factional struggle of the Southern Song dynasty, providing important insights into his political thought.)

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1994. *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* 朱子語類, edited by Li Jingde 黎靖德 (*fl*. 1263). Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 2001. *Section and Sentence Commentaries and Collected Annotations on the Four Books* 四書章句集注. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Neo-Confucian Philosophy and Genre: The Philosophical Writings of CHEN Chun and ZHEN Dexiu

Hilde De Weerdt

The history of philosophy has also been a history of genres; this history of philosophical genres has been deliberate.

Adapted from Berel Lang (Lang 1988: 194)

Contemporary philosophy has become thoroughly disciplined. The volume of publications classified under philosophy during the last century no doubt far exceeds that of previous centuries, but, as a byproduct of professionalization, the range of genres in which philosophical inquiry is practiced, or, more precisely, the range of genres which licensed practitioners consider as legitimate forms of philosophical writing, has shrunk. Academic and public philosophers mostly write monographs and journal articles, and craft titles that presume the irrelevance of form to content. The pre-twentieth-century history of philosophical writing, in contrast, is marked by the diversity of genres, the creation of new forms, and changes in their prevalence, uses, and interpretation. Just as European philosophers wrote dialogues, sentences, commentaries, epitomes, questions, guides, confessions, essays, meditations, letters, novels, or critiques, their Chinese counterparts cast thoughts on fundamental questions about life, human nature, socio-political formations, and the cosmos in recorded sayings, conversations, debates, expositions, explanations, commentaries, lectures, questions, responses, instructions, letters, poems, dictionaries, notebooks, encyclopedias, or anthologies.

Does genre matter? Does it matter philosophically? Affirmative answers to these questions have been proposed on differing grounds for different genres. Timothy Engstrom proposes that the choice of the essay allows philosophers like Hume and Rorty to develop critical standards that are not based on epistemic criteria but that emerge from practical and civil discourse. In their essays these philosophers take on the voice of the public conversationalist; they

H. De Weerdt (✉)
University of Oxford, Institute for Chinese Studies and Pembroke College, UK
e-mail: hilde.deweerdt@chinese.ox.ac.uk

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*,
Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_11,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

cultivate irony, draw on comparative cultural history, and attempt to build community through gentle moral persuasion (Engstrom 1997: 150, 160). Similarly, Berel Lang distinguishes two meta-genres of philosophical writing depending on the author's presence in the text (Lang 1988: 201–202). Meditations, dialogues, confessions and the like are performative genres implicating both author and reader in the act of meditating, conversing, and confessing. In expository genres, on the other hand, one gets the sense that things speak for themselves. In both cases, authors and editors used to include genre references regularly in their titles and thus signaled how their philosophical ambitions ought to be received by readers.

That genre matters in the interpretation of philosophical texts is clearly illustrated in Stephen Kaplan's work on the *kārikā*, a genre of concise verse prevalent in Indian philosophical writing. The *kārikā* was one of several genres of memory texts, highly elliptic types of texts which were written down in a predominantly oral culture. The philosophical inconsistency that strikes modern readers of these texts results from the disregard for and the loss of their discursive context. Kaplan suggests that the gaps between the remaining passages would have been filled out by the philosopher's familiarity with the larger "tradition text": the entirety of the sources, both written and (mostly) oral, through which the ideas of a philosophical school were transmitted (Kaplan 1996; Deutsch 1988: 169–171).

The significance of genre in Neo-Confucian philosophy is most evident in the adoption of the "recorded conversations" (*yulu* 語錄), a genre used in Chan Buddhist philosophy in the mid-tenth century and reminiscent of early Confucian texts such as *The Analects*. Daniel Gardner has shown how the addition of recorded conversations to the repertoire of Confucian discourses in the eleventh and twelfth centuries coincided with a new form of exegesis based on epistemological assumptions different from those underlying interlinear commentary or prose essays. Interlinear commentary on the classics put constraints on the scope of exegetical and philosophical discussion by focusing attention on discrete units of text (paragraphs, lines, or even single characters). In recorded conversations speakers drew together passages and ideas from the entire classical corpus in order to explain Neo-Confucian concepts and beliefs. In interlinear commentary, authority is primarily vested in the classical text as it is; in recorded conversations the speaker (i.e., the Neo-Confucian teacher) becomes the locus of authority.

The authority of the teacher is buttressed by two associated epistemological principles. First, the authority of a contemporary voice over the sanctity of the written tradition of the past is based on the Neo-Confucian tenet that the heart/mind is endowed with the same principles that structure the natural world and the socio-political order, which are also in this view the main subject of the classical corpus. When cultivated, the heart/mind detects the patterns that structure the human and the natural world in real life as well as in the classics. The cultivated heart/mind of a contemporary teacher is an equally reliable, and because of the dialogic situation, a more accessible, path to the discovery of these truths.

Second, the representation of the contemporary teacher responding to student queries underscores the value attached to discussion in the pursuit of philosophical truth. The introduction of contemporary debate in the recorded conversations had a two-fold effect on their readership. Readers could imagine themselves as surrogate disciples asking questions about the more technical aspects of Neo-Confucian philosophy as well as about the application of Neo-Confucian analyses of the heart/mind, human relationships, the socio-political order, and the cosmos to classical texts. They thereby engaged themselves as active participants in contemporary debates, but also deferred to the authority of the master-teacher whose answers provided authoritative explanations. Since recorded conversations regularly featured the master's rebuttal of alternative positions held by competing intellectual authorities, they also provided a model for Neo-Confucian polemics. The master-teacher's discussion of rival views taught students why his criticism was justified and how best to defend his position (De Weerdt 2007: 327).

During the twelfth-century the recorded conversations were emblematic of the rise of the Neo-Confucian movement of the Learning of the Way (*daoxue*).[1] Even though this movement, under the leadership of ZHU Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), produced a wide variety of texts, the recorded conversations most emphatically incorporated its philosophical and pedagogical goals. The series of recorded conversations of CHENG Yi 程頤 (1033–1107) and his disciples that ZHU Xi edited between 1159 and 1173, for example, fit into Zhu's effort to demonstrate that the way (universal and metaphysically demonstrable moral truth) is necessarily transmitted through a genealogy of master-teachers and essentially evidenced in practice in a broad sense rather than in writing (De Weerdt 2007: 199). This genre does not belong to Berel Lang's meta-genre of performative texts in the strict sense because the author-recorder is not always directly involved in the dialogue. However, the genre embodies the performative thrust of much Neo-Confucian writing (and reading). The disciple's recording of the words witnessed during interactions with the master-teacher, and the editor's collecting of such records were ways of inserting oneself in the living chain of transmitters of the Way. Moreover, for recorders, compilers, and readers recorded conversations were simultaneously records of and guides to moral practice not only because they included discussions on moral theory and practical morality, but also because they recreated the master-teacher's model enactment of the moral life in commonplace interactions.

The valuation of such an action-oriented genre of philosophical writing found justification in ZHU Xi's theory of writing. Writing was for ZHU Xi a

[1] I use "Neo-Confucianism" in the broad sense of the terms, ideas, and institutions established and debated by East Asian thinkers since the eleventh century. "Learning of the Way" I define more narrowly as a tradition of moral philosophy taking on the form of a movement in the late twelfth century, transmitted through a narrowly defined genealogical line of transmitters of the way (*dao*), and captured in a new set of canonical texts. For a more elaborate discussion of the meaning of and historiography on these terms, see De Weerdt (2007: 25–46).

test of one's understanding of the structuring principles of the human and natural world. It originated in the ancient sages' capturing of the fundamental patterns of the cosmos. Writing was of secondary significance in truth-seeking in that its value depended on its ability to reflect the author's prior understanding. Such an interpretation of the origins and value of writing led to the condemnation of artifice in composition and a predilection for genres and writing styles approximating speech, especially the kind of speech characteristic of teacher-disciple interactions.

In recorded conversations the authority vested in the master-teacher posed a problem for Neo-Confucian philosophers once the genealogy of transmitters of the way was enshrined by literate elites and endorsed by the court in the early thirteenth century. The ascendancy of ZHU Xi's legacy during this time period resulted in the publication of various editions of his recorded conversations but also in the decline of the genre as none other could claim the status of the great synthesizer that had been conferred on him. Two basic questions faced by his first- and second-generation disciples were therefore how to transmit Neo-Confucian philosophy after the passing of the core masters, and, how to preserve the personal voice and interaction that had become emblematic of Learning of the Way philosophizing. This essay explores some of the genres of Neo-Confucian philosophy that were developed in the face of these challenges. The focus on genre and philosophy provides in my view also a new answer to the question as to why the two authors chosen for this essay have taken center stage in the historiography of Neo-Confucian philosophy after ZHU Xi.

CHEN Chun 陳淳 (1159–1223)[2] and ZHEN Dexiu 真德秀 (1178–1235) feature in all major works on Neo-Confucian philosophy as two out of a handful of major first- and second-generation disciples of ZHU Xi (e.g., Gao and CHEN 1986; He 2004; Hou et al. 1984). Since the 1980s, rapidly expanding scholarship on their work has highlighted Chen's and Zhen's disagreements with positions attributed to ZHU Xi (e.g., Dai 2008; Zhang 2004; Zhu 2006). Nevertheless, the high profile they have acquired derived in large part from their contributions to the spread of *daoxue* through pedagogical writings. This proposition can be read as an endorsement of the view that CHEN Chun and ZHEN Dexiu were philosophically irrelevant when the formulation of new ideas and rationales for old ideas is concerned (de Bary 1981: 73; Xiang 2005: 2). My main aim here, however, is to explain the philosophical significance of the genres of pedagogical writing for which they became fixtures in late imperial Neo-Confucianism.[3]

[2] CHEN Chun's dates are controversial; see Satō (1989: 49 n.1).

[3] My discussion is limited to monographic genres and does not cover other types of pedagogical texts such as expositions (*lun* 論), elaborations (*xiang* 詳), discussions (*bian* 辨), clarifications (*jie* 解), responses (*da* 答), lectures (*jiangyi* 講義), or essays (*fati* 發題) found in the collected works of these authors.

Transforming the Self Through the Appropriation of Words

Eliot Deutsch proposed that in Indian and East Asian philosophical traditions the individual philosophical work is part of a "tradition text" and therefore does not possess independent status (Deutsch 1988: 166, 171). The pursuit of knowledge is a quest of self-knowledge; individual authors express the pursuit of self-knowledge in writing that appropriates the sources upon which this knowledge is based. Writing is therefore at once an act of appropriation, self-fashioning, and identification with the core ideas and practices of one's school. We could consider the Learning of the Way tradition from this perspective and interpret the construction of genealogies of masters and the integration of their work in anthologies in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as an illustration of the contemporary practice to read individuals and their work in the context of a school rather than as self-sufficient textual units.

There were, however, various ways of knowledge transmission and, as a result, various ways in which texts could be read together. One vehicle of knowledge transmission that had become popular among literate elites of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the "classified book" or encyclopedia (*leishu* 類書). *Scrutinizing What is Right from the Gao Studio* (*Gao Zhai shen shi ji* 高齋審是集), for example, was a classified anthology of quotations on concepts central to Learning of the Way philosophy. Such compilations rendered the extensive oeuvre of Learning of the Way thinkers accessible in ways that would have been familiar to contemporary readers used to acquiring information for the purpose of literary composition or for examination preparation in similar fashion (De Weerdt 2007: 267).

This tendency to repackage the legacy of the eleventh- and twelfth-century founding thinkers of the Learning of the Way, its "academicization," has been considered a key characteristic of thirteenth-century Neo-Confucianism (De Weerdt 2007; He 2004: 350). CHEN Chun and ZHEN Dexiu could be considered key contributors to this phenomenon. However, even though both thinkers endorsed and explicitly drew upon the written legacy of ZHU Xi and his chosen predecessors, they developed novel types of philosophical self-expression geared towards the personal and integrative appropriation of the tradition text as revised by ZHU Xi rather than the academic exposition of it.[4]

Out of the approximately five hundred first-generation students whose affiliation with ZHU Xi can be documented, CHEN Chun was one of the most loyal and trusted. He met ZHU Xi late in life, in 1190, but had already been studying the latter's publications for about twenty years prior to their first meeting. Through reading and teaching the emerging canon of the Learning of the Way, CHEN Chun nourished the belief that he was called upon to get involved in the transmission of the Learning of the Way. CHEN Chun's most

[4] Some of my findings on CHEN Chun and ZHEN Dexiu have already presented in *Competition over Content*. I thank the Harvard University Asia Center for the permission to use these findings.

influential contributions to the dissemination of the Learning of the Way dated from the period after his first encounter with Zhu Xi. He compiled an extensive collection of notes recording his interactions with Zhu Xi. His records of conversations with the master take up a substantial portion in the current edition of *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* (*Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類; 1270), ranking him third in the list of most prolific contributors to this collection. Befitting his lifelong career as a teacher in Zhangzhou 漳州 (Fujian 福建), Chen Chun was also the author of several primers on the Learning of the Way, each directed at different audiences. He wrote instructions for children and women and introductory texts for adult male students. The latter included three collections of lectures: *Oral Explanations of the Four Books* (*Yu Meng Daxue Zhongyong kouyi* 語孟大學中庸口義), *The Lectures at Yanling Prefecture* (*Yanling jiangyi* 嚴陵講義), and *The Correct Meaning of Terms* (*Beixi ziyi* 北溪字義) (Chan 1986: 5, 12–27; Chen 2007: 151–152; Honma 1993: 1–17; Ichiki 2002: 365–366).

The Correct Meaning of Terms, printed between 1219 and 1223 shortly before his death, is a lexicon providing relatively short definitions of key terms in Confucian philosophy. As the title suggests, *The Correct Meaning of Terms* aimed to define the selected terms through exclusive reliance on the interpretations of the masters of the Learning of the Way who claimed to have rediscovered their true meaning. Each entry resulted from lecture notes on the topic and consists of a discussion of the term in the colloquial style of the recorded conversations. As such it contrasted markedly with other contemporary works on Neo-Confucian philosophy.

Chen Chun objected to *Scrutinizing What is Right from the Gao Studio* and similar kinds of encyclopedic works. For Chen, concepts such as "the way and virtue," "humaneness and compassion," and "nature and emotions" fit into a larger philosophy of moral self-cultivation and should only be explained with reference to this broader framework (Chen 1983b: 14.9a–b). He objected to the reification of the terms for these concepts into categories, whereby each term served as a semantic container for its divergent occurrences in the works of authoritative thinkers. Category books indexing moral concepts in his view undermined the power of the masters' sayings; they turned them into words dissociated from speech acts. Students using such tools replicated the words of the masters but did not share the masters' understanding and intent.

The Correct Meaning of Terms provided a model for how to turn the words of past masters into performative statements. By personally selecting appropriate sayings and articulating a personal understanding of the Learning of the Way, this work demonstrated the author's commitment to the transmission of the Learning of the Way. This commitment was at once a personal response to the imperative of moral self-cultivation and a commitment to the moral transformation of society and polity. Chen Chun connected the exegesis of technical terminology to an integrative moral understanding in two ways.

First, the arrangement of the topics embodied the message that the topics were not to be read as independent entries but rather as connected elements in a

coherent moral philosophy and as steps in a program of learning that joined understanding and moral action. The sequence of the twenty-five topics in *The Correct Meaning of Terms* was based on the opening sentences of *The Doctrine of the Mean* (Honma 1993: 14–15): "What heaven ordains is called the nature. Following the nature is called the way. Cultivating the way is called teaching." These sentences defined key concepts in Learning of the Way metaphysics (heaven's command, the nature, and the way) and outlined the relationship between them. The last sentence links the philosophy of the way (*dao*) to its practice in teaching and learning.

The Correct Meaning of Terms takes its readers along the same trajectory. The first chapter opens with a discussion of heaven's command and the nature and analyzes other subjects relating to the endowed characteristics of human nature. The second chapter elaborates on the next two sentences. It first defines the way and discusses concepts explaining both its genesis and its operation such as "the Supreme Ultimate" and "coherence." The last five entries cover subjects that were either encouraged or discouraged in the practice of the Learning of the Way: the practice of ritual, music, ancestor worship, and the pursuit of propriety were encouraged, whereas the pursuit of profit and the practice of uncanonical sacrifices, Buddhism, and Daoism were censured.

The strategy of encapsulating Learning of the Way moral philosophy in particular passages of the Four Books had been tried before. CHEN Chun modeled *The Correct Meaning of Terms* on *A Record for Reflection* (*Jin si lu* 近思錄), the text that had introduced him to the Learning of the Way (Chan 1967: 2; Ivanhoe 1988). ZHU Xi published *A Record for Reflection* as a concise and step-by-step introduction to the path of moral self-cultivation. With the help of LÜ Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137–1181), he selected passages from the work of ZHOU Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073), the Cheng brothers (CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao 程顥 [1032–1085]), and ZHANG Zai 張載 (1020–1078) and organized them in a sequence inspired by the process of moral growth outlined in *The Great Learning*: from the essentials of learning and self-cultivation to the handling of sociopolitical affairs. By adopting this sentence from *The Great Learning* as its organizational template, ZHU Xi presented the diverse legacy of the masters of the Learning of the Way as one coherent philosophy reviving the central message of the classics (Honma 1993: 24–27; Tucker 1983: 2–3). Through the selection and organization of the concepts in *The Correct Meaning of Terms*, CHEN Chun presented his work as a direct continuation of the work of earlier transmitters in the genealogy of the Learning of the Way. The layout of his work was based on two prominent texts in the canon of the Learning of the Way promoted by ZHU Xi. *A Record for Reflection* exemplified the use of an axiom from one of the Four Books for capturing the unity and continuity of the Learning of the Way. *The Doctrine of the Mean* provided the conceptual framework for Chen's work. Through the adaptation of this strategy of integration, CHEN Chun demonstrated how ZHU Xi's successors could continue to make the tradition text (including its Learning of the Way accretions) their own.

Second, Chen Chun connected moral theoretical terminology with moral understanding through a mode of explanation in which the authority of the classics, the authority of the master-teachers of the Learning of the Way, and the authority of the moral individual were played off against each other. *The Correct Meaning of Terms* familiarized students with a mode of explanation that allowed them to become participants in the transmission of the Learning of the Way. Chen Chun clarified the meaning of the terms indexed in *The Correct Meaning of Terms* by quoting and explaining statements from the masters of the Learning of the Way. He quoted verbatim the written work of Zhu Xi's eleventh-century predecessors and inserted passages selected from Zhu Xi's vast written legacy as well as personal communications with him. Such passages conveyed authority. They conveyed the authority of the masters and the transmitter. Their invocation confirmed the authority of the masters; the validity of their sayings was usually not questioned. At the same time the quotation of the masters' writings and sayings conveyed authority to the transmitter. The transmitter clarified Learning of the Way philosophy by recalling appropriate passages from the tradition and explaining their meaning, either through additional quotations or through personal explications. Through his ability to connect the transmitted wisdom of the masters and a personal understanding of Learning of the Way moral philosophy, the transmitter demonstrated authority over the Learning of the Way tradition:

> I personally heard Duke Wen [Zhu Xi] when he said, " 'When the thearch is greatly infuriated (Chan 1986: 45 n.27),' it is simply that according to the principle of coherence, it should be so. Nothing in the world is honored more highly than coherence, and therefore we call it the thearch (Zhu 1986: 4.63).' " From this we can understand that heaven is coherence (*li* 理). Thus the blue sky is the body of heaven. The body of heaven is spoken of in terms of vital energy (*qi* 氣), and the operation of heaven is spoken of in terms of coherence.[5]

In this passage Chen Chun was responding to a question regarding heaven's command, the first topic in *The Correct Meaning of Terms*. The question probed the attributes of heaven as a source providing direction to all things: "When heaven commands, is there really something above that arranges and orders that?" Chen Chun responded that heaven stands for coherence, the pattern that is unique in each and every thing; yet, by virtue of its prescribing every thing's proper development and roles, it ties them all together in one cosmic order. He justified his answer to this question by invoking the words of Cheng Yi, citing passages from Zhu Xi's commentaries and, as demonstrated in the translated passage above, bearing personal testimony to Zhu Xi's words. The passages from the canonical authors of the Learning of the Way carry normative meaning and thus provide explanatory power, but the transmission of the Learning of the Way also requires the personal articulation of the moral philosophy that underlies the variety of canonical passages. Chen Chun deduced the truth of the equation of heaven and coherence from the masters'

[5] I am largely adopting Wing-tsit Chan's translation (Chan 1986: 45).

legacy and clarifies that this equation only holds as far as the operation, and not the material substance, of heaven is concerned.

This mode of explanation was also based on classical models of transmission as they had been construed by Zhu Xi. In his edition of and commentary on *The Doctrine of the Mean* Zhu Xi presents Zisi 子思 (fifth century BC), grandson of Confucius, as a model transmitter of the Way. Zhu Xi claimed that the work consisted of three separate layers in which Zisi respectively noted down the text of the classic as it had been transmitted to him, explained the core text by quoting Confucius' words, and clarified the meaning of the passages he had quoted in his own words based on what he had learned through personal communication with Confucius. Chen Chun's lexicon was thus not merely a reference text for those new to Learning of the Way philosophy (although it was certainly also used in this way), it was also a model of the personal integration of the tradition text.

Reconfiguring the Tradition Text Through Reading

Chen Chun's *The Correct Meaning of Terms* was heralded as the most effective introduction to the Learning of the Way as soon as it appeared in print from the 1220s onwards. It was then competing against the kinds of digests of Learning of the Way texts modeled on examination manuals, but it also provided an alternative to another genre aimed at cultivating the moral self through a systematic engagement with the tradition text as it had been revised by Zhu Xi: the notebook or reading log (*dushu ji* 讀書記):

> After the prefectural school printed Xishan's [Zhen Dexiu's] *Reading Notes*, scholars vied to read it. Academician Ye was concerned that the number of categories was excessive and that future students would not be able to make sense of it... [Wang] Jia 王稼 (*jinshi* 1235) therefore told him about Mr. Beixi's [Chen Chun's] *The Correct Meaning of Terms*. (Li 1983: 28.28a)

In this 1247 preface to a new printed edition, *The Correct Meaning of Terms* is presented as an abbreviation of the much more voluminous *Reading Notes*, completed around 1225, just a few years after the first printing of *The Correct Meaning*. The interest of the local magistrates in the wider distribution of both titles (they had earlier financed the printing of *Reading Notes* and were now adding *The Correct Meaning of Terms* to the list of subsidized titles) suggests a similarity between them. Like Chen Chun, the editor of the first part of *Reading Notes* adopted a framework that allowed for the subsumption of the tradition text under a set of categories forming the core message of the Learning of the Way. An introduction (literally "outline" [*gangmu* 綱目]) to *Reading Notes*, written by Tang Han 湯漢 (ca. 1198–1275), a student of Zhen Dexiu and the editor and co-publisher of a 1259 edition, clarifies the rationale behind the selection and organization of the keywords:

> "That which is ordained is the human nature" is the wellspring of moral principles; therefore it is placed first in this compilation. When the nature is activated, emotions are formed. Since the heart/mind oversees [the operation of] the nature and emotions,

[the topical heading of] "the heart/mind" and then "emotions" follow after [the heading of] "the nature." Those three are the leading concepts of this entire compilation. The subdivisions are as follows. Humaneness, rightness, propriety, wisdom, and truthfulness define the nature ordained by heaven. The relationships between father and son, ruler and minister, husband and wife, old and young, and between friends define the path dictated by the nature. Therefore "the five virtues" and "the five constant relationships" are next. The behaviors observed by all human beings in common we call the way; what one obtains within oneself is called potency. In fact these two cannot be separated. Therefore, "the way and potency" comes after "the five constant relationships." "Centrality," "unity," "the ultimate," and "being true to oneself," these are all different names for the way. Therefore these entries follow behind "the way and potency." From where should scholars start to seek the way and pursue virtue? Only "learning" is the answer. "Mental attentiveness" is the basis of learning; therefore, this topic precedes "learning." A broad discussion of learning follows. Then come "the way of the teacher" and "teaching methods"; "the smaller learning" and "the greater learning." To take "sages and worthies" as teachers, to distinguish between "morally superior and morally inferior human beings" and to differentiate between "our way and deviance," these are all matters of learning. Therefore these headings follow behind "the greater learning." The natural pattern of "transformation through *yin* and *yang*" has already been briefly discussed in the above section on the nature. Details that were not discussed there are taken up again at the end of this compilation. (Zhen 1983d: *gangmu*)

Even though the number of subdivisions ZHEN Dexiu and TANG Han used far outnumbered those used by CHEN Chun, they ranked and configured the main categories highlighted in the introduction in the same way. They articulated a theory of moral cultivation that was based on the a priori existence of a coded human nature on a metaphysical level (*xing ming* 性命), its immanence in the individual heart/mind (*xin* 心) as a precondition of human ethics, and the individual heart/mind as the key facilitator of natural, and therefore, good social behavior as it can give precedence to emotions (*qing* 情) elicited from the endowed nature over lesser drives and desires.

After having discussed the core concepts that explain both the necessity and the possibility of moral cultivation, Zhen's text moves on to an analysis of what constitutes the *a priori* elements of human nature (the five seeds of moral behavior encoded in the human nature and the five types of social relationships; these encompass the full range of social values and of the social relationships that determine how normative social values are to be exercised). Then follows his work on those concepts that posit the accessibility of the *a priori* elements of human nature (and thus the universal patterns of the cosmos with which they coincide) in individual experience. The way and potency are simply synonyms for mental concentration, the undivided self, and being true to one's nature because the latter are ways to tap into *dao* as it informs human nature. The remainder is devoted to an exposition of the various means (the various ways of learning) by which to achieve the goal of allowing the encoded nature to inform individual behavior fully in all human relationships.

ZHEN Dexiu's notes move from a discussion of the nature to the way and then to learning and thus replicate the core message of CHEN Chun's lexicon, which

was itself a transmission of the opening lines of *The Doctrine of the Mean*, the text Zhu Xi regarded as the culmination of the Learning of the Way canon: "What heaven ordains is called the *nature*. Following the nature is called the *way*. Cultivating the way is called *teaching*."

The substitution of "learning" (*xue* 學) for "teaching" (*jiao* 教) and the much larger space devoted to this topic in Zhen's work reflect his prioritization of reading and the systematic internalization of the transmission of the Learning of the Way through (a particular kind of) reading. Before explaining why I see this as the major contribution of Zhen's *Reading Notes*, let me review some of the other reasons Zhen Dexiu has become a key figure in the thirteenth-century history of Neo-Confucianism. Most intellectual historians underscore Zhen Dexiu's contributions to the official recognition of the Learning of the Way and to his efforts in developing Learning of the Way moral theory into a comprehensive political philosophy. Some philosophers, on the other hand, perceive such contributions to the politicization of Neo-Confucianism as a sign of Zhen's philosophical insignificance (Xiang 2005: 2). Although there is room for debate concerning the extent to which Zhen was influential in reversing the official verdict against Learning of the Way thinkers, there is no doubt that his political success and scholarly acumen raised the political profile of the men whose thought most inspired his own work.

In contrast with the repeated examination failures of Chen Chun, Zhen Dexiu obtained the highest examination degree in 1199 at the very young age of twenty-two. Barely six years later, he passed the polymath (*boxue hongci* 博學宏詞) examination, known for the extraordinary level of erudition it required and the minimal numbers of graduates it produced. This last degree qualified him for secretarial posts in the capital. The policy essay he wrote on the occasion of the 1205 examination was an early example of his outspoken advocacy of a Learning of the Way program for political reform; it proposed that the cultivation of the heart/mind was the only practical method to solve such problems raised by the examiner as the slackening of military discipline, the unruliness of local militias, and a depleted treasury. Zhen spent most of his time in office with a seven-year period of retirement (1225–1232) due to his protest against the government of Councilor Shi Miyuan 史彌遠 (1164–1233). His prolonged presence in the capital and his active political profile made him the most conspicuous among the thirteenth-century advocates of the Learning of the Way.

In his scholarly work as well, Zhen extended the reach of the Learning of the Way into political theory and administration more visibly than his more famous predecessors. Scholarly attention has focused on his discussion of the political implications of *The Great Learning* and to a lesser extent on a shorter work on administration, titled *The Classic on Governance* (*Zheng jing* 政經) (discussed below). During his short tenure as Classics Mat Lecturer in 1225, Zhen delivered presentations at court on *The Great Learning* on at least sixteen occasions (de Bary 1981: 85–98). In personal exchanges with Emperor Lizong 理宗 (r. 1225–1264) he upheld this Learning of the Way classic as a complete guide

for imperial government. In 1234, following his reappointment to prestigious central government posts such as Minister of Revenue and Hanlin Academician, he presented the product of his programmatic reading of it to Emperor Lizong.

Titled *Daxue yanyi* 大學衍義 (*The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning*) and first printed in 1229, it set out the responsibilities of the emperor. In Zhen's view the emperor's responsibilities derived from the eight-step program outlined in the classic for achieving political order. More clearly and more elaborately than the classic and its prior commentaries, ZHEN Dexiu set out to demonstrate that the moral reformation of emperor and court was the sole foundation for political order. He did so by amassing documentary evidence culled from the philosophical, literary, and historical record and by devoting his political analysis of the documentary record to the first six stages of the program outlining the progression from the successive stages of moral self-cultivation ("the investigation of things," "the extension of knowledge," "making the will sincere," "rectifying the heart/mind," and "the cultivation of the body") to "the regulation of the family." By leaving out the last two stages ("ordering the state" and "keeping the empire at peace") ZHEN Dexiu underscored the point that political outcomes can be predicted on the basis of the personal and familial aspects of emperorship; some contemporaries pointed out that this call for a retreat from utilitarian administrative reasoning had borne little result during Zhen's time in office.

I will return to this text in the following section, but it is relevant here in that, according to TANG Han, ZHEN Dexiu intended *The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning* to be one of the four parts of *Reading Notes*. By the time Tang issued his revised print edition only incomplete editions were circulating. He wrote that part one and four had been printed earlier under the auspices of the Fuzhou educational officials, but that he had recovered bits of part two from Zhen's family for this edition. He also found that *The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning* had in the original scheme occupied the first half of part two.

Extant Song copies of the Fuzhou edition augmented by TANG Han suggest that currently more widely available editions such as the *Siku quanshu* edition combine the first part and the remaining chapters of the last part into forty chapters, leaving out the twenty-two chapters constituting part two in Tang's edition. This second part is a chronological survey of "the methods by which ministers have assisted in government" (Zhen 1259: *yiji*, *gangmu*). Culling mostly from SIMA Guang's 司馬光 (1019–1086) *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑; 1085), the dynastic histories, and the prose tradition more broadly, these reading notes fit in well with *The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning* and the two remaining chapters from the last part (chapters 33 and 34 in the combined edition) with regard to both content and source materials. Whereas *The Extended Meaning* covers emperorship, the second half of part two and the remaining chapters of part four cover the responsibilities of those serving in government. Throughout his reading notes ZHEN Dexiu's use and presentation of source materials was reminiscent more of the encyclopedists who systematically culled from a wide range of genres than

of Learning of the Way philosophers who had hitherto tended to focus on orally transmitted truth and the more narrowly construed emerging Learning of the Way canon.

The original design of *Reading Notes* is thus a further indication of the philosophical claims already implicit in the introduction to part one translated above (and in the combined edition used as the introduction to the entire work). Through a systematic reconfiguring of the written tradition, ZHEN Dexiu set out to demonstrate the validity of the core message of the Learning of the Way. The second and fourth parts of *Reading Notes* supplied the answer to one question that had yet to be answered in the *summae* of Learning of the Way moral theory: how does learning that seeks to free the encoded nature and have it fully inform individual behavior in all human relationships translate into socio-political order? To the three key concepts derived from *The Doctrine of the Mean* (nature 性命, way 道, and teaching/learning 教/學), Zhen added a discussion of the key question raised by the other of ZHU Xi's two most favorite classical texts, *The Great Learning*: in what kind of political behavior does learning result both in the case of emperor and in the case of the civil servant? Through case studies of emperors and ministers, Zhen explained how the theory of self-cultivation provided standards to monitor all aspects of political behavior and thus sought to validate its application to governance.

Whereas his main source of inspiration, ZHU Xi, had laid the foundation for the creation of a coherent intellectual and textual community through the compilation of commentaries, the creation of a genealogy of transmitters of the Learning of the Way, the edition of the work of his chosen intellectual ancestors, and the application of Learning of the Way moral theory to history in separate and voluminous works, ZHEN Dexiu demonstrated how the individual could and ought to use the core message of the Learning of the Way as the logic guiding everything they learned. Learning was, as the *Reading Notes* project implied, accomplished primarily through reading. As befitted a holder of the polymath degree, ZHEN Dexiu tended to be less selective in his list of recommended readings than many of his Learning of the Way contemporaries. Scholars have noted his interest in the philosophy of LU Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139–1193) and the compatibility between his defense of LU Jiuyuan's legacy and the prominence of the cultivation of the heart/mind in his writings on moral and political philosophy. The syncretizing tendencies, which modern scholars have regarded as a second broader influence, besides politicization, on the development of Learning of the Way philosophy in the thirteenth century, stood in sharp contrast to CHEN Chun and other first-generation disciples trained in rebutting the claims of ZHU Xi's main rivals.

These tendencies can to a certain extent also be read as a byproduct of the methods and goals of the encyclopedist. CHEN Chun determined the meaning of the keywords of Learning of the Way moral philosophy by invoking the authority of oral transmission, written record, and personal evaluation. He took upon himself the responsibility for the transmission of the revised tradition text by continuing to speak in the polemical lecture-style colloquial reminiscent

of the recorded conversations. Zhen Dexiu built implicit arguments by juxtaposing documentary evidence from a broad array of written sources. Qing scholars and modern historians in their wake credited Zhen's systematic reliance upon the classics, the histories, current affairs, and the essays of other scholars (de Bary 1981: 90; He 2004: 346). The application of an argumentative strategy that culls systematically and explicitly from a broad archive of classical, historical, administrative, and philosophical texts may have been an innovation in the Learning of the Way philosophical literature, but arranging evidence on this basis had become a common device in historical and administrative encyclopedias targeted at students preparing for the civil service examinations (De Weerdt 2006). The classification of evidence according to generic and chronological criteria not only facilitated the identification and selection of source material but also matched and reinforced a rhetorical strategy common to all manner of writing about current affairs whether they were of a political or socio-cultural nature. The construction of a persuasive argument depended upon the successful comparison (defense and/or refutation) of cases pulled throughout history and of different solutions proposed by authorities past and present.

Zhen Dexiu's adaptation of this model of argumentation in *Reading Notes* (especially in those parts relating to government) may have been an obvious part of the larger goal to extend Learning of the Way moral theory into all aspects of administrative theory. However, his reorganization of the written record differed in crucial respects from that of other encyclopedists of the time. In administrative and historical encyclopedias featuring documentary sections that classified texts according to broad genre distinctions like *The Epitome of Eminent Men Responding at the Imperial College* (*Bishui qunying daiwen huiyuan* 璧水群英待問會元; ca. 1245) and *A Net to Unite and Order the Massive Amounts of Information in All Books—An Enlarged Edition from the Imperial College* (*Taixue zengxiu qunshu jie jiang wang* 太學增修群書截江網; ca. 1250) the topics covered all manner of areas of administration (related to the functional divisions of administration reflected in the bureaucracy itself) and included excerpts from standard authorities as well as little known examination candidates. The goal was to provide relevant sources even when their authors articulated differing and competing positions.

Zhen's work brought together the various sources on which Learning of the Way philosophers had drawn and those which could be reconciled with and integrated into the project to broaden the transmission of the Learning of the Way. Despite the broader range of sources included when compared to earlier appropriations of the revised tradition text (Zhu Xi's *A Record for Reflection* or Chen Chun's *The Correct Meaning of Terms*), Zhen Dexiu's notebook followed in the footsteps of these works as it predominantly excerpted and indexed the work of Learning of the Way philosophers and used a template derived from Learning of the Way moral theory to digest all materials covered.

The sections on reading ("the sequence of reading" and "the method of reading") are a good illustration of Zhen's reading and note-taking strategies.

The topics echo ZHU Xi's views on the subject as the chapters on "the method of reading" in *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* reveal. The notes include quotations in large font, which signal major points such as the sequence from more accessible texts such as *The Great Learning*, *The Analects*, and *Mencius* to the text that should be considered the measure of all texts, *The Doctrine of the Mean*; the need to make the text reflect upon one's personal existence and experience; slow and iterative reading, concentration, and questioning as means by which effective and personalized reading can be achieved; respect for the integrity of the text, the bracketing of personal opinion and preconceived notions, the assumption of the transparency of the text, and the avoidance of indecipherable archaic passages as rules to open the text to normative and integrative interpretations and to prevent idiosyncratic creative takes on selected passages; and, finally, the never-ending process of appropriating the universal truths embedded in the written legacy.

Zhen's chapter thus summarizes the key points of ZHU Xi's reading program. He similarly justifies these rules on the basis of an epistemology that holds that the encounter with the universal moral principles in the written record mobilizes the very same principles embedded in the human nature. Concentration prepares the heart/mind for the activation of normative behaviors dictated by the human nature and simultaneously allows the heart/mind to uncover those universal principles in texts that will consequently reverberate with the same principles embedded in the nature. ZHEN Dexiu concluded his notes on reading with a poetic inscription by ZHANG Shi 張栻 (1133–1180), a twelfth-century thinker whose collected works ZHU Xi edited in 1184:

Well scholars,
you have to know how to read.
It is not done for the sake of accomplishment;
But only to seek the original state.
What is the original state?
It is what you are naturally.
If you activate it through books,
You will know it in its full extent.
Just recite and sing,
Investigate and restore.
Just immerse yourself in it;
Don't indulge and don't repress.
Calm your heart/mind,
In order to collect its principles. (Zhen 1983d: 25.24a; Zhang 1983: 36.10a–b)

The quotations are arranged by genre, moving from classical sources (*The Doctrine of the Mean*) to a chronologically arranged list of Song dynasty thinkers who spoke or wrote on the subject. There is, however, no doubt about the dominant source of inspiration for Zhen's notes on reading. Even though a variety of Learning of the Way thinkers including the Cheng brothers, YIN Tun 尹焞 (1071–1143), ZHANG Zai, YANG Shi 楊時 (1053–1135), LI Tong 李侗 (1093–1163), and ZHANG Shi are quoted in addition to ZHU Xi, the intralinear comments that follow each quotation are virtually exclusively based on ZHU Xi's

work. Moreover, the quotations attributed to pre- ZHU Xi Song thinkers mostly derive from works written or edited by him such as *A Record for Reflection*, LI Tong's biography, or ZHANG Shi's collected work.

The art of transmission changed significantly in ZHEN Dexiu's hands. His *Notes* summarized and indexed Learning of the Way philosophy more thoroughly than earlier anthologies and dictionaries. The sections on reading not only abstracted material from a variety of chapters in the current edition of *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* (representing a mixture of note-takers); when tracing all sources for the quotations it becomes evident that he also drew widely from letters and other prose genres in his collected works.

The reliance on ZHU Xi's written oeuvre coincided with a retreat of the personal voice in the transmission of Learning of the Way philosophy. The occasional "personal notes" (*an* 按) in the footnotes to the quotations provide source information and clarify the context of the quotation. In *Reading Notes* (excepting *The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning*) the personal elaborations on and evaluations of quotations found in CHEN Chun's work no longer set the tone. ZHEN Dexiu's appropriation of the tradition text is guided through his reading of ZHU Xi's work.

This approach to the transmission of the tradition text became paradigmatic and constituted the premise of the new condition of Learning of the Way philosophy by the mid-thirteenth century. ZHEN Dexiu's work contributed to its recognition as official ideology. Like CHEN Chun's lexicon ZHEN Dexiu's reading notes were a response to the accumulation of the Learning of the Way philosophical literature and its masterful synthesis in the massive oeuvre of ZHU Xi. Whereas Chen modeled his response to the question of transmission on the personal apologetics of Learning of the Way moral theory in the recorded conversations, ZHEN Dexiu pursued ZHU Xi's theory of reading, testifying in elaborate detail to the immanence of the patterns of moral order in texts across genre and thematic boundaries and in the process documenting for his contemporaries how moral theory could be applied to all aspects of emperorship and civil service.

Extending the Classics

Of devoting oneself to the essentials and expanding one's learning,
Which of these comes first?
Since I have come to serve as prefectural magistrate,
I have been painfully aware of the danger of loosing track.
I have picked and gathered maxims,
In order to cleanse my heart/mind.
With my inner room resplendent,
The incense rises up from the burner at the dawn of day.
Solemnly I open a book,
To serve my inner master. (Zhen 1983b: 25a–b)

In these final sentences of his poetic tribute to *The Classic on the Heart/Mind* (*Xin jing* 心經), a work he compiled while serving as Magistrate of Quanzhou 泉州 (1232–1233), ZHEN Dexiu reminds us of the impetus behind his work: reading and cultivating the heart/mind are mutually reliant activities upon which depend the realization of our capacity to be human, that is, to perform the socio-political roles for which we are naturally destined. A magistrate runs the risk of becoming overwhelmed by the conflicting demands of local constituencies, colleagues and family, by bureaucratic routines, and by the desire for self-promotion. To avoid the risk of a heart/mind distracted by conflicting demands, Zhen begins to read and searches for wise words in what he reads. The opening question could be read as a rhetorical one in two ways. It is obvious that going back to the essentials comes first for Zhen, as that alone guarantees clarity of heart/mind. However, expanding the heart/mind through reading is not of secondary significance; reading is necessary to focus and cleanse the heart/mind and does so as long as the premise of heart/mind cultivation guides the reading process.

The search for maxims hinted at in the lines translated above explains the creation of a third genre of transmission texts among ZHU Xi's intellectual inheritors: the new classic in the form of an anthology of classical passages presented as adages for practitioners of Learning of the Way philosophy. ZHEN Dexiu compiled two works which carry in their titles a genre designation that had for more than a millennium been reserved for works that had come down from the cultural heroes of Antiquity and set out the parameters of civilization. "Classic" (*jing* 經) referred to canonical texts that became by their very canonization embodiments of enduring principles (*jing* 經). As repositories of principles discovered in the process of creating and maintaining organized social life, they remained indispensable in ordering the world. *Jing* also acquired the sense of sacred text in Daoist and Buddhist traditions; religious sects continued to add texts revealed by transcendental powers to the Daoist and Buddhist canons. Applying this designation to new compilations was, however, uncommon; and, claiming and attributing authorship for a new classic to an ordinary mortal even less so (Lewis 1999: 297–300; Nylan 2001).

The Classic on the Heart/Mind consists of passages selected from the classics (*The Book of Documents* 書經, *The Book of Odes* 詩經, *The Book of Change*, *The Record of Rituals* 禮記, and, from the extended list of classics, *Mencius* 孟子). Each excerpt is followed by commentary selected from both the pre-Song commentarial tradition and, predominantly, from Learning of the Way philosophers including the Cheng brothers, ZHANG Zai, XIE Liangzuo 謝良左 (1059–1103), YANG Shi, and ZHU Xi. As the title suggests, the passages and the Song commentary focus on those classics and those passages that most directly address the nature, the operation, and the rectification of the heart/mind.

The text opens with the Sixteen-Character Dictum, a brief quote attributed to the sage ruler Yu 禹 in the *The Book of Documents*. "The human heart/mind is insecure; the moral heart/mind is barely perceptible. Have utmost refinement and singleness of heart/mind" (Tillman 1992: 123). ZHU Xi selected it as the core

message of the Learning of the Way because it outlined succinctly the difference between the moral heart/mind that preserved moral coherence and the human heart/mind that was prone to human desire, and simultaneously pointed the path to the restoration of the former. In the preface to his commentary on the *The Doctrine of the Mean*, *The Doctrine of the Mean in Chapters and Verses* (*Zhongyong zhangju* 中庸章句), he described it as the core of the Learning of the Way. This is also the text which Zhen Dexiu cited as the authoritative interpretation of this opening passage.

As Wm. Theodore de Bary argued in his reading of the *The Classic on the Heart/Mind*, the classical and commentarial passages translate into a coherent apologetics for moral discipline. The compilation moves from the classics of antiquity to Zhou Dunyi's rationale for constant vigilance against human desires. In *Penetrating the Book of Change* (*Tongshu* 通書) Zhou Dunyi argued that even though human beings' original heart/mind is purely good and impartial, the state of incipient activation, which was the spring of activity, might give rise either to good or evil. In order to act morally, human beings need to return to the original mental state of tranquility and non-differentiation. When acting upon the incipient forces, they have to remain true to the original moral nature and remain without desires.

By arranging selections from Zhou Dunyi's writing after quotations from *Mencius*, the compiler not only expressed support for the Zhou's more controversial pronouncements on the unnaturalness of human desires, but also implicitly validated the canonical status of the work of this Song Dynasty Learning of the Way philosopher and of those who followed in his wake. Zhen Dexiu's use of *Penetrating the Book of Change* may have been modeled on Zhu Xi's selective use of it in *A Record for Reflection*, where Zhou Dunyi's analysis of heart/mind cultivation was featured as a major contribution to Learning of the Way moral philosophy. This partially helps explain why Zhen Dexiu's arrogation of the genre designation "classic" may not have seemed as radical in the mid-thirteenth century as it was later in the eyes of some Qing scholars. The juxtaposition and interweaving of passages from age-old classical texts and eleventh- and twelfth-century writings into a new classic was a manifestation of the broader recognition that the unofficial canon of Learning of the Way texts had achieved by the early thirteenth century. By celebrating an alleged positive review that the compilation received by Emperor Lizong, the publishers of *The Classic on the Heart/Mind* further underscored the legitimacy of the extension of the category of the classic (Chu 1988: 210).

In retrospect, *The Classic on the Heart/Mind* did not bring about the revival of the genre of the classic. It rather marked the beginning of a new type of commentary, distinct from both the canonized Han (202 BC–220 AD) and Tang (618–907) commentaries and early Learning of the Way models of commentary. According to Daniel Gardner, commentary was a critical means for building intellectual community throughout imperial Chinese history (Gardner 1998), and arguably beyond.

Leading philosophers of the Learning of the Way like ZHU Xi transformed commentarial genres and techniques while creating a new type of intellectual community centered on a genealogy of transmitters of the Way. In addition to the discussion of classical passages in the recorded conversations already mentioned above, they attempted to free the classical text from purely philological and situational readings by other means including the revision and reorganization of the transmitted text and line-by-line commentaries setting out systematically the internal philosophical coherence of core texts such as *The Great Learning* and *The Doctrine of the Mean*. In the case of the former, CHENG Yi's suggestions for revisions that would more logically set out the significance he attached to the text as a systematic explanation of the heart/mind's investigation of moral principles resulted in ZHU Xi's revised edition complete with philological annotations and philosophical explanations in *The Great Learning in Chapters and Verses* (*Daxue zhangju* 大學章句) (Gardner 1986: 17–45).

The Classic on the Heart/Mind demonstrated that this hermeneutics of integration could be applied across the classical corpus and extended to the new canon of Learning of the Way texts. As in *Reading Notes*, the voice of the compiler recedes into the background as authority is now primarily vested in the maxims excerpted from classical and Learning of the Way texts and the commentary on them by ZHU Xi. The new classic, one of the shorter texts reviewed here, was another way of showing how philosophers of the Learning of the Way could insert themselves within the line of transmission after ZHU Xi. The new classic did not introduce new raw thoughts, but by bringing together passages from the classics, tying them to newly established interpretive authorities, and through ZHEN Dexiu's personal attestation of the efficacy of the hermeneutics of integration, it provided a model for commentary as an extension of the classics. Anthologizing was in this model the principal technique for extending the meaning of the classics.

The model is also evident in the second new classic attributed to ZHEN Dexiu, *The Classic on Government*.[6] In its extant form, this short work is divided up into four parts, starting with excerpts from the classics, the histories, and contemporary administrative theory, and ending with a handful of bureaucratic communications Zhen issued while serving in local administration. Even though the latter may be later accretions resulting from Zhen's disciples' eagerness to pay tribute to their teacher by including material that demonstrated his engagement with local administration in practice, the concept and design of *The Classic on Government* is very much in keeping with ZHEN Dexiu's lifelong work.

[6] As the *Siku quanshu* editors pointed out, this attribution is questionable given that it cannot be corroborated in Zhen's other work or in contemporary reference works. The work was, however, already associated with Zhen by 1242, because a combined edition of *The Classic on the Mind* and *The Classic on Government* can be dated to that year (Zhen 1983c: *tiyao*; de Bary 1981: 89).

Regardless of the valid charge that ZHEN Dexiu would not have claimed the genre designation "classic" for a work that included his own writing, to later editors of the text the first three parts must have read as a logical sequel to *The Classic on the Heart/Mind*. The classical passages selected in the first part suggest that, as in the case of heart/mind cultivation, a coherent message of benevolent government focused on educating and caring for the people with legal punishment as a last resort can be pieced together from the entire classical corpus. In contrast to the topical divisions used in contemporary works of administrative theory and history and in the reading notes, the new classic anthologizes.

By listing passages according to genres and chronology rather than by subject category, the new classics followed the model of the anthology which was also the form in which the Five Classics (with the possible exception of *The Record of Ritual*) had been transmitted. The collection of maxims is less concerned about comprehensiveness topically and in terms of source materials covered; in it the compiler brings together classically sanctioned injunctions for mental cultivation and administration. As ZHEN Dexiu's inscription on *The Classic on the Heart/Mind* attests, these collections resulted from a search to engage the heart/mind in texts that would stimulate the incipient patterns of moral behavior; it invited him or her to concentrate on original texts and corresponding commentary that had proven efficacious in the daily mental discipline of an expert transmitter of the way.

The Classic on Government extended the import of the classical maxims by collecting passages from the histories and from administrative records as models of administrative practice. It featured model Han Dynasty magistrates who developed local production and education and more recent case studies of tax registration methods aimed at reducing malfeasance by brokers. In this respect this new classic also bore the hallmark of Zhen's consistent effort to extend the reach of Learning of the Way moral theory into areas of literati activity such as local administration and service to the emperor that had so far not been incorporated into Learning of the Way transmission texts. The most influential product of this effort was the aforementioned *The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning*.

Originally part of an encyclopedic book of reading notes, *The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning* was as a separately circulating work presented as a commentary explaining the implied meaning of *The Great Learning*. In his preface ZHEN Dexiu wrote, "Only when one has inquired into the governance of the emperors and kings of antiquity, and found that they invariably take the self as its basis and extend this to all-under-heaven, can one appreciate that this book represents an essential text in transmitting the heart/mind of the sages, and is not just the personal utterance of Confucius alone" (Zhen 1983a: *xu* 1a; translation based on de Bary 1981: 107). Zhen here explains the premise of his commentarial strategy: the universal validity of a classic can be understood only on the basis of the corroboration of historical, philosophical, and other classical texts. The hermeneutic principle that understanding a classic necessarily

implied reading beyond the classic was also evident in the two new classics discussed above.

The "extension" of the meaning of the classic was also an explicit call to act upon the political meaning of this text as already mentioned. It is worth bearing in mind the communicative situation within which the current edition came into existence. ZHEN Dexiu explained that the lectures he gave at court were the basis for this work and eventually presented the complete work for Emperor Lizong's review. This work later served as teaching material for Yuan Dynasty imperial princes. The choice of this classic in the teaching of imperial princes was not unprecedented. As de Bary has shown, ZHEN Dexiu's work fits in a tradition of instructions to emperors, and Zhen explicitly allied his work with "the learning of emperorship" (*dixue* 帝學) as it had been established by the early Song politician FAN Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041–1098). However the learning of emperorship was not exclusively a matter for imperial princes; the extension of the political meaning of *The Great Learning* also depended upon officials and those preparing to become officials. ZHEN Dexiu recommended his work to both the emperor and officialdom as follows, "The ruler who fails to comprehend *The Great Learning* lacks the means to arrive at a clear understanding of the source of governance. The minister who fails to comprehend *The Great Learning* lacks the means to exhaust fully the methods of correcting the ruler" (Zhen 1983a: *xu* 1a; translation based on de Bary 1981: 107).

In this work ZHEN Dexiu laid out how the cultivation of self and family at the core of *The Great Learning* maps onto a set of rules for emperorship. Emperorship encompasses the cultivation of the imperial person as well as the emperor's familial and political roles. The first stages of self-cultivation, "the investigation of things" and "the extension of knowledge," map onto four main areas of administrative knowledge ("understanding the scholarship on the way"; "judging human talent"; "establishing the basis of rule"; and, "investigating the people's feelings"). Each of these broader headings is further subdivided into more specific areas of imperial intellectual effort such as "the relative importance of virtue and punishment" and "the relative weight of rightness and profit" in "establishing the basis of rule," or "the reasons for support and opposition among the people" and "the truth about grief and joy in the countryside" in "investigating the people's feelings." The following steps of "making one's will sincere" and "rectifying one's heart/mind" correspond to mental discipline interpreted as "honoring mental attentiveness" and "banning wayward desires." That ZHEN Dexiu read the following step in the *Great Learning* as "the cultivation of the body" is evident from the main subcategories "watching one's speech and behavior" and "rectifying one's comportment." The final step for ZHEN Dexiu, "regulating the family," involves "paying careful attention to female partners," "strictly managing the inner quarters," "consolidating the foundation of the dynasty" (ensuring an orderly succession), and "educating one's relatives."

This scheme shows how *The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning* maintains the core message attributed to the classic by Learning of the Way philosophers: the cultivation of the heart/mind of the imperial person serves as

the basis for the last stages of "ordering the state" and "bringing peace to the world." Zhen underscores the primacy of self-cultivation over administrative reasoning by leaving out the last categories; they appear only implicitly in the historical evidence of imperial rule suggesting how mental attentiveness in personal, familial, and administrative matters leads to political order, and, more frequently in recent history, the lack thereof leads to political upheaval.

The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning was therefore also an extension of existing commentaries on the classic, not in the least the commentary written by his teacher, ZHU Xi. ZHEN Dexiu maintained the core message set out systematically in ZHU Xi's *The Great Learning in Chapters and Verses*. Unlike his other notes and commentaries, this work featured long explanations cast in Zhen's own voice. The lecture-style of the explanations reflects the circumstances within which they originated; the more lengthy and colloquial exposition of textual passages and Learning of the Way moral theory were also reminiscent of the commentary of the master, which Zhen's explanations frequently followed and cited. However, the encyclopedic form in which ZHEN Dexiu elaborated his interpretation of the classic marked a departure from the twelfth-century Learning of the Way classical commentary. The systematic connections forged between the cultivation of the self, the theory of emperorship, and imperial rule more broadly, were yet another way by which to ensure both the transmission of the revised tradition text and the broader application of Learning of the Way moral theory in other areas of literati activity.

Conclusion

In a philosophical tradition that was defined as an intellectual genealogy reaching back to antiquity and only restoring itself in Song times, transmission was a principal concern. Transmission was not only an art aimed at devising new techniques to cope with information overload (Blair 2004), but also an act of self-identification. The Learning of the Way as a genealogical line of transmitters of the Way captured in a new set of canonical texts was ZHU Xi's creation, but the genealogical discourse he thus promoted also became a means of laying claim to a position in the transmission of the Learning of the Way. Teachers and disciples inserted themselves within a living chain of transmitters by affiliating themselves with teachers and disciples linked to the main figures in the genealogy through personal ties and through the continuation of the transmission. When ZHU Xi became heralded as the great synthesizer and leading interpreter of Learning of the Way moral theory in the early thirteenth century, his successors faced the question of how to continue the transmission after its definitive articulation in the master-teacher's voluminous oeuvre.

The development of new genres of transmission texts was the result of the new condition of Learning of the Way philosophy in the thirteenth century. In a philosophical tradition in which the tradition text rather than the individual

text is the main unit of philosophical output, transmission is not simply a matter of mechanical reproduction and thus assuring the survival of texts, but rather requires the demonstration of a personal understanding and appropriation of the tradition's principal truth claims. CHEN Chun and ZHEN Dexiu pioneered new genres through which they demonstrated an innovative appropriation of the tradition text as revised by ZHU Xi.

In the lexicon of Neo-Confucian terms CHEN Chun appropriated and integrated the Learning of the Way tradition text through the personal articulation of the systematic relationships among the technical terms that lay dispersed in the exegetical writings and sayings of past masters. In the notebook ZHEN Dexiu reconfigured and expanded the revised tradition text through reading and encyclopedic note-taking thereby incorporating areas of literati and imperial activity that had hitherto not been systematically integrated in the transmission of the Learning of the Way. Similarly, in the compilation of new classics and the encyclopedic expansion of classical commentary he demonstrated how a hermeneutics of integration could extend the transmission of the Learning of the Way beyond the traditional single-classic commentary, into the broader textual tradition, and into administration as a principal area of literati interest.

Like Hume's and Rorty's essays, the genres promoted by Chen and Zhen also served a critical role in philosophical discourse more broadly. Wm. Theodore de Bary has noted that the *The Classic on the Heart/Mind* can be read as a Neo-Confucian answer to the Buddhist sutra of the same title (de Bary 1981: 67). Likewise, ZHEN Dexiu's reading notes were written during a time when others kept track of their readings and organized them according to different schemes. YE Shi 葉適 (1150–1223), for example, produced a voluminous notebook titled *Records and Observations on Practicing Learning* (*Xixue jiyan* 習學記言) in which he organized his notes according to the traditional bibliographical classification scheme of classics, histories, masters, and collected works. Ye's notebook covered a wider array of texts; its scheme also conveyed the message that the tradition text should be transmitted holistically and true to its historical development rather than through the selective lens of Learning of the Way moral theory. The transmission text genres promoted by CHEN Chun and ZHEN Dexiu were thus not inventions, but rather adaptations of existing genres for a new philosophical purpose and as rhetorical tools in its competition with other schools of thought.

Bibliography

Blair, Ann. 2004. "Note Taking as an Art of Transmission." *Critical Inquiry* 31: 85–107.

Chan, Wing-tsit. 1967. *Reflections on Things at Hand, the Neo-Confucian Anthology*, trans. by Wing-tsit Chan. New York: Columbia University Press. (The first anthology of Learning of the Way texts, *Jinsi lu*.)

Chan, Wing-tsit. 1986. *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained (The Pei-hsi tzu-i)*. New York: Columbia University Press. (A translation of CHEN Chun's lexicon of Neo-Confucian keywords.)

Chen, Chun 陳淳. 1983a (1220s). *CHEN Chun's Correct Meaning of Terms* 北溪字義. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Chen, Chun 陳淳. 1983b (ca.1220s). *CHEN Chun's Collected Writings* 北溪大全集. *Siku quanshu* edition. Taibei 臺北: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan 臺灣商務印書館.Hereafter SKQS.

Chen, Rongjie 陳榮捷 (Chan, Wing-tsit). 2007 (1982). *ZHU Xi's Disciples* 朱子門 人. Shanghai 上海: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe 華東師範大學出版社. (A biographical study of ZHU Xi's disciples.)

Chu, Ping-tzu. 1998. "Tradition Building and Cultural Competition in Southern Song China (1160–1220): The Way, the Learning, and the Texts." PhD dissertation. Harvard University.

Chu, Ron-Guey. 1988. "Chen Te-hsiu and *The Classic on Governance*: The Coming of Age of Neo-Confucian Statecraft." PhD dissertation. Columbia University. (A study and translation of ZHEN Dexiu's *Classic on Governance*.)

Dai, Jinbo 戴金波. 2008. "A Critical Review of Research on ZHEN Dexiu" 真德秀研究述評. *Hunan daxue xuebao* (*shehui kexue ban*) 湖南大學學報 (社会科學版) 22.1: 53–57. (An overview of Chinese scholarship on ZHEN Dexiu in recent decades, based on Zhu 2006.)

de Bary, Wm. Theodore. 1981. *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart*. New York: Columbia University Press. (Includes an extensive discussion of ZHEN Dexiu's oeuvre, placing it within the context of the moral education of imperial princes and emperors.)

de Bary, Wm. Theodore. 1993. "Chen Te-hsiu and Statecraft." In Robert P. Hymes and Conrad Schirokauer (eds.), *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

De Weerdt, Hilde. 2006. "The Encyclopedia as Textbook: Selling Private Chinese Encyclopedias in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." *Extrême-orient, Extrême-occident* 28: 77–102.

De Weerdt, Hilde. 2007. *Competition over Content: Negotiating Standards for the Civil Service Examinations in Imperial China (1127–1279)*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center. (Includes a brief discussion of selected works of CHEN Chun and ZHEN Dexiu in the context of civil service examination curricula.)

Deutsch, Eliot. 1988. "Knowledge and the Tradition Text in Indian Philosophy." In Eliot Deutsch and Gerald James Larson (eds.), *Interpreting across Boundaries: New Essays in Comparative Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (Proposes the tradition text as a basic unit of philosophizing in Indian and East Asian philosophy.)

Engstrom, Timothy. 1997. "Foundational Standards and Conversational Style: The Humean Essay as an Issue of Philosophical Genre." *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 30.2: 150–175.

Gao, Lingyin 高令印, and CHEN Qifang 陳其芳. 1986. *ZHU Xi-ism in Fujian* 福建朱子學. Fuzhou 福州: Fujian renmin chubanshe 福建人民出版社. (An overview of Learning of the Way philosophy in Fujian Province, the home province of both CHEN Chun and ZHEN Dexiu.)

Gardner, Daniel K. 1986. *Chu Hsi and the Ta-hsueh: Neo-Confucian Reflection on the Confucian Canon*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. (A study and translation of ZHU Xi's *The Great Learning in Chapters and Verses*.)

Gardner, Daniel K. 1990. *Learning to Be a Sage*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (A study and translation of ZHU Xi's discussions of reading in *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu*.)

Gardner, Daniel K. 1991. "Modes of Thinking and Modes of Discourse in the Sung: Some Thoughts on the *Yülu* ('Recorded Conversations') Texts." *Journal of Asian Studies* 50.3: 574–603. (A study of the implications of the use of recorded conversations in Learning of the Way exegesis.)

Gardner, Daniel K. 1998. "Confucian Commentary and Chinese Intellectual History." *Journal of Asian Studies* 57.2: 397–422.

He, Jun 何俊. 2004. *The Formation of Southern Song Confucianism* 南宋儒學建构. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe. (An overview of Confucian intellectual history during the Southern Song Dynasty (1127–1279).

Honma, Tsugihiko 本間次彦. 1993. "ZHU Xi Revived" 甦る朱熹. *Chugoku tetsugaku kenkyu* 中国哲学研究 5: 1–42.

Hou, Wailu 侯外廬, QIU Hansheng 邱漢生, et al. 1984. *A History of Song-Ming Neo-Confucianism* 宋明理學史. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe. (An overview of Neo-Confucian philosophy during the Song and Ming Dynasties [1368–1644].)

Ichiki, Tsuyuhiko 市来津由彦. 2002. *A Study of Group Formation among ZHU Xi's Disciples* 朱熹門人集團形成の研究. Tōkyō: Sōbunsha 創文社. (A study of the formation of ZHU Xi-ism among ZHU Xi's disciples.)

Ivanhoe, Philip J. 1988. "Reflections on the Chin-Ssu Lu." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108.2: 269–275.

Kaplan, Stephen. 1996. "Culture, Genre, and the Mandukya Karika: Philosophical Inconsistency, Historical Uncertainty, or Textual Discontinuity?" *Journal of Asian Philosophy* 6.2: 129–145.

Lang, Berel. 1988. "Plotting Philosophy: Between the Acts of Philosophical Genre." *Philosophy and Literature* 12.2: 190–210. (One of the key titles among Berel Lang's writings on the philosophical significance of genre.)

Lewis, Mark Edward. 1999. *Writing and Authority in Early China*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Li, Qingfu 李清馥. 1983 (eighteenth century). *An Examination of the Origins of Neo-Confucianism in Fujian* 閩中理學淵源考. SKQS.

Maedje, Stephan 2002. *Akademien, die Zhu-Schule und die Öffentlichkeit der südlichen Song-Zeit (1127–1279): eine Annäherung am Beispiel des Zhen Dexiu (1178–1235)*. Hamburg: Hamburger sinologische Gesellschaft. (Includes a discussion of ZHEN Dexiu's activity in academy building.)

Nylan, Michael. 2001. *The Five "Confucian" Classics*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Satō, Takanori 佐藤隆則. 1989. "CHEN Chun's Scholarship and Thought Prior to His Becoming ZHU Xi's Disciple" 陳淳の学問と思想–朱熹從學以前. *Daitō Bunka Daigaku Kangakkai shi* 大東文化大學漢學會誌 28: 44–64.

Satō, Takanori 佐藤隆則. 1990. "CHEN Chun's Scholarship and Thought during the Period When He Studied with ZHU Xi" 陳淳の学問と思想–朱熹從學期. *Daitō Bunka Daigaku Kangakkai shi* 大東文化大學漢學會誌 29: 138–152. (An intellectual biography of CHEN Chun.)

Tucker, John Allen 1983. "An Onto-Hermeneutic and Historico-Hermeneutic Analysis of Chu Hsi's Political Philosophy as Found in the *Chin ssu-lu*." *Chinese Culture* 24.4: 1–25.

Tillman, Hoyt Cleveland. 1992. *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. (Discusses the transformation of the Learning of the Way during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.)

XIANG, Hongquan 向鴻全. 2005. "ZHEN Dexiu and *The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning* "真德秀及其《大學衍義》之研究." PhD dissertation. Guoli Zhongyang daxue 國中央大學. (An extensive study of *The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning*.)

Zhang, Jiacai 張加才. 2004. *Annotation and Configuration: CHEN Chun and ZHU Xi-ism* 詮釋與建構 : 陳淳與朱子學. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe. (An extensive study and translation of CHEN Chun's *Correct Meaning of Terms*.)

Zhang, Shi 張栻. 1983 (1184). *The Writings of ZHANG Shi* 南軒集. SKQS.

Zhen, Dexiu 真德秀. Ca. 1259. Mr ZHEN Dexiu'*s Reading Notes* 西山先生真文忠公讀書記. National Library, Beijing.

Zhen, Dexiu 真德秀. 1983a (1229). *The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning* 大學衍義. SKQS.

Zhen, Dexiu 真德秀. 1983b (ca. 1242). *The Classic on the Heart/Mind* 心經. SKQS.

Zhen, Dexiu 真德秀. 1983c (ca. 1242). *The Classic on Government* 政經. SKQS.

Zhen, Dexiu 真德秀. 1983d (ca. 1250s). ZHEN Dexiu'*s Reading Notes* 西山讀書記. SKQS.
Zhu, Renqiu 朱人求. 2006. "A Critical Review of Research on ZHEN Dexiu's Thought" 真德秀思想研究述評. *Zhexue dongtai* 哲學動態 6: 28–31, 51. (An overview of Chinese scholarship on ZHEN Dexiu in recent decades.)
Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1986 (1270). *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* 朱子語類. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Lu Xiangshan's Ethical Philosophy

Philip J. Ivanhoe

Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139–1193), courtesy name Zijing 子靜, literary name Xiangshan 象山, was born in the town of Jinxi 金谿 in Jiangxi province.[1] He was the youngest of six brothers, two of whom, fourth brother Jiushao 九韶 (fl. twelfth century), courtesy name Zimei 子美, literary name Suoshan 梭山, and fifth brother Jiuling 九齡 (1132–1180), courtesy name Zishou 子壽, literary name Fuzhai 復齋, were impressive philosophers in their own right. As we shall discuss below, Jiuling was present at and participated in the extended discussion and exchange Jiuyuan had with Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) at Goose Lake Temple (*E hu si* 鵝湖寺) in 1175; Jiushao initiated an important and extended scholarly debate with Zhu over the interpretation of a number of metaphysical issues central to *daoxue* philosophy at the time.[2]

Lu Jiuyuan passed the highest civil service exam and obtained the presented scholar (*jinshi* 進士) degree in 1172.[3] He held a number of posts, the highest of which was magistrate of what is now *Jingmen xian* 荊門縣 in Hubei province. He distinguished himself as magistrate by strengthening local military defenses, cutting

---

This entry is a modified version of Phillip J. Ivanhoe's Introduction to *Readings from the Lu-Wang School of Neo-Confucianism* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2009). Reprinted by permission of Hackett Publishing Company, Inc. All rights reserved.

[1] For more detailed accounts of Lu's life and philosophy, Cady (1939), Huang (1944), and Chang (1958).

[2] For a study that describes the meeting at Goose Lake Temple, the later debate between Jiushao and Zhu Xi, and the relationship between Lu Jiuyuan and Zhu, see the relevant sections of Ching (2000).

[3] His examination essay was highly praised by Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137–1185) a friend of the great Zhu Xi and with him co-compiler of the *Jin si lu* 近思錄 "Record for Reflection." For an English translation of this work, see Chan (1963). Zuqian was responsible for suggesting and facilitating the meeting between Jiuyuan and Zhu Xi at Goose Lake Temple.

P.J. Ivanhoe (✉)
Professor of Philosophy, Department of Public and Social Administration, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, PRC
e-mail: pivanhoe@cityu.edu.hk

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*, Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_12,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

through and eliminating bureaucratic red tape, settling legal cases, and implementing more just and benevolent policies.[4] In all these endeavors, his administrative style was to encourage cooperation, treat others with humanity, and lead by example. Jiuyuan also served for four years as a member of the Imperial Academy (*guoxue* 國學), where he and his ideas attracted a wide and enthusiastic following.

Beginning in 1187, he withdrew from public office and spent approximately five years in his hometown in Jiangxi, devoting the majority of his time and energy to teaching. His students, by then numerous and devoted, built him a lecture hall on nearby Elephant Mountain (*Xiangshan* 象山). As his fame grew, Jiuyuan came to be associated with this place, eventually adopting the name The Elder of Elephant Mountain (*Xiangshan weng* 象山翁).[5] He died while serving as magistrate of Jingmen *xian*, succumbing to a life-long ailment, probably tuberculosis. According to his *Chronological Biography*, Lu faced his death with great calm and dignity. As he felt his time draw near, he announced to his family, "I am about to die." This led one among them to reply, "Why speak such inauspicious words? How are we to deal with this?" Seeking to comfort them and relieve their anxiety, Lu replied, "It (i.e. my death) is only natural."[6] His illness waxed and waned over the next few days. When his condition had improved, he met with a number of colleagues and talked with them about the principles of government. He then made sure that proper arrangements were in place for his funeral. After one more day, he passed away in silence.[7]

One of the deepest and most vivid impressions one gains from studying the life and works of Lu Jiuyuan concerns his style and effectiveness as a teacher. Both he and his writings attracted a broad and devoted following; we are told that in the course of his residence at Elephant Mountain, several thousand admirers came to study with him. His remarkable success as a teacher reflects the strength of his personal charisma, but it also stems from his idea that self-cultivation must focus on the intuitions and inclinations of each individual as these arise, develop, and take shape in the context of his or her actual life. Such an approach focused Jiuyuan's attention on developing teachings and a pedagogical style that offered students more of a therapy than a theory, and we can imagine that this played a significant role in the attractiveness and success of his message. The form of his written legacy expresses this central feature of his philosophy; unlike Zhu Xi, he

---

[4] Like Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1529), Jiuyuan was keenly interested and skilled in military matters. He was committed to the goal of regaining territory lost to earlier invasions by the Jin Tartars. His biography informs us that when the sixteen year old Jiuyuan read an account of the sacking of Kaifeng and the carrying off the imperial household, which occurred in 1126, he "cut off his fingernails and began to practice archery and horsemanship." See the entry for 1155 in Lu's *Chronological Biography* (*Nianpu* 年譜).

[5] As a result, he often is referred to by his literary name: Lu Xiangshan.

[6] See the entry for winter of 1193 in Lu's *Nianpu*.

[7] This account of Lu's passing is a good example of an important genre that emerged in Neo-Confucian biography describing the last moments of life. For a revealing study of this interesting phenomenon, see Peng (2010).

did not write substantial, thematic essays or careful and comprehensive commentaries on the classics. His writings were all in one way or another occasional or thematically-focused and most of what we know about his philosophy comes from recorded conversations between him and his disciples. This marked a break from what had become the norm among Neo-Confucians, but from a historical perspective it can and should be seen as a return to the origin of the Confucian tradition. Most of what we know of Kongzi's (Confucius) thought comes down to us in the sayings of the *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語).[8] This text consists of short comments, reports, and at times quite poignant dialogues between the master and various disciples as well as other interlocutors; it contains no sustained, systematic essays of any kind. The one apparent exception to this claim about Kongzi's legacy is the "Ten Wings" ("Shiyi" 十翼): a set of commentaries on the *Book of Change* traditionally ascribed to Kongzi.[9] However, a consideration of these commentaries shows that the generalization holds firm. For the "Ten Wings" contain no sustained or systematic expositions of any kind. They consist of terse, cryptic, and highly suggestive passages that offer sketches and suggestions, often cast in vivid and complex imagery and metaphor. This text too, which deeply influenced Jiuyuan as well as every other Neo-Confucian, offered a distinctive paradigm for philosophical writing.

Like most influential thinkers of his day, Lu's biography contains stories about his youth that reveal his remarkable abilities and presage his later accomplishments. For example, his biography tells us that when eight years old, "He heard someone reciting the sayings of Cheng Yichuan and asked, 'Why don't the teachings of Yichuan accord with those of Kongzi and Mengzi?"[10] This precocious remark offers a clear hint of Jiuyuan's future, radical break with the Cheng-Zhu School, and the establishment of what eventually would come to be known as the Lu-Wang School, also called Learning of the Heart/Mind (*xinxue* 心學).[11] Moreover, five years later, when thirteen years old, we are told that Jiuyuan had a dramatic insight into the nature of the universe and its relationship to the human heart/mind:

> While reading some ancient texts, he came to the word "universe" (*yuzhou* 宇宙)[12] and explained it by saying, "The four cardinal directions, together with up and down, is

[8] My claim here takes no stand on whether what we find in the *Analects* in fact reflects the views of the historical Kongzi. Clearly substantial parts of it do not. The point, though, is that thinkers like Jiuyuan took this text as an authority and model.

[9] This attribution, which no contemporary scholar accepts, did not go unchallenged in the Chinese tradition. In the early Song, Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) repeatedly argued that Kongzi could not possibly have written them.

[10] See the entry for 1147 in Lu's *Nianpu*. Cheng Yichuan 程伊川 (1033–1107) was the younger of the two famous Cheng brothers.

[11] Here and throughout I translate the Chinese word *xin* 心 as "heart/mind" to indicate that it was thought to contain faculties of cognition and emotion as well as intention or volition. In some contexts, one or the other of these various senses may dominate, but often all are present to some degree. The reader is advised to judge by context where the emphasis falls in a given case.

[12] The Chinese word is composed of two characters, meaning space (*yu*) and time (*zhou*).

> called space. The past to the present is called time." He then had a great and sudden insight, saying "The past and future are infinite! Human beings along with heaven, earth, and the myriad things all exist within the infinite!" He then took up his brush and wrote, "The affairs of the universe are my own affairs. My own affairs are the affairs of the universe". He further wrote, "The universe is my heart/mind. My heart/mind is the universe. Should a sage appear in the region of the Eastern Sea, he will have this same heart/mind; he will have this same principle. Should a sage appear in the region of the Western Sea, he will have this same heart/mind; he will have this same principle. Should a sage appear in the regions of the Southern or Northern Seas, he will have this same heart/mind; he will have this same principle".[13]

Even if we take these events to be greatly exaggerated or even wholly fabricated, they convey important information about the way people of his time thought about human nature and moral insight, as well as the genre of biography. One thing such stories reveal is a strong belief in the innate abilities of even extremely young children. This is in keeping with widely held Neo-Confucian assumptions concerning a shared endowment of principles constituting or being contained within the heart/mind. This feature of Neo-Confucian biography is philosophically interesting because it shows that metaphysical assumptions about the nature of the heart/mind made it possible and plausible to have ethical prodigies like Jiuyuan.[14] If such wisdom must be acquired and can only be gained through broad, concerted, and prolonged experience and reflection, it will seem wildly improbable that any young person could possess it to such a degree. Rosalind Hursthouse puts it well when she describes this latter kind of perspective, which is well represented by any form of Aristotelianism or early Confucianism: "There are youthful mathematical geniuses but rarely, if ever, youthful moral geniuses, and this shows us something significant about the sort of knowledge that moral knowledge is" (Hursthouse 1997: 224).

Philosophy

I shall focus on some of Lu's core philosophical doctrines and teachings in order to clear away some mistaken claims commonly made about his philosophy and to offer a sketch of its basic parts, structure, tenor, and aims. Although not a formally systematic thinker, in the sense of presenting a step-by-step, carefully coordinated scheme or method of philosophy, Lu's various teachings hang together and form a coherent, interrelated, and mutually supporting whole. And even though he does make direct and dramatic appeals to his own and his readers' intuitions, this aspect of his philosophy is hardly unique and often is significantly over-stated; his writings offer careful and at times quite persuasive textual, historical, and philosophical arguments. At the core of his thought lies a

---

[13] See the entry for 1152 in Lu's *Nianpu*. Essentially the same lines are found in Lu's "Assorted Sayings." See section three of the "Assorted Sayings" in Ivanhoe (2009).

[14] As I have argued in other work (Ivanhoe 2002), it also makes the sudden enlightenment experience or the "discovery model" of self-cultivation possible.

constellation of metaphors and images which he musters to invoke a range of related ideas that together compose his distinctive philosophical vision.

Almost every modern scholar who has written about Lu describes him as an "idealist" and, as we shall see, there is something correct and important about this claim, but without going on to explain what one means by idealism, such descriptions tend to be unhelpful if not misleading. Idealism can refer to a number of mutually exclusive philosophical views about the nature of the mind, the world, and the relationship between them; some versions of idealism are quite plausible while others involve metaphysical commitments that most contemporary philosophers regard as heroic and many take to be rash. In a number of cases in which modern interpreters have gone on to say at least a little about what they mean by idealism, it is clearly quite wrong. For example, it is not uncommon to find modern scholars claiming that Lu's idealism denies the existence of a mind-independent world.[15] This would make Lu an advocate of a form of panpsychism in which the world simply is the sum total of the thoughts of minds or some single, universal mind. Bishop Berkeley held something like this view, maintaining that what individual minds take to be the phenomenal or material world in fact exists merely as the object of contemplation in the divine mind of God. One might see a vague resemblance to Berkeley's view in some of Lu's claims about the heart/mind. Lu did believe that the *xin* embodies all the principles (*li* 理) that give structure, shape, and meaning to the phenomenal world. But such a claim does not in any way entail a denial of the mind-independent existence of the world, and Lu surely never doubted or questioned the existence of the material world. Lu saw a metaphysically seamless universe in which the principles of the heart/mind and those of the world corresponded to and perfectly cohered with one another. The heart/mind was the unique site where a full understanding of the world could take place; it is where all principles can come to consciousness and be known. This is the main point of his famous teaching that "The universe is my heart/mind. My heart/mind is the universe."[16] It is lines such as these that have led some to infer Jiuyuan thinks there is no world outside of the heart/mind. Such passages, however, must be read carefully and within the greater context of Lu's teachings; their meaning then becomes clear. Consider the following, "This principle fills up and extends throughout the universe! Not even heaven, earth, ghosts, or spirits can fail to follow this principle—how much less can human beings afford to do so!"[17] Another example, "The principles of the *dao* simply are right in front of your eyes. Even those who perceive the principles of the *dao* and dwell in the realm of the sages see only the principles of the *dao* that are right in front of your eyes."[18]

[15] For example, "Zhang Zai based his theories entirely on *qi*, whereas Zhu Xi's contemporary Lu Jiuyuan (1139–1193) asserted that *li* alone exists" (Schirokauer and Brown 2006: 161).

[16] See the entry for 1152 in Lu's *Nianpu*. Similar lines appear in his "Assorted Explanations." See Ivanhoe (2009).

[17] See "(Eighth) Letter to Wu Zisi" in Ivanhoe (2009).

[18] See section three of Lu's "Recorded Sayings" in Ivanhoe (2009).

Such passages cannot be read as implying a reduction of the universe to the principles of the heart/mind and point the way to a proper understanding of Lu's philosophy.

For Lu, coming to understand the world is not a process of taking it in or thinking about it through a set of categories but a process of tallying or matching up the principles inherent in the heart/mind with the various phenomena of the world.[19] Understanding always involves a subjective, introspective dimension: one discovers how things are by coming to see each truth *for oneself*. But "subjective" here does not imply any sense of an idiosyncratic interpretation; it refers only to the nature of the experience of understanding, the individual, subjective consciousness where understanding takes place. The heart/mind is "shared" by all human beings in the sense of being a common inheritance, and the principles it contains are the same throughout the universe and across time. One implication of such a view is that when my heart/mind is rightly ordered, it will track and reveal the very same truths that the greatest sages first discovered. Jiuyuan put this in a typically dramatic fashion, "If one understands the fundamental root or basis, the six classics are all one's footnotes!"[20] Because of our shared endowment of principles, Lu believed in a remarkably powerful ability to understand others—even people removed from one's experience by great expanses of space and time. The human heart/mind connects us in a profound and intimate way not only with each other but also with all things in the world:

> Tens of thousands of generations ago, sages appeared within this universe and had this same heart/mind and this same principle. Tens of thousands of generations to come, sages shall appear within this universe and will have this same heart/mind and this same principle. Anywhere within the four seas, wherever sages appear, they will have this same heart/mind and this same principle.[21]

We are capable of tremendous degrees of empathy, but only if we work assiduously to remove all the impediments that block this natural sympathetic interaction; the greatest, most tenacious and fundamental obstacle to overcome is an excessive concern with oneself. As noted above, the subjective dimension of understanding ensures that it always is in some sense personal, and this is particularly important when the knowledge being sought is ethical in nature. Thinkers like Lu insist that moral knowledge involves not only cognition but also emotion and volition. Comprehending a moral truth—grasping an ethical principle—consists of seeing, feeling, and being properly disposed to act in a certain fairly specific way.

Like many Neo-Confucians, Lu shared Hegel's drive to find a comprehensive unity underlying the diverse phenomena of the world: a unity that not only

---

[19] This view about what constitutes understanding is reflected in the modern Chinese word *lihui* 理會, "to comprehend," which literally means a "meeting" or "joining" of "principles."

[20] See section five of Lu's "Recorded Sayings" in Ivanhoe (2009).

[21] This section continues the passage quoted above from Lu's *Nianpu*. See also section five of Lu's "Assorted Explanations" in Ivanhoe (2009).

explains but justifies a universal scheme subsuming both the social and political order and the individual. Like Hegel, Lu sought for an account that brings all the parts together into a sensible, normative whole that hangs together, eliminates all sense of alienation between the self and the world, and reveals an identity between what we think and what there is. But whereas Hegel believed in a world-historical process, which still was coming into being, as noted earlier, Lu believed each person already has within all the principles of the universe. The way (*dao* 道) is complete and available within every human heart/mind. Perfect understanding is always at hand and involves the unfolding of an inherent endowment. This has a number of important and distinctive consequences. For one thing, it means that *enlightenment* is a live and ever-present possibility, something each individual can pursue. Since a kind of selfishness is the major impediment to the free functioning of one's innate moral endowment, in a number of senses moral failure is "self" *imposed*. We fail to understand, act, and be moral because we fail to understand, act out of, and realize our true nature; we impose a distorted and excessively self-centered understanding of ourselves upon ourselves and the world around us. We suffer from a complex, severe, and virulent form of self-deception. This cluster of beliefs helps us understand why Lu placed such great emphasis on starting and grounding the process of self-cultivation in *one's own* intuitions, responses, and inclinations. The sources of moral failure, as well as the only genuine access to moral knowledge, are to be found in each person's heart/mind; this must be the focus of one's ethical attention, effort, and activity. To look for moral knowledge "outside" of the heart/mind is fundamentally to misunderstand the nature of such knowledge and to perpetuate and deepen one's moral delusion.

This brief account of Lu's philosophy and ways in which it resembles and differs from important Western thinkers is aimed to provide a sketch of some of his most famous and influential claims. Even such a sketch should suffice to show how misleading it can be to apply terms from the Western philosophical tradition to a thinker like Lu uncritically. At the same time, when properly focused, qualified, and supplied with sufficient nuance, such comparisons and contrasts help us to understand several key features of Lu's philosophy and set the stage for a discussion of some of the most dramatic and important differences between his views and those of Zhu Xi.

Lu met Zhu Xi and explored differences between their respective philosophies on two separate occasions (Ching 2000: 132–151). During their first meeting, which occurred at Goose Lake Temple in the summer of 1175, he was joined by his brother Jiuling. Lu and Zhu also exchanged a number of long letters which subsequently were circulated among friends and other scholars. Jiuyuan's brother Jiushao began their most well-focused and sustained exchange of correspondence when he wrote to Zhu challenging his interpretation of the terms Ultimateless (*wuji* 無極) and Supreme Ultimate (*taiji* 太極). Jiuyuan took up and developed his brother's objections and responded to Zhu's attempts to defend his views in separate letters to Zhu. I will sketch the exchange of views that took place during the meeting between Lu Jiuyuan, Lu Jiuling, and Zhu Xi

at Goose Lake Temple and then relate some of the themes that emerged in this discussion to the disagreements about *wuji* and *taiji* that served as the focus of the letters exchanged between Lu Jiuyuan, Lu Jiushao, and Zhu Xi in the years 1188–1189.

Jiuyuan and Jiuling spent several pleasant days together with Zhu Xi and Lü Zuqian at Goose Lake Temple exchanging poems and engaging in discussions focused on the nature of the heart/mind and the implications their contrasting views have for the process of self-cultivation. Lu Jiuyuan expressed their core differences clearly and elegantly—though subtly and indirectly—in his poem, "Written at Goose Lake to Rhyme with my Brother's Verse," which he wrote for and recited in the opening round of this meeting:

> Old graves inspire grief, ancestral temples reverence.
> This is the human heart/mind, never effaced throughout the ages.
> Water flowing from a brook accumulates into a vast sea;[22]
> Fist-sized stones form into the towering peaks of Mount Tai and Hua.[23]
> Easy and simple spiritual practice, in the end, proves great and long lasting.[24]
> Fragmented and disconnected endeavors leave one drifting and bobbing aimlessly.[25]
> You want to know how to rise from the lower to the higher realms;[26]
> First you must—this very moment—distinguish true from false![27]

The Lu brothers' most fundamental objection concerned Zhu's teaching that the heart/mind exists in two forms: a pure heart/mind of the way (*daoxin* 道心) and an adulterated human heart/mind (*renxin* 人心). Zhu Xi argued that *daoxin* is an ideal state of mind, one that exists apart from and prior to the actual, existing things and affairs of the world, whereas *renxin* is the way this ideal gets manifested as the hearts and minds of people living in the world. According to Zhu Xi, the heart/mind of the way consists of pure principle (*li* 理) and so is completely good in every respect, whereas the human heart/mind is composed of vital energy (*qi* 氣) as well as *li* and so can never be purely good and often falls considerably short of the ideal.

The interfering influence of *qi* leads us to feel cut off from one another and the rest of the world and obscures the true nature of the principles that should

[22] Compare this and the following line to *Doctrine of the Mean* 26.9.

[23] Mount Tai (*Taishan* 泰山) is located in Shandong Province and Mount Hua (*Huashan* 華山) is located in Shaanxi Province. Along with Mount Heng (*Hengshan* 衡山) in Hunan Province, Mount Heng (*Hengshan* 恆山) in Hebai Province, and Mount Song (Songshan 嵩山) in Henan Province these are the Five Sacred Mountains, representing the East, West, South, North, and Center of China respectively.

[24] This line paraphrases section one of the "Great Commentary" to the *Book of Change*.

[25] "Fragmented and disconnected endeavors" alludes to the approach of scholars like Zhu Xi who advocated a more gradual method of self-cultivation in which one studies discrete lessons and builds up a comprehensive and synthetic grasp of the *dao*. This criticism became a major theme in Wang Yangming's teachings.

[26] Compare *Analects* 14.35 where Kongzi says, "I study what is below to comprehend what is above."

[27] For this and other examples of Lu's poetry, see the selections in Ivanhoe (2009).

guide us; it is the original and primary source of an excessive concern with and for oneself. Given that our original, pure natures remain mired in *qi*, no matter how hard or how long we work at self-cultivation, we never can fully escape the limitations of *renxin*. As a result, our ethical status remains in a "precarious" state, and we are "prone to error." These aspects of Zhu Xi's philosophy led him to view the human heart/mind with a significant level of distrust and look to the heart/mind of the *dao* as his absolute standard and guide. Those seeking to cultivate themselves are ill advised to follow or even look directly to their own heart/minds for ethical guidance. They are much better served by focusing their attention and efforts outside the self; they should study the classics and rely upon the beneficial effects of ritual practice, working from the outside in to educate, reshape, and refine the self. This describes Zhu Xi's primary path for self-cultivation or learning: pursuing inquiry and study (*dao wen xue* 道問學).[28] In contrast, Lu Jiuyuan and his brother advocated honoring the virtuous nature (*zun de xing* 尊德性) as the proper way to cultivate the self. On their view, the first and greatest imperatives in the task of self-cultivation are gaining awareness of and fully engaging the heart/mind, the font of ethical wisdom "never effaced throughout the ages." Only such "easy and simple spiritual practice in the end proves great and long lasting." This is because the only genuine source for gaining and sustaining true understanding is the heart/mind. If one directs one's attention at the source, the results will flow forth and inform all that one does. In stark and utter contrast, "fragmented and disconnected endeavors leave one drifting and bobbing aimlessly." If one follows Zhu Xi and looks for understanding "outside" the mind—in books, rituals, and the advice of others—one simply will accumulate discrete bits of information that lack any overall coherence or sense. Such knowledge does not have the power to orient and move one toward the way and in the end will only exhaust one's energy, resources, and spirit. Such an approach will yield neither deeper understanding nor proper action.

In a series of letters between Lu Jiuyuan, Lu Jiushao, and Zhu Xi, these themes reappear, in a different but recognizable form, in a debate about metaphysics. The starting point is Zhu Xi's claim that the terms *wuji* and *taiji* refer to two different aspects of the same thing, the highest and most comprehensive principle governing the *dao*. His account of *taiji* is less controversial and shares several features with that of the Lu brothers. All agree that the term, which has its *locus classicus* in the "Great Commentary" to the *Book of Change*, refers to the highest and most comprehensive principle governing the actual things and events of the world. Differences, however, arise in regard to the nature of this principle and its place in ontology. Zhu Xi takes *taiji* to be both the sum and organizing structure of all the principles of the world. At the same time, he thinks that there is something beyond or prior to *taiji* that serves as the

[28] For a more detailed discussion of Zhu Xi's method of self-cultivation see the chapter on Zhu Xi in Ivanhoe (2000). Compare the discussion of Wang's method of self-cultivation in the later chapter on Wang in the same work.

ultimate source and ground of *taiji*, a kind of esoteric predecessor to the more exoteric *taiji*. Borrowing from the writings of ZHOU Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073), Zhu called this *most* ultimate principle *wuji*.

Zhu argued for the importance of *wuji* on two interrelated grounds. First, he was concerned that people would mistakenly think of *taiji* as some sort of physical thing. Second, he thought such a conception would lead them to ignore the underlying unity *among* the different things of the world. Such concerns are not wholly unwarranted. Since *taiji* is the sum and organizing structure of all the principles of the world, *taiji* itself seems to exist in the realm of phenomena and risks being reified as a kind of thing in much the same way as "the world" lends itself to being seen as a kind of entity rather than the comprehensive aggregation of all the things in the world in relation to one another. Such a conception of the universe does seem to underemphasize if not efface a sense of its being a complex collection of discrete, interrelated elements, organized and given meaning by an underlying principle: *taiji*. In order to avoid these mistaken and inappropriate implications, Zhu argued that behind *taiji* was *wuji*, an inchoate yet pregnant and productive form of the Supreme Ultimate, in which all principles were present but not yet manifested. While not quite a noumenal *realm*, *wuji* does seem to represent a distinctive and imperceptible *state* of the world. It is helpful to notice that Zhu's distinction between *wuji* and *taiji* echoes and reflects his views about *daoxin* and *renxin*, discussed above. In both cases, the former stands as a pure, absolute form of and standard for the latter that exists above and prior to the actual phenomena of the world.

Jiushao and Jiuyuan rejected ZHU Xi's view for a number of interlocking reasons.[29] First, they argued on purely textual grounds that the term *wuji* lacked any precedent among the classics of Confucianism. Since the classics purportedly contained all the fundamental truths of Confucianism, this fact alone offered a strong *prima facie* reason for doubting the need for or importance of this concept. In addition, the Lu brothers raised further objections about the pedigree and value of this concept. Zhu borrowed the term *wuji* from ZHOU Dunyi's "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" ("Taiji tu shuo" 太極圖說), one of his relatively early works. Jiushao argued that Zhou either was not the author of this work or, if he was the author, it represented an early and unrefined stage of his philosophy. To support the first claim, he noted that a number of reputable scholars argued the "Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" can be traced to CHEN Xiyi 陳希夷 (906–989), an important thinker of the rival Daoist school who lived in the early part of the Song dynasty. Moreover, no one disputed the fact that the term *wuji* does find an earlier, classical Daoist precedent in chapter twenty-eight of the *Daode jing*. To support the second argument, Jiushao notes the term *wuji* does not appear anywhere in ZHOU Dunyi's later and more authoritative *Comprehending the* Book of Change (*Tongshu* 通書) and infers from this fact that even if he had used

[29] See the letters from Jiuyuan to ZHU Xi in Ivanhoe (2009).

the term in the earlier work, he repudiated it when he wrote his mature and definitive philosophy.

In addition to these textual and historical arguments, Jiuyuan argues that Zhu Xi's explanation of the need for the concept *wuji* is not philosophically compelling. He sees no great threat in the possibility of reifying *taiji* in the way that Zhu Xi feared and points out that none of the early sages expressed the slightest hint of any such concern. Contrary to what Zhu suggested, it is adding *wuji* on top of *taiji*, which Jiuyuan likens to stacking "a bed on top of one's bed,"[30] that poses the real risk. Such a theory can easily lead people to look away from the world of real things and actual affairs to search in the insubstantial and imaginary realm of what does not exist (*wu* 無) for the ultimate principle of the *dao*. This is to fall into the error of Daoists and Buddhists: becoming lost in the speculative heavens rather than working to order the more mundane yet pressing affairs of earth. There is simply no need for such abstract and potentially misleading speculation and no evidence that the early sages embraced this esoteric metaphysical doctrine. According to Lu Jiuyuan, the Supreme Ultimate is neither in the realm of what does not exist nor is it some reified thing; it is the ideal state of the world and can be found among and only among the things of the world, whenever they attain their harmonious and perfect state. The highest principle governing and ordering the world is not complex, hidden, or esoteric; it is "right in front of your eyes" in everyday things and events, etched upon and revealed through the workings of our heart/minds.

In both their conversations at Goose Lake Temple and later correspondence, one can see many of the distinguishing features of Jiuyuan's philosophy as well as his differences from Zhu Xi. In general terms, Jiuyuan thought Zhu Xi presented an excessively complex, highly speculative, and over-intellectualized account of the way, which threatened to lead people astray. From Lu's point of view, Zhu's teachings urge people to look outside the heart/mind for moral knowledge and to distrust their spontaneous intuitions and inclinations in favor of an established and codified moral standard, found in the classics and traditional norms and practices. In contrast and similar to many Chan Buddhists, Lu advocated more direct and immediate attention to the heart/mind, a way "not residing in words or letters."[31] Although one must be vigilant and on guard against the intrusion of self-centered thoughts, the greatest imperative was to look toward and trust in the heart/mind as one's true light and guide. The *dao* is found by heeding one's heart/mind as it leads one through the unique and ever-changing situations and events of daily life: there is no way apart from the unencumbered activity of the heart/mind.

---

[30] See the second letter from Jiuyuan to Zhu Xi in Ivanhoe (2009).

[31] This is one line of the famous four-line description of the Chan, traditionally attributed to Bodhidharma but actually composed some time in the Tang dynasty, "A separate teaching, outside the tradition; Not residing in words or letters. Directly pointing to the heart/mind; See one's nature and become a Buddha." For a discussion, see Dumoulin (1988: 85–86). For a discussion of Chan's influence on Neo-Confucianism, see (Ivanhoe 2009).

The concise message and telegraphic style—often relying upon evocative and enchanting poems, metaphors, and turns of phrase—seen in both his conversations and letters are characteristic of Lu Jiuyuan's philosophical writings. One can imagine that these aspects of his teachings both impressed, challenged, and frustrated colleagues such as Zhu Xi and perhaps some admirers as well—for Lu offers a set of gestures and a series of suggestions rather than clear directions or a full picture. He had a rare gift for opening up unexplored intellectual and spiritual horizons and inspiring others to follow him into new territory, but he never worked at carefully mapping, much less settling, the terrain he discovered. The vision he sketched is both coherent and powerful, but many details were yet to be filled in and many questions called out for answers. This work of filling in, extending, and greatly enriching Lu Jiuyuan's original insights waited for and was taken up by Wang Yangming. In the process, Wang transformed Lu's initial vision into his own distinctive philosophy.

Contemporary Relevance

If we take Lu Xiangshan's philosophical views as he stated and believed them, they present a distinctive and fascinating set of claims about the nature of the mind and the world, the foundations of ethics and aesthetics, and the proper course of moral self-cultivation. As I shall argue below, a number of Lu's views remain quite viable and offer important insights in fields such as ethics and aesthetics. On the other hand, his claims about the existence of an innate and fully formed moral mind require what earlier I described as "heroic" metaphysical beliefs. It is not that such beliefs are conceptually impossible, but they do not cohere well with the best science of our day and so many will regard them as eminently doubtable if not implausible. Of course faith can carry one across even a broad expanse of doubt, and if we view Lu's philosophy from such a perspective, it is not without power or appeal. Even if we set aside or reject his core metaphysical beliefs, coming to understand his view and how the world might look from such a perspective is not without value. Entering another, alien point of view requires the disciplined exercise of imagination and reason; employing and extending the range of these human abilities is good and can lead to genuine insights. In addition, it is possible to arrive at what John Rawls calls an "overlapping consensus" (Rawls 1993: 15) on important ethical issues based upon different and irreconcilable initial assumptions—metaphysical or otherwise.[32] For example, Lu's call for a more holistic view of our place in the universe, while based on underlying beliefs about shared "principle" which many of us do not share, can still inspire and contribute to defensible views about human value and human flourishing. We may not be one *in principle* but

[32] For a splendid application of this idea which argues for ways in which Buddhism can support and enhance our understanding of the nature of rights, see Taylor (1999: 124–144).

we most certainly are connected in complex, intricate, and often neglected ways with the other creatures and things of our world, and this insight should be part of any viable ethic. For the purposes of the present essay, however, I will assume that the heroic metaphysical aspects of Lu's philosophy do not offer us live options for constructive philosophy today; with this in mind, I will focus on other aspects of his thought.

Perhaps the first point to note is that it is not too far from Lu Xiangshan's views to more plausible forms of idealism. Whatever the world might be in itself, we only come to know what it is through human understanding, and no matter how much theory or how many devices we employ to detect and measure the world, the final word rests in a human perception of what it is like. The second part of this claim grants considerable ground to idealism, while the first insists on the importance of some form of realism. Our understanding of the world relies on the complex interplay between mind and world; whether or to what degree we are capable of understanding the latter depends in no small degree upon the former.[33] It is a massive conceit to think that the human mind just happened to evolve in a way that enables it to understand fully the universe of which it is a part; among other things, a fully naturalized account of the human mind will recognize that, while products of natural selection, things like the power to grasp the fundamental nature of matter played no role at all in our ability to adapt and survive in the course of our evolution. Anyone who believes the human mind does in fact possess the ability to gain an accurate and comprehensive understanding of the world will be expressing a kind of faith and one that embraces something quite close to Jiuyuan's claim that "The universe is my heart/mind. My heart/mind is the universe." We need not accept Lu's view in order to consider it, and considering it can help us understand and appreciate this important point about the mind and our understanding of the world. Things get even more interesting when we turn to aesthetics or ethics, for here the contributions of the human mind are more direct and substantial. When it comes to these aspects of human life, it makes considerable sense to think of the mind in terms of "heart/mind": a combination of cognition, emotion, and volition. It is worth noting that many individual movements within modern Western aesthetics or ethics are based on defending one or more of these three aspects of the heart/mind over the others.

Whatever else one might believe, it seems clear that human beings are not just detectors of the world, just as importantly, they are evaluators, embellishers, and actors. Our understanding of the world almost always involves some kind of evaluative response, one that not only colors our perception of the world but also leads us to color and decorate the world in various ways as well. Of course the role such responses play varies considerably across cases. At least on a very basic level, human beings share general evaluative responses to certain states of

[33] Hilary Putnam argues for something like this view, and his theory can be seen as a distinctive modern expression of idealism. Such a view underlies many of the essays in Putnam (1981, 1983: 1–25). Thanks to Michael R. Slater for suggesting that I note this similarity.

affairs in the world. These span the broad, complex, and subtle spectrum that constitutes more clearly aesthetic as well as ethical judgments. Following Lu and other Confucian thinkers, I will focus more on ethics but not before noting the importance of aesthetics; the two are connected.

It is profoundly misguided to dismiss our general concern with beauty as *mere* aesthetics. A general concern with the beautiful is inseparable from ethics because aesthetic responses are a fundamental part not only of human nature but also its flourishing. If we met someone who showed no interest in getting things right and no ability to develop and present valid or sound arguments, we would be inclined to assume he suffered from some deep deprivation, but we would not on this basis alone conclude that he was anything less than human. However, if we met someone who showed no interest in beauty, no aesthetic response to what he encountered, and no desire to create art and embellish the world around him, we would be more likely to infer that we are dealing with a different kind of creature. At the very least, we would worry much more about his humanity.[34]

The Confucian tradition and Chinese thought in general have been much more attentive to this deep connection between ethics and aesthetics. Sometimes this has led to dubious claims about an excessively tight fit and inviolable causal links between one of these abilities and the other, but their general view about the intimate relationship between aesthetics and ethics is largely correct. Literati like Lu Jiuyuan placed tremendous emphasis on arts like calligraphy, painting, and composition. They believed all such pursuits not only can help develop a more humane sensibility but also serve as vehicles to express the *dao* and move others to it. All of these claims are eminently defensible and wise. If morality is thought to include more than simply not acting wrongly or not harming others—and perhaps even on such minimalist definitions—it will require us to understand and appreciate what others value. If part of being good entails a desire and perhaps obligation to take reasonable steps to help others understand and act well, then developing skills that facilitate these ends—such as learning to write well or depict the profound value of nature for human life—can be seen not only as morally good but obligatory.

One can defend Lu's beliefs about the ethical value of various arts on at least two levels. On a high level of generality, simply exercising and disciplining one's natural capacities by learning any art, craft, or skill can contribute to the development of abilities that may readily serve ethical ends. On a more practical and specific level, and one that Lu and other Confucians would insist upon, the *content* of the arts one appreciates and practices plays a critical role as well.

[34] A good illustration of this point is parents of children with severe cognitive disabilities who take great hope, pride, and joy in their children when they respond to or create art, music, dance etc. This parental response is not just an expression of gratefulness that their children can participate in these activities; it is a celebration of their children's fundamental humanity. I owe this example to Erin M. Cline.

Some arts are "higher" or as they would say correct or in accord with the way; others are "lower," or in their parlance deviant and depart from the way.[35]

Most Confucians thought that the relationship between ethical good and aesthetic beauty was even stronger than this. None thought that "Beauty is truth, truth beauty"—truth *per se* was not their interest—instead, they believed, at least *more* plausibly, that being a good person contributed to and in fact was necessary for becoming a great calligrapher, writer, or painter or fully appreciating these forms of art.[36] As a consequence, they thought *implausibly* that a bad person could never be a great artist or fully appreciate fine art and that a truly discerning person could detect the bad character in only apparently good art. Such ideas are not unknown in the West; perhaps they represent nothing more than wishful thinking, but the appeal of such a perspective is so strong that Oscar Wilde felt compelled to argue against it. His view is summed up in the oft-quoted line, "The fact of a man being a poisoner is nothing against his prose."[37] The strongest reading of Wilde's claim, however, may overstate the disjunction between art and ethics. Surely an understanding of the human good can help one to become a better artist. It may also turn out that such knowledge is necessary to produce certain kinds of art, for example, art whose central themes involve fundamental human goods. If Lu and other thinkers such as Aristotle and Wang Yangming are right that genuine moral knowledge requires proper attitudes and dispositions, then even the greatest technician will fall short of the highest moral ideal. If an artist must genuinely and sincerely understand her subject in order to capture it, then there may be some truth to these aspects of the traditional Confucian view. Another common feature of aesthetic experience might offer further grounds for defending a version of the traditional Confucian view: knowing that a work of art was produced by an absolutely despicable person detracts from most people's appreciation of it. So under a certain conception of the ideal epistemic conditions for appreciating art, a version of the Confucian claim makes sense.[38] While some Confucians tend to make an error that many contemporary thinkers continue to make when they conflate skill with virtue, their ideas about how art relates to ethics still have much to teach us.

Turning to what are more decisively ethical issues, we begin by noting that no human being or culture regards being incapacitated, suffering, or death as

---

[35] Lu and later followers of the Lu-Wang School were much more open to non-classical expressions of art, literature, and philosophy than were their Cheng-Zhu School colleagues. In fact, these and other schools of later Confucian philosophy expressed a broad range of views on this general topic. For a study that focuses on such theories in regard to literature, see Ivanhoe (2007: 29–48).

[36] For the quotation, see John Keats, "Ode on a Grecian Urn" (1819).

[37] This line can be found in his essay "Pen, Pencil, and Poison—a Study in Green," (1889).

[38] To insist that aesthetics *must* be divorced from ethics expresses one reasonable but quite distinctive norm for a conception of aesthetic judgments. Such a view stipulates where to draw the line, but it in no way justifies that it be drawn here rather than where the Confucians want to draw it.

desirable states much less the proper ends of human life. Isolation from other human beings and living things as well as the constriction of space and constraints on one's ability to move about freely all are regarded as serious deprivations. None wishes such things upon another in the absence of very strong justifying reasons, which is why these are universally regarded as punishments and always risk shading into cruelty. If one thinks of these and other fundamental responses and attitudes as "principles" that all people share as the basic components of an ethical point of view, something very much like Lu's general approach gains considerable plausibility. Along with such plausibility is the possibility of shedding considerable light on how we might work to improve ourselves. Recall that Lu saw moral improvement as originating in a critical attentiveness to one's responses and reactions to the affairs of one's own life while working to eliminate an excessive concern with oneself. Rather than being focused on theoretical understanding, self-cultivation is primarily driven by a kind of reflective practice aimed at coming to see and appreciate the fundamental ethical goods that all human beings desire.[39] Part of what constitutes such understanding is the recognition that these things are not just objects of my desires but are by their nature *desirable* and part of most if not every good human life. In order to attain such a stance or perspective, one must cultivate an enhanced state of attentiveness to oneself and the world and ensure that one's appreciation of these goods is always felt as a shared—as opposed to *self*-centered—human concern. Such attentiveness and awareness are the keys and core of an ethical life. Lu has a great deal to say about how to cultivate such a view of oneself and one's relationship with rest of the world, and these aspects of his philosophy offer rich resources for contemporary thinkers.

While the above remarks are only a sketch of an adequate moral psychology and theory of self-cultivation, together with the earlier discussion of idealism and my comments about aesthetics, ethics, and their mutual relationship, this brief account shows that there are significant resources within Lu Xiangshan's philosophy for modern constructive philosophy. He and his views are most worthy of and command our respect, interest, and admiration.

Acknowledgements Thanks to Erin M. Cline, Eirik L. Harris, Eric L. Hutton, Paul Kjellberg, Michael R. Slater, David W. Tien, and Justin Tiwald for corrections, comments, and suggestions on earlier drafts of this essay.

[39] A modern account should rely upon a counterfactual account of what people would desire under reasonable conditions of information, experience, and reflection. These aspects of Lu's view were developed in a distinctive and powerful way by the Qing Confucian Dai Zhen 戴震 (1724–1777). For a splendid introduction to this aspect of Dai's philosophy, see Tiwald (2010).

Bibliography

Cady, Lyman V. 1939. *The Philosophy of Lu Hsiang-shan*. Taipei: Pacific Cultural Foundation. (A dated but still rich resource, containing both translations and analysis.)

Chan, Wing-tsit. 1963. *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (The most comprehensive source for translations of Chinese philosophical texts, with brief introductions.)

Chang, Carsun. 1958. *The Development of Neo-Confucian Thought*, vol. 1. New York: Bookman Associates. (A dated but still useful survey of Neo-Confucian philosophy.)

Ching, Julia. 2000. *The Religious Thought of Chu Hsi*. New York: Oxford University Press. (A revealing study which relates Zhu's thought to essential aspects of Lu Xiangshan's philosophy.)

Dumoulin, Heinrich. 1988. *Zen Buddhism: A History*, vol. 1, *India and China*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company. (A masterful study and one of the few works that show the relationship between Buddhism and Confucian philosophy.)

Fung, Yu-lan. 1953. *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 2, *The Period of Classical Learning*, translated by Derk Bodde. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. (A dated but still insightful and helpful survey.)

Huang, Siu-chi. 1944. *Lu Hsiang-shan: A Twelfth Century Chinese Idealist Philosopher*. New Haven, CN: American Oriental Society. (A dated but still important study, containing both translation and analysis.)

Hursthouse, Rosalind. 1997. "Virtue Theory and Abortion." In Roger Crisp and Michael Slote (eds.), *Virtue Ethics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ivanhoe, Philip J. 2000. *Confucian Moral Self Cultivation*, second edition. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company. (Explores the theme of self-cultivation across a broad range of Confucian philosophers.)

Ivanhoe, Philip J. 2002. *Ethics in the Confucian Tradition: The Thought of Mengzi and Wang Yangming*, Second Edition. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company. (Compares the thought of two highly influential Confucian thinkers and demonstrates the influence of Buddhism on Wang's thought.)

Ivanhoe, Philip J. 2007. "Literature and Ethics in the Chinese Confucian Tradition." In Brad Wilburn (ed.), *Moral Cultivation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Ivanhoe, Philip J. 2009. *Readings in the Lu-Wang School of Neo-Confucianism*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company. (Translations with accompanying introductions to selections from Lu's and Wang's writings. Begins with selections from and introduction to the *Platform Sutra*.)

Peng, Guoxiang. 2010. "Death as Ultimate Concern in the Neo-Confucian Tradition: Wang Yangming's Followers as an Example." In Amy Olberding and Philip J. Ivanhoe (eds.), *Mortality in Traditional Chinese Thought*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2010. (A groundbreaking study on this important yet neglected topic.)

Putnam, Hilary. 1981. *Reason, Truth and History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Putnam, Hilary. 1983. "Models and Reality." In *Realism and Reason, Philosophical Papers Volume 3*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rawls, John. 1993. *Political Liberalism*, New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press.

Schirokauer, Conrad, and Miranda Brown, eds. 2006. *A Brief History of Chinese Civilization*. South Melbourne, Victoria: Wadsworth.

Taylor, Charles. 1999. "Conditions of an Unforced Consensus on Human Rights." In Joanne R. Bauer and Daniel A. Bell (eds.), *The East Asian Challenge for Human Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tiwald, Justin. 2010. "Is Sympathy Naïve? Dai Zhen on the Use of *Shu* to Track Well-being." In Yu Kam Por, Julia Tao, and Philip J. Ivanhoe (eds.), *Taking Confucian Ethics Seriously:*

Contemporary Theories and Applications. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2009. (A sophisticated and revealing treatment of Dai Zhen's conception of sympathy.)

Xu, Jifang 徐紀芳. 1990. *A Study of the Disciples of Lu Xiangshan* 陸象山弟子妍究. Taibei 臺北: Wenjin chubanshe文津出版社.

Zhang, Liwen 張立文. 1992. *Following the Path of the Learning of the Heart/Mind: The Footprints of Lu Xiangshan* 走向心學之路: 陸象山. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Zhu, Xi. 1967. *Reflections on Things at Hand*, translated by Wing-tsit Chan. New York: Columbia University Press. (A valuable translation of this fascinating and influential work.)

"The Four Masters of Mingzhou": Transmission and Innovation among the Disciples of Lu Jiuyuan (Xiangshan)

Linda Walton

> *The learning of Guangping* 廣平 *[Shu Lin* 舒璘*] was [like] the spring wind, harmonious and balanced. It originated with Nanxian [Zhang Shi] and began to prosper with Xiangshan [Lu Jiuyuan]. Jinhua [Lü Zuqian] and Wuyi [Zhu Xi] wrote commentaries on it. The learning of Dingchuan* 定川 *[Shen Huan* 沈煥*] was [like] the autumn mist, reverently accomplished, gazing outward. Cihu* 慈湖 *[Yang Jian* 楊簡*] was [like] the moon rising amid the clouds, gazing outward. Jiezhai* 絜齋 *[Yuan Xie* 袁燮*] was [like] the luster and clarity of jade, returning to the source. They all followed the Lu brothers.*
>
> (Shu 1966: *fulu*, xia, 29a)

With these poetic words, the Southern Song patriot Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 described the Four Masters of Mingzhou 明州 (modern Ningbo 寧波), known as the most important followers of Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139–1193). The rubric "Four Masters of Mingzhou" identified these four thinkers—Lu's major disciple, Yang Jian (1141–1226), and Yang's fellow Mingzhou natives, Yuan Xie (1144–1224), Shu Lin (1136–1199), and Shen Huan (1139–1191)[1]—both by intellectual genealogy as transmitters of Lu Jiuyuan's thought and by their shared geographical origins.[2] For the purposes of this paper, I leave aside the

[1] For a guide to biographical sources on the Four Masters, see Chang (1974–1976: 4:3142–3144; 3:1859–1860; 4:3058–3059; 2:681–682). For brief biographies of Yang Jian and Shu Lin by Wing-tsit Chan, see Franke (1976: 1218–1222; 880–881).

[2] Tsuchida cautions against over-interpreting the connection between region and thought (Tsuchida 1996: 436–437), but it is worth noting the distinction between judgments that historical actors themselves made in identifying thinkers by region and modern attempts to understand what that categorization meant. For an example of this kind of inquiry, see Walton (2003).

L. Walton (✉)
Professor of History, Portland State University, USA
e-mail: waltonl@pdx.edu

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*,
Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_13,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

interesting questions posed by the interweaving of genealogical and geographical narratives of intellectual history in the Song and focus instead on the reception and transmission of Lu's ideas, showing how his doctrine of the heart/mind (*xin* 心) was interpreted and adapted by the Four Masters. In addition to documenting their roles as Lu's primary disciples, and therefore their importance in the development of Neo-Confucianism in the Southern Song, the meaning of their collective identity as the Four Masters will also be considered. This study is based largely on the writings of YANG Jian and YUAN Xie, with significantly less attention devoted to SHEN Huan and SHU Lin, in part due to the relatively limited sources available for them.

The Four Masters: Local Ties, Intellectual Background, and Political Careers

Hailing from different counties within the prefecture, the Four Masters' local ties as residents of Mingzhou were first recognized when they were students together at the Imperial University around 1165.[3] These ties deepened when they became followers of LU Jiuling 陸九齡 (1132–1180), LU Jiuyuan's elder brother, who was an official at the Imperial University. SHU Lin, together with his brothers, had received instruction from LU Jiuyuan while they were students in the capital. YUAN Xie also studied with LU Jiuyuan when he was a student there, and SHEN Huan remained a disciple of LU Jiuling. SHEN Huan's father had been a student of the Cheng brothers, and his younger brother, Bing 炳, was a disciple of LU Jiuyuan.

Both YANG Jian and SHEN Huan took their *jinshi* degrees in 1169, SHU Lin, in 1172, and YUAN Xie, in 1181. In the same year, near the close of his political career, the powerful chief councilor and Mingzhou native, SHI Hao 史浩 (1106–1194), recommended fifteen men for office, including YANG Jian and YUAN Xie.[4] SHI Hao subsequently retired to his home in Yin county and became a patron of scholars there. He built a study on Bamboo Islet in West (or Moon) Lake in the southwestern part of the city, where LÜ Zujian 呂祖儉 (LÜ Zuqian's younger brother and Granary Intendant of Ming in 1182), SHEN Huan, and his brother Bing gathered. SHEN Huan and his brother lived on the island, while Lü went back and forth from his official duties (Shen 1966: *fulu* 2.23b–25a). During this time YANG Jian lectured for SHI Hao on Jade Islet in West Lake, and YUAN Xie taught at LOU Yue's 樓鑰 family school at the Lou residence in the city. Only SHU Lin was away in office (Huang et al. 1966: 51.952). SHU Lin had earlier (ca.1175) gone to hear both ZHU Xi and LÜ Zuqian lecture when they were in Wuyuan county (Huizhou). SHEN Huan had exchanged letters with ZHU Xi and had studied together with the Lü brothers in Jinhua around the same time (ca.1177). Thus all Four Masters had come under the influence of ZHU Xi and

[3] Yang was from Cixi 慈溪; Yuan, from the metropolitan county, Yin 鄞; Shu, from inland Fenghua 奉化; and Shen, from Dinghai 定海 on the coast.

[4] For background on SHI Hao and the Shi family in Mingzhou, see Davis (1986).

Lü Zuqian, as well as that of Lu Jiuyuan and his brother. Three of them—Yang Jian, Yuan Xie, and Shen Huan—were patronized by the politically prominent Shi family. In addition to shared native place, political patronage, and intellectual influences, the Four Masters were also connected by affinal ties.[5]

In contrast to these common experiences, the political careers of the Four Masters varied greatly, although all of them held educational posts of one sort or another, either in the capital or in local government. Shen Huan took second place in the 1169 *jinshi* examinations, ranking ahead of Yang Jian, and he was named to a position at the Imperial University in 1181. This appointment was his only central government post, and the remainder of his official career was spent in local positions or at home in Yin under Shi Hao's patronage. He died in 1191 at the relatively young age of 53. Throughout his entire career, Shu Lin held only local government posts, and died in 1199 at the age of 64. In 1194 Yang Jian was appointed to the position of Erudite in the Directorate of Education (*guoxue boshi* 國子博士), and in 1195 Yuan Xie took up a post at the Imperial University. Both were blacklisted in the 1195 False Learning (*wei xue* 偽學) prohibition because of their support of Zhao Ruyu 趙汝愚 (1140–1196) and forced out of office. In 1208 Yang Jian returned to hold office in the central government, and in the same year Yuan Xie also was appointed to a central government post. Over the next few years both held a variety of offices, including several in the Bureau of Historiography. Yang Jian's last major official appointment came in 1213, but he was awarded numerous titles in various academic agencies over the remaining years until his death in 1226 at the age of 86. Yuan Xie reached the highest position in the educational bureaucracy when he was named Chancellor of the Directorate of Education (*guozi jijiu* 國子祭酒) in 1215. Like Yang Jian, who had requested appointment outside the capital in 1210 and been made prefect of Wenzhou, Yuan, too, was named prefect of Wenzhou in 1220 before retiring home, where he died in 1224 at the age of 81. Longevity surely played a role in Yang Jian's and Yuan Xie's official achievements as well as in their productivity as thinkers—at least measured in terms of their writings—especially in comparison with the other two of the Four Masters, Shu Lin and Shen Huan.

In order to gain a sense of how the Four Masters interacted with each other and to assess the nature of their personal and intellectual relationships, we can examine their extant writings for evidence of communications among them as well as writings about each other, including letters and funerary inscriptions. There are no letters from Yang Jian to any of the other Four Masters, but there are letters extant from the others to him as well as letters that were written among the other three. Yang Jian wrote funerary inscriptions for Yuan Xie and Shu Lin, and Yuan Xie wrote the "record of conduct" (*xing zhuang* 行狀) for

[5] Sons of Shu Lin were married to daughters of Yang Jian and Shen Huan; and another son of Shu Lin was married to a woman of the yuan surname, likely related to Yuan Xie (Walton 1978: 144).

SHEN Huan. In his funerary inscription for SHU Lin, YANG Jian calls him "friend" (Yang 1966: *bubian*, 3b).[6] As appropriate for a eulogy, Yang praised SHU Lin's scholarly qualities, and he compared himself and SHU Lin to the late Tang literary lights HAN Yu and LIU Zongyuan, saying that just as HAN Yu "knew the depths of LIU Zongyuan," so he, too, knew those of SHU Lin (Shu 1966: *fulu, zhong*, 3b). Both YUAN Xie and YANG Jian wrote sacrificial prayers for SHU Lin. YUAN Xie referred to him as "elder brother," and YANG Jian called him "friend" as he had in his funerary inscription (Shu 1966: *fulu, xia*, 25b–26b). In this piece YANG Jian compared SHU Lin to Confucius' disciple, Zengzi. At the close of his funerary inscription for YUAN Xie, YANG Jian says that he and Yuan were "fellow lecturers," but claims that he could not measure up to Yang (Yang 1966: *bubian*, 9a). Finally, YUAN Xie wrote the "record of conduct" for SHEN Huan, and edited his "words and actions" (*yan xing* 言行) (Yuan 1966: *xia*, 1a–8a). YANG Jian wrote a brief sacrificial prayer for him, as did both SHI Hao (who had been SHEN Huan's patron at home in Mingzhou) and ZHU Xi (Shen 1966: *fulu* 2.17b–20a). Glimpsed in these elegiac or biographical writings, the social bonds that connected Yang, Yuan, Shen, and Shu—along with shared intellectual influences—contributed to their representation as the Four Masters and provide important context for understanding their role as the major disciples of LU Jiuyuan.

YANG Jian, YUAN Xie, and the Subitist Strain of Neo-Confucian Philosophy

In addition to their study with LU Jiuling at the Imperial University, all of the Four Masters except SHEN Huan had some contact with LU Jiuyuan and thus came under his direct influence. For Yang and Yuan this influence was manifested in an immediate and powerful experiential form. YANG Jian's father, YANG Tingxian 楊庭顯, had been a friend of LU Jiuyuan, and Lu, who rarely agreed to write epitaphs, wrote one for him (Lu 1980: 28.325–328; Ishida 1981: 426). In it, Lu described an awakening experienced by YANG Tingxian (Lu 1980: 28.326). YANG Jian later recounted his own awakening while a student at the Imperial University, an awakening inspired by recollection of his father:

> When I was 28 years of age, I resided in the Imperial University's Xunli Hall. In the seventh month, when evening fell my companions lit the lanterns. I sat on the bed and remembered my late father's admonition to reflect frequently. I thereupon reflected, and suddenly realized (*jue* 覺) emptiness, without inner or outer, without division. Heaven, earth, and man, the myriad things, transformations, and affairs, the obscure and the clear, existence and non-existence, were all penetrated as one. (Yang 1966: *xuji*, 1.1a)

[6] In tandem with recent interest in "soft" social ties or "sociability" in Japanese scholarship on the Song, OKA Motoshi (2003) has analyzed the meaning of "friend" among the Wenzhou elite.

There was thus already a family predisposition for this kind of mental awakening prior to YANG Jian's famous encounter with LU Jiuyuan in 1172 while in his first official post as registrar of Fuyang county (near Hangzhou):

> He had reflected and perceived that the myriad things of heaven and earth are all one body. There is nothing outside one's own heart/mind. LU Xiangshan [Jiuyuan] came to Fuyang, and at night there was an assembly in the Double Clarity Pavilion. Xiangshan repeatedly brought up the term "the original heart/mind" (*benxin* 本心). The master [YANG Jian] asked what was meant by the original heart/mind? Xiangshan answered: "You have recently been considering the fan [vendor] dispute. In resolving that dispute, there must be one who is right and one who is wrong. If you can see who is telling the truth and who isn't, then you can decide which is right and which is wrong. What is not the original heart/mind?" The master listened to him and suddenly apprehended this heart/mind, clearly and purely. Finally he asked, "Is it only like this?" Xiangshan shouted in response, "What more is there?" The master withdrew and sat with his arms folded until daylight. Then he paid his respects and was called disciple. After that, he spent the night in the mountains amid the branchless trees, critically scrutinizing texts. With the sun about to rise, at the point of dawn, suddenly as if there were something thrown off, this heart/mind thereupon was clear. (Huang et al. 1966: 74.1397)[7]

In 1174, 2 years after his meeting with LU Jiuyuan in Fuyang, when he was arranging his mother's burial, his emotional state of grief over his mother's death brought about a deepening of his realization of the interconnectedness of everything and the manifestation of this unity in the experiences of daily life (Huang et al. 1966: 74.1397).

YANG Jian was not alone in experiencing these awakenings. YUAN Xie's biography in the chapter in *Song-Yuan Case Studies* (*Song-Yuan xue'an* 宋元學案) devoted to him and his followers similarly relates his awakening under the influence of LU Jiuyuan:

> When he met Xiangshan in the capital, Xiangshan's explanation of the original heart/mind was clear and penetrating. So [Yuan] served him as a teacher.... He sat for an entire day, and suddenly had a great awakening (*wu* 悟). Because of this, he wrote a letter saying: "Using the heart/mind, seek the way.... The way does not lie outside [this]." (Huang et al. 1966: 76.1429)

Thus both YANG Jian and YUAN Xie were said to have had "awakenings," described by the terms *jue* 覺 or *wu* 悟, also used for Buddhist enlightenment. The accounts of these experiences were used to disparage their ideas (particularly YANG Jian's thought) in later times as tainted with Chan. For example, in the *Song-Yuan Case Studies*, HUANG Baijia 黃百家 (HUANG Zongxi's son; b.1643) asserted that "following YANG Jian, most of the [Lu] school went into Chan and regarded not reading books as learning" (Huang et al. 1966: 87.1647).

Among contemporaries of Yang and Yuan, CHEN Chun 陳淳 (1159–1223), the author of the *CHEN Chun's Correct Meaning of Terms* (*Beixi ziyi* 北溪字義), attacked both Yang and Yuan on these grounds. According to Wing-tsit Chan,

[7] This episode is also recounted in YANG Jian's elegy for LU Xiangshan (Yang 1966: 4.4a; Xu 1990: 114–115). See also Tillman (1992: 245–246).

this attack was based more on what Chen observed among Lu's followers in Chen's native place, Yanling, than because of what either Yang or Yuan actually did or said (Chan 1986: 27–31). CHEN Chun is quoted in the chapter on YANG Jian in *Song-Yuan Case Studies* as criticizing both Yang and Yuan:

> In a letter to CHEN Shifu, CHEN Beixi [Chun] wrote: "The school of LU Xiangshan has prospered in Zhe[jiang] in recent years. The most outstanding of these disciples are Yang and Yuan. They do not read books and they do not exhaust [the study of] principle [as they should]. They specialize in the technique of sitting in a Buddhist meditation posture (*dazuo* 打坐) and consider the experience of awakening through seeking the movements of form and body as marvelous and esoteric (*miaojue* 妙訣). They appropriate the words of the sages to accommodate Buddhist meanings, and use literary means to conceal what they have done." (Huang et al. 1966: 74.1404)

We get quite another perspective from a later contemporary of CHEN Chun who was also associated primarily with the Cheng-Zhu school. ZHEN Dexiu 真德秀 (1178–1235) wrote two colophons concerning YANG Jian: one on YANG Jian's record of conduct written by his disciple, QIAN Shi 錢時; and one on Yang's "instructions" (*xunyu* 訓語). In the latter piece, Zhen vigorously defended Yang's teachings on the heart/mind, distinguishing them carefully from Chan Buddhism:

> When he spoke of the way, he considered the original heart/mind as orthodox. When he spoke of virtue, he considered the upright heart/mind (*zhengxin* 正心) as central. Thus what he discussed was completely balanced and true, unlike those who talk about emptiness and the mysterious (*miao* 妙)…. Among the things he said was: "In order to complete the self, there is nothing better than revering books." (Yang 1966: 18.29a)

Zhen also composed YUAN Xie's record of conduct (Yuan 1966: *fulu* 1.1a–26a). Even though such compositions are formulaic and heavily focused on official careers, the very fact that ZHEN Dexiu was asked to write this—and that he did it—highlights his positive view of YUAN Xie.[8] Despite condemnation by their contemporary, CHEN Chun, writings by ZHEN Dexiu on Yang and Yuan provide evidence that they were viewed by others identified primarily with the school of ZHU Xi as sharing a common intellectual bond with them.[9]

There is also plentiful evidence that Yang and Yuan considered reading and study essential. In response to a letter from SHU Lin's eldest son, Xing 鈃, Yuan encouraged Xing and his brother Xian 銑 in their studies:

> Shunzhong [Xian] has recently been studying without stop, hasn't he? One cannot be dilatory about such things [since] investigating the heart/mind lies in this…. As for books, which of them can be neglected? In this Hezhong [Xing] takes the lead and directs his younger brother to follow. Your virtuous elder brother day and night works hard at his studies, and the benefits daily increase. It is in this, therefore, that the elder

[8] Zhen is also known for authorship of the *Classic on the Heart/Mind* (*Xinjing* 心經). For background on this, and the concept of heart/mind in the Cheng-Zhu tradition, see de Bary (1981 and 1989); see also Hilde De Weerdt's essay in this volume.

[9] There are also letters from ZHU Xi to SHEN Huan (Shen 1966: *fulu* 1.1a–2b); and a prayer written at SHEN Huan's death by ZHU Xi (Shen 1966: *fulu* 2.18a–b).

> and younger brothers are companions [*pengyou* 朋友]. How excellent!..It is appropriate to have daily lessons in one classic and one history to become an even more excellent scholar. Merely to aspire to the high and distant without examining antiquity and the present is the greatest of harmful things. (Yuan 1966: *shang*, 6a–7a)

Fellow Mingzhou natives, WANG Yinglin 王應麟 (1223–1296) and QUAN Zuwang 全祖望 (1705–1755), each wrote colophons on this letter. Wang's colophon praises YUAN Xie's view of learning, and says that, although he was a follower of LU Jiuyuan, he had not become "slanted" in his views but instead reflected ZHU Xi's idea of rooting the cultivation of moral nature in questioning and learning (Yuan 1966: *shang*, 7a–7b). Quan's colophon on this letter notes that YUAN Xie was cautioning against a tendency of followers of LU Jiuyuan when he urged them not to "aspire to the high and distant without examining antiquity and the present"—in other words to ground their thinking in the study of the classics and history, not just the innate heart/mind. Quan claimed that Yang and Yuan distinguished themselves in this way from Lu's other main disciples, and according to Quan, in his own time both pieces (Yuan's letter and Wang's colophon) were respected by the young (Yuan 1966: *shang*, 8b–9b). From the perspective of these two local scholars, writing some 500 years apart, Yang and Yuan–as the two principal members of the Four Masters—transmitted the ideas of their teacher in a balanced way that also reflected their own commitment to learning and study as well as to the concept of the heart/mind.[10]

Despite the measured assessment of such an authority as Quan, prevalent orthodox views of YANG Jian were reflected in the eighteenth-century *Simplified Annotated Catalogue of the Complete Collection of the Four Treasuries* (*Siku quanshu jianming mulu* 四庫全書簡明目錄), which neatly summed up YANG Jian's thought in its reference to his collected works: "The learning of LU Jiuyuan came near to Chan, but was not Chan; the one who brought it completely into Chan was [YANG] Jian" (Yong et al. 1985: 673). Echoing these evaluations in the twentieth century, SHIMADA Kenji (1966) traced the negative views of YANG Jian as a transmitter of LU Jiuyuan's thought, generally affirming the judgment that Yang's ideas were an extreme version of Lu's that did in fact verge on a kind of Buddhist-Daoist monism in which understanding was achieved through a Chan-like experience of sudden enlightenment. Subsequently, some modern scholars have attempted to untangle the varied representations of YANG Jian's ideas, both in his own time and later (Ushio 1975; Ishida 1981). Fortunately a substantial body of the writings of both Yang and Yuan is extant for us to try to understand them as directly as possible within the context of their times, both as transmitters of LU Jiuyuan's ideas and as innovative thinkers in their own right.

---

[10] Admittedly, Wang and Quan had their own axes to grind: Wang, to reconcile Zhu and Lu; and Quan, to promote a lineage of regional scholarship. But their views still matter as expressions of Yang's and Yuan's reputations in the late thirteenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The Thought of Yang Jian

Unlike his teacher, who equated the heart/mind with principle (*li* 理), for Yang, the heart/mind alone was the ultimate, originary source of knowledge, ethics, virtue, and morality. Two essays in his collected works provide a summary of his core ideas: "The Self and [the *Book of*] *Changes"* ("Ji *Yi*" 己易) (Yang 1966: 7.1a–13b) and "A Record of the Four Abstentions" ("Jue si ji" 絕四記) (Yang 1966: 2.8a–11b).[11] He also wrote a 20-*juan* commentary on the *Book of Changes*, which stressed the unity of the heart/mind threaded throughout, in contrast to the commentaries of Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi, both of whom interpreted this text in terms of "normative principle" (*yili* 義理) (Ushio 1975: 34).[12]

"The Self and *Changes*" begins: "The process of change is the self and none other. It cannot be regarded simply as a book and not as the self. Nor can it be regarded as the transformations of heaven-and-earth and not of the self. Heaven-and-earth is my own heaven-and-earth, and its transformations are my own transformations" (Yang 1966: 7.1a; Fung 1983: II:581). Yang explicates this idea by relating it concretely to the physical body:

> If one does not consider heaven-and-earth, the myriad things, transformations, and patterns (*li* 理) as the self, but instead takes the ears, eyes, nose, mouth, and four appendages as the self, then this breaks up the completeness of my body and slices up into pieces what makes it whole [the skin covering it]. This is to be fettered by blood and breath such that one is inherently selfish and small. It is not that my body stops at [a measure of] six feet and that is the self. Seated in a well and observing heaven, not knowing how large heaven is, [is like] being fixed on blood and breath and observing the self, not knowing the expansiveness of the self (Yang 1966: 7.4a).
>
> Eyes can see, but what is it that makes sight possible? Ears can hear, but what is it that makes hearing possible? The mouth can eat, but what is it that makes [the process of] eating possible? The nose can smell, but what is it that makes smell possible? Hands can grasp, bend, and stretch, but what is it that makes grasping, bending, and stretching possible? Feet can walk, but what is it that makes walking possible? Blood and breath can circulate, but what is it that makes circulation possible? The mind can think and deliberate, but what is it that makes thought and deliberation possible?
>
> Eyes are visible, but sight is invisible. Ears are visible, but hearing is invisible. The mouth is visible, but [the process of] eating is invisible. The nose is visible, but [the sense of] smell is invisible. Hands and feet are visible, but [what causes] their grasping and walking is invisible. Blood and breath are visible, but what causes them to circulate is invisible. The brain is visible, but what makes possible thought and deliberation is invisible. (Yang 1966: 7.5b–6a; Chang 1957: 339)

He continues the rhetorical device of repetition to shift from the human body to the unity of all aspects of human life and the universe through the invisible concept of the heart/mind:

---

[11] These are also the writings selected by the editors of the *Song-Yuan Case Studies* as representative of Yang's thought.

[12] See also Smith (1990) for extended discussion of the role of the *Book of Change* in Song thought. Chapters 5 and 6 deal specifically with Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi.

> [This principle of invisibility is the same whether in] day or night, sleeping or waking, living or dead, heaven or earth, sun or moon, the four seasons, ghosts and spirits, going or stopping, antiquity or today, before or after, this or that, the myriad or the single, the sages or the common people. (Yang 1966: 7.6b)

Yang's argument then takes on a distinctly Daoist flavor, with overtones reminiscent of the *Daode jing* in apparently rejecting rational, intellectual understanding of the invisible concept of the heart/mind, and particularly in critiquing naming as a process that creates false distinctions and interferes with the unity of the heart/mind and the universe:

> It is inherently possessed (*zi you* 自有), but not inherently apprehended (*zi cha* 自察). It is expressed in the entire physical self but without knowing its way. Sageliness does not add to it, and stupidity does not detract from it. It is inherently clear [but also] inherently obscured. . . . It is when clarity is obscured that names are created. If there is no obscurity, then clarity itself will not be named. Obscurity and clarity are named by humans, not by heaven. Heaven is the same as the way, the *qian* hexagram, the *Changes*, and humans. Heaven and humans are also just names [for the same thing]. (Yang 1966: 7.6b)

Yang, however, also directly criticized Zhuangzi in a passage discussing Confucius in relation to the *Changes*:

> ZHUANG Zhou drowned in the learning of emptiness – this is not the great way of the sages! Confucius said: "The *Changes* is the utmost!" Now the *Changes* is the means by which the sages elevated morality and spread their teachings. These are the words of Confucius. The sages are just the *Changes*, and morality and teachings are just the *Changes*. . . . Those who are skilled at studying the *Changes* entirely seek the self and do not seek books. The sages of antiquity created the *Changes* in order to explain the heart/mind. They did not entirely seek the self through books. Doing so would not make it clear as the sages of antiquity meant. . . . If the sages of antiquity pointed east, the scholars would seek west. Those who read books fill the world, [but] those who reflect on themselves are one in a thousand or ten thousand. (Yang 1966: 7a–8a)

On the surface, at least, in this passage Yang seems to reject the value and purpose of reading books. Perhaps his focus on the *Book of Changes*—including his extensive commentary—is related to the very nature of this particular text as an explication of cosmic symbols, in contrast to others based on ideas represented only by words.

He turns then to Mencius, whose concept of the original heart/mind (*benxin* 本心) provided the *locus classicus* for Yang's:

> What Mencius studied was called humaneness (*ren* 仁). It is the human heart/mind (*ren xin* 人心). He furthermore said: "All humans have an empathetic heart/mind and a heart/mind that [knows] shame and dislike. . . . [Even] today if people see a child about to fall into a well, they will all experience feelings of alarm and distress, not because they wish to win the favor of the parents, nor seek the praise of their friends and neighbors". Indeed! This is sufficient to point out clearly the fundamental goodness of the human heart/mind (人心之本良). (Yang 1966: 7.9b–10a)

Yang equates the heart/mind with *dao*, claiming that contemporary people have doubts that should be resolved by the parable of the child and the well, which confirms the "true heart/mind of empathy" (惻隱之真心) (Yang 1966: 7.10a).

In this essay, Yang returns continually to the idea of the unity of the self and the universe, expressed in myriad ways, from the body to daily activities and the processes of nature. For Yang, the *Book of Changes* is both the manifestation of the original heart/mind and the means for us to apprehend it (Ushio 1975: 34–35). To summarize: throughout all creation there are differences in form, but a single unifying heart/mind penetrates everything.

Given this, how does one explain the existence of evil? For this we can look to Yang's essay on the "Four Abstentions," a title derived from a statement in the *Analects* 9.4 about Confucius: "The Master abstained from four things: he had no preconceptions, no predetermination, no obduracy, and no egoism" (Legge 1974: 217 mod. slightly). The essay begins:

> The human heart/mind is in itself clear and in itself spiritual. It is only when preconception arises, egoism becomes established, and predetermination and obduracy block the path that this understanding and spirituality are lost. In the daily questions and answers between Confucius and his disciples, the faults from which he constantly warned them to abstain were, generally speaking, four in number: preconception, predetermination, obduracy, and egoism. If a disciple had any one of these, the sage invariably prohibited it... for he realized that all men equally possess a nature that is utterly understanding, utterly spiritual, and broad and sagely in its wisdom. It need not be externally sought for or gained, but is inherent and innate, being spirit-like in itself and clear in itself. When, however, the seeds of preconception appear, it becomes obscured; when there is predetermination, it becomes obscured; when there is obduracy, it becomes obscured; when egoism exists, it becomes obscured. All the beginnings of obscurity stem from these things. Therefore, whenever one of these evils took form, [Confucius] warned against it. (Yang 1966: 2.8a; adapted from Fung 1983: 2:582–583)

YANG Jian again refers to Mencius in support of his argument for the heart/mind as the innate capacity of humans, but follows it with an attempt to explain in more depth his understanding of the idea of "preconception":

> Mencius said: "All people have the capacity for commiseration (*ceyin* 惻隱), for shame and dislike (*xiu'wu* 羞惡), for modesty and equanimity (*gongjing* 恭敬), and [to know the difference between] right and wrong (*shi fei* 是非)." Humaneness, rightness, rites, and knowledge do not flow from external sources but are originally possessed (我固有之).
>
> What is meant by "preconception" (*yi* 意)? The slightest stirrings [of the heart/mind] mean preconception, but the slightest interruptions [of these stirrings] also mean preconception. The manifestations of preconception are innumerable. They may result in profit or harm, right or wrong, advancement or withdrawal.... Whether we expend the energy of a day or year, and whether we speak up and down or back and forth, extensively or intensively, we shall never be able to exhaust all the instances of this sort. How, then, are we to distinguish the [true] heart/mind from such preconception? The two are not originally divided. It is only through the process of beclouding that they come to be so. What is unitary is the heart/mind; what is dual is preconception. What is upright is the heart/mind; what is forked is preconception. What flows through is the heart/mind; what blocks it up is preconception.... Mencius clarified the heart/mind, and Confucius prohibited preconception. Lacking preconceptions, then this heart/mind is clear. (Yang 1966: 2.8b–9a; adapted from Fung 1983: 2:583)

Yang's concept of the unitary heart/mind, viewed in light of this discussion of preconception, cannot escape the paradox of preconception—and therefore evil

thoughts and deeds—arising from the heart/mind itself (Ushio 1975: 39). But for him, the means to prevent preconceptions—or to expel them once they have arisen—is to still the heart/mind and release it from attachment to the material world and historical reality (Ushio 1975: 41).

The Heart/Mind and Learning

Yang lived in the historical reality of Southern Song China, and had a fruitful scholarly and official career. How did he reconcile the practical need to study (as he did) for the examinations with his belief in the heart/mind as apprehended through the subitist experience of awakening? How did he understand the concept of learning (*xue* 學)? This is a crucial issue, for if truth is innate and need only be apprehended, then how can there be value in reading texts and studying the world? Although Yang's claims for the innate heart/mind appear to be based on a distinction between true knowledge of the heart/mind and textual knowledge, one might say that his view of the purpose of study was to discover innate sagehood, not to achieve sagehood by understanding the patterns (*li* 理) of phenomena (Ushio 1975: 44). So it would be inaccurate to say that he disdained study. In his essay on learning ("Fan lun xue" 汎論學), Yang in fact related the impact of a line of text on his perception and grasp of the heart/mind:

> When the student first becomes aware of the heart/mind, there is nothing that is not mysterious (*xuanmiao* 玄妙) about it. . Frequently, even though [his effort] is sufficient, he does not know how to advance his learning. So what he has previously learned becomes difficult and quickly lessens. . . . After I achieved a modest understanding at the age of 32, I experienced this kind of difficulty. More than 10 years later I realized that I had not advanced for a long time, and I considered this a serious problem. *Suddenly I encountered the admonitions of the ancient sages*, saying that when one first studies the way, the heart/mind is one, and for a long time it is pure and simple, [but] by thought (*si* 思) it becomes confused. When at first I boldly observed [these things], I made some modest improvement, and later I saw the sages of antiquity in a dream personally give their admonition, telling me that I had not yet separated myself from the form of preconceptions; realizing this, it was easier to penetrate, and all thought and action were completely whole and completely marvelous. (Yang 1966: 15.2b–3a)

This enlightenment experience he describes at the age of 32 was the result of the encounter with Lu Jiuyuan in Fuyang. In his *A Record of Things Seen and Heard during the Four Reigns* (*Sichao wenjian lu* 四朝聞見錄) the Southern Song scholar Ye Shaoweng 葉紹翁 said that the phrase "[S]uddenly I encountered the admonitions of the ancient sages" (偶得古聖遺訓) referred to a passage in the *Kong Family Masters Anthology* (*Kong Congzi* 孔叢子), a work traditionally attributed to Kong Fu 孔鮒 of the early Han period (Ye 1989: 41; Cui 1984: 139; Xu 1990: 116–117). The passage is "The pure spirit of the mind is called 'sageliness' " (心之精神是謂聖) (Kong 1998: *shang*, 20b). Despite the fact that the authenticity of this text was already in doubt by the Song, Ye claimed that it was

this passage that convinced Yang to become a disciple of Lu Jiuyuan. Whether Ye's claim is correct or not, the power of text to inspire Yang is apparent from his own words, and attests to the value of texts in apprehending the heart/mind.

Yang's inscription on the 1193 rebuilding of the Leping 樂平 County School where he was magistrate reveals some of his thinking about learning in relation both to the heart/mind and to the problem of preconceptions:

> Everyone is possessed of human nature that is good. Its purity and clarity have always resided in the self (*gong* 躬) [but] people's desire to conceal it is like clouds covering the sun. For this reason, learning is essential. Learning is not seeking externally, but [it lies within] the human heart/mind, which is of itself good (*shan* 善). An infant [instinctively] knows love for its parents and when the child matures, it knows respect for its elder sibling. It is not through learning that this is possible, nor through deliberation (*lü* 慮), that [the child] knows [love and respect]. The human heart/mind is naturally humane.
>
> As for the myriad losses and transgressions, how are they not produced from preconceptions and thought? Preconceptions are brought about by love and hate and thus cause transgressions. Preconceptions are brought about by sound and color and therefore cause transgressions. Preconceptions are brought about by speaking and acting and therefore cause transgressions. This is why Confucius always prohibited his students' preconceptions, and his disciples summed it up by saying "No preconceptions!" (Yang 1966: 2.12a, 13a)

Learning is essential to cultivate innate human nature, but it must be tempered by inner focus that does not allow external distractions to interrupt the process of learning. If we were to try to define Yang's idea of learning, it would be apprehending the heart/mind without the intercession of disruptive influences such as emotions (love and hate) and sensory perceptions (sound and color), or speech and action.

Where, then, does this leave us in trying to understand the contradiction implied by Yang's ideas in the context of his life as a Southern Song scholar official who had studied texts intensively to pass the civil service examination? Some light is shed on this in the "record of conduct" compiled by Yang's principal disciple, Qian Shi 錢時, where he quotes Yang on the examinations in connection with the renovation of the Leping County School:

> The state established the examinations for the purpose of seeking the true and virtuous. Truly can this order the empire! The establishment of schools also seeks to cultivate the true and virtuous. Truly can it bring about advancement in the examinations! It is definitely not mere formality. However, students' attending school for the purpose of taking the examinations frequently is spoken of [simply] as being skilled in interpretations of the classics, poetry, and policy discussions. Even if students did away with this, it would do no harm to the high[est level of] examinations. What else can be used to grasp this heart/mind? Reading the sages' books [in this way] not only misses the point of the sages' explicating and clarifying learning, it also misses the point of the state's cultivation [of the worthy] through schools. (Yang 1966: 18.5b–6a)

Qian Shi then inserts some of the same language used in Yang's inscription on the Leping County School about the innate good of human nature and the good heart/mind (*liang xin* 良心). Yang was not rejecting study, but he was criticizing

those who read the works of the sages in a particular way. Like others of his time, he derided the rigid focus on formal, objective, and standardized testing as opposed to an appreciation of the more fundamental talents and abilities that come from cultivation of innate qualities. Holding the post of Erudite in the Directorate of Education placed Yang firmly in the educational establishment of the Song court, where he could advocate for a more genuine kind of learning. Nevertheless, he surely had to accommodate the realities of examination competition.

The Heart/Mind and Politics

We can observe the application of Yang's concept of the heart/mind in the political realm through his recorded interactions with Emperor Ningzong during the crisis over ZHAO Ruyu's expulsion.[13] When Zhao was demoted shortly after the accession of Ningzong in 1195, Yang used the concept of the heart/mind to appeal to the emperor on Zhao's behalf:

> This heart/mind is that of Yao, Shun, and the Three Ages. Acting in accord with this heart/mind causes the flourishing of Yao, Shun, and the Three Ages to be seen again in the present day. Your majesty now acts in accord with this sacred heart/mind... ZHAO Ruyu supported the emperor as a heroic member of the [imperial] clan, and he truly is praiseworthy. At the beginning of his administration he honored the Learning of the Way, and worthy men advanced. Public discourse was harmonious and enthusiastically extended throughout the realm. It is said that our dynasty unifies and continues the pulse of the Two Sovereigns and Three Kings. What could not be attained by the Han and Tang lies principally in the proclamation and clarification of this way. Human knowledge of propriety and rightness derives from this. (Yang 1966: 18.7a–8a)

However, ZHAO Ruyu's fortunes were in decline, and Yang's fell along with them. Yang's clear support for the Learning of the Way shown here led to his being condemned along with ZHU Xi and his followers in the 1195 prohibition against False Learning.[14] After his return to office in 1204, Yang wrote two memorials that identified the way with heart/mind in the course of offering administrative proposals:

> The empire has this way and that is all. Heaven is covered by it and earth is supported by it. The sun and moon are made bright by it. The four seasons move by it. And isn't human society ordered by it? It is for this reason that there is no chaos between heaven and earth. If this way is obtained, then there will be good government; if it is lost, there will be danger. If it is obtained, there will be benefit; if it is lost, there will be harm. This is the myriad, ancient, ceaseless, and unchangeable pattern (*li*). From the Han on, there was confusion because of overlords. Therefore, good government daily receded while

[13] For a detailed account, see Chaffee (1990–1992).

[14] Ishida makes the point that Yang's political ideas did not differ dramatically from those of ZHU Xi, and that Zhu, in fact, held a high opinion of Yang in this regard (Ishida 1981: 434–435).

> chaos daily increased. This heart/mind is just the way, but if preconceptions arise, it will be lost. (Yang 1966: 18.8b)[15]

Drawing on ideas developed in his "Essay on the Four Abstentions," Yang continues here to describe to Emperor Ningzong the benefits that may be obtained from cultivating a "heart/mind of transparency (*xuming* 虛明) that does not give rise to preconceptions" (Yang 1966:18.8b–9a). In a later audience with Ningzong in 1210, Yang queried the emperor, seemingly to ascertain his grasp of the heart/mind:

> "Does your majesty himself believe in this heart/mind as the great way?" Ningzong replied: "The heart/mind is simply the way. . . ." [Yang] asked him: "In daily life, what is it like?" Ningzong responded: "It requires only learning to be established." [Yang] said: "Its establishment does not lie in the use of learning, but in avoiding the arousal of preconceptions [so that] it is naturally and quiescently made clear." The emperor said: "In daily use, it is only to lack preconceptions, and that's all. . . ." On the same day he further said to the emperor: "When preconceptions and thought do not arise, do you already comprehend it like a great emptiness?" Ningzong said: "Yes, it's like this." He asked: "The worthy and unworthy, true and false, are they successively clear or not?" Ningzong answered: "I am already enlightened (*zhaopo* 照破)."[16] The master said: "If so, then the empire is fortunate indeed!" (Yang 1966: 18.15a–b)

Yang's dialogue with the emperor and his admonitions to him concerning the avoidance of preconceptions suggest the early Daoist notion of *wuwei* rulership. One possible way of understanding this in the Southern Song setting is to see it as reflecting the desire of the bureaucracy to represent the ruler as a figure of distant symbolic authority, removed from the fray of daily politics and administration. The ruler should leave the mundane affairs of government to his appointed officials, rather than attempting to engage directly in activist policy-making. Yang's own writings, including recommendations for improvements in government, demonstrate his engagement with political affairs, so we may reconcile his focus on the heart/mind with the practical realities of the political world he inhabited by the example of his tutoring Ningzong to cultivate clarity of the heart/mind—at least as recounted in Yang's biography by his disciple QIAN Shi—and the implied extension of the ruler's clarity to the entire realm.

The Thought of YUAN Xie

According to the assessment of QUAN Zuwang in the eighteenth century—acknowledging that the Mingzhou ZHU Xi scholar HUANG Zhen 黄震 (1213–1280) said this first—YANG Jian's thought was "vague and confused"

---

[15] I interpret Yang's use of *li* 理 here as a general idea of pattern, that is, not in the ZHU Xi sense of principle/pattern.

[16] This term has a distinctly Buddhist connotation, meaning "the brightness of wisdom illuminating the dark" (Morohashi 1966: 7:19226.131).

in comparison with that of YUAN Xie, whose "words set a standard" (Huang 1966: 75.1429; Cui 1984: 166).[17] And the editors of the *Simplified Annotated Catalogue of the Imperial Library* judged YUAN Xie to have been a more authentic transmitter of Lu Jiuyuan's teachings than YANG Jian (Yong et al. 1985: 673). Yet, like Yang, Yuan equated the heart/mind with *dao* and understood the original heart/mind according to its Mencian roots:

> This heart/mind, this *dao* – it lacks nothing. It is completely balanced, straight, great, and pure. It sets the standard for the myriad generations of scholars (Yuan 1935: 7.103). . . . The human heart/mind is completely spiritual 靈 – there is no right or wrong, good or evil, that it does not know (ibid.: 8.118). . . . The original heart/mind is entirely complete in its myriad goodness, as when a child is seen about to fall into a well, all experience feelings of alarm and compassion. (ibid.: 8.118)

Drawing upon LU Jiuyuan's broadening of the meaning of the heart/mind to incorporate the principles of humaneness, justice, and ethics, YUAN Xie developed this latter aspect further to see the heart/mind as the origin of ethics, not just consciousness (Xu 1990: 120; Cui 1984: 166–167). For Yuan, nurturing morality (*daode* 道德) did not lie in mere consciousness (*zhijue* 知覺), nor in the act of cognition; rather, morality was the clear expression of the original heart/mind. Yuan believed that people's actions in society were a manifestation of the heart/mind and therefore that both the social and the political world were produced by the heart/mind.

Political Philosophy

Like YANG Jian, in his role as a court official YUAN Xie also used the concept of the heart/mind in presenting his views to Ningzong. In 1209, he remonstrated with the emperor about what he believed to be the unjust demotion of the late PENG Guinian 彭龜年 (1142–1206):

> The emperor remembered Guinian, so [Yuan] approached the throne and sighed: "If this man were still alive, he would certainly be employed, as we now deeply recognize his loyalty. The heart/mind of the emperor at this time is like that of the Two Sovereigns and Three Kings' respecting the remonstrations of worthies. [One who has] the eternally existing heart/mind, [in times of] urgency listens to sincere words and promotes upright scholars. Those who are loyal like Guinian will continue [to serve]. Even though Guinian has died, if he were to be promoted [posthumously], how could we lament the empire's not being well-governed?" (Yuan 1966: *fulu*, 3.5a)

He later wrote in an administrative memorial to Ningzong:

> In antiquity, the source of the way of good government for the minister was covered by a single phrase: it was the spirit (*jingshen* 精神) of this heart/mind and nothing more! The

[17] An ardent advocate of ZHU Xi's thought, HUANG Zhen may have made this point more to criticize YANG Jian than to praise YUAN Xie. Huang was also critical of YUAN Xie (Hayasaka 2003: 26–28: 39–40: 32–35).

> spirit of the heart/mind penetrates everything with no spaces between – in the Nine Territories and the Four Seas there is nowhere that is not illuminated by it. . . . I request the emperor. . . day and night to be spurred on. . . to refine your spirit. (Yuan 1935: 1.1–2)

Yuan continues in this passage to relate "spirit" to human talents, finance, the army, and the general welfare of the people, making the point to the emperor that his ability to comprehend the heart/mind was the foundation of good government for the empire.

According to Yuan, everything in society was a manifestation of the "spirit of the heart/mind" (Yuan 1966: 8.128; Cui 1984: 168–169). Yuan equated heaven and humans through the heart/mind:

> Heaven and humans were originally one—how was this so? It was simply because this heart/mind originally lacked distinction between heaven and humans. Heaven obtains this heart/mind and becomes heaven. Earth obtains this heart/mind and becomes earth. Humans obtain this heart/mind and become human. But now we are attached to physical forms, and therefore see differences. If we examine this and think about it, how do the so-called forms exist? Physical forms are something we either possess or not, so how can [this be the reason for] differences between heaven and humans? (Yuan 1998: 2.28a–b; Cui 1984: 170)

Yuan brought this idea of the unitary nature of heaven and humans into the realm of political theory, where his ideas had the greatest impact (Cui 1984: 170–171). His political thought was shaped by the recognition that, even though according to Mencian doctrine the interests of the people are to be held above those of the ruler, in reality it was the opposite. Yuan thus promoted the idea that the ruler and people have mutual needs that make them interdependent, and that neither is superior nor inferior (Xu 1990: 121). He objected to the division between the ruler and people that elevated the ruler at the expense of the people:

> The ruler and the people are of one body. People certainly cannot lack rulers, and rulers cannot lack people. Whose strength is it after all that enables the people of All-under-Heaven to reside in peace, eat at leisure, and live and die peacefully? The ruler does this. This is why people without rulers cannot be supported. Thus the people are the foundation of the country, and it is the foundation that makes the country peaceful. How would the ruler be able to stand alone without the people? (Yuan 1998: 5.21b)

Learning

Yuan's belief in the heart/mind as the source of political ethics and morality did not in any sense obviate the need for study of the classics and histories. His emphasis on studying may well have been related to influence from the historical school of Lü Zujian and the utilitarian thought of Chen Fuliang (Yuan 1966: *fulu*, 3.22b). From Lu Jiuyuan's point of view, studying for the examinations could cast a cloud over the original heart/mind (Ichiki 1993: 93). But it was studying sheerly for examination success that was problematic, not studying

itself, which Lu regarded as of utmost significance since he saw it as the means to cultivate heart/mind. Lu's well-known statement that the "Six Classics are my footnotes" connects the authority of the classics to the self; and from the perspective of the awakening of the original heart/mind, it is not that the classics do not hold authority but that the purpose of studying them lies in the cultivation of the consciousness of the original heart/mind (ibid.: 94). For Yang Jian, learning was obtained within the self (*zide* 自得). For Yuan, what was obtained within the self was not an end, but a means to cultivate the heart/mind through study (ibid.: 95). It is in this regard that Yuan expanded the meaning of learning and developed a view that was different from that of both Lu and Yang. He articulated this in the letter he wrote to Shu Lin's son, encouraging him to study, and using Yang Jian himself as an example:

> The purpose of study should be to penetrate and know antiquity and the present in order to be familiar with former words and conduct. This was the means by which the ancients accumulated virtue.... How is it possible not to read books? [Otherwise] learning would never reach its ultimate goal. The longer [one studies], the deeper it becomes. After his middle years, Yang Jian was still willing to read books and that is why he improved and expanded his knowledge and ability. (Yuan 1966: *shang*, 6b–7a)

Yuan's own reading experience is documented in the *Jiezhai [Yuan Xie] Family School Documents* (*Jiezhai jiashu shuchao* 絜齋家塾書鈔). This was not his own work, but rather a compilation of his lectures and notes by his son Fu 甫, who published it in 1231 and presented it to Xiangshan Academy (象山書院) (Ichiki 1993: 95; Yuan 1936: 11.166–167). This work explains the *Book of Documents* from the viewpoint of the Lu school's original heart/mind theory. Perhaps especially because of his official role as head of the Directorate of Education, Yuan was compelled to integrate his philosophy with the practical demands on literati to master texts for the examinations as well as for self-cultivation. The *Jiezhai jiashu shuchao* shows Yuan the scholar at work on exegesis of the *Book of Documents*, applying the theory of heart/mind to this classic. In his commentary on the "Counsels of the Great Yu," for example, Yuan discusses the relationship between the human heart/mind (*renxin* 人心) and the moral heart/mind (*daoxin* 道心):

> The heart/mind that all people have is called the human heart/mind. The moral heart/mind is the good heart/mind (*liangxin* 良心). When the human heart/mind is in peril, then it is difficult to achieve equilibrium. When the moral heart/mind is obscured, then it is difficult to be clear. What is called the moral heart/mind is just this heart/mind's recognition of moral principle (*daoli* 道理). The human heart/mind daily comes into contact with things, and is easily seduced by things.... If moved by joy or anger, or enticed by wealth and rank; or if moved by sound and color, how can [the human heart/mind] not be imperiled? Now if one uses moral principle to observe the sources of joy and anger, then what is joyful and what causes anger, what is connected with sound and color, what is good or not, what is right or wrong, beautiful or ugly, will be brilliantly clear. What is it that enables our knowing right and wrong, beautiful and ugly? It is simply our original heart/mind. This is what is called the moral heart/mind. (Yuan 1998: 2.31b–32a; Ichiki 1993: 95)

Yuan's perspective on this important problem—the relationship between the human heart/mind and the moral heart/mind—place him in between the views of his teacher Lu Jiuyuan, for whom the human heart/mind and the moral heart/mind were identical, and Zhu Xi, who espoused a dualistic theory that drew a clear distinction between the two.[18] Yuan's explication here seems to be nuanced in a way that seeks compromise between the views of Zhu and Lu, consciously or unconsciously.

Yuan between Zhu and Lu

As much as Yuan was a noted follower of Lu Jiuyuan and close colleague of Yang Jian, some aspects of this thinking are indeed congruent with those of Zhu Xi: "Although human nature is essentially one, people's *qi* 氣 coheres differently. Now, being produced between heaven and earth, how can this nature be dual? Just as when *qi* accumulates in the mountains and rivers, and varies from day to day, so the essence of *qi* cannot but vary (不能無偏)" (Yuan 1998: 1.52a). As an explanation for the existence of good and evil and for the differences among human beings, Yuan Xie agreed with Zhu Xi, who used exactly the same phrase (不能無偏) to explain differences in *qi* (Cui 1984: 172; Zhu 1997: 4.52).

In fact, Zhu's estimation of Yuan Xie was quite high, at least in part because Yuan represented Lu's earlier ideas that were closer to Zhu's own (Ichiki 1993: 91). Although Yuan Xie and Yang Jian both collaborated with Lu Jiuyuan's Jiangxi followers to compile Lu's collected works—and Yuan Xie wrote a preface for it (Yuan 1935: 8.107–108)—beyond this there was relatively little contact between the Jiangxi Lu school and the Four Masters in Mingzhou after around 1187 (Ichiki 1993: 78–79). This meant that the interpretation of Lu's thought transmitted by Yuan and the other Four Masters was based on those ideas that had been developed before 1187, when the disagreements between Zhu and Lu intensified, and therefore the Zhedong Lu school was closer to Zhu Xi's ideas than the Jiangxi Lu school which transmitted Lu's later thought (ibid.: 93).

Regardless of the relative compatibility of some of Yuan's ideas with those of Zhu, his thought still exhibited distinctive influence from Lu. The particular complexity of Yuan's position between Zhu and Lu can be seen in the relationship between "seriousness" (*jing* 敬) and "quietude" (*jing* 靜). For Lu, "seriousness" incorporated internal reflection, so there was no essential contradiction between these two concepts (Lu 1980: 19.238; Ichiki 1993: 90–91). In Zhu Xi's view, "seriousness" was the fundamental attitude to be cultivated in order to carry out the "investigation of things and the extension of knowledge"

[18] de Bary references Zhu Xi's commentary on this same passage in the *Book of Documents*, although Zhu's reading differs from that of Yuan Xie (de Bary 1989: 9–10).

(Chan 1986: 100–103). For Zhu, however, "quietude" or "quiet-sitting" connoted too close an association with Buddhist meditation in which introspection became an end in itself, rather than a purposeful focusing of the heart/mind to remove distractions that would impede understanding. Even though in other ways YUAN Xie's ideas were compatible with those of ZHU Xi, the conflation of "seriousness" and "quietude" in Lu's thinking influenced Yuan through his contact with Lu during the earlier period of Lu's philosophical development.

For Yuan, "quietude" was never something that was to lead to extinction in a Buddhist sense, rather it was "active quietude" (*dong jing* 動靜) (Kusumoto 1963: 373). In fact, "quietude" is at the heart of Yuan's concept of the original heart/mind, and he elaborated on it in an essay on a friend's study that was named "Quietude Study" (Jing Zhai 靜齋):

> I believe that the purpose of study is to obtain the original heart/mind and nothing more. When thought has not yet sprouted, and joy, anger, grief, and pleasure have not yet come forth, what is expressed internally, pure and unsullied, with not even an iota of confusion – this is the ultimate "quietude." At the beginning, it was so, and embracing it and nourishing it, it is always just as it was. Even when experiencing myriad transformations, peaceful quietude still comes from the self, and thus one does not lose the original heart/mind. Now, if thunder strikes the earth and the sound reverberates for a hundred *li*, this could be called powerful. But there was no intention (*yi* 意) for it to be so. Therefore, even in the extremity of the fear of thunder, there has still always been "quietude". . . . The sun goes and the moon comes, the moon goes and the sun comes – this is the nature of heaven's form (天象之自然). Cold goes and heat comes, heat goes and cold comes – this is the nature of heaven's seasons (天時之自然). How can there be intention in this? Humans are also like this. The eyes see and the ears hear, hands grasp and feet walk. [These are the] mechanisms of heaven (*tianji* 天機), not responses to decisions [to do these things]. In winter wearing a heavy robe and in summer a light one, eating when hungry and drinking when thirsty, in daily activities – what of these is not natural? Stopping when it's time to stop – this is not because of an intention to stop. Going when it's time to go – this is not because of an intention to go. This is what is called "without thought and without action" (無思無為), quietly unmoving. (Yuan 1935: 10.154)

Here Yuan echoes YANG Jian's admonition to Ningzong to avoid preconceptions. He uses the same term *yi* 意, but gives it a somewhat different cast by juxtaposing it with the natural "mechanisms" of heaven as well as the human body, rather than representing it as the preconceptions that cloud the ability to apprehend the heart/mind. This example reflects more generally the independence of YUAN Xie's thought, influenced not only by LU Jiuyuan and YANG Jian, but also by other ideas that circulated among thinkers during the mid-Southern Song.

SHU Lin and SHEN Huan

Unlike both Yang and Yuan, SHU Lin and SHEN Huan left no formal exposition of their thought. What we have are some letters and biographical writings, along with compilations of their "words and conduct." Using these we can piece

together a sense of their ideas, which reveal a pragmatic orientation to heart/mind as a guiding ideal in social life.

Beginning with his studies at the Imperial University with ZHANG Shi and the Lu brothers, SHU Lin was influenced by a wide range of thinkers, including LÜ Zuqian and ZHU Xi. He and his brothers studied with LU Xiangshan. The eclectic nature of SHU Lin's ideas helped to bridge the gap between those of LU Jiuyuan and ZHU Xi (Cui 1984: 178–179). According to YANG Jian: "There is no book that Yuanzhi [SHU Lin] has not penetrated.... Even more, on his own he 'polished' the learning of Huiweng [ZHU Xi], Donglai [LÜ Zuqian], Nanxian [ZHANG Shi], and Xiangshan [LU Jiuyuan], penetrating them in a unified way" (Shu 1966: *fulu, zhong* 2a–2b).

SHU Lin shared the Lu school's belief in the primacy of the heart/mind. For Shu, however, the original heart/mind was not apprehended immediately by the kind of awakening that both Yang and Yuan experienced under the influence of LU Jiuyuan; rather, it was a moral quality that had to be gradually perfected (Xu 1990: 125; Cui 1984: 176). In an inscription on a shrine to SHU Lin after his death, YUAN Xie wrote: "His brothers intensely followed Master Xiangshan, and they both had awakenings. Yuanzhi said: 'I am not able to be like them. I am at just this day and night, "cutting and polishing" to improve. Daily I renew the effort and "may thus likewise not transgress the boundaries" ' " (Yuan 1935: 9.136–137; Legge 1974: 193). SHU Lin quoted this well-known passage from the *Analects* to emphasize his gradualist approach to comprehending heart/mind in contrast to his brothers (and to his colleagues Yang and Yuan).

SHU Lin saw heart/mind not so much as a philosophical concept that pervaded the cosmos, but as a fundamental source of morality to guide daily life:

> [Heart/mind] is originally clear.... Because of this [original clarity], by reading books, one accumulates morality; because of this, managing the household is harmonious; and because of this affairs are settled as they should be.... Confucius taught... saying: "When entering, be filial; when going out, be brotherly. Words [should be] loyal and sincere, and conduct [should be] genuine and serious". It is the same as when going out the gate and seeing guests, people greet them. This principle is of itself clear. How could the undertakings of the sages and worthies be otherwise? (Shu 1966: 1.5b, 1.2b)

As depicted here, SHU Lin brought heart/mind into the mundane world of social interaction. He departed from Yang and Yuan in his application of the heart/mind to concrete social practice in the realms of family and community. Far more than Lu, Yang, or Yuan, SHU Lin saw the heart/mind in the activities of daily life rather than in the abstractions of philosophical discourse. In his funerary inscription for SHU Lin, YANG Jian commented on the many practical administrative reforms Shu had undertaken while in office (Yang 1966: *bubian,* 4b–5a). In his position as Huizhou Prefectural School Professor, Shu is said to have improved the morals of the local scholarly elite. Of course, this was not in itself a dramatic accomplishment, as this kind of praise was frequently heaped on local officials in their epitaphs, but in this case SHU Lin's accomplishments even drew the attention of Prime Minister LIU Zheng 留正, who dubbed him "the number one educational official in the empire" (Huang et al. 1966: 76.1440).

Like his colleague SHU Lin, SHEN Huan's thought was oriented toward everyday practice and compromise, incorporating ideas from a broad range of thinkers (Cui 1984: 181). His "Admonitions" exemplify the use of homilies based on family life to expound on his view of learning:

> The means (*gongfu* 工夫) of learning should begin in the home – there is nothing more than this! Contemporary people [just] go after a good name. Accordingly, they meet with disappointment because their learning has no foundation if it is not cultivated in the home. For this reason, I say that the means are not [grounded in] reality. When they proclaim that they understand the way, they are simply deceiving themselves.
>
> Observing the wives and children in the morning, and arranging the beds at night – if in these two things one is without shame, then one can begin to speak of learning.
>
> Infants play at their parents' side, and when they cry they go to be held and are completely happy. [In this] there is no distinction [between the infant and parents]. [This is an example of] learning [an aspect of] the eternal heart/mind that can be called "filial piety." (Shen 1966: 2.1a–1b)

In addition to his fundamental belief in the heart/mind, SHEN Huan's thought reflects a pragmatic, institutional approach to solving the problems of society. He was credited with establishing a number of charitable institutions to aid the needy, including a community charitable estate in Yin county in collaboration with his patron SHI Hao (Huang et al. 1966: 76.1445). Shen's experience of living at Moon Lake under SHI Hao's patronage, together with LÜ Zujian, also connected him and his brothers with LÜ Zuqian's historical school. According to QUAN Zuwang, "The learning of the Shen family can truly be considered one school (*pai* 派) with that of Mingzhao [LÜ Zuqian] but there are few in the world who know it" (Zhang 1966: 2.24b).

For Shen, cultivating the moral character of each individual was the central focus, not the cosmic, universal heart/mind of Lu's philosophy. Still, as a student of the Lu brothers, SHEN Huan's thought also exhibited their influence. In an inscription on a Buddhist temple, he wrote: "When I observe the unity of heart/mind, the purity and sincerity to which it reaches, even though heaven is high and earth is broad, the pigs and fishes are minute, and metal and stone lack sentience, there is a feeling that must penetrate [everything]" (Shen 1966: 1.7a). Of course, a Buddhist temple was an appropriate place for contemplation of cosmic unity, and for Shen—like other literati of his day—writing inscriptions on Buddhist temples was a familiar activity that typically inspired such thoughts (Halperin 2006). But both Shen and Shu, to the extent that we can know their ideas, were firmly grounded in the application of the heart/mind in daily life.

Conclusions

Reflecting the adoption of ZHU Xi's ideas by the Yuan government, the *Yuan History* opines: "At the end of the Song, the Mingzhou area completely followed the school of LU Xiangshan, and the ZHU Xi school was not transmitted

until Cheng Duanli 程端禮 took it up with Shi Mengqing 史蒙卿 [a scion of the local Shi family]" (Song et al. 1995: 190.4343). In contrast, in his 1292 inscription commemorating the restoration of an academy dedicated to Yang Jian, Wang Yinglin linked both Yang and Lu Jiuyuan to Zhu Xi, suggesting that in the early Yuan these thinkers were seen as part of a broad intellectual movement rather than as leaders of fundamentally opposed schools of thought (Yang 1966: *fulu*, 7b). Whereas the authors of the *Yuan History* sought to portray the ascendancy of Zhu Xi's ideas, Wang was interested in accommodating various schools of thought, placing Lu, Yang, and Zhu together on a broad synthetic canvas. In the seventeenth century, focusing on Yang, Yuan, Shu, and Shen, Huang Zongxi stressed their coherence as an intellectual group:

> Yang Jian, Shu Lin, Yuan Xie, and Shen Huan are the so-called Four Masters of Mingzhou. Yang Jian always took up the spirit of the heart/mind and called it "sageliness" (*sheng* 聖), whereas Yuan Xie called it "gentlemanliness" (*jun* 君). He also said that this concept of "gentlemanliness," used in antiquity as the fundamental and original way of good government, was nothing more than the heart/mind. These ideas can be used to convey the unity of the Four Masters' learning method. (Huang et al. 1966: 76.1445)

Although Huang's description of what constitutes coherence in the thought of the Four Masters is not particularly illuminating, his attempt nonetheless suggests that these four thinkers were clustered together on the assumption that their ideas shared some common ground. We are thus faced with two questions. To what extent did the Four Masters—although Huang focuses specifically on only two of them—reflect a unitary philosophical perspective? Were the Four Masters primarily transmitters of the teachings of Lu Jiuyuan, or did they represent broader currents in Southern Song philosophy? Let us consider the evidence presented here to answer these questions.

In the case of Yang Jian, as perhaps befits the principal disciple of Lu Jiuyuan, we can trace his ideas directly to Lu, beginning with his awakening experiences. However, as other commentators have pointed out, he did alter Lu's understanding of heart/mind, uncoupling it from the concept of principle. Peter Bol has shown how belief in unity of the heart/mind pervaded Neo-Confucian thought, but with distinctive shadings of intensity and meaning (Bol 2008: 213). Yang Jian both transmitted his teacher's concept of heart/mind and intensified it, unknowingly preparing the way for Wang Yangming in the Ming. Since the thought of Lu Jiuyuan and his followers precipitously declined in influence at the end of the Southern Song, it is unlikely that anyone actually read Yang Jian's writings until at least 1525, when his collected works were published by Qin Yue 秦鉞, a fellow Cixi native whose motivation was to honor Yang Jian as a Cixi man rather than to promote his thought (Wu 1999:2). By then, Yang's ideas resonated with the thought of Wang Yangming and his followers, and so Yang's writings gained a wide audience both as a disciple of Lu and as a thinker in his own right.

What of the Buddhist accusations, both in his own time and later? Mark Halperin (2006) and others have made clear the degree to which Buddhism was

part of the lives and thought of the Song elite. Hoyt Tillman (1992) has shown how the rise of ZHU Xi's thought was embedded in a competitive discourse among members of the "fellowship of the Way." From the perspective of ZHU Xi's followers—who sought to establish their own claims to truth in contrast to Buddhism—YANG Jian's (and YUAN Xie's) awakening experiences were dangerously close to what practitioners of Chan sought. It served the interests of the ZHU Xi school to attack Yang and Yuan on these grounds, since it reinforced their position with regard to Buddhism, and these accusations continued into the Ming and Qing. This did not mean, however, that their ideas were somehow less Neo-Confucian and more Buddhist than their contemporaries.

YUAN Xie differed substantially from YANG Jian, despite sharing a common experience of enlightenment under the influence of LU Jiuyuan. As shown here, in some respects Yuan's ideas fit with those of ZHU Xi. In his essay on "The Learning of Zhedong" ("Zhedong xueshu" 浙東學術), the eighteenth-century scholar ZHANG Xuecheng 章學誠 (1735–1801) linked three generations of the Yuan family to ZHU Xi:

> The learning of Zhedong, although it was produced in Wuyuan [ZHU Xi], flowed out from the three Yuan [Xie, his son Fu 甫, and Fu's son Jue 桷], who greatly revered Jiangxi LU [Jiuyuan]; but they also penetrated the classics and served the ancient, not just mouthed empty words about moral nature. Thus they did not go against the teachings of Master Zhu. (Zhang 1964: 52)

But since both YUAN Fu (*jinshi* 1214) and YUAN Jue (1266–1327) lived during the late Southern Song and Yuan, when ZHU Xi's ideas became dominant, their identification with Zhu is not surprising.

Yang and Yuan both applied the concept of the heart/mind to politics in their audiences with Emperor Ningzong, and both remonstrated with Ningzong about officials who had been unfairly demoted. As government officials, they were compelled to ground their political proposals in ethical notions derived from their belief in the unity of the heart/mind. Yuan, it is true, had a more developed ethics rooted in his concept of the heart/mind than did Yang. Both held important posts in the educational bureaucracy, which circumscribed their ability to apply their understanding of learning in public office. But it was the definition of learning that lay at the heart of their philosophy of the heart/mind.

The awakenings of Yang and Yuan highlight a subitist strain among the followers of LU Jiuyuan, yet the intensity of these experiences did not eliminate the need for reading books and in other ways expanding their understanding of the heart/mind. If Neo-Confucians viewed learning as the means "to become conscious of the moral guides innate to us as human beings" (Bol 2008: 157), then the conceptions of learning held by Yang and Yuan—as heirs of Lu Jiuyuan—fall well within a Neo-Confucian spectrum of relative importance assigned to apprehending innate heart/mind through intuitive means as opposed to external ones, such as studying texts. Yang wrote extensively not only on the *Changes*, but also on the *Odes* (*Yangshi Shichuan* 楊氏詩傳; 20 *juan*); he wrote shorter commentaries on a portion of the *Documents* (*Wugao jie* 五誥解;

5 *juan*), and on the teachings of the sages (*Xiansheng daxun* 先聖大訓; 6 *juan*). In addition to his commentary on the *Documents*, collected by his son Fu as the *Jiezhai [Yuan Xie] Family School Documents*, Yuan Xie's extant writings also include the *Classics Mat Lectures on the Mao Odes* (*Jiezhao Mao shi jingyan jiangyi* 絜齋毛詩經筵講義; 4 *juan*). These writings are testimony to the value both Yang and Yuan attached to traditional textual scholarship.

For Shu and Shen, the heart/mind was less an abstract concept of innate good than it was the shared values that ordered family and community. These values drew on knowledge of classical precedents, but they were equally grounded in domestic social practice, illustrated by Shen Huan's maxims for family life. As Shu Lin set himself apart from his brothers' subitist understanding of heart/mind, steadfastly adhering to a slow grinding away at his own path, he was also focused on the practical matters of daily life.

In the end, what meaning we can attribute to the Four Masters in the history of Neo-Confucian philosophy is found in the ways their ideas transmitted and expanded upon Lu Jiuyuan's concept of the heart/mind, preserving—and altering—it until the rise of Wang Yangming and his followers in the Ming. It should come as no surprise, however, that their ideas were neither homogeneous nor neatly circumscribed by the category "School of Heart/Mind." Despite their shared educational experiences, intellectual influences, and social ties as native sons of Mingzhou, the cohesion of the Four Masters as a philosophical group is to a large extent a fiction created by later writers and thinkers inclined toward regional narratives of intellectual history (Walton 2003; Hayasaka 2002).

Bibliography

Araki, Kengo 荒木見悟. 1989. "Chen Beixi and Yang Cihu" 陳北溪と楊慈湖. In *Aspects of the History of Chinese Thought* 中国思想史の諸相. Fukuoka 福岡: China Bookstore 中国書店. (A study of the relationship between the thought of Zhu Xi's disciple Chen Chun and Lu Jiuyuan's disciple Yang Jian.)

Bol, Peter K. 2008. *Neo-Confucianism in History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center. (A broad survey of Neo-Confucianism from the twelfth through the seventeenth centuries, focusing on the relationship among the literati, local society, and the state.)

Chaffee, John. 1990–1992. "Chao Ju-yü, Spurious Learning, and Southern Song Political Culture." *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 22:23–61. (A review of the role of Zhao Ruyu in the politics of *daoxue* at the Southern Song court.)

Chan, Wing-tsit (trans.) 1986. *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained: The Pei-hsi tzu-i by Chen Ch'un, 1159–1223*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Chang, Bide 昌彼得. 1974–1976. *Index to Song Biographical Materials* 宋人傳記資料索引. Taibei 臺北: Dingwen shuju 鼎文書局.

Chang, Carsun. 1957. *The Development of Neo-Confucian Thought*. New York: Bookman Associates.

Cui, Dahua 崔大華. 1984. *The Lu School of Southern Song* 南宋陸學. Beijing 北京: Shehui kexue chubanshe 社會科學出版社.

Davis, Richard. 1986. *Court and Family in Sung China, 960–1279*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. (A study of the political fortunes and family background of the Shi lineage of Mingzhou, focusing on the careers of SHI Hao and SHI Miyuan.)

de Bary, Wm. Theodore. 1981. *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart*. New York: Columbia University Press.

de Bary, Wm. Theodore. 1989. *The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Franke, Herbert (ed.). 1976. *Sung Biographies*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner verlag GMBH.

Fung,Yu-lan. 1983. *History of Chinese Philosophy, Volume 2: The Period of Classical Learning from the Second Century B.C. to the Twentieth Century A.D.* Trans. Derk Bodde. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Halperin, Mark. 2006. *Out of the Cloister: Literati Perspectives on Buddhism in Sung China, 960–1279*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center. (A study of the engagement of Song literati with Buddhism, showing how Buddhism permeated their intellectual lives as well as religious consciousness.)

Hayasaka, Toshihiro 早坂俊宏. 2002. "Concerning the Concept of the Zhe School in the *Song-Yuan Case Studies*: Yongjia, Jinhua, and Siming as Terminological Expressions" 關於宋元學案的浙學概念—作爲話語表象的永嘉金華和四明. *Journal of Zhejiang University [Humanities and Social Sciences]* 浙江大學學報 [人文社會科學版] 32: 110–115. (An examination of the term "*zhexue"* as used in the *Song-Yuan Case Studies*.)

Hayasaka, Toshihiro 早坂俊宏. 2003. "Local Realities and Later Representations: Ningbo Scholars and *Daoxue*." Paper presented to the *Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting*, New York; published in *Interactions and Daily Life: Signs of Changes in Song Society*. (An analysis of the thought of Mingzhou native HUANG Zhen as a representative of the Zhedong school.)

Huang, Zongxi 黃宗羲, et al. (eds.). 1966. *Song-Yuan Case Studies* 宋元學案. Taibei 臺北: World Book Company 世界書局.

Ichiki, Tsuyuhiko 市来津由彦. 1993. "A Reconsideration of the Controversy between ZHU Xi and LU Jiuyuan in the Southern Song: With a Focus on YUAN Xie of the Zhedong Lu School" 南宋朱陸論再考—浙東陸門袁燮を中心として. In The Society for Research in Song History 宋代史研究會 (ed.), *Intellectuals of the Song Period: Thought, Politics, and Regional Society* 宋代の知識人—思想，制度，地域社會, Research Reports of the Society for Research in Song History 宋代史研究會研究報告, vol.4. Tokyo 東京: Kyūko shoin 汲古書院. (A study of the role of YUAN Xie as a thinker influenced both by ZHU Xi and by LU Jiuyuan.)

Ishida, Kazuo 石田和夫. 1981. "An Examination of the Thought of YANG Cihu" 楊慈湖思想の一検討. In The Association for the Commemoration of Professor Araki's Retirement 荒木教授退休記念会 (ed.), *Essays in the History of Chinese Philosophy Commemorating Professor ARAKI Kengo's Retirement* 荒木教授退休記念中国哲学史研究論集. Fukuoka 福岡: Ashi shobō 葦書房. (An examination of YANG Jian's thought from the perspective of ZHU Xi's views of both his ideas and those of his teacher, LU Jiuyuan.)

Ishida, Kazuo 石田和夫. 1987. "LU Xiangshan and his Heirs" 陸象山とその後繼. In OKADA Takehiko 岡田武彥 (ed.), *The World of [WANG] Yangming Learning* 陽明学の世界. Tokyo 東京: Meitoku shuppansha 明德出版社. (A study of the role of the Four Masters' thought in the transmission of ideas from their teacher, LU Jiuyuan, to WANG Yangming.)

Kokushikan University Library 国士舘大学附屬圖書館. 1975. *Studies in Chinese Philosophy by Professor KUSUMOTO Masatsugu* 楠本正継先生中国哲学研究. Tokyo 東京: Bungensha 文言社.

Kong, Fu 孔鮒. 1998. *Kong Family Masters Anthology* 孔叢子. In *Wenyuan Pavilion Complete Collection of the Four Treasuries*, vol. 74.

Kusumoto, Masatsugu 楠本正継. 1963. *Studies in Confucian Thought of the Song-Ming Period* 宋明時代儒学思想の研究. Tokyo 東京: Hiroike gakuen shuppanbu 広池学園出版部.

Legge, James. 1974. *The Chinese Classics*, vols. 1, 2. Taibei 臺北: Wenshizhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社.

Lu, Jiuyuan 陸九淵. 1980. *Lu Jiuyuan ji* 陸九淵集. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Morohashi, Tetsuji 諸橋轍次. 1966. *Comprehensive Chinese- Japanese Dictionary* 大漢和辞典. Tokyo: Taishūkan大修館.

Oka, Motoshi 岡元司. 2003. "'Friend' in Southern Song Local Society" 南宋期の地域社会における「友」. *Studies in East Asian History* 東洋史研究 61.4: 36–75. (An investigation of the concept of "friend" in the local social history of the Southern Song, focusing primarily on a study of funerary inscriptions from Wenzhou.)

Shen, Huan 沈煥. 1966. *Surviving Works of SHEN Huan* 定川遺書*, fulu* 附錄. *Siming Collectanea* ed.

Shimada, Kenji 島田虔次. 1966. "YANG Cihu" 楊慈湖. *Studies in East Asian History* 東洋史研究 24:123–141. (One of the first modern studies of the thought of YANG Jian, perpetuating the view of his ideas as heavily influenced by Chan Buddhism.)

Shu, Lin 舒璘. 1966. *Draft Documents of SHU Wenjinggong* 舒文靖公類稾, *fulu* 附錄. *Siming Collectanea* ed.

Siming Collectanea 四明叢書. 1966. Edited by ZHANG Shouyong 張壽鏞. Taipei 臺北: Guofang yanjiuyuan and Zhonghua dadian bianyinhui 國防研究院, 中華大典編印會.

Smith, Kidder, et al. 1990. *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I-ching*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (A collection of essays on the *Yijing* as interpreted by Song dynasty scholars.)

Song, Lian 宋濂, et al. 1995. *Yuan History* 元史. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Tillman, Hoyt. 1992. *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. (An intellectual history of the Southern Song *daoxue* movement as a "fellowship of the Way," emphasizing philosophical discourse among key Southern Song thinkers.)

Tsuchida, Kenjirō 土田健次郎. 1996. "Thought and Society: A Look at Studies of Song-Yuan Thought" 社会と思想:宋元思想研究覚書. In The Editorial Committee for Fundamental Problems in the History of the Song and Yuan Periods 宋元時代史の基本文題編集委員会 (ed.), *Fundamental Problems in the History of the Song and Yuan Periods* 宋元時代史の基本問題. Tokyo 東京: Kyūko shoin 汲古書院. (An interpretive overview of research in Song and Yuan intellectual history, critiquing the trend toward local studies.)

Ushio, Hiroko 牛尾弘孝. 1975. "The Thought of YANG Cihu: The Characteristics of his 'Learning of the Heart/Mind' " 楊慈湖の思想:その心学の性格について. *Essays in Chinese Philosophy* 中國哲學論集 1: 33–45. (A study of YANG Jian's thought not only in comparison with the ideas of ZHU Xi, LU Jiuyuan, and Chan Buddhism, but also as an integral whole with its own structural characteristics.)

Walton, Linda. 1978. "Education, Social Change, and Neo-Confucianism in Song-Yuan China: Academies and the Local Elite in Mingzhou (Ningbo)." PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Walton, Linda. 2003. "The Four Masters of Mingzhou: Local Social History and the Transmission of Intellectual Traditions in Late Imperial China." Paper presented to Third International Convention of Asia Scholars, Singapore.

Wu, Zhen 吳震. 1999. "Aspects of [WANG] Yangming Learning with regard to YANG Cihu" 楊慈湖おめぐる陽明學の諸相. *Eastern Studies* 東方學 97: 68–81. (A study of the relationship of YANG Jian's thought to that of WANG Yangming.)

Wenyuan Pavilion Complete Collection of the Four Treasuries 文淵閣四庫全書. 1998. Hong Kong 香港: Digital Heritage Company

Xu, Jifang 徐紀芳. 1990. *Studies on the Disciples of LU Xiangshan* 陸象山弟子研究. Taibei 臺北: Wenjin chubanshe 文津出版社.

Yang, Jian 楊簡. 1966. *Surviving Writings of YANG Jian* 慈湖遺書, *xuji* 續集, *bubian* 補編, *fulu* 附錄. *Siming Collectanea* ed.

Ye, Shaoweng 葉紹翁. 1989. *A Record of Things Seen and Heard during the Four Reigns* 四朝聞見錄. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Yong, Rong 永容 et al. 1985. *A Simplified Catalogue of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* 四庫全書簡明目錄. Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.

Yuan, Fu 袁甫. 1936. *The Collected Writings of* Yuan *Fu* 蒙齋集. Taibei 臺北: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.

Yuan, Xie 袁燮. 1935. *The Collected Writings of* Yuan *Xie* 絜齋集. *Comprehensive Collection of Collectanea* 叢書集成, Shanghai 上海: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.

Yuan, Xie 袁燮. 1966. *Surviving Writings of* Yuan *Xie* 袁正獻公遺文鈔, *fulu* 附錄. *Siming Collectanea* ed.

Yuan, Xie 袁燮. 1998. *Jiezhai [*Yuan *Xie] Family School Documents* 絜齋家塾書鈔. In *Wenyuan Pavilion Complete Collection of the Four Treasuries*, vol. 6.

Zhang, Qiyun 張其昀. 1966. "Intellectual Currents in Song Period Siming" 宋代四明之學風. In *Collected Studies in Song History* 宋史研究集, vol. 3. Taibei 臺北: Zhonghua congshu weiyuan hui 中華叢書委員會. (One of the earliest modern studies of successive Mingzhou thinkers [including the Four Masters] in Song intellectual history.)

Zhang, Xuecheng 章學誠. 1964. *Comprehensive Meanings of Literature and History* 文史通義. Hong Kong: Taiping Book Company.

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1997. *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* 朱子語類. Changsha 長沙: Yuelu shushe chubanshe 岳麓書社出版社.

Metaphysics and the Basis of Morality in the Philosophy of WANG Yangming

David W. Tien

This essay examines the metaphysics of the great Ming-dynasty philosopher, WANG Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1529), and discusses how his metaphysical views relate to his moral philosophy. After briefly reviewing Wang's career, I consider his *li-qi* metaphysics and the question of his idealism. Then, I discuss the meta-ethical implications of Wang's metaphysics and demonstrate how his doctrine of "the extension of pure knowing" can help to elucidate his meta-ethics.

WANG Shouren 王守仁, whose courtesy name is Bo'an 伯安 and style name is Yangming 陽明, was born in the city of Yue 越 in modern Zhejiang province.[1] His father WANG Hua 王華, a famous calligrapher and the top graduate in the imperial examinations of 1481, enjoyed a successful official career, rising to the rank of Minister of Personnel in Nanjing in 1507.

WANG Yangming led one of the most diverse, dynamic, and distinguished careers of any Chinese thinker in history. He spent most of his early years absorbed in intense intellectual and spiritual inquiry into Daoist longevity techniques, Buddhist scriptures, Confucian classics, prose and poetry composition, as well as the military arts and warfare. After passing the highest civil service exam in 1499, he began a career as a minor official and garnered a reputation for brilliance in administration and military strategy. He greatly improved the financial and security conditions of the areas under his jurisdiction, and he pioneered efforts to build schools and promote education. He also devised innovative methods for rehabilitating criminals. Wang became an acclaimed military commander, suppressing a number of bandit uprisings and major rebellions. By the end of his life, Wang had become a renowned scholar, poet, calligrapher, provincial governor, and military commander, as well as the most influential and charismatic Neo-Confucian teacher of his time.

[1] For more detailed accounts of Wang's life along with translations of his works, see Henke (1964), Wang (1963), Tu (1976), Ching (1976), and Ivanhoe (2009).

D.W. Tien (✉)
Department of Philosophy, National University of Singapore, Singapore
e-mail: phidwt@nus.edu.sg

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*,
Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_14,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

WANG Yangming and *Li-Qi* Metaphysics

This section is in three parts and clears up misconceptions regarding Wang's metaphysics.[2] The first part deals with the two meanings of *li* 理 (commonly translated as "principle") in the writings of ZHU Xi and WANG Yangming. The second explicates several passages adduced by previous scholars in their claims that Wang is an ontological idealist. The third argues that Wang held that there exists non-mental *qi* 氣 (vital energy) and that the heart/mind and non-mental *qi* are ontologically co-dependent. This section is intended to demonstrate the integral and foundational role of Wang's metaphysics in his overall philosophy.[3]

Li, Qi, and Background Neo-Confucian Metaphysics

For Wang and most Neo-Confucians, everything is constituted by some combination of *li* and *qi*. *Li* 理 refers to the way a thing or state of affairs ought to be. When things or states of affairs are not in accord with *li*, they are deemed deviant. On the relationships between *li, qi*, the heart/mind (*xin* 心), and the nature (*xing* 性), most previous scholarship has drawn a clear line dividing WANG Yangming from ZHU Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200).[4] Some have even gone so far as to assert that Zhu believed *li* do not exist in the heart/mind and that Wang believed only *li* exist and not *qi*.[5] Yet, there is much in common between the metaphysics of Wang and Zhu. To understand the background of Wang's view of *li* and *qi*, it is helpful to review briefly Zhu's position on *li* and *qi*.

Both Wang and Zhu used the term *li* in two ways: the universal *li* (or "heavenly *li*" [*tian li* 天理]) and the manifested *li* of particular, individualized things or events. This distinction is clearest in Zhu's vast corpus and is critical for understanding the diverse ways in which Neo-Confucians wielded *li* as a discursive resource and term of art. An exposition of this distinction between a universal *li* and manifested *li* is found in Russell Hatton's article, "A Comparison of *Li* and Substantial Form," in which Hatton takes issue with Fung

---

[2] This builds on my earlier treatment of the second and third misconceptions in Tien, 2007. "Three Misconceptions in Western Studies of Neo-Confucian Metaphysics." Unpublished manuscript.

[3] In his eloquently argued paper, Stephen Angle (2005) maintains that Wang's metaphysical views are not a crucial component of his moral philosophy.

[4] This is sometimes described in terms of the Lu-Wang School of the Heart/Mind (*xinxue* 心學), referring to LU Xiangshan and WANG Yangming, and the Cheng-Zhu School of Principle (*lixue* 理學), referring to CHENG Yi and ZHU Xi.

[5] For example, in discussing GAO Panlong's 高攀龍 entry in HUANG Zongxi's 黃宗羲 *Case Studies of Ming Confucians* (*Mingru xue'an* 明儒學案), Rodney Taylor asserts, "That there had been a change in the meaning of the investigation of things is predicated for Huang upon the view of *ko-wu* in Ch'eng-Chu orthodoxy as presupposing the bifurcation of heart/mind and principle. Principle is understood to reside in both things and one's nature but not in heart/mind" (Taylor 1990: 105). For a refutation of this claim, see Tien (2007).

Yu-lan's description of *li* and Fung's likening of *li* to substantial form (Hatton 1982).[6] This exemplary article is also a good instance of a pervasive misconception and does a superb job making explicit what is often left implicit in ZHU Xi studies. Hatton argues that in ZHU Xi's thought, since *li* is essentially the same in all things, it cannot be responsible for the generic or specific differences between things, and that, moreover, *qi* is solely responsible for all the differences between things.

Qi is the stuff of which the universe is made. It exists in various grades of purity. Although all things possess all the *li* of the universe within them, because of the impurity of the *qi* of which they are composed, some *li* are obstructed. Different combinations of *li* and *qi* are what account for the differences between things. Although Hatton is correct in affirming that *li* is, fundamentally, the same in all things, he is mistaken in contending that ZHU Xi held *qi* to be accountable exclusively for the differentiation. Hatton asserts that there is only one *li*. Such blanket statements are misleading unless one specifies whether the *li* in question refers to the universal *li* or the manifested *li*. For, as I shall argue, since different things manifest different *li*—what Hatton refers to as the individualized *li*—this implies that there is more than one *li*, or at least that the universal *li* is multi-faceted, which as we shall see, amounts to much the same as saying that there is more than one *li*.

Early in his paper, Hatton makes the distinction between *li* as "universal" and as "individualized":

> When we think of it (*li*) as universal, we think of it as that which is essentially the same in all beings and as the potentiality for certain behavior which all beings have. When, on the other hand, we consider *li* as individualized, we consider it insofar as it is able to manifest itself or insofar as the behavioral potential for which it is responsible is actualized. (Hatton 1982: 51)

Thereafter, however, he stops using the distinction. This is unfortunate because this distinction is crucial to understanding Zhu's theory of *li*. Since Hatton drops this distinction in the rest of his paper, his analysis of the textual evidence conflates the two senses of "*li*."

Two passages Hatton cites in particular are elucidatory of Zhu's view that the differences between things are due to both *li* and *qi*. In the first passage, ZHU Xi states that bricks have within them "the principle (*li*) that pertains to bricks" and that bamboo chairs have within them "the principle pertaining to bamboo chairs":

> *Question:* How is it that dried up withered things also possess the nature (*xing* 性)?
>
> *Answer:* "For them there has been from the beginning such a Principle. Therefore it is said that in the universe there is no single thing that lies beyond the nature." As he walked on the steps, [the Master then] said: "The bricks of these steps have within them the Principle pertaining to bricks." And sitting down, he said: "This bamboo chair has within it the Principle pertaining to bamboo chairs." (Hatton 1982: 64)[7]

[6] See also Fung (1983).

[7] Hatton cites Fung (1983: 542).

Hatton interprets this passage to mean simply that there actually is *li* in bricks and bamboo chairs. Such a reading supposedly "is to be preferred because it is more suggestive of the idea that the statements about bricks and chairs are simply specific instances of the general assertion that all things have *li"* (Hatton 1982: 64).

In the second passage, Zhu states that the *li* "of a boat is that it can move only on water; of a cart; that it can move only on land":

> *Question:* Principle is received from heaven by both men and other creatures alike. But do inanimate things also possess principle?
>
> *Answer:* Certainly they possess principle. For example, [the principle of] a boat is that it can move only on water; of a cart, that it can move only on land. (Hatton 1982: 65)[8]

Hatton argues that this does not show that the difference between boats and carts is due to *li* because the passage immediately following it attributes the difference to the *qi* of *yin* and *yang* (Hatton 1982: 65–66).

Nevertheless, Hatton's reading of the first passage begs the question by ignoring Zhu's emphasis on the specific *li* pertaining to the specific type of object, and his reading of the second fails to consider that *li* and *qi* together account for the differences between things. Both of these passages are consistent with Zhu's position that the differences between things are due to *li* and *qi* together.[9] Even though all things possess the same universal *li*, the individualized *li* that are actually manifested are determined by their *qi* endowments. That is why different things are said to have different *li*. Bricks, bamboo chairs, boats, and carts all differ from each other because their *qi* endowments differ, so the *li* that they manifest also differ.

To use Hatton's earlier distinction, the *li* that are shared by all is the "universal" *li*, whereas the *li* as manifested through *qi* are the "individualized" *li*. The *li* that partly determine the differences between things are properly referred to as "individualized" or "manifested" *li*. So Zhu Xi believes that the differences between things are due both to *li* and to *qi*.[10]

This brief discussion of Zhu's view on the relation between *li* and *qi* helps in approaching the controversy surrounding Wang's own metaphysics because Zhu's position on *li*-*qi* metaphysics became the standard understanding of Neo-Confucian metaphysics by Wang's time.

In *Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted* (*Chuanxi lu* 傳習錄), Wang distinguishes between the manifested *li* of filial piety, loyalty, trustworthiness, and benevolence and the heavenly *li* (*tianli* 天理), which is identical

---

[8] Translation is from Fung (1983: 536).

[9] Chen Lai also takes Zhu Xi as seeing the differences between things as due to *li* and to *qi* together, although he does not utilize the distinction between universal and manifested *li* (Chen 2004: 127–128).

[10] This leads to the question of just what it is that determines a thing's *qi* endowment. Is it ordained by heaven (*tianming* 天命)? Such questions, however, lie beyond the scope of this paper and must await further study.

to the universal *li* (Wang 1919–1936: 1:56–7/3).[11] He argues that one should not seek the manifested *li* in external things but instead should first free oneself from the *qi* obscuration of self-centered desires and then recover the universal *li* of one's heart/mind. Manifested *li* is the universal *li* obscured by a *qi* configuration; it is the universal *li* combined with some degree of turbid *qi*. The universal *li* encompasses every manifested *li*, and the *qi* configuration determines which parts of the universal *li* are manifested. Hence, Wang explains that a fast track to enlightenment is to seek not the manifested *li* out there in the external world, but to focus on recovering the universal *li* in one's own heart/mind:

> In serving one's parents, do not seek the *li* of filial piety in the parents. In serving one's ruler, do not seek the *li* of loyalty in the ruler. In interactions with friends and in governing the people, do not seek for the *li* of trustworthiness and benevolence in the friends or the people. [These manifested principles] are all in the heart/mind. The heart/mind is [universal] *li*. When this heart/mind is free from the obscuration of self-centered desires, it is identical to the heavenly *li*. It needs nothing added to it from the outside. If this heart/mind, which is completely identical to the heavenly *li*, were to arise (*fa* 發) to serve the parents, then there would be filial piety. If it were to arise to serve the ruler, then there would be loyalty. If it were to arise to interact with friends and govern the people, then there would be trustworthiness and benevolence. If only this heart/mind would make an effort to expel self-centered human desires and preserve the heavenly *li*, then this would all be so. (Wang 1919–1936: 1: 56–7/3)[12]

In this passage, Wang draws on the distinction between the universal, heavenly *li* and the individualized *li* manifested in specific situations, which here include interacting with one's parents, ruler, friends, and the people. Discovering and stimulating the heavenly *li* would enable one to react perfectly in every situation because the heavenly *li* encompasses all of the particularized *li*, including the *li* of filial piety, loyalty, trustworthiness, and benevolence.

This passage, however, might be misinterpreted and misused to support a reading of Wang as a kind of metaphysical idealist because of his bold statements such as, "[These manifested principles] are all in the heart/mind." I now turn to the issue of Wang and ontological idealism.

Wang Yangming and Ontological Idealism

Contrary to many modern interpretations of Wang's metaphysics, Wang was not an adherent of a Berkeleian ontological idealism, which claims that the physical world exists only as an appearance to or an expression of heart/mind. Granted, there are several mutually exclusive and widely used meanings of

[11] References to the *Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted* are to the *Sibu beiyao* edition of the *Wang Wencheng gong quanshu* in the format [Book]:[Page]/[Paragraph]. Hence 1:56–7/3 means Book 1, Pages 56–57, Paragraph 3.

[12] Unless otherwise noted, this and the following translations from the *Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted* borrow considerably from Wing-tsit Chan's translations in Wang (1963).

"idealism," such as are found in the writings not only of George Berkeley, but also of Immanuel Kant, G.W.F. Hegel, and F.H. Bradley. There may be a sense in which Wang is an idealist of sorts, in that the functioning of the pure knowing faculty of a transcendent, universal mind, which exists in each individual human being, acts as a kind of master of the mind-external world. However, this would be a highly qualified and unusual version of "idealism."

In this section, I shall refute the prevalent view of Wang's metaphysics that would have him denying the existence of a world independent from the human heart/mind. In the terms of Neo-Confucian philosophy, WANG Yangming is a *li-qi* realist who holds to the existence of a world external to the heart/mind, that *li* exist in the external world, and that there is *qi* that is external to the heart/mind.

A prominent statement of Wang's idealism is found in the introduction of Wing-tsit Chan's masterful translation of Wang's *Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted* (Wang 1963: xxxi–xxxiii), in which Chan maintains that Wang believed, "[A]s there is no principle outside the heart/mind, there is no thing outside it" (Wang 1963: xxxii). A more extended and lucid defense of this perspective on Wang is Jig-chuen Lee's article, "Wang Yang-ming, Chu Hsi, and the Investigation of Things," in which Lee contends that WANG Yangming "unmistakably denies that principles are in the external things" (Lee 1982: 33). I shall consider the passages adduced by both Lee and Chan.[13] I argue that these passages are consistent with Wang's position that *li* exist both in the heart/mind and in the external world.

To support his claim that Wang denies *li* exists in external things, Jig-chuen Lee adduces parts of three passages from Wang's *Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted*.[14] When, however, they are read as an attempt by Wang to combat the pernicious view that *li* exists only in the external world, these passages fail to demonstrate that Wang held *li* to exist only in the heart/mind. Wang admits to believing that *li* exist in the external world in *Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted* 2:89/133, a passage that can act as a hermeneutical key to unlocking the passages Lee cites. In 2:89/133, Wang first quotes ZHU Xi and then maintains that Zhu was correct about the "universal dispersion and unity [of principle]," but that later generations have distorted Zhu's view and consider the heart/mind and principle to be separate. Wang thought this idea could mislead people into accepting the dangerous notion that *li* do not already exist in the heart/mind, an idea antithetical to Wang's philosophy. Wang's statements should be understood in light of his pedagogical purpose of combating this idea.

The categorical and hyperbolic nature of some of Wang's statements are characteristic of his therapeutic rather than theoretical approach and ought to

---

[13] Shu-hsien Liu argues that Wang was not a "Berkeleian type of subjective idealist." However, he argues in a roundabout manner that Wang's thought "implied an ontological idealism of some sort" (Liu 1983:151, 154).

[14] They correspond to Sections 133, 135, and 32 in Wang (1963).

be read with this in mind.[15] Wang considered himself more a spiritual teacher or coach than an armchair philosopher or theorist. Like many Confucian teachers and Buddhist masters before him, Wang tailored his teachings to the needs of his students, sometimes using exaggeratedly bold claims to get his point across and galvanize his listeners into action. His purpose was not to construct a perfectly consistent and comprehensive philosophical system. Rather, Wang's primary concern on such occasions was practical: moral cultivation and social harmony.

Let us take a closer look at each of these passages. In the first passage, rather than having Wang deny the existence of *li* in external things, the passage depicts Wang as affirming that the external world is not a good place to look for *li*:

> The principles of things are not outside one's heart/mind. If one looks outside the heart/mind and seeks for the principles of things, one will find no principles. [On the other hand], to abandon the principles of things and seek for one's heart/mind—what would one [hope to] find? (Wang 1919–1936: 2:89/133; translation follows Ivanhoe 2002: 46)

Seeking for *li* in things would be futile because such a search would be highly ineffective, as Wang found early in his career. Wang did not want others to take this path. He strongly warned against searching for *li* apart from the heart/mind. Such a quest would be painstakingly protracted and too overwhelming. The manifested *li* are simply too numerous and diverse to master all one by one. He believed that it was far more efficient and manageable to monitor the heart/mind's own reactions and responses towards external events and things and to try to cultivate oneself by recovering the *li* of one's own heart/mind. In addition, focusing externally has a tendency to exclude and over-intellectualize. It leaves the subject and his responses out of our perception of the world. In ethical understanding, this is a fatal mistake.[16] The categorical nature of Wang's statement should be read in light of his therapeutic approach.

In the second passage, Wang seems to make a conditional claim that if the *li* of filial piety were to exist in parents, when the parents die, the heart/mind would be unable to grasp the *li* of filial piety:

> What ZHU Xi meant by the investigation of things (*gewu* 格物) is … to look in each individual thing for its so-called definite *li*. This means to apply one's heart/mind to each individual thing and look for *li* in it. This is to divide the heart/mind and *li* into two. To seek for the *li* in each individual thing is like looking for the *li* of filial piety in parents. If the *li* of filial piety is to be sought in [my] parents, then is it actually in my own heart/mind or is it in my parents? If it is actually in my parents, is it true that as soon as the parents pass away the heart/mind will lack the *li* of filial piety? (Wang 1919–1936: 2:91–2/135)

[15] For a succinct description of the therapeutic/theoretical distinction, see Ivanhoe (2000: 64–65). This distinction is also applicable to many other Chinese philosophical works, such as *Zhuangzi*.

[16] I am grateful to P.J. Ivanhoe for his helpful input on this latter point.

On Wang's view, the only good reason to seek *li* in external things would be if *li* were to exist only in external things and not in the heart/mind. So the last sentence should be understood as saying that if the *li* were *only* in the person of my parents, then when my parents pass away, the *li* would also pass away. This claim, as well as the disjunction Wang uses earlier that either it is in the heart/mind or is in the parents leaves open the possibility that *li* is both in the heart/mind and in external things.[17]

In the last passage, 1:67/32, instead of contending that *li* are only in the heart/mind, Wang is actually claiming that there are no *li* in the external world that are not also in the heart/mind: "There are no *li* outside the heart/mind (心外無理)."[18] Rather than seeing this as a denial that *li* exists in things, a better interpretation would be to see Wang as claiming that, apart from the *li* in the heart/mind, there are no new or different *li* in the external world, that is, that all *li* are already present in the heart/mind because for Wang, the heart/mind *is* the universal *li* in the sense that the heart/mind is the knowing, conscious mode of the universal *li*.

In the introduction to his translation of Wang's *Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted,* Wing-tsit Chan cites three additional passages in support of his reading of Wang as a metaphysical idealist. First is the initially puzzling passage about flowers blooming on mountaintops in which Wang states that mountaintop flowers are not outside one's heart/mind:

> A friend pointed to flowering trees on a cliff saying, "No thing (*wu* 物) under heaven is outside the heart/mind. These flowering trees on high mountains bloom on their own and wither on their own. How could they be connected to my heart/mind?" (Wang 1919–1936: 3:143/275; Wang 1963: xxxiii).
>
> The teacher said, "Before you have seen these flowers, they and your heart/mind alike have returned to a state of quiescence (*ji* 寂). When you come to see these flowers, their colors immediately show up clearly. Thus you know that these flowers are not outside your heart/mind." (Wang 1919–1936: 3:143/275)

At first glance, Wang's answer may appear to be a categorical statement in support of a version of metaphysical idealism in which flowers exist only when perceived by us. Notice, however, that Wang holds that not only the flowers, but the heart/mind as well, are in this previous state of "quiescence." The stimulus and response work both ways. Once the heart/mind comes into contact with the flowers, both the heart/mind and the flowers come out of "quiescence." This is because the *li* of the heart/mind meets with the corresponding *li* of the flowers.[19] This is how we come to learn new things. Before the *li* of the heart/mind and the *li* of the flowers meet, neither of them is stimulated in regard to the manifested *li* of the specific flowers. But once they come in contact, the

---

[17] Moreover, the point in this passage is that the problem is not that one is looking outside the heart/mind, but that one is looking *only* at one's own parents for the *li.*

[18] The passage continues: "There are no events/tasks/affairs outside the heart/mind (心外無事)."

[19] See Ivanhoe (2000: 57) for a discussion of the significance of the modern Chinese compound, *lihui* 理會 ("meeting of *li* ").

manifested *li* of the flowers match up with the corresponding manifested *li* in the heart/mind, which for Wang is the conscious and knowing mode of the universal *li*. They have a magnetic-like pull towards one another. When the heart/mind perceives an external object, in terms of *li-qi* metaphysics, what occurs is the manifested *li* of the flowers meet with the corresponding manifested *li* of the heart/mind. Wang's conclusion sums it up. The *li* of the flowers, including the *li* of the colors of the flowers, are also in the heart/mind and not just in the external world. The universal *li* of the heart/mind encompasses all the manifested *li*, including those of the flowers. In this sense, the *li* of the flowers are not only in the external world, but also in one's heart/mind.

Second, Chan refers to Wang's statement: "Therefore I say that there are neither *li* nor *wu* ('things') outside the heart/mind." This phrase is consistent with the reading that there are no *li* outside the heart/mind that are not also part of the universal *li* of the heart/mind. The context of this statement is a discussion of the meaning of *wu* 物 in the phrase *gewu* 格物. He claims that, "whatever thought is directed at is a *wu*" (ibid. 1:59–60/6).

Elsewhere, Wang explains his interpretation of this concept as it relates to the "rectification of thoughts" (*gewu* 格物), which is drawn from the beginning of the *Daxue* 大學 (usually translated, *The Great Learning* or *The Learning of Adults*) and is commonly translated as "the investigation of things." He explicitly rejects ZHU Xi's explanation that *ge* 格 means "to reach" (*zhi* 致) and *wu* 物 means the affairs or principles of things in the external realm. Rather, Wang maintains that *wu* refers to the objects or content of "thought" (*yi* 意) and not to external objects or events:

> The application of a thought[20] requires its [corresponding] *wu*. And the *wu* is the task (*shi* 事). If thought is applied in serving the parents, then serving the parents is the "object of thought" (*wu*). If thought is applied in governing the people, then governing the people is the object of thought. If thought is applied in studying books, then studying books is the object of thought. If thought is applied in hearing a lawsuit, then hearing a lawsuit is the object of thought. As long as thought is applied, there will be an object of thought. If there is a particular thought, then there will be the corresponding object of thought. If there is not this particular thought, then there will not be that corresponding object of thought. (ibid. 2:93–95/137)

Whenever one thinks, there must be something about which one thinks. That about which one is thinking is the *wu* or "object of thought." The *wu* are the content of one's thoughts. Wang's multiple examples of what he considers to be *wu* elucidate how different his understanding of that concept is from that of Zhu. *Wu* constitute the locus of one's attention and are where one's heart/mind is directed. Thus, the *wu* in *gewu* is better translated not as "things," but as "thoughts" or, more accurately, the "object of thought." Wang was adamant that these were not outside the heart/mind in the sense that the most immediate, direct, and reliable means of accessing these objects of thoughts was to monitor

[20] Contrast this with Chan's unfortunate translation of *yi* as "will." Wang (1963:104).

and reflect on the operations and responses of one's own heart/mind. As for *ge* in the phrase *gewu*, Wang argues that it means "to rectify":

> The word *ge* 格 in *gewu* 格物 is the same as the *ge* in Mengzi's expression, "A great man rectified (*ge*) the ruler's heart/mind" [*Mencius* 4A.2]. [*Gewu*] means to eliminate whatever is incorrect in the heart/mind and preserve the correctness of its original substance. Wherever there is a thought, eliminate whatever is incorrect and preserve the heart/mind's original substance. Then in all places, at all times, the heavenly *li* will definitely be preserved. (ibid. 1:60/7)

Wang's explanation of *gewu* is consistent with his view that the heart/mind is the conscious, knowing aspect of *li* itself and that the proper place to discover *li* is in the heart/mind, not in the outside world. The more one eliminates incorrect thoughts, particularly self-centered thoughts, the more one's heart/mind will be able to function freely and to operate properly. The method of rectifying one's thoughts, and thus the key to eradicating inappropriate desires, is to monitor constantly one's thoughts. In carrying out this task, one is to be "like a cat catching mice—with eyes intently watching and ears intently listening. As soon as a single [self-centered] thought begins to stir, one must conquer it and cast it out .... Do not indulge or accommodate it in any way. Do not harbor it, and do not allow it to escape" (ibid. 1:68/39).

In one sense, objects of thought exist in the external world. If serving one's parents is the object of one's thought, then this definitely does not imply that the parents lack existence in the external world. Wang was concerned not about the parents in the external realm, but whether one was sufficiently focused in thinking about one's parents. In that sense, "serving one's parents" was internal. The "*wu*" are the content of thought (*yi*). In this example, the content of one's thought is to be filial in service to the parents. One was to monitor one's thoughts in serving one's parents. If these were unfilial thoughts, then one would need to correct them immediately and completely.

Thus, Wang considers *wu* 物 in the phrase *gewu* to point not to objects in the external world but to the objects and content of thought. And that is why Wang concludes that *wu* are not outside the heart/mind.

Third, Chan adduces a passage in which Wang contends:

> If heaven did not have my clear intellect, who would gaze upon its height? If earth did not have my clear intellect, who would plumb its depths? If ghosts and spirits did not have my clear intellect, who would distinguish their good and evil fortune or the calamities and blessings they would bring? Separated from my clear intellect, there would be no heaven, earth, ghosts, spirits, or the myriad things. (ibid. 3:157/337)

This passage seems to say that without the "clear intellect" (*lingming* 靈明) of human beings, there would be no phenomena in the external world. This may appear similar to a kind of ontological idealism in which the existence of external phenomena is contingent on the phenomena's being perceived. Wang, however, completes the passage by affirming that the clear intellect is also dependent on external phenomena for its existence: "Separated from heaven, earth, ghosts, spirits, and the myriad things, there would be no clear

intellect of mine. Thus, they all flow from a single vital energy. How can they be separated?" (ibid. 3:157/337). At a deep metaphysical level, the external world and the heart/mind's clear intellect are mutually dependent.

The context of this passage is a student's question about the axiom that the human heart/mind and the myriad things form the same body. Wang's explanation is that all things, including animals, plants, heaven, earth, spiritual beings, and himself are composed of the same vital energy. Because they have their existence in a common substance, they affect and influence one another on a metaphysical level (ibid. 3:157/337). Moreover, Wang contends that human beings are the heart/mind of heaven and earth and that the reason human beings can function as the heart/mind of heaven and earth is because they have the "clear intellect": "Human beings are the heart/mind of heaven and earth[21]. . . . In all that fills heaven and earth there is but this clear intellect. It is only because we have physical forms and bodies that there is separation between us. My clear intellect is the master of heaven and earth, ghosts, and spirits" (ibid. 3:157/337).

This clear intellect is the most rarefied vital energy and transcends the individual human being. No one human being serves as the heart/mind of heaven and earth, but rather, the clear intellect that is instantiated in and shared by all human beings functions as this heart/mind of heaven and earth. The precise sense in which the clear intellect acts as heart/mind and master of heaven and earth is not entirely clear nor does Wang explain this in much detail. What can be inferred is that the heart/mind of man not only perceives external phenomena but also, when properly functioning, discerns and thereby confers upon them their order or organization. Thus although the clear intellect of human beings functions as the heart/mind and master of heaven and earth, it is in turn dependent on the existence of the external world for its own existence. The point in this passage is not that the external world is heart/mind-dependent, but that everything from the most mundane external phenomena to ghosts and spirits to heaven and earth share in the single substance of vital energy and mutually influence one another.

Seen in this interpretive light, the passages adduced by Lee and Chan can by read (1) as Wang's claiming that one should not search for *li* in the external world because such a search would prove terribly ineffectual (ibid. 2:89/133); (2) as leaving open the possibility that *li* exist both in the heart/mind and in things (ibid. 2:91–2/135);[22] (3) that one should not engage in such a search because all

---

[21] From the *Book of Rites* (Wang 1963: 257, footnote 44).

[22] Chen Lai contends that when Wang Yangming says no principles are outside the heart/mind, Wang is referring to moral principles (Chen 2004: 203–204). In a more recent work, Chen also seems to affirm something similar to the view presented here. He argues that when Wang makes statements of the form "心外無X" this means that there are no X that are separate from the heart/mind. However, Chen is ambivalent on the issue of Wang's ontological idealism (Chen 2006: 43–55). Yang Guorong's view on this is very similar to that of Chen (Yang 2005: 26–32).

the *li* are already present in the heart/mind (ibid. 1:67/32), which is why Wang advocates monitoring one's responses to the things and events of the world; the alternative he offers is not navel gazing but an engaged self-scrutiny as one perceives, responds, and acts in the world; (4) that every *li* that exists in the external world is also present in the universal *li* of the heart/mind (ibid. 3:143/275); (5) that *wu* are the content or objects of thought, and hence, also in the heart/mind (ibid. 1:59–60/6); and (6) that while the external world is dependent for its existence on the heart/mind of humanity, the clear intellect of human beings, as the most rarefied form of vital energy, is also ontologically dependent on the external world (ibid. 3:157/337).

WANG Yangming and Vital Energy

One of the most over-looked topics in studies of Wang's philosophy is Wang's view of vital energy (*qi* 氣). Ignorance of this key concept and its role in Wang's thought may cause some to misinterpret Wang as a pragmatist about knowledge and neglect his bold metaphysical assumptions.[23] For Wang, the unity of all things, heaven, earth, and humanity, is not just a relational or metaphorical unity, but is primarily a metaphysical unity. This is because we are part of a common vital energy. Although Wang focuses much more on other concepts, throughout his writings he can be understood as subscribing to the view that there is *qi* that is not the heart/mind. If this is true then clearly WANG Yangming is not an ontological idealist of the kind described above.

As with most issues in Neo-Confucian metaphysics, ZHU Xi and WANG Yangming held similar views. Wang believed that every instantiation of *li* had to be accompanied by *qi* because *li* was always embedded in *qi*. This is the standard thesis in Neo-Confucian philosophy. Wang reiterated this common view: "*Li* is the order by which *qi* operates. *Qi* is that whereby *li* functions. Without order, it cannot function. Without functioning, there can be nothing to reveal what is ordered" (ibid. 2:106/153).

Although our natures can be identified with *li*, since *li* is never found apart from *qi*, our natures are also in a sense constituted by *qi*:

> *Qi* is identical to the nature (*qi ji shi xing* 氣即是性). When people are born, they are in a state of quiescence. The state before this cannot be described, so we declare that *qi* is identical to the nature. [But] then we fall on one side, and the nature [in question] is no longer the original nature. When Mencius talked about the goodness of human nature, he meant the original nature. However, the sprouts of the goodness of human nature can be seen only when manifested in *qi*. Without *qi*, nothing can be seen.... Master CHENG Yi said, "To talk of nature without talking about *qi* would be incomplete. To talk of *qi* without talking about nature would be unintelligible" (Cheng and Cheng 1936: 6:2). Because students recognized only one side, he had to say this. When we

[23] The majority of modern Wang specialists concur with the view presented here. See Ivanhoe (2002), Ching (1976), Tu (1976), Henke (1964), and Wang (1963).

> clearly understand our nature, then we realize that *qi* is identical to the nature, and the nature is identical to *qi*, and that fundamentally, there is nothing that can separate the nature and *qi*. (Wang 1919–1936: 2:105/150)

The standard Neo-Confucian view posits an original nature, which is pure, completely good, and is identical to *li*, and contrasts it with the physical nature, which is the *li* of the original nature embedded in *qi*. Wang's point, echoing CHENG Yi 程頤 (1035–1107), is that the original nature is an ideal and abstraction. It can never be found in reality. The only nature that can be seen in this world is the physical nature. In this sense, *qi* and human nature are identical.

Wang expanded on this idea, re-affirming that "*Qi* is also nature, and nature is also *qi*." He explained this in connection with "pure knowing" (*liangzhi* 良知): "If one understands the basis and follows pure knowing, whatever one says or does is naturally appropriate. But pure knowing speaks through the same mouth and acts through the same body. How can it go beyond *qi* and have another organ with which to speak or act?" (ibid. 3:137/242). Even the perfectly functioning epistemic and moral faculty of pure knowing operates within the substance of vital energy.

The *qi* of pure knowing, however, is of a special kind. When asked whether plants, trees, tiles, and stones have pure knowing, Wang replied that the pure knowing of humanity served as the pure knowing of these plants and inanimate objects. He insisted that, "Even heaven and earth cannot exist without the pure knowing of humanity." Why? "Because heaven, earth, and the myriad things fundamentally form one body with humanity." Moreover, human beings have this central, governing role in the universe because:

> The point at which this unity is manifested in its most refined, excellent form is the clear intellect of the human heart/mind. Wind, rain, dew, thunder, the sun, the moon, stars, animals, plants, mountains, rivers, earth, and stones are fundamentally one body with humanity.... Since they share the same *qi*, they flow into one another. (ibid. 3:137/242)

These are unequivocal declarations of the metaphysical unity of all things, including heaven, earth, animals, plants, inanimate objects, and human beings, grounded in a common, shared vital energy. The underlying metaphysical unity of all things helps make sense of Wang's statement, following the *Book of Rites*, that "Humanity is the heart/mind of heaven and earth" (ibid. 3:157/337). More specifically, Wang is referring to humanity's clear intellect as the master of the myriad things. Because the clear intellect is the most "refined, excellent form" of *qi*, it can act as the master and heart/mind of heaven and earth.

In sum, Wang holds many views, including much of his perspective on *li*-*qi* metaphysics, in common with standard theses in Neo-Confucian philosophy. He is not an ontological idealist if that refers to a position in which the physical world is merely an appearance to or expression of the heart/mind. Instead, Wang clearly thinks that there is vital energy that is not the heart/mind, and that the heart/mind and non-mental vital energy are ontologically co-dependent. Any study of Wang's ethical philosophy invoking the concepts of *li*, *qi*, or the heart/mind ought to take into account the underlying metaphysics.

The Meta-Ethical Implications of WANG Yangming's Metaphysics

From what has been said about Wang so far, we can come to certain conclusions about his view of the metaphysical status of ethical qualities.[24] Borrowing categories and terms from contemporary debates on meta-ethics, we can accurately describe Wang as a non-reductionist, naturalist, cognitivist, moral realist.[25] What sets Wang apart from other Neo-Confucians is his account of the process by which an irreducible moral property can affect the senses.

Wang is a moral realist. That is, Wang believed that there are moral facts or properties in the world of the sort required to render our moral judgments true, and that the existence of these moral facts or properties is constitutively independent of human opinion. Moreover, he is a cognitivist because he believes that moral judgments are able to be true or false and can be the result of cognitive access to the facts that render them true or false. I take as patently obvious that Wang and the vast majority of Neo-Confucian thinkers are moral realists and cognitivists.

In addition, Wang is a naturalistic non-reductionist. Many have attempted to follow G. E. Moore's definition of "naturalist": "By 'nature,' then I mean and have meant that which is the subject matter of the natural sciences and also of psychology. It may be said to include all that has existed, does exist, or will exist in time" (Moore 1993: 92). Thus, a natural property would mean a property that figures in one of the natural sciences or psychology. Admittedly, this characterization lacks sufficient clarity. Instead, I shall use a definition according to which "natural properties" are either causal or detectable by the senses (Miller 2003:11). This parallels Moore's definition as such natural properties would also be included in the scope of typical natural sciences or psychology. Conversely, non-natural properties are properties that are neither causal nor detectable by the senses.

Given that WANG Yangming and most Neo-Confucian philosophers believed that there is a corresponding *li* for every property, whether moral or non-moral, then not just WANG Yangming but all Neo-Confucian philosophers would appear to be moral naturalists.[26] For Wang and other Neo-Confucians, *li*, whether moral or non-moral, are both causal and detectable by the senses. Since every thing, including the heart/mind and pure knowing, is composed of vital energy, all *li* are able to be causal and detectable by one's *qi*. Even if one were to argue that the moral *li* is ultimately perceived by the faculty of pure

---

[24] For a highly insightful discussion of Wang's meta-ethics, see Ivanhoe, 2010. "Moral Perception East and West." Unpublished.

[25] This discussion of these categories is greatly influenced by the articles in Darwall et al. (1997) and Miller (2003).

[26] More accurately, the Neo-Confucians did not divide things into the "natural" and "non-natural." Insofar as one considers *qi* to be "natural," and given that *li* is never found apart from *qi*, one can conclude that moral properties are also "natural."

knowing, which is of the most rarefied kind of *qi*, it is still the case that one must go through the natural senses: "Pure knowing speaks through the same mouth and acts through the same body. How can it go beyond vital energy and have another organ with which to speak or act?" (Wang 1919–1936: 3:137/242). More accurately, however, Neo-Confucian philosophers did not divide things into the "natural" and "non-natural." However, insofar as one considers *qi* to be "natural," and given that *li* is never found apart from *qi*, one can conclude that moral properties are also "natural."[27]

The final question is whether Wang was a reductionist or non-reductionist about ethical qualities. That is, are moral *li* reducible to non-moral *li*? A reductionist would identify the moral *li* with non-moral *li*. A non-reductionist, however, would claim that moral *li* are themselves irreducible. The burden for non-reductionistic naturalists is to show how moral properties can be both irreducible and explanatorily efficacious.

For Wang, the moral *li* and the non-moral *li* are both instances of *li* and cannot be reduced to each another. Wang discussed Mencius' thought experiment involving a child falling into a well:[28] "When I see a child fall into a well, there must be a *li* of commiseration. Is this *li* of commiseration actually in the person of the child or is it in the pure knowing of my heart/mind?" He also asked whether the *li* of filial piety exists in the parents:

> To seek for the *li* in each individual thing is like looking for the *li* of filial piety in the parents. If the *li* of filial piety is to be sought in the parents, then is it actually in my own heart/mind, or is it in the person of my parents? If it is actually in the person of my parents, is it true that as soon as the parents pass away, the heart/mind lacks the *li* of filial piety? (ibid. 2:91–2/135)

In terms of manifested *li*, the *li* of filial piety cannot be reduced to non-moral *li*, such as those of the parents. The *li* of filial piety has its own existence and cannot be reduced to other *li*.

Furthermore, since all the manifested *li*, including moral ones, exist as part of the universal *li* of the heart/mind, the moral *li* are reducible to the heart/mind. But since the heart/mind is the knowing, conscious mode of the universal *li*, the heart/mind can also be reduced to the universal *li*. The universal *li*, which is identified with moral goodness, is fundamentally irreducible. Elsewhere, Wang also speaks about the *li* of benevolence, rightness, filial piety, and loyalty (ibid. 2:92–3/136, 1:82–3/117). These moral *li*, too, are not reducible to the non-moral *li*. They exist in the world and through the heart/mind's pure knowing and clear intellect, one can apprehend, grasp, practice, and master them.

In addition to irreducibility, a non-reductionistic position would have to show that these ostensibly natural moral properties are also explanatorily efficacious. The kind of irreducibility in question can be found in the writings

[27] A full comparative study of the term "natural" and the term "*qi*" in Neo-Confucian thought lies beyond the scope of this essay but would repay careful research.

[28] *Mencius* 6A.4.

of Nicholas Sturgeon and David Brink.[29] Sturgeon uses an explanation in terms of a person's moral character in arguing that the fact that Hitler was morally depraved explains at least in part why he ordered and oversaw the death of millions. The fact that Hitler ordered and oversaw the death of millions explains why one might believe that Hitler was morally depraved. So the fact that Hitler was morally depraved explains in part why one might believe that Hitler was morally depraved (Sturgeon 1988: 232).

Another example of this kind of irreducibility is Sturgeon's slavery case. In answering the interesting historical question of why vigorous and reasonably widespread moral opposition to slavery arose for the first time in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, even though slavery was a very old institution, and why this opposition arose primarily in Britain, France, and in French- and English-speaking North America, even though slavery existed throughout the New World, scholars have a standard response. It is that chattel slavery in these places was far worse than previous forms of slavery and much worse than slavery in other locales. Another explanation is that the antislavery sentiment arose in the United States because slavery became a more oppressive institution there during that time. The appeal in these two explanations is straightforwardly to moral facts (Sturgeon 1988: 245; cf. Brink 1989: 195). These examples cite facts about moral character as part of an explanation or feature moral properties of actions or institutions as playing a genuinely explanatory role. Does Wang also believe that moral *li* can factor into explanations?

Not only does Wang think that moral *li* are explanatorily efficacious, he is able to offer an account of the mechanisms or processes by which a moral property could affect the senses. While giving such an account of the mechanisms or processes has been a major problem in contemporary philosophy, Wang has a unique and well-developed answer. Wang presents an account that sets him apart from other Neo-Confucians. His explanation of the process and mechanism is found in his theory of pure knowing and the extension of pure knowing.

The Extension of Pure Knowing

Pure knowing (*liangzhi* 良知) is the innate, fully formed cognitive and affective faculty that enables one to know the *li* of the heart/mind and universe.[30] It discerns flawlessly, naturally, and spontaneously between right and wrong. It not only forms correct beliefs, it also produces correct affective responses (Tien 2004). For Wang, the phrase *zhizhi* 至知 ("the extension of knowledge") carries the more specific meaning of *zhi liangzhi* 至良知 ("extending pure

[29] I thank Hui-chieh Loy for pointing out the necessity of specifying the sort of reductionism in question here.

[30] This section draws considerably from Tien (2004).

knowing"): "The extension of knowledge is not—as later scholars say it is—' filling out and broadening' one's knowledge. It is simply to extend the pure knowing of my own heart/mind" (Wang 1963: 287). Extending one's pure knowing means to apply successfully the pure knowing to the matters of one's daily life. Since one cannot extend one's pure knowing if self-centered desires are obstructing it, the extension of pure knowing is contingent on first eradicating self-centered desires in relation to specific items of knowledge. Only after the pure knowing is extended can one attain real knowledge (*zhenzhi* 真知).

In an ideal world, the pure knowing would function properly and extend effortlessly. In the actual world, however, even if one has removed the barrier of self-centered desires and one's pure knowing is functioning freely, one might still be unable to extend fully one's pure knowing: "Pure knowing naturally knows, which is in fact quite easy. But often one cannot extend one's pure knowing to the utmost. This shows that it is not difficult to know but difficult to act" (Wang 1919–1936: 3:154–155/321).

Why is it so difficult to extend one's pure knowing? In some cases, self-centered desires still hinder the pure knowing. Wang states that "it is because one is driven by the considerations of praise and criticism or loss and gain [that one] cannot really extend one's pure knowing" (Wang 1919–1936: 2:104/147). This highlights the interdependence of the "rectification of thoughts" (*gewu* 格物) and the "extension of knowledge." Wang believed that the most effective way of unearthing one's improper thoughts is to try to extend the pure knowing in one's daily life. Wang warns against secluded and solitary introspection.[31] If the attempted extension fails, one will then be in a much better position to identify the relevant self-centered desires, and when they are identified, one will be able to confront them. Once one has eliminated them, one should then be able to extend one's pure knowing successfully.

Also, it is possible that one remains unaware of one's relevant uneliminated self-centered desires until one attempts to extend one's pure knowing. Once one makes the attempt, however, one will be in a position to monitor one's mental responses to the situation. Then if one fails to extend the pure knowing successfully, one would be in a position to ascertain one's relevant self-centered desires. One could then work on eradicating them, thereby rectifying one's thoughts. This is the cyclical process of the rectification of thoughts and the extension of knowledge. Wang explained the link between the two as follows: "The rectification of thoughts is the effort to extend knowledge. As one knows how to extend one's knowledge, one also knows how to rectify thoughts. If one does not know how to rectify thoughts, it means one does not yet know how to extend one's knowledge" (Wang 1919–1936: 2:104/148).

Nevertheless, this explanation applies only to situations in which the subject has failed to eliminate the relevant self-centered desires. The question at hand, however, is whether, and if so why, one who already has eliminated all relevant

[31] Wang makes exceptions under certain circumstances (Wang 1919–1936: 3:139/262).

self-centered desires still cannot extend the pure knowing. The answer lies in Wang's central doctrine of the unity of knowledge and action (*zhixing heyi* 知行合一). For Wang, the extension of pure knowing consists in "acting" on the deliverances of the properly functioning pure knowing:

> We know that the extension of knowledge has to consist in action, and it is clear that without action there can be no extension of knowledge. Does not the state of the unity of knowledge and action stand sharply in focus? ... [W]henever the superior man is engaged in practical affairs or discussion, he insists on the task of knowledge and action combined. The aim is precisely to extend the pure knowing of his original heart/mind. He is unlike those who devote themselves merely to talking and hearing as though that were knowledge, and divide knowledge and action into two separate things as though they really could be itemized and take place one after the other. (ibid. 2:95–98/139–140)

Wang's category of real knowledge (*zhenzhi* 真知) applies only to knowledge combined with action. Knowledge without action is a lower kind of knowledge. In most cases, Wang simply refuses to give this lower level knowledge the honor of the label "knowledge": "There have never been people who know but do not act. Those who are supposed to know but do not act simply do not know" (ibid. 1:59/5).[32]

Thus, Wang's account of the mechanism and process whereby moral *li* are explanatorily efficacious involves the faculty of pure knowing, the extension of pure knowing, and the unity of knowledge and action. The philosophy of Wang Yangming thus has the resources to respond to the challenge of how irreducible, natural, moral properties can play a genuine role in explanations of our moral beliefs.

Conclusion

While to some scholars, Wang Yangming's metaphysical views may seem fantastical, they are nevertheless integral to his moral philosophy. Wang's theory of the relation between *li* and vital energy hold much in common with the metaphysics of other prominent Neo-Confucians, such as Zhu Xi. Wang is not an ontological idealist and instead thinks that there is non-mental vital energy and that *li* exist in the external world. In addition, a consideration of Wang's metaphysics leads to the conclusion that Wang is a non-reductionistic, naturalistic, moral realist in regards to the metaphysical status of moral qualities. Any consideration of other aspects of Wang's philosophy should take into account the foundational role of his metaphysics.

This study of Wang's metaphysics and its relation to his ethics has left unexamined many relevant and tantalizing topics. For instance, Wang's teaching of the unity of knowledge and action is closely connected to his expositions

[32] "Action" for Wang includes the "acts" of thinking, feeling, intending, and doing. For more on Wang's teaching on the unity of knowledge and action, see Tien (2004: 44–46).

on the extension of pure knowing and to his moral psychology and meta-ethics. On the subject of his meta-ethics, a great deal of work remains to be done elucidating Wang's position in the context of the modern vocabulary of moral philosophy. Careful comparative inquiry would no doubt illuminate important but neglected aspects of Wang's philosophy. Potential candidates for fruitful comparative studies include modern meta-ethicists, such as John McDowell,[33] who argues that secondary qualities, such as color, are a good analogy for theorizing about ethical qualities, and contemporary advocates of a naturalistic, non-reductionist, moral realism, such as Nicholas Sturgeon and David Brink. That WANG Yangming's philosophy continues to stimulate so many promising and diverse lines of research is a testament to its brilliance.

Acknowledgement I am indebted to Philip J. Ivanhoe, Hui-chieh Loy, and Justin Tiwald for feedback on earlier versions of this essay.

Bibliography

Angle, Stephen. 2005. "Sagely Ease and Moral Perception." *Dao: A Journal of Comparative Philosophy* 5.1: 31–56.

Araki, Kengo 荒木見悟, et al. 1971–1973. *An Outline of the Learning of WANG Yangming* 陽明学大系, 12 vols. Tokyo 東京: Meitoku shuppansha 明徳出版社.

Brink, David. 1989. *Moral Realism and the Foundations of Ethics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chen, Lai 陳來. 2004. *Song Ming Learning of Principle* 宋明理学. Shanghai 上海: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe 華東師範大學出版社, second edition. (An excellent survey of Song-Ming Neo-Confucian philosophy. Thorough and fair treatments of the major thinkers.)

Chen, Lai 陳來. 2006. *The Realms of Having and Not-having: The Spirit of WANG Yangming's Philosophy* 有無之境: 王陽明哲學的精神. Beijing 北京: Peking University Press 北京大學出版社. (One of the most comprehensive and systematic single-volume analyses of the philosophy of WANG Yangming. Essential reading for specialists.)

Cheng, Hao 程顥, and CHENG Yi 程頤. 1936. *Surviving Works of the Cheng Brothers* 二程遺書. In *Complete Works of the Two Chengs* 二程全書. *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 ed. Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Ching, Julia. 1976. *To Acquire Wisdom: the Way of Wang Yang-ming*. New York: Columbia University Press. (A classic in WANG Yangming studies. Gives special emphasis to the spirituality in Wang's thought.)

Cua, Antonio S. 1982. *The Unity of Knowledge and Action: A Study in Wang Yang-ming's Moral Psychology*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. (One of the best and earliest attempts at interpreting Wang's philosophy through the lens of contemporary moral psychology.)

Darwall, Stephen L., Allan Gibbard, and Peter A. Railton. 1997. *Moral Discourse and Practice: Some Philosophical Approaches*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Deng, Aimin 鄧艾民. 1989. *Studies on the Philosophy of ZHU Xi and WANG Shouren* 朱熹王守仁哲學研究. Shanghai 上海: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe 華東師範大學出版社.

[33] See Ivanhoe (2009).

Fung, Yu-lan. 1983. Originally published in 1952. Trans. Derk Bodde. *History of Chinese Philosophy, Volume 2: The Period of Classical Learning from the Second Century B.C. to the Twentieth Century A.D*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hatton, Russell. 1982. "A Comparison of *Li* and Substantial Form." *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 9: 45–71.

Henke, Frederick Goodrich. 1964. *The Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming*, reprint. New York: Paragon Books.

Ivanhoe, Philip J. 2000. *Confucian Moral Self-Cultivation*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing.

Ivanhoe, Philip J. 2002. *Ethics in the Confucian Tradition: The Thought of Mengzi and Wang Yangming*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing.

Ivanhoe, Philip J. 2009. *Readings in the Lu-Wang School*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing. (Currently, the most accurate and readable English translations of major portions of Wang's writings. Translations of significant sections of the corpus of Lu Xiangshan and *The Platform Sutra* are also included.)

Lee, Jig-chuen. 1982. "Wang Yang-ming, Chu Hsi, and the Investigation of Things." *Philosophy East and West* 37: 24–35.

Liu, Shu-hsien. 1983. "How Idealistic is Wang Yang-ming?" *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 10.2: 147–168.

Miller, Alexander. 2003. *An Introduction to Contemporary Metaethics*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Moore, G.E. 1993 (originally published in 1903). *Principia Ethica*, revised edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sturgeon, Nicholas. 1988. "Moral Explanations." In Geoffrey Sayre-McCord (ed.), *Essays on Moral Realism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Taylor, Rodney. 1990. *The Religious Dimensions of Neo-Confucianism*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Tien, David W. 2004. "Warranted Neo-Confucian Belief: Religious Pluralism and the Affections in the Epistemologies of Wang Yangming (1472–1529) and Alvin Plantinga." *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion* 55:31–55.

Tu, Wei-ming. 1976. *Neo-Confucian Thought in Action: Wang Yang-ming's Youth (1472–1509)*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. (An eloquently written intellectual biography of Wang's early years. Places Wang's life and philosophy in its historical context.)

Wang, Yangming. 1919–1936. *Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted* 傳習錄. In *Wang Yangming's Complete Works* 王文成公全書. *Sibu congkan* edition 四部叢刊. Shanghai 上海: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.

Wang, Yangming.1963. Trans., Wing-tsit Chan. *Instructions for Practical Living*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Yang, Guorong 楊國榮. 1997. *The Thought of the School of the Mind: A Treatise on the Philosophy of Wang Yangming* 心學之思 : 王陽明哲學闡釋. Beijing 北京: Sanlian shudian 三聯書店.

Yang, Guorong 楊國榮. 2005. *Yang Guorong on Wang Yangming* 楊國榮講王阳明. Beijing 北京: Peking University Press 北京大學出版社. (Lucid lectures from one of the foremost experts on Wang's Yangming's philosophy.)

Wang Yangming as a Virtue Ethicist

Stephen C. Angle

Three ideas are implicit in the title of this essay. To begin with, it is constructive to view Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1529), widely acknowledged as the most influential Confucian thinker of the Ming dynasty, as a virtue ethicist. Second, because Wang has much in common with many other Neo-Confucian philosophers, the Neo-Confucian approach to ethics quite generally can be fruitfully understood as a type of virtue ethics. If this is true, then a third idea also follows, namely that Western virtue ethicists should pay attention to Wang and to Neo-Confucian philosophy, because here is a new (to the Western philosophers) source of thinking about ethics from which they may well have things to learn. For the most part, the latter two ideas will remain implicit in this essay. My primary focus is on the structure of Wang's ethics; on why he is best regarded as a virtue ethicist; and on how he believed that people are able to develop themselves such that they become virtuous and follow the way (*dao* 道). I am confident that readers interested in other Neo-Confucian philosophers, or in virtue ethics itself, will see the relevance of the present analysis of Wang's ethics to their own concerns.[1]

In order for any of this to make sense, before turning to Wang's philosophy we need a basic understanding of virtue ethics. Virtue ethics is an approach to ethics that puts a person's character, and thus his or her virtues, at the center of its analysis. In ancient Greece such views predominated, but in recent Western moral philosophy, utilitarian and Kantian ways of understanding morality have been more influential. According to these latter views, the chief goal of morality is to articulate a rule in accord with which we can choose "right" actions, as opposed to the broader but more diffuse goal of being a "good"

---

[1] For a significant discussion in Chinese of early Confucianism and virtue ethics, see Chen (2002).

S.C. Angle (✉)
Philosophy Department, Wesleyan University, 350 High Street, Middletown, CT 06459, USA
e-mail: Sangle@wesleyan.edu

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*,
Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_15,

© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

person on which virtue ethics focuses.[2] In recent decades, virtue ethics in the West has been experiencing a sustained revival. It is generally agreed today that virtue ethics represents a broad approach to ethics that encompasses a variety of specific—and not necessarily compatible—strategies. For instance, some philosophers today follow Aristotle in grounding their interpretation of virtue ethics on an idea of the good or flourishing life; Aristotle called this *eudaimonia*. Other contemporary philosophers develop different ideas in Aristotle, focusing on the capacities for perception and practical reasoning that are said to characterize the virtuous person, or *phronimos*. A third movement within contemporary virtue ethics looks to Hume and other "sentimentalists"; for these philosophers, virtue is to be found in the development of admirable sentiments like empathy. Nietzsche, Plato, the Stoics, and medieval thinkers like Aquinas are yet further sources for contemporary virtue ethics in the West.[3]

What are we saying, then, when we label WANG Yangming a virtue ethicist? Is he a follower of one or another Western philosopher? Of course he is not. Rather, there is what Wittgenstein called a "family resemblance" among all these approaches to virtue ethics. In one way or another, all emphasize the development of dispositions to respond well to one's circumstances. Such dispositions express a fine character, and offer a way of thinking about the moral life that does not rest in following rules. Rules of different kinds may be important, but in one or another way, nearly all virtue ethicists agree that rules cannot be fundamental. Furthermore, the responsiveness that is so central to virtue ethics cannot be merely a matter of self-control or the exercise of willpower.[4] The inner traits of a virtuous person should be such that he or she responds in a more spontaneous or automatic fashion.[5] By calling WANG Yangming a virtue ethicist, therefore, I am claiming that he, too, focuses his understanding of ethics on the development of dispositions to respond well to one's circumstances. We will see that for Wang, there is a sense in which the ethically-cultivated person has a disposition to respond *correctly* to the world, but rules are still not fundamental. In addition, this disposition springs from a fine internal state rather than from self-control, and the ease (or spontaneity) with which a sage responds to ethically complex circumstances is a theme

---

[2] This is not to imply that virtue ethics has nothing to say about "right action." Considerable effort has been spent by recent Western virtue ethicists to show that virtue ethics can help to guide action. The focus of the theories is not on action, however, but on the character of the agent.

[3] Good sources on disparate approaches to virtue ethics include Crisp and Slote (1993) and Welchman (2006).

[4] My characterization of virtue ethics here is influenced by Swanton (2003: 19, 26).

[5] For most virtue ethicists, there is still room for reasoning about what to do. Some (following Aristotle) give reason a central place in their theories. Others (following Hume) do not, yet this does not mean that moral reactions are simply brute feelings, immune to discussion of which factors are (and are not) relevant to a proper reaction. For one discussion of these matters, see Hutton (2001).

running throughout Confucian philosophy that is also prominent in WANG Yangming's thought.[6]

In addition to these general characteristics that make Wang a virtue ethicist, it is worth dwelling for a moment on his use of the term *de* 德. *De* is typically translated as "virtue," and I will follow that practice. The term has a long and interesting history but my concern is with how Wang and his fellow Neo-Confucians understand the term. As may be familiar from other essays in this volume, Neo-Confucian thinkers believed that certain moral capacities already exist within each of us, although these capacities are typically obscured and need considerable effort to be realized. A central theme of this essay is that for Wang, the effort in question entails the establishment of a disposition to view the world in a certain fashion, and that the maturation of this disposition is *de* or virtue. Wang regularly connects *de* 德 ("virtue") to its homonym *de* 得 ("attain"). For instance, he says "One calls the universal mandate (*tianming* 天命) within me my nature; when I attain (*de* 得) this nature, one calls this virtue (*de* 德)" (Wang 1992: 1168). Having "attained" one's nature means to have actually realized it as a firm disposition. ZHU Xi makes this more explicit than does WANG Yangming. I believe Wang would have endorsed the following statement by Zhu: "If one is loyal (*zhong* 忠) today, but not tomorrow, then one hasn't attained it in oneself, and this cannot be called *de* 德" (Zhu 1997: 778).[7] There are certainly ways in which Wang's use of *de* does not map perfectly on to classical or contemporary Western uses of virtue, which are themselves also somewhat disparate. Wang does not speak of particular traits of character as *virtues*, but rather sees them as aspects of the unified *de* one has attained. The idea that *de* is the realization of something we already have within us is also quite different from many theories within Western virtue ethics. Be this as it may, "*de*" and "virtue" are close enough not to undermine my earlier claim that Wang's Neo-Confucian ethics bears a strong family resemblance to Western virtue ethics.

I explore Wang's distinctive views under two main headings. The first part of the essay looks at the contents of Wang's virtue ethics: what is it that our mature dispositions are supposed to lead us to do? In brief, I show that Wang thought we should be responsive to all the values relevant to a given situation. The virtuous person is one who responds in such a way as to harmonize all these values. Wang believed there is an objectively right response, but also that this is relative to agent and situation. No explicit rules can capture what we are supposed to do; instead, Wang's focus remains on the qualities of an agent that lead to the right responses. In the second part of the essay, I turn to the question of how our dispositions are supposed to mature, such that a fully virtuous person (that is, a sage) can respond spontaneously. I conclude by showing how Wang's position can help contemporary Western virtue ethicists

[6] In this regard, it is relevant that a number of scholars in recent years have argued that we should view classical Confucians as virtue ethicists. See, for example, Hutton (2001); Slingerland (2001); Van Norden (2007); Yu (2007); and Sim (2007).

[7] See also the discussion of this theme in Huang and Wei (2007: 101).

who are striving to understand what it takes for one's moral concern to be actively engaged in a given situation. In short, understanding WANG Yangming as a virtue ethicist both opens up new and fruitful ways to understand his views, and suggests ways in which philosophers (both East and West) can learn by engaging with these views.

Where Virtue Leads

I begin now with the question of the content of our virtuous responses: where does virtue lead us? This will then set the parameters for the question of how we can achieve such a state, which will be the topic of the second part of the essay. As we look into Wang's discussion of virtuous responses, we will need to find a way to reconcile two kinds of vocabulary. On the one hand, virtuous dispositions are located in individuals, are constituted by their subjective responses to situations, and are supposed to *feel* right to the virtuous agent. On the other hand, there are numerous ways in which Wang signals that virtuous reactions are *objectively correct*. Recall from above that virtue is the "universal mandate" within one; elsewhere, he says "Universal coherence is brilliant virtue, so exhaustively [realizing] coherence is the means to making clear one's brilliant virtue" (Wang 1983: 39 [§7]). Although we will need to look more into the significance of "universal coherence," both quotations seem to point toward a correctness that is sourced outside one's subjective reactions.

"Coherence" (*li* 理) is both one of the most central, and most difficult, of all Neo-Confucian ideas. I choose to translate *li* as "coherence" because this word captures much of the term's meaning, which is the valuable and intelligible way that things fit together. The metaphysical grounding for coherence is the insight, adapted from Buddhism, that all things are interdependent. This interdependence and the resulting possibility that all things can fit together are objective facts about the world. For Neo-Confucians (and especially for WANG Yangming), however, coherence is also partly constituted by our own human reactions to the world, and in this sense is partly subjective. "Subjective" does not mean that we get to decide what counts as "coherent," but rather that coherence is partly determined by what one scholar has called "our profoundest reactions" (Graham 1986: 426), the paradigm of which is our valuing of life. WANG Yangming puts particular stress on our role in constituting coherence, saying that our heat/mind itself is coherence (Wang 1983: §§117, 140, 22). Another important feature of coherence is that Wang and other Neo-Confucians see that it can be parsed on many different levels. One can speak of the *li* of an individual thing, of a system of things, or of the whole universe. In fact, because of interdependence, when one refers to the *li* of an individual thing—say, that the coherence of a boat is that it floats—one is also making implicit reference to higher levels of coherence. What is immediately relevant about that particular wooden structure (which we call a "boat") is that it floats. But this is relevant because it is of a size to carry humans, and humans have a need to cross rivers. So there are many patterns of coherence

that together constitute the coherence of a given boat. The Neo-Confucian slogan for this is "coherence is one, yet distinguished into many (理一分殊)." A final point to note about coherence is that it is never merely "descriptive": because of the ways it is partly constituted by human reactions and valuings, it is always normative. We have already seen this in relation to the coherence of a boat. Similarly, when we say that the *li* of a particular human relationship involves children respecting and caring for their parents, we are saying that coherence (value and intelligibility) is attained by seeing the situation as structured by filial piety: this is part of what it is to identify the constituents of the situation as "children" and "parents," in the first place.[8]

For our purposes here, it is important that many Neo-Confucians, WANG Yangming among them, saw an intimate tie between the ideas of coherence and harmony. Indeed, harmony can often be seen as a more concrete way of articulating the abstract idea of coherence. For instance, CHEN Chun (a prominent follower of ZHU Xi) connects the two as follows:

> When [the emotions] are aroused and each and all attain due measure and degree, they can then be called harmony. Harmony means not to contradict. When the coherence (*li*) inside is manifested, one feels pleasure when there should be pleasure and is angry when there should be anger, without contradicting coherence in any way. That is attaining due measure and degree. Attaining due measure and degree is simply achieving the coherence of what should be, without any excess of deficiency, and not in conflict with coherence. That is why it is called harmony. (Chen 1986: 123; slightly modified)

According to Chen, harmony is the realization or instantiation of coherence in one's responses. As such, it must be related to what WANG Yangming calls "virtue," since we have seen that that is also the realization of coherence.

What, more concretely, does it mean to realize coherence? In other words, when Neo-Confucians talk about realizing the valuable and intelligible way that things fit together, what do they have in mind? Here many Neo-Confucians would turn to a famous essay by one of the earliest Neo-Confucians, ZHANG Zai (1020–1077). Zhang's "Western Inscription" begins to flesh out the idea of inter-connectedness that coherence and harmony involve. Its first lines resound with empathy:

> Heaven is my father and earth is my mother, and even such a small creature as I finds an intimate place in their midst. Therefore that which fills the universe I regard as my body and that which directs the universe I consider as my nature. All people are my brothers and sisters, and all things are my companions. The great ruler [i.e., emperor] is the eldest son of my parents [i.e., heaven and earth], and the great ministers are his stewards. Respect the aged—that is the way to treat them as elders should be treated. Show deep love toward the orphaned and the weak—this is the way to treat them as the young should be treated. (Chan 1963: 497)

Zhang goes on to cite several examples of ancient moral heroes, each of whom manifested his devotion to his parents in a different way. The differences among

---

[8] These are admittedly deep waters and the interpretation I offer here is controversial. For extended exposition and defense, see Chapter 2 of Angle (2009).

the examples are important, because Zhang's essay is not about the universal application of a single principle: it expresses an ideal of organic harmony in which all care for one another as is appropriate to the circumstance.[9] In Zhang's admittedly schematic terms, "respect" is appropriate to the elderly, and "deep love" to the young. At a higher level of abstraction, Zhang marks another difference: he regards all "people" as siblings, whereas all "things" are companions.

We will shortly see that WANG Yangming himself offers another famous articulation of the idea that harmony (and coherence) means a kind of oneness among all things in which differences are nonetheless preserved. First, though, let us look at a passage in which Wang responds to a student's telling him that the student was experiencing unbearable sorrow (*you* 憂) upon receiving a letter saying that the student's son was seriously ill. Wang says:

> This is the time for you to exert effort. If you allow this occasion to go by, what is the use of studying when nothing is happening? People should train and polish themselves at just such a time as this. A father's love for his son is of course the noblest feeling. Nevertheless, there is naturally a place of equilibrium and harmony within universal coherence. To be excessive means to have selfish thoughts. On such an occasion most people feel that according to universal coherence (*tianli* 天理) they should be sorrowful. They do not realize that they are already affected by worries and anxieties and their heart/minds will not be correct. Generally speaking, the influence of the seven emotions is in the majority of cases excessive, and only in the minority of cases insufficient. As soon as it is excessive, it is not in accord with the original condition (*benti* 本體) of the heart/mind. It must be adjusted to reach the mean (*zhong* 中) before it becomes correct. (Wang 1983: 82 [§44]; Wang 1963: 38–39 slightly mod.)

It is critical not to mistake Wang's position here. He is not saying that feeling sorrowful for a son's suffering is selfish indulgence, nor that a sage would be indifferent to such plight. The student's difficulty is severe—he is suffering "sorrow and depression that he cannot bear" (ibid.)—and Wang's aim is to help him see that there is a vector of harmony in which all the concerns of his life and present situation complement one another—form a "coherent" whole—so that he can go forward. Wang's goal is to enable the student to understand the coherence of his own responses and to see new opportunities for creative responses—that is, for responses that are different from his past self-pity, that lead to more fruitful inner and outer states, and that bring him to a feeling of subjective rightness in his reactions.

Another way that we might mistake Wang's position is to neglect the objective correctness at which he wants his student to aim. A feeling of subjective satisfaction is not sufficient to show that one has responded correctly, because often

---

[9] By "single principle," I have in mind something like the consequentialist maxim "Do that which maximizes good consequences." That is, a "principle" is something that can be stated and applied to cases. This is certainly the most common understanding of "principle" in contemporary English-language philosophy, which is one reason why the old-fashioned translation of *li* as principle is so misleading.

enough one can misread one's own inner states.[10] As noted above, the coherence of an individual situation is itself nested in broader patterns of coherence, such that the harmonious reaction that is in keeping with coherence is always sensitive to all the relevant factors. In particular, because he believes that "the influence of the seven emotions is in the majority of cases excessive," Wang's teachings about how to reach harmony often involve exerting effort to restrain one's feelings. At the same time, Wang allows himself considerable situation-specific flexibility via a distinction between excess, which is always bad, and extremity, which may be appropriate. In a letter to a different student, Wang writes,

> There is harmony in sorrow (*ai* 哀). This refers to its taking rise from complete sincerity (*cheng* 誠) without any affectation. The excess of emotion is not harmony. The [bare] movement of our *qi* 氣 is not harmony. To be attached to selfish desires and stubbornness is not harmony. The infant cries all day without hurting his throat. This is the extreme of harmony. (Wang 1985: 27, 13a; Wang 1972: 22 slightly mod.)

In other words, sorrow that is completely sincere, that manifests complete integrity with one's situation, can be extreme yet still harmonious.

Sorrow is a vital human emotion, as appropriate to sages as it is to the rest of us. To feel sorrow is to feel badly because someone or something has suffered or died. It is purest—unmixed with other feelings like regret or shame—when the suffering or death was inevitable, or at least beyond one's control. Sorrow is always something that we gradually work through: if one's sorrow diminishes too rapidly, we show inadequate respect and raise questions about the genuineness of our compassion toward the person or thing prior to its suffering. Since sorrow is linked so closely, even for sages, to the notion of our limited ability to affect the world, it can be terrifying and threaten to consume us, as the passage above suggests. Both classical Confucians and Neo-Confucians embraced rituals like funerals and the 3-year mourning period as a means to express and work through our grief in appropriate ways.

WANG Yangming articulates some of the underlying dynamic behind sorrow in an important passage that also bears on situations of apparent conflict:

> [A student said,] "The great man and things form one body. Why does the *Great Learning* say that there is relative importance (*hou bo* 厚薄) among things?"
>
> The Teacher said, "It is because of coherence that there is relative importance. Take for example the body, which is one organic entity (*yi ti* 一體). If we use the hands and the feet to protect the head, does that mean that we go too far in treating them as less important? This simply accords with their coherence. We love both plants and animals, yet we can bear (*ren* 忍) nurturing animals with plants. We love both animals and men, and yet we can bear butchering animals to feed our parents, provide for religious sacrifices, and entertain guests. We love both parents and strangers. But suppose here are a small basket of rice and a platter of soup. With them one will survive and without them one will die; there is not enough to save both parent and stranger. We can bear preferring to save the parent instead of the stranger. In each case, these all accord

[10] Wang recognizes that it is possible to believe mistakenly that one's feelings and thoughts (*yi* 意) are *liangzhi* 良知, though in response he simply instructs his students to apply more effort to introspecting the difference (Wang 1972: 114).

> with coherence. As to the relationship between ourselves and our parents, there cannot be any distinction of. . .greater or lesser importance, for being humane to all people and feeling love for all things comes from this affection toward parents. If in this relationship we can bear any relative importance, then anything can be borne." (Wang 1983: 332 [§276]; Wang 1963: 222–223 substantially mod.)

This is a key passage because, although it does not mention sorrow explicitly, it helps us to see that Wang recognized the emotional complexity attending many of the situations with which we are faced. The context for Wang's statement is formed by two famous passages from *Mencius*: first, that "all people have a heart/mind than cannot bear the suffering of others," and second, "For all people there are things they cannot bear. To extend this to what they can bear is humaneness."[11] The basic idea is that we should extend our compassion from simple and clear situations to those that are more distant or complex—the latter being cases in which we currently can, but should not, bear others' suffering because we do not yet attend carefully to them. Wang makes no suggestion, however, that Mencius's idea of extending humaneness applies to cases like those he is considering. It would *not* be more humane to be unable to bear feeding one's parent instead of a stranger; in this case, as in each of the others, the universe is patterned in such a way that we should and must bear choosing parents over strangers, sacrifices over animals, and so on.

By using the word "bear" Wang signals that pain or sadness attend to such choices. In the simplest case, it hurts to protect our head with our arms. But it is the right thing to do, and we can bear the pain. It's one of the things that arms are for.[12] The same goes for each of the other cases. Of course we feel sorrow as a stranger starves to death: this is a natural and appropriate part of our reaction to the situation Wang describes. It may take us some time to get over our sorrow; the process of working through our sorrow may involve re-doubling our commitment to ending world hunger or establishing a relationship with the dead person's family. We certainly wish things had been otherwise, but I believe Wang would insist that while sorrow is appropriate, regret is not. By "regret," I mean feeling badly because one did not respond to a given situation in some alternative way. Non-sages should often feel regret, reflecting that if only they had been better people—better cultivated, better able to see a harmonious solution—the situation might have been resolved differently. The important point for our present concerns, however, is that Wang sees that both extremity of reaction, and a balance of different feelings (pleasant and unpleasant), can be involved in the harmonious reaction to which our virtuous dispositions should lead us.[13]

---

[11] *Mencius* 2A.6 and 7B.31 respectively (*Mencius* 1970: 82 and 200).

[12] Contrast Wang (1983: 319 [§254]), in which Wang discusses cases in which we "bear" things that we should not, and thus "harm coherence."

[13] Elsewhere I discuss issues surrounding situations involving apparent conflicts in much more detail, and argue that Neo-Confucians would have denied that sages face tragic dilemmas (Angle 2009: Chapter 6).

I turn now to another passage that will help me to flesh out both the appropriateness of different sorts of reactions, and particularly the vast scope of Wang's ideal of harmony:

> That the great man can regard the cosmos, earth, and the myriad things as one body is not because he intends (*yi* 意) it be so, but because of the natural humaneness of his heart/mind.... Even the heat/mind of the small man is no different. Only he himself makes it small. Therefore when he sees a child about to fall into a well, he cannot help a feeling of alarm and commiseration.[14] This shows that his humaneness forms one body with the child. It may be objected that the child belongs to the same species. Again, when he observes the pitiful cries and frightened appearance of birds and animals about to be slaughtered, he cannot help feeling an "inability to bear"[15] their suffering. This shows that his humaneness forms one body with birds and animals. It may be objected that birds and animals are sentient beings as he is. But when he sees plants broken and destroyed, he cannot help a feeling of pity. This shows that his humaneness forms one body with plants. It may be said that plants are living things as he is. Yet, even when he sees tiles and stones shattered and crushed, he cannot help a feeling of regret. This shows that his humaneness forms one body with tiles and stones. This means that even the heart/mind of a small man forms one body with all. (Wang 1985: 26, 2a; Wang 1963: 272 slightly mod.)

The passage contains two key ideas. First, all people already form "one body" with the myriad things, in the sense that we naturally, spontaneously experience the feelings that Wang describes, even though most of us will not reliably follow through on these feelings. Second, the feelings are different, depending on our relationship to the things in question. In other words, Wang's vision embraces both unity and difference, the hallmarks of harmony.

It is natural to want to hear more about how we move from the mere initial feelings that we are all said to have, to the fully developed reactions of a sage. Since this is the main focus of the second part of this essay, I will not linger on it here. More relevant to present concerns—namely, the nature of the harmony ideal itself—is the amazing scope of that ideal. ZHANG Zai's reference to seeing all "things" as one's "companions" is here made more concrete. We feel "regret," Wang says, even upon encountering shattered roof tiles. Is this plausible? Perhaps, one might grudgingly concede, we do sometimes feel regret, but is that not always a matter of projecting some human concern or other onto the situation? According to this line of thinking, our regret is not for the roof tile itself, but for those who live beneath the roof and who suffer from the leaks and drafts it causes; those who were swindled by a salesman of shoddy tiles; or what have you. Perhaps the tiles are part of a dilapidated, but once-proud, landmark;

---

[14] A reference to *Mencius* 2A.6.

[15] Also from *Mencius* 2A.6, and see also *Mencius* 1A.7, where King Xuan exhibits similar feelings on seeing an ox being led to ritual slaughter. In addition, *Mencius* 7A.45 bears comparison with Wang: "A gentleman is sparing (*ai* 愛) with things but shows no benevolence toward them; he shows benevolence towards the people but not filial affection (*qin* 親)" (*Mencius* 1970: 192 slightly mod.). The chief difference with Wang is that the underlying sense of continuity emphasized by Wang—since all the feelings he identifies are aspects of "humaneness"—is very attenuated in *Mencius*.

in this case, our regret may be for the decline of our town or even our civilization. Even in these cases, however, what we regret is ultimately our own diminished state.

At the core of this objection to Wang's expansive vision is an unwillingness to see ourselves as fundamentally a part of the world we experience. The objector therefore feels that we can only react to the tiles insofar as we "project" our own interests onto them; this is seen as fundamentally discontinuous with our reactions to the threat faced by an innocent child or to imminent suffering on the part of a sentient being. Wang's response is to insist that we are not "projecting" anything onto the tile when we feel regret for any of the reasons cited above: the tile is not independent from those living beneath it, those who sold it, and so on. Each person, animal, plant, and tile exists in a web of interrelationships that structures the cosmos. In certain circumstances it is relatively easy to notice that in some particular way, our world has tipped out of balance. Wang is attempting to articulate some of these paradigmatic situations in which our oneness with our world readily reveals itself, building on the examples already suggested in *Mencius*. One way to articulate the intuition driving this commitment to harmony is to say "Everything matters." To see how things matter, we sometimes have to look more carefully, or look from a different perspective, or recognize relationships and possibilities to which we had previously been blind. In addition, everything does not matter in the same way, or to the same degree. The ways in which we must learn to look at things—to look more imaginatively, seeing new possibilities—are central to much of the rest of this essay.

How to be Good

In what is probably the most famous description of a sage in all of Chinese philosophy, the *Analects* tells us that when Confucius reached the age of 70, he was able to "follow his heart's desire without overstepping the bounds" [*Analects* 2.4].[16] It seems that Confucius came to be able to act properly without even trying. Now at least some of the time, acting properly is easy for most of us. When not faced with a difficult choice or temptation, perhaps we get along fine. The *Analects* is nonetheless making a very strong claim. Confucius, we may assume, did find himself faced with difficult choices or temptations, and still he was able to follow his heart's desires. The implication is not that Confucius was lucky not to be challenged, but that successfully meeting any challenge was easy. How is this possible?

[16] Significant parts of this section draw on Angle (2005), though I have made changes to the presentation of the argument throughout.

WANG Yangming's commentary on *Analects* 2.4 offers an important clue as to how he would answer this question. Wang is recorded as having had the following conversation with a student named TANG Xu:

> TANG Xu asked, "Does establishing one's commitment (*li zhi* 立志) mean always to preserve a good thought, and to do good and remove bad?"
>
> [The teacher] replied: "When a good thought is preserved, that is universal coherence.... This thought is like the roots of a tree. Establishing one's commitment is nothing other than nurturing this good thought. To be able to 'follow one's heart's desire without overstepping the line' is simply when one's commitment has reached maturity." (Wang 1983: 89 [§53])[17]

At the core of Wang's understanding of *Analects* 2.4 is the idea of "commitment" (*zhi* 志). *Zhi* is a characteristic that one's heart/mind can come to take on:

> When a good thought arises, recognize it and develop it fully. When a bad thought arises, recognize it and stop it. Recognizing-and-developing and recognizing-and-stopping is commitment (*zhi*). (Wang 1983: 100 [§71]; Wang 1963: 49)

Commitment means that one's heart/mind recognizes-good-thoughts-and-develops-them, or recognizes-bad-thoughts-and-stops-them. My hyphens are meant to emphasize that to the degree one has *zhi*, the recognition and development (or stopping) are part of a single process. Wang emphasizes the intimate relation between the two sides of this process in his famous doctrine of the "unity of knowledge and action."

To make a commitment, in short, is to seek to develop something: the disposition, we might say, to "know-and-develop" good thoughts and "know-and-stop" bad ones. To say that Wang is talking of commitment in this sense, however, looks initially to run headlong into P. J. Ivanhoe's well-established argument that whereas talk of "development" is appropriate to the self-cultivation model of a classical Confucian like Mencius, according to whom we begin with rudimentary moral tendencies that must be developed if we are to improve morally, WANG Yangming's understanding of self-cultivation is very different. Wang focuses on the idea of "discovery" of an already-existing moral capacity, our *liangzhi* (良知), which Ivanhoe translates as "pure knowing." This capacity needs no development—it comes fully-formed—although we must discover it within ourselves and clear away various obstacles to its functioning.[18] In fact, my talk of dispositions and commitments fits better with Ivanhoe's model than it first appears, since it is precisely by solidifying our commitment that we are able to give our *liangzhi* its proper role in our moral lives.

---

[17] Contrast Chan's translation, which effaces *zhi* 志 completely (Wang 1983: 43).

[18] See Chapter 5 of Ivanhoe (2002). Also see Ivanhoe (2000). Ivanhoe describes ZHU Xi's approach to self-cultivation as "recovery." Van Norden (2007) has argued that ZHU Xi combines a "discovery" model with elements from "development" and "reformation" models. These both contrast with the pure "discovery" model they see at work in WANG Yangming. I am suggesting here that Wang, too, must be seen as more of a mixed case.

Ivanhoe argues persuasively that unlike Mencius, the growth of moral feelings does not figure in Wang's understanding of human nature or self-cultivation. Ivanhoe points to Wang's use of metaphors like the sun obscured by clouds, pure gold which can be tainted, and a perfect mirror marred by dust: all suggest that a fully-formed moral faculty lies within each of us, though in each case its functioning is impaired (Ivanhoe 2002: 48–50). Passage 30 of Wang's *Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted*, however, shows that something else must also be going on. It reads, in part:

> Establishing a commitment and applying effort are like planting a tree. When the tree first sprouts there is still no trunk. Then there is a trunk, but there are still no branches. After there are branches, then there are leaves. After there are leaves, then there are flowers and fruit. When one first plants the root, one should only be concerned about nourishing and caring for it. Do not think about the branches. Do not think about the leaves. Do not think about the flowers. And do not think about the fruit. How does dreaming about these things help in any way? Do not neglect the work of nourishing and caring, fearing that there will be no branches, leaves, flowers, or fruit. (Wang 1983: 68 [§30]; Ivanhoe 2002: 104)

In light of Wang's comment on *Analects* 2.4, we should read the present passage as showing that part of Wang's picture of self-cultivation involves the deepening or maturation of our *zhi*, our commitment. Trees mature and grow; so must our *zhi*. Many of the passages in which Wang discusses *zhi* make explicit that it is something admitting of degrees; it can deepen over time. Admittedly, Wang is after something quite different from Mencius: Ivanhoe is absolutely correct that there is a "discovery" aspect to Wang's model of cultivation. Consider the following passage:

> [A student] asked about "establishing commitment." The teacher said: "It is simply to want to preserve universal coherence in every thought. If one does not neglect this, in time it will naturally crystallize in one's heart/mind. This is like what the Daoists call 'the congealing of the sage-essence.' If the thought of universal coherence is always preserved, then the gradual steps to the levels of beautiful person, great person, sage, and spiritual person are all but the cultivation and extension of this one thought." (Wang 1983: 57 [§16]; Wang 1963: 25 slightly mod.)[19]

What needs to grow, in other words, is the consistency with which we "want to preserve universal coherence in every thought": this consistent disposition is *zhi* 志. Universal coherence itself and our ability to identify it—topics I will take up below—do not develop. We must discover the ability to identify universal coherence, and thus ultimately coherence itself, within ourselves. The process of deepening our commitment is certainly related to increasing the purity with which our *liangzhi* 良知 shines forth. As I see it, there are two active aspects to cultivating one's commitment, which can be viewed as two sides of a single coin. One is the negative aspect on which Ivanhoe has focuses, namely pruning selfish desires. The positive aspect, which serves to bind the whole process together

[19] On "congealing of the sage-essence," see Wang (1983: 58). The terms "beautiful person" etc., come from *Mencius* 7B.25.

(and make it considerably more plausible), I characterize as looking actively for harmony in the universe.[20]

Before pursuing the idea of "looking actively for harmony" more directly, we should first consider Wang's famous doctrine of the unity of knowledge and action. Wang introduces this idea by arguing that when we see a color as beautiful, we thereby love it. We do not first see it as beautiful and then subsequently decide to love its beauty: instead, "knowledge" that it is beautiful and the "action" of loving it come together. If someone agreed that a particular color was beautiful, but did not feel any love for it, we would have to wonder whether such a person shared our concept of beautiful.[21] Of course, Wang's main concern is not with beauty; his discussion of loving beautiful colors is only by way of analogy to the main subject, which is ethical knowledge and action. Directly after his discussion of loving beauty, Wang continues:

> Suppose we say that so-and-so knows filial piety and so-and-so knows brotherly respect. They must have actually practiced filial piety and brotherly respect before they can be said to know them. It will not do to say that they know filial piety and brotherly respect because they show them in words. Or take one's knowledge of pain. Only after one has experienced pain can one know pain. (Wang 1983: 33 [§5]; Wang 1963: 10)

To a reader with contemporary Western philosophical sensibilities, this passage—particularly the bit about pain—makes it sound as if Wang is emphasizing what have come to be called "qualia": one cannot know what pain is unless one knows how it feel*s*. But this is not Wang's point, just as his point regarding beauty is not that one must know how a beautiful color looks in order to truly know what beauty is. Rather, he maintains that one must react to beauty by loving it; similarly, one must react to pain by avoiding it (all else being equal).[22] Not to react in this way is to fail to grasp the normative import of identifying something as pain: as above, Wang is making more than a descriptive prediction about people's reaction to stimuli here.

There is a lot packed into this passage, including opposition to too much book learning and a related emphasis on the need for actual experience, in concrete particularity. Be all this as it may, if we focus on the main issue at hand, we might feel tempted to conclude that there is an important disanalogy between the beauty case and the filial piety case. In the former, Wang says that knowing something as beautiful is to love (*hao* 好) it, which we can gloss as having a positive attitude toward it. In the filial piety case, Wang says that only if we have actually practiced (*xing* 行) it can we be said to know it. "Practice" (*xing*) is the same word that is translated as "action" in the slogan "unity of

---

[20] CHEN Lai's major Chinese-language study of WANG Yangming also puts some emphasis on what one could call a positive side to the process of self-cultivation, especially in the context of Wang's doctrine of "extending *liangzhi* 至良知"; see Chen (1991: 178–185).

[21] For more discussion, see David Tien's essay in this volume, Chen (1991: Chapter 5), and Angle (2005).

[22] The parable of the tiger, cited by both the Cheng brothers and ZHU Xi—but not by Wang—makes this point explicitly (Graham: 1992: 80; Chen 1987: 247).

knowledge and action." *Xing* seems to be about more than just feelings, but then how can Wang think that the two cases are analogous? Has this discussion, in the end, actually helped us to see how perceptual "knowing" is linked to reliable ethical "action"?

The answer to this question is "yes" because Wang's ideas about perception are indeed central to understanding his picture of mature virtue, but before we can complete the picture we need to return to the idea of commitment. To help us do so, consider the following passage from philosopher Martha Nussbaum, who has made many contributions to contemporary virtue ethics[23]:

> Perception is not merely aided by emotion but is also in part constituted by appropriate response. *Good perception is a full recognition or acknowledgment of the practical situation*; the whole personality sees it for what it is. The agent who discerns intellectually that a friend is in need or that a loved one has died, but who fails to respond to these facts with appropriate sympathy or grief, clearly lacks a part of Aristotelian virtue. It seems right to say, in addition, that a part of discernment or perception is lacking. This person doesn't really, or doesn't fully, *see* what has happened.... We want to say that she is merely saying the words, "He needs my help" or "She is dead," but doesn't yet fully *know* it, because the emotional part of cognition is lacking. (Nussbaum 1990: 79 emphasis added)

WANG Yangming would clearly agree that perception is in part constituted by appropriate response. Nussbaum's reference to one who merely says the words without feeling the response sounds remarkably like Wang's "It will not do to say that they know filial piety and brotherly respect because they show them in words." We might also find in Nussbaum's reference to "acknowledgment" a hint of what still needs development, both for her account and for Wang's, namely something more about the active contribution an agent must make to a situation in order not just to "know," but to "acknowledge."

In fact, "acknowledgement" may still be too passive for Wang. He is concerned that we make a vital commitment to learning and to the pursuit of virtue. This commitment is well-described by the contemporary scholar A. S. Cua as a "commitment to humaneness (*ren* 仁)." If we recall Wang's discussion of forming one body with all things from above, we will see that to feel humaneness for all is to care for all, each in its own way or to its appropriate degree. What this way or degree is, however, must depend on the over-all context. Cua writes that for WANG Yangming, moral perception is therefore (1) mindfulness of whole situations; and (2) directed at *li* (or coherence) as an organic unity. In my terms, this is to say that our perception is not passive, but directed toward the realization—a usefully ambiguous word—of harmony. Commitment to humaneness is commitment to *li*, which in turn simply is a commitment to harmony. Cua argues that:

---

[23] Nussbaum herself is not committed to the category of "virtue ethics," and indeed her sources of philosophical inspiration are diverse. Nonetheless, much of her work is closely cognate with that of scholars who do identify as virtue ethicists. For other important sources of contemporary thinking about moral perception, see Murdoch (1970); Wiggins (1980); McDowell (1979); Sherman (1989); Blum (1991).

> [Adopting] *ren* as a governing ideal of one's life does not imply a determinative conception of the ideal to be realized. It is to adopt an attitude and to resolve, with one's heart and mind, to look at things and events in such a way that they can become constituents in a harmonious unity without the unity being specified in advance of experience of man's confrontation with the changes in the natural world. Thus, to adopt this ideal attitude is to see human life in its morally excellent form, as possessing a coherence in which apparently conflicting elements are elements of an achievable harmonious order. The presence of conflicting elements is in experience a fact to be acknowledged. Acknowledgment brings with it a task of reconciliation.... Since the desired coherence of the moral order is not spelled out *a priori*, harmonization of the conflicting elements in experience is essentially a *creative* endeavor on the part of both the Confucian moral theorist and the agent. (Cua 1998: 124–125)

I find Cua's articulation of the active nature of moral perception to be compelling. We do not just passively notice moral features: we commit to seeing "human life in its morally excellent form, as possessing a coherence in which apparently conflicting elements are elements of an achievable harmonious order." This idea certainly needs spelling out, but I believe it can be sustained, and I believe it offers the prospect of both fitting together disparate aspects of Wang's vision, and illuminating the idea of virtue more generally.

One of the key ideas Cua puts forward is the commitment to an ideal of resolving apparent conflicts. A second important aspect of his position is that these resolutions are "not spelled out a priori," from which he concludes that harmonization is "essentially a creative endeavor." I believe that Cua's talk of "creativity" is something of an exaggeration, but he is certainly on the right track. Wang understood that virtuous perception-cum-activity is not a fundamentally rule-governed activity, even if much of the time we get along just fine by following rules. In one key passage, Wang discusses the ancient sage-king Shun, who agreed to marry the sage-king Yao's daughters without first getting permission from his own parents, since his parents would have denied permission, being intent on seeing that Shun's younger brother prosper, rather than Shun himself:

> As for Shun's marrying without first telling his parents, was there someone before him who did the same thing and served as an example for him, which he could find out by looking into certain records and asking certain people, after which he did as he did? Or did he search into the innate knowledge in an instant of his heart/mind's thought and weigh (*quan* 權) all factors as to what was proper, after which he could not help doing what he did? (Wang 1983: 182 (§1395); Wang 1963: 109–110 slightly mod.)[24]

The conclusion of this passage—that upon weighing all factors, Shun "could not help doing what he did"—is certainly relevant to an understanding of Wang's "unity of knowledge and action" doctrine. Our principal interest here, however, is in the appearance of conflict and the explicit statement that no resolution is spelled out a priori. Should Shun ask his parents' permission, or

[24] For an early discussion of this story, see *Mencius* 5A.2.

should he marry in order to provide them with grandchildren? Wang insists that neither prior texts nor exemplars could answer this for Shun.[25]

How, then, was he to deal with the situation? Cua's gloss would be that since Shun was committed to the ideal of *li* (or coherence), he was determined to find a way to see the conflictive elements of the situation as amenable to the creation of a harmonious whole. He weighs all factors, sees a solution, and acts. It would be wrong to say that Shun simply came to see that in all cases, it is better to provide one's parents with grandchildren than to ask their permission for marriage. Such a rule could easily turn into a convenient excuse for children systematically to disobey their parents. Wang avoids such a formulaic reading of the resolution when he says: "If Emperor Shun's heart/mind was not sincere about [avoiding leaving his parents with] no posterity... then [his] marrying without telling his parents ... would be a case of the greatest filial impiety" (ibid.). Perhaps more importantly, although Wang does not mention it, the case of Shun and his parents is not confined to one, isolated decision. *Li* is about patterns through time and space, so we should expect a harmonious resolution to be more like a process than a single action. Indeed, it should pick up on and incorporate pre-existing tendencies and past events, as well as look to future ramifications.[26] Often it will primarily be by looking to these broader dimensions of situations that we will be able to see possibilities for harmonious resolution.

We can now begin to pull together different strands of the essay's argument. Virtue, for Wang Yangming, involves the development of mature dispositions to see situations in terms revealed by one's innate *liangzhi*, which he tells us means to see-and-feel the world in terms of humaneness, compassion, and harmony. We all have the capacity to see-and-feel the world in these terms, but realization of this capacity requires considerable effort on our part. This effort is Wang's project of moral education, which can be seen as involving both a positive and a negative side. Negatively, Wang teaches us to pare away problematic selfish intrusions into one's vision. Positively, he says that our commitment to looking for harmony in the world needs to mature. Wang

[25] Wang expressed a similar idea when he explained that it is wrong to be attached to the idea that weeds are always bad, or flowers always good; one needs to follow universal coherence (as it applies to a given, particular situation) rather than following an inflexible rule (Wang 1983: §101).

[26] Martha Nussbaum's discussion of the similarities between creative response, in much the sense I am describing, and improvisational rather than score- or script-based performance, is helpful here. "The salient difference between acting from a script and improvising is that one has to be not less but far more keenly attentive to what is given by the other actors in a situation." "[She] must suit her choice to the evolving story, which has its own form and continuity." As in jazz improvisation, Nussbaum continues, "The perceiver who improvises morally is doubly responsible: responsible to the history of commitment and to the ongoing structures that go to constitute her context; and especially responsible to these, in that her commitments are forged freshly on each occasion, in an active and intelligent confrontation between her own history and the requirements of the occasion" (Nussbaum 1990: 94).

believed that as we gradually progress, we get ever better at attaining the goodness that lies latent within us: our virtue becomes ever more robust and clear. Still, it is possible to wonder whether Wang's belief that coming to see the world in terms of humaneness and harmony will really have the result that he expects. The contemporary philosopher Lawrence Blum has observed, "Seeing a situation in moral categories does not entail seeing one's moral agency as engaged by that situation. People often see a situation as involving a wrong but not regard themselves as morally pulled to do anything about it" (Blum 1991: 708 n. 9). Might Wang have had a response to this objection? If he would have, then we may begin to see ways in which viewing Wang as a virtue ethicist contributes not only to our understanding of Wang, but also to broader discussions in philosophy.

Blum illustrates his concerns with the following case. Considering and building on this case will enable us to distinguish passive moral perception from the active perception that Wang emphasized. This difference is crucial for understanding the link with action:

> Tim, a white male, is waiting for a taxi at a train station. Waiting near him are a black woman and her daughter. A cab comes by, past the woman and her daughter, and stops in front of him. Tim, with relief, gets in to the cab.
>
> Tim's relief at having gotten a cab might block from his full awareness the cab driver's having passed up the black mother and child in favor of him. What is salient in Tim's perception might simply be the presence of the cab.
>
> But suppose that once in the cab Tim, idly ruminating, puts the pieces of the situation together and comes to see it now (in retrospect) in a different way. He sees the driver as having intentionally passed up the woman and child. Suppose he also infers that the driver did this out of racism. . .. Whether Tim is correct in this inference is not so important as whether the inference is a plausible one, which I am assuming it to be. This perception of racism becomes his "take" on the situation. He now sees an issue of injustice in the situation in a way he did not at first. . .. Prior to any action Tim might take in the situation, it is (ceteris paribus) a (morally) better thing for him to have recognized the racial injustice than not to have done so. (ibid. 706–707)

Blum then adds in a footnote that for all the importance of perception, its link to action is still poorly understood:

> For example, even when Tim comes to see injustice as having taken place, he may think of that injustice as over and done with and not implying anything for him to do about it. The issue of what makes a moral being see her sense of agency as engaged by a situation—and how perception fits into this—deserves further exploration than I can undertake here. (ibid. 708 n. 9)

The example of Tim shows that one can see a situation in moral categories and yet not act.

It is worth dwelling for a moment on what Tim might be feeling. Is he too tired after a long trip to work up the indignation that might otherwise move him to act? Or perhaps he's furious, but too confused about what it makes sense to do? Is he too shy to interfere? On the other hand, he may see the situation, for all its wrongness, as simply not his problem. Maybe he sees the world as full of injustice, with no hope for improvement; or maybe he's less pessimistic that this,

but still sees such problems as the concern of (some specific, or a vaguely general) "others."

As I understand him, Wang says that the route to virtue lies in maturing one's commitment to looking for harmony in one's world. Although Tim makes progress in focusing enough on his situation to see it in moral terms, he is still far from exemplifying Wang's "mature commitment." That commitment entails a kind of active effort to realize harmony in both the cognitive/affective and actualizing senses of "realize": to see-and-feel how it might emerge from the present configuration of people, relationships, and so on, including one's own position in the web of events and relations making up the situation; and, by realizing one's dynamic position, move toward actualizing the harmonious possibilities inherent therein. I believe it makes sense to think of "realize" as having an affective dimension: often, our realization can be sparked by feeling something about a given situation even before we grasp the idea in more cognitive terms. Even if this is stretching the meaning of the English word "realize," it is certainly what Wang has in mind. The reactions of our *xin* (heart/mind), as we have seen, are as much affective as they are cognitive. When a commitment of this kind has matured, one has a settled disposition to look to realize harmony, which involves (among other things) seeing-and-feeling what one's "sense of moral agency" can contribute to realizing the harmony. Such a settled disposition, of course, is precisely what Wang characterizes as "virtue (*de*)." As with "realize," "seeing-and-feeling what one can contribute" combines Wang's knowledge and action. With mature commitment, that is, there is no mere noticing that the world can be viewed in moral terms; one views the world actively, looking for the appropriate configuration into which events can resolve themselves.

Exactly which further actions follow from looking to realize harmony in a given situation depend on the details of the situation. We can imagine Tim with the commitment and sagely ease of a 70-year-old Confucius, and point out some of the things that would have been different. Tim-the-sage might be tired after a business trip, but would surely see the mother and daughter as he stepped up to the curb, and this seeing would not be a mere noticing, but an acknowledging. Here we are together, his smile would say. Perhaps some banter about her charming daughter—the appropriate ritual for the situation—and then up comes the cab, past the mother and stopping in front of Tim. Tim speaks to the driver, offering a charitable gloss on the driver's action—as the "teaching" most likely to make a difference in this context—and beckons the others to take their rightful seats. With a wave at the departing girl and her mother, Tim stands back to wait for another cab, reflecting on how far his society still needs to improve. This, then, is full virtue, and exemplifies the "ease" of a sage.[27] It comes from mature commitment. This commitment does not simply involve

[27] In light of my discussion of sorrow earlier in this essay, note that Tim's reflection on how far his society needs to improve will be tinged with sorrow or grief; this does not alter the ease with which Tim-the-sage responds to the situation.

paring away all traces of the "self" through sheer acts of will. On Wang's picture, the commitment is, put positively, to look humanely for harmony. Paring away selfish perspectives is the negative side of the coin; looking for harmony is the positive side. We are not asked to make unsupported acts of will because (1) there is a process through which we can build up our abilities to do these two things; and (2) the two sides of self-cultivation are mutually-reinforcing.

Wang's vision of active moral perception is very powerful, combining as it does a role for moral sentiments,[28] the idea of cognitive-cum-affective perception, and the force of non-rule-bound constraint by harmony (or coherence). I have already mentioned several contemporary Western virtue ethicists who have emphasized the role of some kind of moral perception; the idea that, as Iris Murdoch put it, "true vision entails right conduct" (Murdoch 1970: 66) is very enticing. I hope it is clear by now that WANG Yangming shares enough with these modern thinkers (and, in various ways, with the earlier Western philosophers on whom the current scholars draw) that putting him into dialogue with them can benefit both our understanding of Wang, and our efforts to develop virtue ethics further. Neither Wang nor contemporary virtue ethicists have all the answers we need, but once we recognize that WANG Yangming is a virtue ethicist, we have more hope of finding answers together in the future.

Bibliography

Angle, Stephen C. 2005. "Sagely Ease and Moral Perception." *Dao: A Journal of Comparative Philosophy* 5.1: 31–55.

Angle, Stephen C. 2009. *Sagehood: The Contemporary Significance of Neo-Confucian Ethical and Political Philosophy*. New York: Oxford University Press. (An effort to take Neo-Confucian philosophy—particularly that of ZHU Xi and WANG Yangming—seriously as contemporary philosophy.)

Blum, Lawrence A. 1991. "Moral Perception and Particularity." *Ethics* 101: 701–725. (An influential account of what "moral perception" can be: well-grounded and accessible.)

Chan, Wing-tsit. 1963. *A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Chen, Chun. 1986. *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained (The Pei-hsi tzu-i)*. Translated by Wing-tsit Chan. New York: Columbia University Press.

Chen, Lai 陳來. 1987. *Research into ZHU Xi's Philosophy* 朱熹哲學研究. Beijing 北京: Shehui kexue chubanshe 社會科學出版社.

Chen, Lai 陳來. 1991. *The Border between Being and Nonbeing—The Spirit of WANG Yangming's Philosophy* 有無之境—王陽明哲學的精神. Beijing 北京: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社. (A major contemporary interpretation of WANG Yangming's philosophy.)

Chen, Lai 陳來. 2002. "Ancient Virtue Ethics and the Special Characteristics of Early Confucian Ethical Learning" 古代德行倫理與早期儒家倫理學的特點. *Hebei Academic Journal* 河北學刊,

[28] Michael Slote (2010) has highlighted Wang as an early anticipator of later Western sentimentalist virtue ethics, insofar as his idea of the feeling of forming one body with all things suggests the modern idea of empathy.

22.6: 31–39. (Discusses the transition from pre-*Analects* treatment of virtues, to the unified account centering on *ren* 仁 in the *Analects*.)

Crisp, Roger, and Slote, Michael (eds.). 1993. *Virtue Ethics*. New York: Oxford University Press. (A collection of many of the most important essays in the contemporary revival of virtue ethics.)

Cua, Antonio S. 1998. *Moral Vision and Tradition: Essays in Chinese Ethics*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press. (A collection of a number of Cua's groundbreaking papers. Cua's work is challenging but very important, as he shows us at least one way to engage with Confucianism as live philosophy.)

Graham, A.C. 1986. "What was New in the Ch'eng-Chu Theory of Human Nature?" In his *Studies in Chinese Philosophy and Philosophical Literature*. Singapore: Institute of East Asian Philosophies. (An insightful account of this fundamental aspect of Neo-Confucian theory.)

Graham, A.C. 1992. *Two Chinese Philosophers*. La Salle: Open Court.

Huang, Weiyuan 黃維元, and WEI Hao 尉浩. 2007. "Analysis of WANG Yangming's Category of 'Virtue' " 王陽明"德"範疇論析. *Lilun xuekan* 理論學刊 159.5: 101–103.

Hutton, E.L. 2001. *Virtue and Reason in the Xunzi*. PhD. Disseratation. Stanford University. (Hutton's dissertation is important for its sustained effort at thinking through how "virtue ethics" should be understood in general, and then applying this framework to a Confucian thinker.)

Ivanhoe, Philip J. 2000. *Confucian Moral Self Cultivation*. Indianapolis: Hackett. (A remarkable amount of information, based on careful interpretations, is presented in this slim volume. An excellent introduction to Classical Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism.)

Ivanhoe, Philip J. 2002. *Ethics in the Confucian Tradition: The Thought of Mencius and Wang Yangming*. Indianapolis: Hackett. (Among other things, a detailed study of important themes in WANG Yangming. Required reading.)

Mencius. 1970. *Mencius*, translated by D.C. Lau. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

McDowell, John. 1979. "Virtue and Reason." *The Monist* 62.3: 331–350. (Highly influential formulation of virtue ethics.)

Murdoch, Iris. 1970. *The Sovereignty of the Good*. New York: Routledge. (Early and insightful approach to virtue ethics, drawing loosely on Plato; many themes resonate with WANG Yangming's concerns.)

Nussbaum, Martha. 1990. "The Discernment of Perception: An Aristotelian Conception of Private and Public Rationality." In her *Love's Knowledge: Essays on Philosophy and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (There is a great deal of insight in this somewhat sprawling essay.)

Sherman, Nancy. 1989. *The Fabric of Character: Aristotle's Theory of Virtue*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (An excellent starting place for understanding Aristotle's virtue ethics.)

Sim, May. 2007. *Remastering Morals with Aristotle and Confucius*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (A demonstration that Aristotle and Confucius can fruitfully engage with one another; chapters focus on methodology, the mean, political philosophy, and other themes.)

Slingerland, Edward. 2001. "Virtue Ethics, the *Analects*, and the Problem of Commensurability." *Journal of Religious Ethics* 29.1: 97–125. (An argument that early Confucianism contains a virtue ethics.)

Slote, Michael. 2010. "The Mandate of Empathy." *Dao: A Journal of Comparative Philosophy* 11.3. (A leading Western virtue ethicist takes a comparative perspective, and finds much to like in WANG Yangming.)

Swanton, Christine. 2003. *Virtue Ethics: A Pluralistic View*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (A sophisticated and distinctive theory of virtue ethics, full of riches that resonate with Neo-Confucian ideas.)

Van Norden, Bryan W. 2007. *Virtue Ethics and Consequentialism in Early Chinese Philosophy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Among other things, lays out a framework for

thinking of early Confucianism as virtue ethics; discusses contrasts between early and Neo-Confucian ideas; and sketches what a Neo-Mencian virtue ethics might look like.)

Wang, Yangming. 1963. *Instructions for Practical Living*, translated by Wing-tsit Chan. New York: Columbia University Press. (A complete translation of WANG Yangming's chief work, with important supplementary material. In general quite reliable.)

Wang, Yangming. 1972. *The Philosophical Letters of Wang Yang-ming*, translated by Julia Ching. Canberra: Australian National University Press. (Splendid translation of those of WANG Yangming's letters with philosophical content, arranged chronologically. Highly recommended.)

Wang, Yangming. 1983. *Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted with Detailed Annotations and Collected Commentary* 傳習錄詳註集評. Taibei 臺北: Xuesheng shuju 學生書局.

Wang, Yangming. 1985. *Complete Writings of* WANG *Yangming* 陽明全書. Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.

Wang, Yangming. 1992. *Complete Works of* WANG *Yangming* 王陽明全集. Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.

Welchman, Jennifer, ed. 2006 *The Practice of Virtue: Classic and Contemporary Readings in Virtue Ethics*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett.

Wiggins, David. 1980. "Deliberation and Practical Reason." In Amélie Oksenberg Rorty (ed.), *Essays on Aristotle's Ethics*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. (Dense but influential account of the role of perception in Aristotle's ethics.)

Yu, Jiyuan. 2007. *The Ethics of Confucius and Aristotle: Mirrors of Virtue*. New York: Routledge. (A systematic comparison between Aristotle's key works and the Four Books of classical Confucianism, stressing the ways in which both sides offer quite similar versions of virtue ethics. Controversial in some places but stimulating throughout.)

Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1997. *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* 朱子語類. Changsha 長沙: Yuelu shushe 岳麓書社.

LIU Zongzhou on Self-Cultivation

Chung-yi Cheng

As a prominent Confucian thinker in early seventeenth century China, LIU Zongzhou 劉宗周 (1578–1645) was the last towering figure who stood in the line of transmission of Song-Ming Neo-Confucian philosophy. Since Liu confessed that the development of his thought was greatly influenced by his studies on the teachings of his predecessor WANG Yangming 王陽明,[1] many researchers used to view Liu merely as an internal critic and revisionist of Wang's thought (Tang 1990: 468–494; Tang 1991: 230–255; Mou 1979: 451–541; Lao 1981: 566–623). It has not been until the most recent decade that a number of researchers have tended to emphasize the uniqueness of Liu's thinking (Lin 1997; Huang 2001). I intend, in this essay, not to probe the complicated intellectual relationship between Liu and Wang; rather, I will analyze Liu's philosophy of self-cultivation in its own right in three parts: (1) his doctrine of "vigilance in solitude" (*shen du* 慎獨); (2) his doctrine of "sincerity of will" (*cheng yi* 誠意); (3) his profound reflection upon the problem of evil. The intellectual history of the relationship between Liu and Wang will be mentioned only for the sake of explaining Liu's ideas. But, before this, it is helpful to remind the reader that Liu and Wang in effect share some commonalities in their thoughts, which justifies including them both belong to the School of Heart/Mind (*xinxue* 心學).

The primary concern of Song-Ming Neo-Confucian philosophy is human existential inquiry, or in other words, the problem of self-cultivation. The two wings of Song-Ming Neo-Confucian philosophy, the School of Principle (*lixue* 理學) and the School of Heart/Mind, have different solutions to the problem. Simply speaking, the School of Principle, represented by CHENG Yi 程頤 and ZHU

[1] According to Liu's *Chronological Biography*, Liu started out having doubts about, then endorsed, and then strongly criticized WANG Yangming's teachings to develop his own thought (Liu 1997: 5.488).

C.-y. Cheng (✉)
Department of Philosophy and Research Centre for Chinese Philosophy and Culture,
The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, PRC
e-mail: cy448cheng@cuhk.edu.hk

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*,
Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_16,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

Xi 朱熹, asserted that the key to self-realization lies in cultivating one's cognitive heart/mind, as the cognitive heart/mind can seek knowledge of moral principles (心具理) and then can take moral principles seriously (持敬) so as to make itself act on them. By contrast, the School of Heart/Mind, represented by Lu Xiangshan 陸象山 and Wang Yangming, strongly criticized the Cheng-Zhu tradition for mistakenly separating the heart/mind and moral principles. For Lu and Wang, if the heart/mind is merely a cognitive faculty, mere knowledge of what is good and evil is not sufficient to warrant doing good and removing evil. Therefore, Lu and Wang argue that the heart/mind should be accepted as inherently moral, and that this moral heart/mind has the capacity to act upon its own intrinsic, yet transcendentally grounded, moral principles (*xin ji li* 心即理). Humaneness (*ren* 仁), wisdom (*zhi* 智), propriety (*li* 禮), and rightness (*yi* 義) are moral principles that emanate from the heart/mind instead of being known by the heart/mind. Thus the moral heart/mind *per se* is the unity of moral knowledge and moral action (知行合一). Liu Zongzhou was also dissatisfied with the School of Principle and fully endorsed Yangming's emphasis on the importance of the self-awakening of the moral heart/mind, even though Liu had a distinct understanding of what the moral heart/mind is. In short, Liu considered the moral heart/mind to be a moral will (*yi* 意) whereas Wang considered it to be the innate knowing of the good (*liangzhi* 良知).

The Doctrine of "Vigilance in Solitude"

The doctrine of vigilance in solitude (*shen du* 慎獨) is at the core of Liu's thought. As Liu says, "The doctrine of vigilance in solitude is the essential of sagely teachings" (Liu 1997: 2.424) and "Vigilance in solitude refers to the first principle of learning" (ibid.: 2.466). In his influential book *Case Studies of Ming Confucians* (*Ming ru xue'an* 明儒學案), Liu's most famous student, Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲, also says, "Liu's teaching regards its essential doctrine to be vigilance in solitude. The Confucians all speak of vigilance in solitude, but only Liu acquired its truth" (Huang 2005: 8.890; Ching 1987: 262). In comparison with other Confucians, Liu does give an innovative interpretation of the term "vigilance in solitude," which occurs in both the *Doctrine of the Mean* and the *Great Learning*. At the beginning of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, it is stated:

> What heaven imparts to man is called human nature. To follow our nature is called the way (*dao*). Cultivating the way is called education. The way cannot be separated from us for a moment. What can be separated from us is not the way. Therefore the superior man is cautious over what he does not see and apprehensive over what he does not hear. There is nothing more visible than what is hidden and nothing more manifest than what is subtle. Therefore the superior man is watchful over himself when he is alone. (Chan 1963a: 98 mod.)

In the *Great Learning*, it is stated:

> What is meant by "making the will sincere" is allowing no self-deception, as when we hate a bad smell or love a beautiful color. This is called satisfying oneself. Therefore the superior man will always be watchful over himself when alone. When the inferior man is alone and at leisure, there is no limit to which he does not go in his evil deeds. Only

> when he sees a superior man does he then try to disguise himself, concealing the evil and showing off the good in him. But what is the use? For other people see him as if they see his very heart. This is what is meant by saying that what is true in a man's heart will be shown in his outward appearance. Therefore the superior man will always be watchful over himself when alone. (Chan 1963a: 89–90)

In both the cited passages above, the term "vigilance in solitude" is translated as being "watchful over oneself when alone," denoting an effort to be cautious about evil thoughts happening and not to deceive oneself when physically alone, that is, without others being present to judge or prevent one's deeds. However, to Liu, this common reading of "vigilance in solitude" is too superficial and thus falls short of grasping the root of Confucian self-cultivation.

In what follows, I shall elaborate Liu's doctrine of vigilance in solitude in several points. First, Liu follows Zhu Xi in interpreting the word "solitude" as not only the state when one is physically alone but also the state when one is mentally alone, that is, the state of one's innermost being which is known only to oneself. In addition, Liu emphasized that this innermost being or solitariness is at the core of the moral heart/mind, and that the moral heart/mind thus is nothing but the state or condition of solitude (*du ti* 獨體) (Liu 1997: 2.160). Liu gives such an account of the concept "solitude" because it entails significant implications for moral practice. I shall discuss this in the next section, as Liu's practical concerns can be more clearly evidenced by his incorporation of the doctrine of vigilance in solitude into the doctrine of sincerity of will. Here it will suffice to point out that the meaning of "vigilance" is also changed due to the changed meaning of "solitude." Whereas "solitude" is not understood to mean "alone" but rather refers to the state of solitude, "vigilance" no longer means "watchful over" but rather "preserving" or "self-sustaining" the state of solitude.

Second, in Liu's view, the term "vigilance in solitude" in the *Doctrine of Mean* bears subtle differences from the sense in which it is employed in the *Great Learning* (Liu 1997: 2.448). The term "vigilance in solitude" in the *Doctrine of Mean* refers to the nature (the heaven-endowed nature, the original nature, or the fundamental condition of the nature) whereas in the *Great Learning* it refers to the heart/mind (the moral heart/mind, the original heart/mind, or the fundamental condition of the heart/mind). To be specific, the solitariness of humans' heaven-endowed nature is taken by Liu as unseen, hidden, not yet manifested, mysterious, and even beyond consciousness. By contrast, the solitariness of humans' moral heart/mind (i.e. the moral will) is seen, manifested, and within consciousness. As such, the original human nature can be revealed only through the conscious acts of the heart/mind (Liu 1997: 2.448). Mou Zongsan 牟宗三 calls this "the manifestation of the nature through the heart/mind" (以心著性) (Mou 1979: 454–455). Elsewhere Liu further states that humans' original nature, which is heaven-endowed and merely a universally creative principle,[2] has nothing to

[2] Needless to say, a widely shared belief in Song-Ming Neo-Confucian metaphysics is that humans' original nature is what humans are endowed with from the creative principle of the universe. Mou Zongsan refers to this interconnectedness between humans and the universe as "the way of heaven and the human nature and destiny are interrelated" (天道性命相貫通) (Mou 1968: 1.417).

do with human affairs, and that it is the heart/mind that concerns human affairs (Liu 1997: 2.318–319). Furthermore, Liu says, "What is *xing er shang* 形而上 is called the nature while what is *xing er xia* 形而下 is called the heart/mind" (ibid.: 2.458). Notice that the common translation of *xing er shang* as metaphysical or transcendental and *xing er xia* as physical or empirical does not do justice to Liu's thinking, as it would be a contradiction to say that the transcendental heart/mind is empirical. For Liu, *xing er shang* means the existence of something independent of physical or empirical form while *xing er xia* means something exists with the characteristics of physical or empirical form (Li 2005: 126–127). Hence, what Liu meant is this: (1) as the original nature of humans is merely a universally creative principle, it exists without any physical or empirical form; (2) one thus can comprehend one's nature only by comprehending one's heart/mind because the heart/mind exists in physical or empirical form, i.e., through its conscious acts.

Third, what kind of conscious acts does the heart/mind take to express itself and to define what human nature truly is? For Liu the answer is the application of the will together with its accompanying feeling. Clearly, Liu draws both notions from the *Doctrine of Mean* and the *Great Learning* and combines them. In the *Great Learning*, it is stated that making the will sincere is crucial to the realization of the heart/mind. In the *Doctrine of Mean*, after the first paragraph that defines the heaven-endowed nature, it then mentions the feelings of pleasure (*xi* 喜), anger (*nu* 怒), sorrow (*ai* 哀), and joy (*le* 樂) in terms of the "not yet manifested equilibrium" (未發之中) and the "manifested harmony" (已發之和). As the "not yet manifested equilibrium" is said to be the greatest foundation of the world and the "manifested harmony" its universal path, it is reasonable to consider that these four feelings can serve as the manifestation of the heaven-endowed nature. Furthermore, Liu incorporates these four feelings into the will (the core of the heart/mind) as the will's accompanying feelings and takes both the will and the feelings to be conscious acts of the heart/mind that can reveal the nature. Before turning to a more thorough discussion of the will in the following section, I will first examine the four feelings.

The passage in the *Doctrine of Mean* where "the four feelings" occurs is as follows:

> Before the feelings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, and joy are aroused it is called equilibrium (*zhong*, centrality, mean). When these feelings are aroused and each and all attain due measure and degree, it is called harmony. Equilibrium is the greatest foundation of the world, and harmony its universal path. When equilibrium and harmony are realized to the highest degree, heaven and earth will attain their proper order and all things will flourish. (Chan 1963a: 98)

Traditionally, the passage invites a hermeneutic difficulty: if the feelings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, and joy are regarded as emotional feelings, how can their unaroused state be counted as the greatest foundation of the world and how can they attain their due measure and degree when aroused so that they can be counted as the universal path of the greatest foundation of the world? Liu criticizes

traditional interpretations of the passage for they all fall short of grasping its true meaning because of mistakenly taking the four feelings as something emotional. Liu, on the contrary, takes the four feelings as essentially moral in nature. He then argues that the failure of traditional interpretations is due to confusing "the four feelings" with "the seven feelings" of pleasure (*xi* 喜), anger (*nu* 怒), sorrow (*ai* 哀), fear (ju 懼), affection (*ai* 愛), dislike (*wu* 惡), and desire (*yu* 欲), which occur in another chapter of the *Book of Rites*, arguing that it is crucial to distinguish between the two groups of "feelings" (Liu 1997: 2.468–469). For Liu, the seven feelings are emotional feelings while the four feelings are moral ones and are the affective aspect of the moral heart/mind (or the accompanying feelings of the moral will). As feelings and desires are the embodiment of the moral heart/mind, what emanates from one's moral heart/mind is nothing more than moral feelings and proper desires. Hence, it is true that moral feelings and moral principles are two sides of the same coin (the moral heart/mind). Accordingly, Liu maintains that the four feelings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, and joy are just sentimental counterparts of the four virtues of humaneness, rightness, wisdom, and propriety respectively (ibid.: 2.154, 488). In the above passage from the *Doctrine of Mean*, the "not yet manifested" state of the four feelings (the equilibrium) thus refers to a moral potentiality (or a potentially moral subjectivity) whereas the manifested state (the harmony) refers to the realization of this moral potentiality. It seems to Liu that the moral potentiality of humans, as it denotes a possibility of having ceaseless moral activities, is analogous to the succession of the four seasons. Tang Junyi 唐君毅 characterizes this idea of Liu as follows:

> In Liu Zongzhou's thought, as a climax to the development of Neo-Confucianism, pure consciousness is taken not merely as a pure knowing, like a light, but also as a pure feeling and a pure willing, like the heat of light. Thus, pure consciousness has a life. This life is usually described by Liu in terms of the succession of the four seasons from spring to summer, autumn, winter, and to spring again, around a heavenly axis, to symbolize the rotation of the four feelings from delight to anger, sorrow, enjoyment or happiness, and to delight again.... Here the pure consciousness is not taken as a static entity, a pure function, or anything established once and for all. It is always in a living, creative process and has its own rhythmic vibration. From its vibration, consciousness springs forth, grows up, regresses, and finally withdraws to its source and becomes self-consciousness. When it springs forth, it is at the stage of spring, with a feeling of delight; when it grows, it is at the stage of summer, with a feeling of anger; when it regresses, it is at the stage of autumn, with a feeling of sorrow; and when it withdraws and becomes self-consciousness, it is winter, with a feeling of enjoyment or happiness. Thus the pure consciousness, if taken as a pure light, is not radiating its light of knowing straight from the inner world to the outer; its light is originally vibrating back and forth within itself, through a curved way, as the rotation of heaven around its axis with its rotations of four seasons or four feelings. (Tang 1991: 241–242)[3]

[3] Here Tang uses the term "pure consciousness" to characterize the moral heart/mind. He states, "The meaning of 'heart/mind' is 'original heart/mind' and is identical with pure consciousness" (Tang 1991: 241). Since the Confucian moral heart/mind is a transcendental capacity as well as a transcendental criterion of morality, it is pure. Tang clearly explains this

Irrespective of whether we agree with the analogy Liu draws between the four feelings and the four seasons, it is no doubt appropriate to acknowledge his extraordinary contribution to the Confucian account of "feelings." Following Liu's understanding, we can see that Confucian philosophy does distinguish between transcendentally moral feelings and emotional feelings and does not treat feelings as mere sensations. A corollary of this is that Confucian self-cultivation is not predicated on the recognition that there is a dichotomy between reason and feelings; at least, Confucian philosophy would say that the dichotomy is overly inflated. If we ask Liu what are the differences between moral and emotional feelings that justify the distinction between them, the answer he would give is this. Although moral feelings, just like emotional feelings, have to be aroused by external objects, they are not object-oriented. Moral feelings are not passively determined by external objects as emotional feelings are; rather, they actively and appropriately react to external objects by telling us what we should do (what the moral response is) (Li 2005: 204). Furthermore, Liu considers emotional feelings to be a deviation from moral feelings (Liu 1997: 2.160–161). This, on the surface, seems incompatible with the common idea in Song-Ming Neo-Confucian philosophy that emotional feelings originate in humans' material nature (氣質之性) whereas morality originates in humans' moral nature (義理之性). Note that Liu in effect rejects the distinction between these two kinds of human nature. For Liu, the moral nature is not a theoretical presupposition but an experiential reality of our everyday life and thus should be understood as something in which *qi*-constituted material qualities (*qizhi* 氣質) partake. The moral nature is nothing but what makes the *qi*-constituted material quality be regarded as human nature (ibid.: 2.493). In other words, the distinction between the moral and material natures, if not false, is easily mistaken to mean that they are exclusively separate; but they are not.[4] By the same token, the distinction between emotional and moral feelings

point: "Consciousness is pure when it withdraws itself from outer or inner empirical objects, purifies itself from what is mixed with, and sees itself as a pure subjectivity or a pure spiritual light. Chinese thinkers usually use the words *jue* 覺 or *ming-jue* 明覺 to describe this pure consciousness. *Jue* may be translated as 'awareness' or 'sensibility' or 'consciousness.' In the West, when people talk about awareness or sensibility, they think of objects to become aware of or to be sensed. When consciousness is mentioned, it is usually associated with being conscious of something. However, in such Western philosophies as Kant's and Husserl's, there is the idea of pure consciousness—consciousness as pure subjectivity without connection with the object. So I use the words 'pure consciousness' as a translation of the Chinese word *jue* when it does not imply any connection with the objects and is not mixed with the objects with impression or ideas gotten from the subjects." (Tang 1991: 240)

[4] Liu's emphasis on the inseparability of the moral and material natures is also applicable to his discussion of the principle-vital energy (*li-qi* 理氣) relationship. Liu says, "What fills heaven and earth is vital energy" and "Principle is the principle of vital energy, it is certainly not prior to vital energy and not outside vital energy" (Liu 1997: 2.483). Elsewhere I have provided a detailed examination of this idea of inseparability and suggest that it is seriously wrong to categorize Liu as a materialistic philosopher. The emphasis on the idea that the moral and material natures, principle and vital energy, the metaphysical and

does not imply that the two kinds of feelings are separate at all. As moral feelings are the affective aspect of the moral heart/mind, we can say that they are none other than the moral heart/mind taking the form of feelings to manifest itself. There is thus a possibility of the moral heart/mind being mingled with its feelings and thus deviating from its own nature. Should this happen, moral feelings would degenerate into emotional feelings. Liu, therefore, suggests that effort (*gongfu* 工夫) should be made to preserve and exert one's moral feelings.

Fourth, besides interpreting the fundamental state of solitude (i.e., the solitariness of the nature and the heart/mind) in terms of the not yet manifested and manifested states of moral feelings, Liu also relates it to the notion of "tranquility" (*jing* 靜):

> The essential of learning for sagehood is merely vigilance in solitude. Solitude is the spirit of tranquility and the incipiency for action. Action without ignorance is called "tranquility." This is vigilance to the utmost. This is called "emphasizing tranquility" and "establishing the ultimate." (Liu 1997: 2.424; Wong and Sciban 1999: 227)

The last sentence of the above passage is quoted from "An Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity" ("Taiji tu shuo" 太極圖說), a representative work of Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤. Setting aside questions about the meaning of "tranquility" in Zhou's thought, when we read the character *jing* in its literal meaning it is easily associated with the effort of quiet sitting (sitting in meditation). But it would be mistaken to understand Liu's "tranquility" as quiet sitting despite there being evidence to document that he in fact practiced quiet sitting (Huang 2001: 47). For Liu, tranquility is the fundamental state of solitude in its full exercise or perfection. When the fundamental state of solitude is in its full exercise, it is devoid of any emotional perturbation, thus is in the state of tranquility. Note that Wang Yangming also talked about this idea: "The state of having neither good nor evil is that of the principle in tranquility. Good and evil appear when vital energy is perturbed. If vital energy is not perturbed, there is neither good nor evil, and this is called the highest good" (Wang 1992: 1.29; Chan 1963b: 63–64 mod.).[5] In addition, if one can exert one's fundamental state of solitude such that it attains the state of tranquility—that is the removal of all selfish human desires—one will simultaneously be morally steadfast

the transcendent and immanent are all inseparable, arose from what Shu-hsien Liu (Liu Shuxian 劉述先) calls "a tendency toward immanent monism" which was wide spread among Confucian scholars in the late Ming. The tendency is taken as a way to counter the subtle inversion of Buddhist philosophy into Confucian philosophy; however, it is basically a theoretical mistake. Because it overemphasizes inseparability at the expense of irreducibility, it tends to reject all the Confucian distinctions. In other words, it overlooks the truth that the moral nature cannot be reduced to the material nature even though they are inseparable in moral practice (Cheng 2008: 445–449).

[5] It is noted that Wang Yangming has reservations about using the term "tranquility" because it is easily mistaken as the quiescent state (動靜之靜) that is opposed to the active state (動靜之動) of the heart/mind. Wang was concerned that such a misunderstanding might lead one to cultivate quietism. Yangming's reservations are clear from the following passage in the *Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted* (*Chuan xi lu* 傳習錄).

(*ding* 定) whether or not one is engaged in activity. Given the foregoing elaboration, we can now fully understand Liu's words cited above that tranquility is the incipience of action, is action without ignorance, and thus sets the ultimate standard of being human. The remaining question here concerns how one achieves this state of tranquility. The only way to achieve it, in Liu's view, is to exert one's vigilance to the utmost or to preserve one's fundamental state of solitude. Liu calls this "the effort of vigilance" (*shen fa* 慎法) or "the effort of preserving tranquility" (*jing cun* 靜存). HUANG Zongxi in his *Record of Conduct of Master Liu* (*Zi Liuzi xingzhuang* 子劉子行狀) summarizes Liu's teachings about moral effort as follows: "There is no examination in activity other than preservation in tranquility" (Huang 2005: 1.250). How should we understand this? Liu does not mean that purposeful effort is useless. Rather, he means that only when purposeful effort is eventually beneficial to the preservation of the foundational state of one's moral being can it avoid becoming lost through fragmentation (Liu 1997: 2.437). Indeed, the purposeful effort to restore the full exercise of the moral heart/mind as fundamental state (即工夫便是本體) and the spontaneous activation of the moral heart/mind as (natural) effort (即本體便是工夫), are in practice inseparable, and mutually re-enforcing. Accordingly, Liu says:

> The so-called *benti* (fundamental state) is just this, and the so-called *gongfu* (effort) is just this. There is actually no distinction between fundamental state and effort, and there is nothing to point to, just a merging with what is authentically thus without sound and smell. (Liu 1997: 2.437; Liu 1998: 235, mod.)

From the viewpoint of self-cultivation, the effort to preserve one's moral heart/mind and exert it such that it is able to attain the state of tranquility can be considered to be the incessant effort to cultivate one's sense of seriousness or respect (*jing* 敬) for one's life. We are informed that in the earlier stages of his thought Liu emphasized "seriousness" and that he later turned to the doctrines

---

I asked, "When one's heart/mind is preserved in peace and tranquility, can it be called the state of equilibrium before one's feelings are aroused?"

The Teacher said, "Nowadays when people preserve their heart/mind, only their vital energy is calm. When they are peaceful and tranquil, it is only their vital energy that is peaceful and tranquil. That cannot be considered as the state of equilibrium before feelings are aroused."

"If it is not equilibrium, isn't it perhaps the way to achieve it?"

"The only way is to get rid of selfish human desires and preserve the Principle of Nature. When tranquil, direct every thought to removing selfish human desires and preserving the Principle of Nature, and when active, direct every thought to doing the same. One should never mind whether or not one is at peace and tranquil. If one depends on that peace and tranquility, not only will there be the fault of gradually becoming fond of quietness and tired of activity, but there will be many defects latent in that state of heart/mind. They cannot be eliminated but will grow as usual when something happens. If one regards following principle as fundamental, when is it that one will not be peaceful and tranquil? But if one regards peace and tranquility as fundamental, he is not necessarily able to follow principle." (Wang 1992: 1.13–14; Chan 1963b: 30–31 mod.)

of vigilance in solitude and sincerity of will. However, Huang Zongxi reminds us that "seriousness" is a common thread that runs through the different parts of Liu's teachings:

> The Master's essential doctrine is *shen du* (vigilance in solitude). In his early going, he entered the way through maintaining seriousness. In his middle age, he concentrated on discipline through vigilance in solitude, as vigilance leads to seriousness; and seriousness to sincerity. In the later years, he became even more subtle, and at the same time more down-to-earth. (Huang 2005: 1.250; Liu 1998: 234–235)

The idea of seriousness is a continuation of a long Song-Ming Neo-Confucian tradition of self-cultivation. Almost all Song-Ming Neo-Confucians elaborated on or repeated it. Nevertheless, by connecting the concept of seriousness with such concepts as tranquility, vigilance in solitude, and sincerity of will, Liu enriched it significantly.

The Doctrine of "Sincerity of Will"

The doctrine of sincerity of will, which Liu advocated in his later years, is the consummation of his thinking. The concept of "moral will" is fully developed to complement his ideas about the fundamental state of solitude, the solitariness of the heart/mind, and moral feelings. Undoubtedly, Liu gets a rich source of inspiration to develop the doctrine through his criticism of Wang Yangming's thought. Therefore, before looking into Liu's doctrine, let us examine his criticism of Yangming first.

Liu was particularly dissatisfied with the ambiguity that lies in Yangming's discussions of the idea of the will. In the *Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted*, it is stated:

> Principle is one and no more. In terms of its condensation and concentration in the individual it is called the nature. In terms of the master of this accumulation it is called heart/mind. In terms of its emanation and operation under the master, it is called the will. In terms of the clear consciousness of the emanation and operation, it is called knowing. And in terms of the stimuli and responses of this clear consciousness, it is called affairs. Therefore, when it pertains to affairs it is called rectification, when it pertains to knowing it is called extension, when it pertains to the will it is called sincerity, and when it pertains to the heart/mind, it is called rectification. (Wang 1992: 1.76–77; Chan 1963b: 161, mod.)

On this characterization, the will is just another aspect of the moral heart/mind as well as of the moral nature and principle; obviously, it is the moral will. However, Yangming talks about the will in an inconsistent way in his final teaching, the Four Dicta (*si ju jiao* 四句教):

> In the fundamental state of the heart/mind there is no distinction of good and evil.
> When the will becomes active, however, such distinction exists.
> The faculty of innate knowing of the good is to know good and evil.
> The rectification of affairs is to do good and remove evil. (Wang 1992: 1.117; Chan 1963b: 244, mod.)

Here the will seems to be characterized as the seat of good and evil, and so bears an empirical nature. If the will is defined as empirical will, it is none other than volitional ideas that of course would be either good or evil. Because Yangming also states that "What emanates from the heart/mind is the will" (Wang 1992: 1.6; Chan 1963b: 14), this casts serious doubt on how the moral heart/mind issues forth an empirical will. Liu argues, "If the fundamental state of the heart/mind is really beyond good and evil, then from where does the will that are good and evil come from?" (Liu 1997: 4.107).[6] Furthermore, if the will is regarded as either good or evil, it would render useless the teaching of "making the will sincere" (*cheng yi* 誠意). Should one then follow the teaching requiring one to make one's evil will sincere (Liu 1997: 2.525)? In sum, Liu strongly criticized Yangming for his misconception of the character *yi* (意字認壞) (ibid.: 2.373).

To rectify this misconception, Liu proposed a fine distinction between two kinds of will. He calls the first "will" (*yi* 意) and the second "volitional idea" (*nian* 念). Etymologically, the Chinese word *yi* can be rendered both as "will" and "volitional idea." Liu's distinction is thus a philosophical reconstruction instead of an etymological clarification. Liu's characterization of the distinction between the will and volitional ideas can be elaborated as follows.

First, the will is the directionality of the heart/mind that defines the moral autonomy of the heart/mind. The will is "where the heart/mind dwells rather than what the heart/mind issues forth" (ibid.: 2.459, 485, 528). It is in this sense that Liu sometimes calls the will "the root of will" (*yi gen* 意根) (ibid.: 2.535).

Second, the most important attribute of the will is its capacity to be fond of good and to revile evil (好善惡惡) (ibid.: 2.459). Like and dislike are feelings; the moral will thus in effect manifests itself in moral feelings. Recall that the four feelings (pleasure, anger, sorrow, and joy) are also moral feelings. Here we can see how Liu finds a way to combine the two major doctrines of his thought. The moral will, the fundamental state of solitude, and the not yet manifested and manifested states of moral feelings are all united.

Third, because the will is essentially moral in nature, it is the adjudicator of morality. To the will, if one affair is liked as good, it is certainly not reviled as evil. In contrast to the will, volitional ideas are arbitrary in how feelings of like and dislike are attached to particular affairs. That is, one affair that is liked at this moment may be disliked at a different moment. Liu explains:

> The liking and disliking of the will are different from the liking and disliking of volitional ideas. The liking and disliking of the will are both seen in the same incipiency.

[6] There was a widespread rejection of the idea of "beyond good and evil" (Wang Yangming's first dictum) among scholars in the late Ming. It is because the later scholars of Wang's school, especially Wang Ji 王畿 and the Taizhou school 泰州學派, took the idea to extremes that then gave rise to a stress on the idea of good (Tang 1991: 230–235). Liu was no exception to the rejection. Yet, this is not the crucial difference between Liu and Yangming, as there is enough evidence in Liu's writings to show that Liu understood the idea of beyond good and evil in terms of "the absolute good" (*zhi shan* 至善). (Liu 1997: 2.484–485, 518–519)

> The liking and disliking of volitional ideas are two feelings that exist but have different contents. To regard volitional ideas as the will is to be a thousand miles away [from the truth]. (Ibid.: 2.485; Wong and Sciban 1999: 228, mod.)

Fourth, recall that Liu considered emotional feelings to be a deviation from moral feelings. Following the same line of thinking, Liu also considered volitional ideas as the deviation of the moral will (the moral heart/mind). As the moral will takes the form of feelings (the liking and disliking) to reveal its acts of willing, there is then a possibility of the moral will being mingled with its feelings and thus deviating from its very nature. If this were to eventuate, the acts of moral willing would degenerate into volitional ideas. With this in mind, Liu adopted an etymological approach to split the character *nian* 念 into the two components—*jin* 今 (present) and *xin* 心 (heart/mind)—and came up with the idea that volitional ideas are the "residual vital energy" (*yu qi* 餘氣) of the heart/mind (Liu 1997: 2.491). Note that Tang Junyi developed a stronger articulation of this aspect of Liu's thought by relating the so-called residual vital energy to the concept of "habit" (*xi* 習):

> The partiality and solidification come from the fact that there is something remaining when the activity of consciousness is gone. Liu called this "remaining something" *yu-qi*. The word *qi* may be translated as vital energy; *yu-qi* means a residual force left or remaining when an activity is gone. Actually, what the *yu-qi* denotes is the potentiality of an activity when it is gone. This is the origin of habits. Every habit, as it comes from man's past activity of consciousness, has some residual effect to compel the present consciousness to take the habitual form, called *xi*. *Xi* may be quite different from nature. When the present consciousness takes habitual form of its past activity, which is different from nature, it withdraws itself backward to the habitual form and solidifies in that form, becoming partial and noncreative. This is the origin of error and evil. (Tang 1991: 243 mod.)

Volitional ideas can thus be seen as the solidification of moral consciousness into habitual form. As volitional ideas are either good or evil they may be quite different from the moral will and therein lies the origin of error and evil.

Fifth, Liu therefore proposed that the effort one should make is to transform volitional ideas into the heart/mind (化念歸心) (ibid.: 2.491). This effort actually involves a twofold process: first, to scrutinize thoroughly any volitional ideas that happen to be evil so that one can gradually learn to act in perfect accord with one's moral will; and second, to adhere constantly to the moral will that would, on the one hand, be the outcome of penetrating scrutiny and, on the other hand, simultaneously gain momentum for such scrutiny. Here the reasoning underlying Liu's thought is the same as the mutual re-enforcement of fundamental state and effort that I delineated in an earlier paragraph. In addition, the effort of "making the will sincere" should not be understood as making the insincere will sincere, as the will in itself is originally moral, perfect, and sincere. Instead, it should be understood as the preservation of the sincere will by letting the will function constantly, that is, nothing but the same effort mentioned above. In conclusion, in Liu's view, the effort to transform volitional ideas into the heart/mind, the

effort to be vigilant, the effort to preserve tranquility, and the effort to make the will sincere are just different names for the same effort.

Apart from criticizing Yangming's misconception of the word *yi*, Liu was also dissatisfied with Yangming's unsophisticated comprehension of the idea of *zhi* (知字認粗) (ibid.: 2.373). As is well known, the idea of *zhi* is the cornerstone of the whole of Yangming's intellectual enterprise. The philosophy of Yangming is called *zhi liangzhi* 致良知 (the extension of innate knowing of the good). In short, it runs like this. (1) *Zhi* is *liangzhi*, a Mencian concept, that refers to humans' innate knowing of the good. (2) Humans have both their inherent innate knowing of the good and the emotions; more importantly, the latter would interrupt the former. (3) The effort thus is to extend one's innate knowing of the good to its full for the sake of eradicating any emotional perturbation. In other words, it requires one at every moment to examine carefully whether one's ideas, feelings, and desires are in accord with the good. (4) Although the Four Dicta is just another expression of Yangming's teaching of extending innate knowing of the good, Liu regarded the teaching of the Dicta to be problematic. Liu's criticism is as follows: as one's innate knowing of the good is to eradicate any volitional ideas that happen to be evil, it can thus focus only on the good or evil one has already done (知落後著) (ibid.: 2.527). If one's innate knowing of the good can never precede the existence of evil in volitional ideas, it becomes enslaved in volitional ideas (知為意奴) (ibid.: 2.373).

One might be tempted to argue that Yangming's philosophy in a way can circumvent the difficulty raised by Liu, as the effort of extending innate knowing of the good serves not only to eradicate evil ideas but also to preserve the fundamental state of the heart/mind. In the "Letter in Reply to Lu Yuanjing" ("Da Lu Yuanjing shu" 答陸原靜書), Yangming says:

> Perhaps you did not get exactly what I said. Innate knowing of the good is the fundamental state of the heart/mind. It is what I have just referred to as that which is always shining. The fundamental state of the heart/mind neither rises nor does not rise. Even when erroneous thoughts arise, innate knowing of the good is present. Only because man does not know how to preserve it does the heart/mind sometimes become lost. Even when the heart/mind is most darkened and obstructed, innate knowing of the good is clear. Only because man does not know how to examine it is the heart/mind sometimes obscured. Although it is perhaps sometimes lost, its [fundamental] state is always present. The thing to do is to preserve it. And although it is perhaps sometimes obscured, its [fundamental] state is always clear. The thing to do is to examine it. To say that innate knowing of the good arises from somewhere is to say that sometimes it is not present. That would not be the fundamental state of the heart/mind. (Wang 1992: 1.61; Chan 1963b: 132, mod.)

The preservation of the fundamental state of innate knowing of the good, which is always present, shining, and clear, can enable it to issue forth moral ideas, moral feelings, and moral actions. Thereby, the innate knowing of the good functions not merely as a posterior reflection on the good or evil that are done by one; it functions also as the origin and motive of one doing good and not doing evil.

Although Liu's criticism of the innate knowing of the good can be answered, it is not completely in vain. As Tang Junyi clearly points out:

> In Liu Zongzhou's critique of Wang Yangming's thought, it is a contest for the "priority or primacy" of conscientious consciousness as "willing only the good" over "the primacy or priority" of the same consciousness as "knowing good and evil." In Wang's thought, this consciousness starts with knowing good and evil; then, second, liking the former and disliking the later; and, third, doing the former and avoiding the later. This seems to be a psychological order conforming to common experience. However, according to Liu, this order must be converted into one which recognizes the primacy or priority of the good will as an original function of the heart/mind which is connected with another original function of the heart/mind—feeling. The knowing function is essentially determined by the orientation of the original will and its accompanying feeling, and is posterior to the will and feeling in an ontological order. (Tang 1991: 238)

I must hasten to add that this contest for the primacy or priority of conscientious consciousness (i.e. the moral heart/mind) has nothing to do with conceptual reconstruction. Rather, it bears practical implications. The practical concern underlies Liu's doctrine of sincerity of will (as well as vigilance in solitude). According to Tu Wei-ming:

> [The doctrine] is not simply a form of introspective knowing. Rather, it is an attempt to create an experiential basis for a penetrating, comprehensive, and continuous scrutiny of the deepest layer of one's motivational structure. The scrutiny, in this particular connection, functions both as a focused investigation of all the underlying reasons for one's action and as an overall confirmation of the unlimited possibility for personal moral growth. Self-criticism and self-respect are thus two integrated dimensions of the same process. To be thoroughly critical of everything one does, big or small, obvious or hidden, is to be totally committed to the singularity of oneself as a dynamic moral agent. This seemingly insurmountable task of self-scrutiny cannot be carried out merely at the behavioral and attitude levels. Unless a linkage, indeed, a channel, is established with the center of moral creativity which can bring forth an inexhaustible supply of energy for self-cultivation, there is no hope of any qualitative improvement. Sporadic efforts certainly will not do; even systematic and programmatic endeavor is not enough, if it remains in an ethical realm which fails to account for the ultimate source of morality. (Tu 1985: 228–229)

The ultimate source of morality, in Liu's view, is the moral will instead of Yangming's innate knowing of the good. Only if one comprehends one's moral will can one exercise the penetrating, comprehensive, and continuous scrutiny of the deepest layer of one's motivational structure. For this reason, in contrast to the teachings of Yangming, Mou Zongsan characterizes Liu's teachings as returning from what is manifest to what is hidden (歸顯於密) (Mou 1979: 453).

In conclusion, Liu reformulated Yangming's Four Dicta as follows:

> The presence of good and evil characterizes the movement of the heart/mind.
> Being fond of the good and reviling evil characterizes the tranquility of the will.
> Knowing good and evil characterizes innate knowing of the good.
> Doing good and removing evil is the principle of affairs. (Liu 1997: 2.459; Wong and Sciban 1999: 230, mod.)

In this reformulation, the combination of the last three dicta is just a summary of Liu's doctrine of sincerity of will. For Liu, the will is the directionality of the moral heart/mind and it is primary in the motivational structure of the heart/mind. Even if Liu's characterization of innate knowing (i.e. the third dictum) is similar to that of Yangming, he insists that innate knowing is what is implicit in the will and thus is secondary in the motivational structure of the moral heart/mind (知藏於意) (Liu 1997: 2.459, 525). As for the first dictum, it appears strange to say that the moral heart/mind is either good or evil. What Liu meant is this as follows. (1) The moral heart/mind is necessarily restricted by its material form or its embodiment (心囿於形) (ibid.: 2.329). (2) Hence, there is always a possibility that the heart/mind will be disturbed by its material form and then deviate from its nature. (3) Such a situation is the origin of evil. Recall Liu's statement that "What is *xing er xia* 形而下 is called the heart/mind'' (Huang 2001: 137–153).

Before concluding this section, let me summarize Liu's doctrines of the sincerity of will and vigilance in solitude as follows:

(1) The will (*yi* 意) is at the core of the moral heart/mind and is primary in the motivational structure of the heart/mind. Since it can be considered as the solitariness of the heart/mind, it can be called the fundamental state of solitude.
(2) By comparison, the innate knowing of the good (*liangzhi* 良知) is what is implicit in the will and thus is secondary in the motivational structure of the heart/mind.
(3) The will expresses itself in the form of moral feelings, such as being fond of the good and reviling evil, and the "four feelings" (*si de* 四德).
(4) Emotional feelings, i.e. the "seven feelings" (*qi qing* 七情), are deviations of moral feelings. Correspondingly, volitional ideas (*nian* 念) are deviations of the moral will. Both of them account for the origin of error and evil.
(5) The effort, therefore, is to preserve the moral will. This in effect involves a twofold process: first, to scrutinize thoroughly any volitional ideas that happen to be evil so that one can gradually learn to act in perfect accord with one's moral will; and second, to adhere constantly to the moral will that would, on the one hand, be the outcome of penetrating scrutiny and, on the other hand, simultaneously gain momentum for such scrutiny. Liu refers to this effort by different names, such as the effort to transform volitional ideas into the heart/mind, the effort to be vigilant, the effort to preserve tranquility, and the effort to make the will sincere.
(6) Only when one comprehends one's moral will can one establish a channel with the ultimate source of morality which can bring forth an inexhaustible supply of energy for self-cultivation.

The Problem of Evil

The practical concern underlying Liu's doctrines enables him to pay serious attention to human weakness. The *Schemata of Humanity* (*Ren pu* 人譜), one of Liu's more important works, and which was revised continuously until his death, can thus be regarded as a record of Liu's putting his doctrines into practice. At the very beginning of this work, Liu criticized a prevailing Buddhist conception of evil in his time that understood human evil in terms of karma or the retribution for sin (因果報應). Accordingly, as human evil originates in karma and is the retribution for sin, one then can compensate for one's wrongdoing by doing good. However, it seemed to Liu that this Buddhist idea of evil is fundamentally mistaken. If one believes that evil can be compensated by doing good, one thus would not care about curbing one's evil acts. In other words, the most important thing is to ensure that the good one has done is much more than the evil one has done. As a result, the problem of evil can be reduced to the problem of calculating benefit (*gong li* 功利). For Liu, this mistaken conception of evil might even encourage one to do evil. After all, human evil is a problem of morality not of a problem of utility. The thrust of the *Schemata of Humanity* is to promote the idea of reforming faults (*gai guo* 改過).

Before discussing the ways to reform faults, Liu reflected on the different types of moral faults and classified them into six major categories:

(1) Subtle faults (*wei guo* 微過): Faults that originate from the possible deviation from the fundamental state of solitude.
(2) Concealed faults (*yin guo* 隱過): Faults that originate from the seven feelings (i.e., actual deviation from the fundamental state of solitude).
(3) Obvious faults (*xian guo* 顯過): Faults that originate from one's appearance.
(4) Great faults (*da guo* 大過): Faults that originate from one's five cardinal relations.
(5) Miscellaneous faults (*cong guo* 叢過): Faults that originate from one's various behaviors.
(6) Completed faults (*cheng guo* 成過): All the above faults being realized in wrongdoing (Liu 1997: 2.11–18).

Liu then proposed six relevant efforts to get rid of the aforementioned six types of moral fault:

(1) To dwell in secluded retirement in order to experience the self in solitude (凜閒居以體獨);
(2) To divine the movement of volitional ideas as they arise in order to recognize incipient tendencies (卜動念以知機);
(3) To exercise caution in one's bearing in order to follow the decree of heaven (謹威儀以定命);
(4) To strengthen the basic human relationships in order to crystallize the way (敦大倫以凝道);

(5) To make complete the one hundred practices in order to investigate one's conduct comprehensively (備百行以考旋);
(6) To change to the good and to reform faults in order to become a sage (遷善改過以作聖) (Liu 1997: 2.5–11; Tu 1985: 231–232, mod.).

Note that Liu repeatedly emphasizes that reforming faults is an incessant process of self-cultivation. He states that "Before making the effort, one has evil or faults throughout one's whole person. Yet one still has evil or faults throughout one's whole person even after making the effort" (Liu 1997: 2.10). As the problem of evil is a necessary subject that should be dealt with thoroughly in Confucian self-cultivation philosophy, Liu's *Schemata of Humanity*, as the only Confucian text mainly devoted to discussing the problem, deserves our careful examination.

Bibliography

Chan, Wing-tsit 陳榮捷 (trans. and comp.). 1963a. *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Chan, Wing-tsit 陳榮捷 (trans.). 1963b. *Instructions for Practical Learning and Other Neo-Confucian Writings of Wang Yang-ming*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Cheng, Chung-yi 鄭宗義. 2008. "Philosophical Development in Late Ming and Early Qing." In Bo Mou (ed.), *History of Chinese Philosophy*. UK: Routledge.

Ching, Julia (trans. with the collaboration of Fang, Chao-ying). 1987. *The Records of Ming Scholars*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Huang, Minhao (Wong, Man-ho) 黃敏浩. 2001. *Liu Zongzhou and His Philosophy of Vigilance in Solitude* 劉宗周及其慎獨哲學. Taipei : Xuesheng shuju 學生書局.

Huang, Zongxi 黃宗羲. 2005. *Complete Works of Huang Zongxi* 黃宗羲全集, second edition, 10 vols. Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang guji chubanshe 浙江古籍出版社.

Lao, Sze-kwong 勞思光. 1981. *History of Chinese Philosophy* (*New Edition*), vol. 3 新編中國哲學史第三冊. Taipei 台北: Sanmin shuju 三民書局.

Li, Minghui 李明輝. 2005. *The Four Virtues and Seven Feelings: Comparative Studies on Moral Feeling* 四端與七情—關於道德情感的比較哲學探討. Taipei 台北: Taida chuban zhongxin 台大出版中心.

Lin, Hongxing 林宏星 (Dongfang, Shuo 東方朔). 1997. *The Philosophy of Liu Jishan* 劉蕺山哲學研究. Shanghai 上海: Shanghai renmin chubanshe 上海人民出版社.

Liu, Shu-hsien. 1998. *Understanding Confucian Philosophy: Classical and Sung-Ming*. Westport, Connecticut & London: Praeger Publishers.

Liu, Zongzhou 劉宗周. 1997. *Complete Works of Liu Zongzhou* 劉宗周全集, 5 vols. Taipei 台北: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiusuo choubeichu 中央研究院中國文哲研究所籌備處.

Mou, Zongsan 牟宗三. 1968–1969. *Onto-cosmological State of the Original Heart/Mind and Human Nature* 心體與性體, 3 vols. Taipei 台北: Zhengzhong shuju 正中書局.

Mou, Zongsan 牟宗三. 1979. *From Lu Xiangshan to Liu Jishan* 從陸象山到劉蕺山. Taipei 台北: Xuesheng shuju 學生書局.

Tang, Junyi 唐君毅. 1990. *On Chinese Philosophy: Tracing Teaching to its Source* 中國哲學原論—原教篇. Taipei 台北: Xuesheng shuju 學生書局.

Tang, Junyi 唐君毅. 1991. "Liu Tsung-chou's Doctrine of Moral Mind and Practice and His Critique of Wang Yang-ming." In *Essays on Chinese Philosophy and Culture* 英文論著彙編. Taipei 台北: Xuesheng shuju 學生書局.

Tu, Wei-ming. 1985. "Subjectivity in Liu Tsung-chou's Philosophical Anthropology." In Donald J. Munro (ed.), *Individualism and Holism: Studies in Confucian and Taoist Values*. Ann Anbor: The University of Michigan.

Wang, Yangming 王陽明. 1992. *Complete Works of WANG Yangming* 王陽明全集, 2 vols. Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang guji chubanshe 浙江古籍出版社.

Wong, Man-ho Simon, and Sciban, Lloyd. 1999. "LIU Zongzhou's Criticism of Wang Yangming's Teachings." *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 26(2): 225–239.

WANG Fuzhi's Philosophy of Principle (*Li*) Inherent in *Qi*

JeeLoo Liu

WANG Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619–1692), literary name Chuanshan 船山, is the most prolific philosopher in Chinese history. *The Complete Posthumous Works of Chuanshan* (*Chuanshan yishu quanji* 船山遺書全集) includes twenty-one volumes of his writings, and this is not even his complete oeuvre as some of his writings were destroyed or lost during the turmoil of his life. The extensive commentaries he wrote on the Four Books and the Five Classics contain his highly sophisticated metaphysics, epistemology, and moral philosophy. He gave detailed analysis of historical trends and events, and developed an innovative philosophy of history. He presented his perspective on Chinese politics and his patriotism in a small book *On the Yellow Emperor* (*Huangshu* 黃書), which inspired many Chinese intellectuals after his times. He also expounded his views on two major Daoist thinkers, Laozi and Zhuangzi, in several complete commentaries on their works. His aesthetics are represented in his commentaries on ancient, Tang dynasty, and Song dynasty poems. In addition, he was an inspired author of voluminous fine poetry, which also exemplifies his aesthetic views.

This essay opens with an account of WANG Fuzhi's metaphysics and proceeds to give an account of his views on the human world. For Wang, the realm of heaven (*tian* 天) and the realm of humans are simply one unified whole. There is no transcendent realm beyond the human world, and it is the same vital energy (*qi* 氣) and the same principle (*li* 理) that permeate the realm of heaven and the realm of humans. Hence, his metaphysical views undergird his philosophy of human affairs, in particular, his philosophy of human nature, his moral philosophy, as well as his philosophy of human history. The title of my essay characterizes WANG Fuzhi's philosophy as the philosophy of "principle inherent in *qi*" (理在氣中) since this relation between *li* and *qi* is central to his thinking.

J. Liu (✉)
Department of Philosophy, California State University at Fullerton, USA
e-mail: jeelooliu@fullerton.edu

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*,
Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_17,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

WANG Fuzhi's Metaphysics—The Principle of *Qi* (氣之理)

WANG Fuzhi's metaphysics has conventionally been depicted as a form of monism by contemporary commentators. Furthermore, his monism has been characterized as materialism or naïve materialism (樸素唯物論) by most contemporary commentators in China. Another common and more apt label for Wang's metaphysics is realism (Xiao and Xu [2002]; Chen [2002]; Zhang [2004], among others). These labels highlight a core concept in his philosophy: *qi*.

WANG Fuzhi derived his metaphysical view primarily from the *Book of Change*, and he was also heavily influenced by ZHANG Zai's philosophy, which, according to him, is nothing but the study of the *Book of Change* (Wang 1967: 4). Six hundred years prior to WANG Fuzhi, ZHANG Zai had developed a new philosophy of *qi*. He constructed a systematic philosophy that built on the traditional concept of *qi*. For Zhang, *qi* is ordered and real and the essence of concrete forms. The coalescence and the dispersion of *qi* underlie the phenomena of life and death. *Qi* solidifies into concrete things; concrete things disintegrate back to the vacuous *qi*. *Qi* is real, not empty; *qi* is genuine (*cheng* 誠), not vacuous. WANG Fuzhi built upon ZHANG Zai's philosophy of *qi* and added a moral dimension. For Wang, *qi* is not merely manifested in the physical realm, it is also manifested in the abstract and moral realms. There is good in *qi*, and the development of *qi* is necessarily ordered. CHEN Lai 陳來, a distinguished contemporary scholar of Neo-Confucian philosophy, refers to it as Wang's "doctrine of the goodness of *qi* (氣善論)" (Chen 2004). He quotes the following passage by Wang: "[The *Book of Change* says,] '*Yi* has the Supreme Ultimate (*taiji* 太極), whence generates the Two Modes (*lianyi* 兩儀).' The Two Modes are nothing but *qi*, only when it is good (*shan* 善) can it become the mode. Therefore the six *yang* in Qian 乾 and the six *yin* in Kun 坤 all contain the four virtues of greatness, endurance, benefit, and stability (*yuan heng li zhen* 元亨利貞)" (Chen 2004: 167). From this passage we can see that the goodness of *qi* lies not just in its having an internal logic (*li* 理), but also in its having the virtues associated with creation. This moralized *qi* is the foundation of WANG Fuzhi's moral metaphysics, in which he elevated *qi* to a new ontological status. His *qi* is self-sufficient, self-propelling, self-regulating, and above all, good.

Another major concept in Wang's metaphysics is that of *li* 理. He employs this concept in various contexts where it takes on different connotations: the *li* inherent in *qi* (氣之理), the *li* of heaven (天理), the *li* in human nature (性之理), and the *li* in human affairs (事中之理). The foundation of all these usages is the *li* inherent in *qi*. For Wang, *qi* is not a blind force, working under the regulation of some independent higher principle. Rather, *qi* is regulated with its own internal logic which he calls "*li* 理." Rather than removing principle (理) from his ontology, he combines it with *qi* itself. His philosophy of "principled *qi*" (有理之氣) lays the groundwork not only for his metaphysics, but also for his

theory of human nature, his moral philosophy, and his philosophy of history. This section begins with the introduction of his notion of *li-qi* (理-氣), but I will first clarify some issues of nomenclature.

Beginning with FENG Youlan 馮友蘭 (1961), contemporary Chinese scholars have often interpreted WANG Fuzhi's *qi* monism as a form of materialism. However, this interpretation greatly misrepresents WANG Fuzhi's metaphysics. As contemporary Chinese scholar YAN Shouzheng 嚴壽徵 has pointed out, WANG Fuzhi's monism should not be seen as materialism, because the nature of *qi* is not the same as the materialist's notion of "matter," which is traditionally seen to be inanimate, inert and has to be supplemented with energy in order to form living things. *Qi*, on the other hand, contains energy within and is thus self-propelling. *Qi* is the source of life, but it also underlies the realm of death. According to Yan, "The living and the dead are simply various forms of *qi* itself. Hence, the nature of *qi* is both material and spiritual...There is no duality of mind and body in Chinese thought" (Yan 2000: 9). Taiwanese scholar ZENG Zhaoxu 曾昭旭 has also criticized previous scholars for attributing materialism to WANG Fuzhi, accusing them of "not understanding that *qi* for WANG Fuzhi includes not just the material world, but also spirit and mind" (Zeng 1983: 212). Furthermore, materialism in contemporary usage is identified with physicalism, the view that everything in the universe is governed by physical laws and can ultimately be explicable in physical terms. WANG Fuzhi's theory certainly does not allow for such a reductionist implication. His monistic worldview includes a moral dimension that cannot be reduced to the physical realm, and in his understanding, *qi*, with its internal logic and law, is responsible for both the material and the spiritual realms. It is therefore best to abandon use of the term materialism as applicable to his philosophy.

The Sole Constituent of the Universe: Qi

WANG Fuzhi's philosophy is a form of monism, and to him, *qi* is the only constituent of the universe. In this respect Wang's view is very similar to that of ZHANG Zai. However, for ZHANG Zai *qi* itself is the fundamental state (*ti* 體) of the cosmos. When it consolidates, it forms material objects; when it disintegrates, it is simply a massive formless *qi*, which he calls Ultimate Void (*taixu* 太虛). Thus, for ZHANG Zai *qi* remains an abstract entity divided into two mode of existence: its fundamental state/condition (*ti*) and its function (*yong* 用). Material objects are the manifestations of *qi*; they are where the function of *qi* is revealed. The Ultimate Void is the fundamental state of *qi*; it is invisible and formless. WANG Fuzhi, on the other hand, does not posit a separate state independent of its function (*yong*). He carries ZHANG Zai's monism one step further to argue that the universe is *one* not just in its constitutive elements, but also in its ontological order:

> When we talk about state and function, we cannot separate the two. With such a state there must be such a function; with such a function there must be such a state. When we talk about state, the function is already contained; when we talk about function, the state must already reside within. (Wang 1974a: 7:473)

On his view, it is wrong to assume that there is another state of existence for *qi* that is separate from, and logically prior to, the existence of material objects. It is also wrong to treat principle as *the* state/condition and *qi* as *the* function. WANG Fuzhi thinks that *li* and *qi* can serve as each other's *ti* or *yong*. There is thus no substance that stands behind reality. Reality is nothing but *qi* and its function: concrete things (*qi* 器).

Qi 氣 consists of two forms: *yin* and *yang*. The totality of the universe is called the Supreme Ultimate (*taiji* 太極). WANG Fuzhi says:

> *Yin* and *yang* exhaust the totality of the Supreme Ultimate. Whatever lies between the two realms of heaven and earth, be it shape or form, spirit or energy, clear or turbid, is all made up of *yin* and *yang*. From natural phenomena such as snow and wind, water and fire, mountains and lakes, to tiny creatures such as lava or sprouts; from that which has a material form to that which has not yet been formed, and even to the beginning state of the formless harmonious whole which is called the Great Harmony (*taihe* 太和), it is all just the permeation of *yin* and *yang*. However, each thing is distinctly its own. The nature, quality, and efficacy of things cannot be unified as the same. (Wang 1980: 478)

In other words, *qi* alone is responsible for the commonality as well as the differences among particular things.

WANG Fuzhi adopted ZHANG Zai's view that *qi* condenses into solid forms and concrete things, while concrete things again disintegrate back to formless *qi*. Forms and the formless are simply various stages of the manifestations of *qi*. *Qi* exists from the beginning of the universe and is in constant movement and transformation. WANG Fuzhi endorsed ZHANG Zai's depiction of the initial cosmic state, a formless *qi*. ZHANG Zai called it the Great Void (*taixu* 太虛), but this description could easily lead to a Buddhist reading of emptiness or a Daoist reading of nothingness. According to Wang, "What humans perceive as the Great Void is simply *qi* itself, not void. The Void contains *qi* and *qi* permeates the Void. There is no so-called 'nothingness'" (Wang 1967: 13). For his cosmology, he seems to have preferred ZHANG Zai's other term, Great Harmony, which ZHANG Zai himself used to depict *dao*. WANG Fuzhi often used Great Harmony in conjunction with another concept derived from the *Book of Change*: *yinyun* 絪緼, describing it as "the original state of the intermingling of the Great Harmony, which necessarily contains the logic as well as the tendency to oscillate mutually" (Wang 1967: 1). This remark shows that WANG Fuzhi took the original state of the universe to be a dynamic state that contains a perfectly harmonious internal order in the integration of *yin* and *yang*. In its original state, the universe is not yet divided into myriad things, and yet *qi* is perpetually moving and transforming harmoniously. The nature of *qi* is simply the movement and integration of both *yin* and *yang*, and there is an internal order within such a movement.

The Status and Nature of Li 理

Li is the inherent logic or the pattern of the distribution as well as the development of *qi*. WANG Fuzhi described this internal logic as what *qi* "necessarily is"; in other words, *qi* cannot fail to deviate from this logic. Wang described principle or internal logic as "one *yin* and one *yang* (一陰一陽)," which is also called *dao*. The development of *qi* consists in the perpetual movement of *yin* and *yang*. The two forms of *qi* constantly interact with each other; while one expands, the other withdraws. However, expansion can never reach the point of exhaustion and withdrawal cannot become extinction. Hence, there is a pattern of once *yin* and once *yang*, and there is also the principle of the impossibility of either lone *yin* (*du yin* 獨陰) or lone *yang* (*du yang* 獨陽). Everything contains both *yin* and *yang* in various distributions. This manifested regularity is what *qi* necessarily demonstrates, but according to WANG Fuzhi, it is because this is how *qi* actually is: "*Qi* originally possesses an internal logic (氣原是有理底)" (Wang 1974a: 10:666).

WANG Fuzhi rejected ZHU Xi's separation of *li* (principle) and *qi* into distinct ontological categories and rendering the former transcendent. Even though Zhu often emphasized the co-existence and inseparability of *li* and *qi*, he did put them into distinct ontological categories and considered them different entities. When ZHU Xi was pressed to trace the origin of *li* and *qi*, he put *li* prior to *qi*. WANG Fuzhi maintained that Zhu was mistaken. On ZHU Xi's understanding, principle effectively becomes a "metaphysical dangler." WANG Fuzhi points out that *li* is not independent of or separable from *qi*: "only when there is *qi* can there be *li*" (Wang 1977a: 31:13). Furthermore, "outside of *qi* there cannot be any dangling, isolated *li*" (Wang 1974a: 10:660). Wang regarded *qi* to be the fundamental element of the universe. Principle is simply the principle of *qi*; it is the order inherent in *qi* itself. Therefore, principle does not have any transcendent status; it is also not logically prior to *qi*: "Principle is simply the principle of *qi*. The way *qi* is necessarily so is principle itself. Principle is not prior and *qi* is not posterior" (ibid.).

*The Principle of Heaven (*天理*): The Connection between Heaven-As-Heaven (*天之天*) and Heaven-As-Human (*人之天*)*

WANG Fuzhi not only talked about the principle of *qi*, he also discussed the principle of heaven (*tian li* 天理). In the latter context, the notion of *li* takes on a moral dimension. It is what places men in the world of nature, what combines the moral or the good with what is natural. In this context, *li* could be rendered as moral principle, and the term *tianli* could be rendered as the universal moral principle.

What WANG Fuzhi meant by "heaven" is neither a personified, mysterious being, nor a transcendent ontological category. He distinguished "heaven-as-heaven"

(天之天) and "heaven-as-human" (人之天), and reasserted an objective, realistic status for heaven-as-it-is. Heaven is not what humans define or create, and it is not ontologically reducible to the human mind or consciousness. Heaven-as-heaven can be viewed as *the world as it is*, while heaven-as-human can be interpreted as *the world as humans know it*. The former is not completely exhaustible by human understanding, and human conceptions often present partial aspects of heaven-as-it-is. For example, the sun and the moon operate in their own order, but for men they represent light and darkness and they bring about day and light. Human conceptions add a different dimension, which is often accompanied by value assignments, to the way the world is. But there are restrictions. Wang Fuzhi says:

> The logic and the circumstances of heaven are not what human affairs can completely cover. With the vastness of heaven and earth, the changes of wind and thunder, the operation of the sun and the moon, or the fluidity of lakes and the durability of mountains, there must be what humans do not know and cannot participate in negotiating. (Wang 1980: 617)

Such limitations, however, are not permanently fixed. In time, with the progression of human history and the expansion of human knowledge, "what used to be heaven-as-heaven is now heaven-as-human; what will be heaven-as-human in the future is still just heaven-as-heaven for now" (Wang 1974b: 132). Human endeavors partake in the formation, creation, and understanding of the world; hence, what lies outside of the human world gets progressively transformed into part of the human world in time. In other words, Wang Fuzhi acknowledged the limitation of human knowledge and human accomplishments, but he did not think that it poses an insurmountable obstacle between heaven and men. His notion of heaven is simply the totality of the natural world, and in his view, human knowledge approximates the truth of this totality, and human accomplishments help to complete heaven's creation. In this sense, the progressive creation of *qi* is not only a function of naturalized *qi* but is also the function of human beings. It is nature and culture, heaven and human beings, which collaboratively construct this dynamic universe. Without human contribution, the world cannot be complete. As Wang says, "There is originally no bound to the transformation and the virtues of heaven and earth. They are manifested only through humans" (Wang 1974a: 5:312).

According to Wang, "Whatever is in heaven is principle. One cannot speculate on what heaven is like by stipulating on principle" (Wang 1967: 26). He posits a realist sense of heavenly principle, and deems it as independent of human conceptions: "Humans must follow the principle of heaven as *the* principle, while heaven does not employ the principle of humans as its principle" (Wang 1977b: 225). There is a way the world is, which is not prescribed by the human world. What he means by the principle of heaven is simply the way the world is.

What is the content of heavenly principle? According to Wang, heaven is nothing but "the accumulation of *qi* (*ji qi* 積氣)" (Wang 1974a: 10:719).

Therefore, the principle of heaven is simply the principle (the internal logic) of *qi*. We can say that here "heaven" refers to heaven-as-heaven. In other contexts, Wang also says that heaven is nothing but the combination of *yin*, *yang* and the Five Phases (*wu xing* 五行): "Separated, they are called *yin yang* and the Five Phases; combined, it is called heaven.... How could there be anything else outside of *yin yang* and the Five Phases that employs them?" (Wang 1974a: 2:69). Here he connects heaven with the Five Phases that constitute human nature. We can say that "heaven" here refers to heaven-as-human. It is in the context of heaven-as-human that Wang introduced a second sense of *li*, by assigning it the seven virtues associated with *yin*, *yang* and the Five Phases:

> What is referred to as *li* has two senses: one is the existing order and pattern of the myriad things in nature; the other is the ultimate principle of the virtues of perseverance (*jian* 健), accord (*shun* 順), humaneness (*ren* 仁), righteousness (*yi* 義), [1] propriety (*li* 禮), wisdom (*zhi* 智) and faithfulness (*xin* 信). It is what heaven endows in men and what humans receive as their nature. (Wang 1974a: 5:324)

This passage shows that Wang separated the *li* that is the natural order of things and the *li* that is the ultimate moral completion in the human world. We can say that the former represents *what is* while the latter represents what ought to be. According to CHEN Lai 陳來, the former is "the principle of things" (*wu li* 物理) and the latter is "the principle of human nature" (*xing li* 性理) (Chen 2004: 107). By using this notion of *li* as associated with the notion of heavenly principle, Wang sought to connect the world of nature and the human world, and place morality in the center of reality. When *li* represents not just what things are, but also what things ought to be, it is synonymous with another notion: *dao* 道.

Dao and Li

The connection between *dao* 道 and *li* 理 is a complicated issue. Each notion has a long philosophical tradition in Chinese history, and different philosophers accord these terms very different philosophical significances. This essay makes no attempt to provide a comprehensive analysis of *dao* and *li*; rather, my aim is simply to examine the way WANG Fuzhi used the concepts and see how they relate to each other in his philosophy.

One way to distinguish the two concepts is to say that *dao* represents the dynamic progressive order of the movement of *qi* while *li* represents the finished order or the internal logic of *qi*. But this distinction may not apply in all cases. In his exposition of *dao* WANG Fuzhi embraced the thesis expressed in the *Book of Change*: "one *yin* one *yang* is what is referred to as *dao* (一陰一陽之謂道)." According to Francois Jullien's analysis, the "one-one" could mean either that *yin* and *yang* are inseparable, or that *yin* and *yang* succeed each other

[1] I translate *yi* as "righteousness" rather than "rightness" because what Mencius had in mind was a sense closer to "uprightness" than to "correctness."

with no interruption. On this reading, the phrase means that *yin* and *yang* are interdependent and/or mutually alternating (Jullien 1993: 247). If the concept of *dao* denotes both sets of relations, then it signifies not only the static internal logic (*li*) in *qi*, but also the essential order of the dynamic process of *yin* and *yang*. So in some contexts *dao* includes *li* and the two terms are interchangeable in these contexts.

Another distinction that can be drawn between *dao* and *li* is that the former has a sense of origination, universality, and comprehensiveness. According to WANG Fuzhi: “*Dao* is the common principle (*li*) of heaven and earth, humans and things. It is also the so-called ‘Supreme Ultimate’ (*taiji*)” (Wang 1967: 1). He uses this comment to interpret ZHANG Zai’s remark, “The Great Harmony (*taiji* 太和) is the so-called *dao*,” so apparently in this context, Supreme Ultimate, Great Harmony, and *dao* are co-referential—they all refer to the unity of *yin* and *yang*, the totality of things, or the origin of the universe. It does not seem that Wang uses the term *li* to depict the totality of things or the origin of the universe:

> The Supreme Ultimate is initially one and all, harmoniously unified and intermingled. Certainly it cannot be named *li*. Only after it has evolved ... and sameness and differentiation [among things] as well as the evident order or pattern in them are manifested, do we have the name of *li*. (Wang 1974a: 10:720)

Here is one clear usage where the connotation of *dao* would include *li*, but not vice versa.

A third plausible distinction between the two concepts is that *dao* has the normative connotation of “what should be the case,” whereas *li* seems to denote “what is” or “what is necessarily so.” We can also say that *dao* is prescriptive while *li* is descriptive. *Li* is how things naturally are and how *qi* naturally is. All things have their internal principles and all developments of *qi* have their internal logic. But *dao* is uniquely human. What WANG Fuzhi means by “what should be the case” is not an ontological necessity (as *li* is), but a moral necessity. *Dao* prescribes the norms of human conduct:

> Today I can sum it up in one sentence: Objects themselves simply do not have *dao*. When we discuss the *dao* of cattle’s cultivating the land or the *dao* of riding horses, we are only speaking of the *dao* of how humans use things. So in a way things and objects do have *dao*—it is only the *dao* of humans’ interaction with things or treatment of objects. Therefore, *dao* pertains only to human beings. (Wang 1974a: 2:70)

Only humans have the ability to make moral judgments and to aim for doing what is right. This is why he also says, “Objects all have their nature, but we cannot say that they have *dao*. *Dao* is what distinguishes men and objects, what separates human beings from beasts” (Wang 1967: 79).

In some contexts, the word *dao* means particularized *dao*—the *dao* in various things and objects. This is where WANG Fuzhi introduces his theory of the relationship between *dao* and concrete things (*qi* 器)—his famous doctrine of *dao*-*qi* unification (道器合一論).

The Realization of Dao in Concrete Things (Qi)—the Doctrine of Dao-Qi Unification

The emphasis on material objects and concrete existence is an important aspect of WANG Fuzhi's metaphysics. "Concrete existence" (*qi* 器) is a notion derived from the *Book of Change* which posits *dao* as metaphysical (what is beyond physical form [形而上]) and concrete existence as physical (what has a physical form [形而下]). Chinese philosophers generally put *dao* on a transcendent level, treating it as above and beyond concrete existence. *Dao* prescribes the way concrete things ought to be; it has an a priori content and an everlasting value. WANG Fuzhi's theory is revolutionary in his placing *dao* as an *a posteriori*, post-instantiation order of concrete things. *Dao* is realized in concrete things; without a particular kind of concrete things there cannot be the *dao* of that kind. He argues that *dao* does not pre-determine the world; rather, it is developed as the world evolves: "What exists in this world is nothing but concrete things. *Dao* is simply the *dao* of concrete things; concrete things may not be called the concrete things of *dao"* (Wang 1977b*:* 5:25). He further explains:

> There is no *dao* of the father before there is a son, there is no *dao* of the elder brother before there is a younger brother. There are many *dao*s that could exist but are not yet existent. Therefore it is indeed true that without a concrete thing, there cannot be its *dao*. (Wang 1967: 5:25)

WANG Fuzhi explains the differences between "beyond physical form" (形而上) and "having physical form" (形而下) as the difference between the invisible blueprint of how things ought to be and the actualized objects:

> What is called "beyond physical form" is what has not taken form, where there is implicitly an inviolable heavenly rule.... When shapes are formed and become visible, what those forms can be used for in order to fulfill their natural capacities ... are still hidden in the forms and not visible. This is called "what is beyond physical form." What is called "having physical form" is what can be seen and followed after concrete things are formed. The *dao* that is beyond physical form is obscure. Only after forms are set can what each thing is supposed to be and what function it is supposed to have become determined. This is why what is beyond physical form cannot be separated from forms. (Wang 1980: 568)

In his examples of what "has physical form," Wang includes both concrete objects (such as carriages or containers) and actual relationships (such as those between fathers and sons, between the ruler and the ministers). We can see that in his worldview, as the world evolves and as human society progresses, more and more things will emerge and more and more *dao* will be realized. The *dao* of each thing does not exist before the thing is invented or a relationship developed; it is simply that there is a way each thing should be and that is its *dao*. *Dao* as particularized is not a mysterious order "beyond physical form"; it is simply what is already contained in each object and each human affair.

In summary, WANG Fuzhi constructed a sophisticated metaphysical system which unifies the two ontological categories, *li* and *qi*, separated by the ZHU Xi

School. Since *qi* is traditionally viewed as a blind physical force that requires the regulation of *li*, it could lead to misrepresentation to say that Wang Fuzhi's ontology is merely *qi* monism, in that his theory does not leave out the element of *li*. Wang Fuzhi's monism is rather a form of *li*-*qi* monism—*li* is internal to *qi* as *qi* is necessarily self-regulating. Zhu Xi takes *li* to be the ontological, or at least the logical, foundation of *qi*—*li* is what makes *qi* possible. Wang Fuzhi, on the other hand, takes *qi* to be the ontological foundation of *li*—*qi* is what manifests and completes *li*. His *li*-*qi* monism, or the philosophy of *li* inherent in *qi*, serves as the foundation for his philosophy of human nature and human mind.

Wang Fuzhi's Philosophy of Human Nature: The Principle of Nature

Wang's philosophy of human nature is basically a Mencian view: human nature is good. Mencius identified the four moral sprouts (*si duan* 四端) as what is contained within human nature. The connotation of *duan* 端 is that it is the beginning state and requires development. Wang Fuzhi took the further step of defining the totality of *xing* 性 as the emerging, developing state of human existence. In other words, Wang Fuzhi took what we call *xing* 性 to be human potential. He says, "What is derived from heaven and in accordance with *dao*, what is contained within the forms and *qi*, which *makes it possible to know all and to do all*—this is what we call *xing* 性" (Wang 1967: 16, emphasis mine). This shows that he regarded human nature (*xing* 性) to be a state of our existence that is full of potential. It is not simply what is given and determined at birth.

Neo-Confucians, especially the Cheng-Zhu School, treat human nature as that which heaven confers on human beings. Humans and other creatures derive their nature from the heavenly principle (*tianli*). It is the same heavenly principle that makes possible the nature of different creatures. Therefore, humans and other creatures share the same nature. What makes humans different from other creatures lies in the varied endowment of *qi*. The purity or impurity of *qi* in each being is responsible for the good or the bad in different lives. Wang Fuzhi, however, rejected the theory that the nature for humans and other creatures is the same. He argues that the nature is determined by the stuff from which a life is formed. Humans and animals are made of different *qi*, and thus, they must have different natures. The nature of vegetation includes growth and decay; the nature of animals includes perception and motion. Human nature, on the other hand, includes moral essence, which is simply the realization of *dao* within our existence. It is this essence that separates human beings from other animals. Wang Fuzhi says, "The *dao* of heaven does not leave animals out, while the *dao* of humans only pertains to human beings" (Wang 1974c: Inner Chapter, 5). The focus of his theory of human nature is on the realization of *dao* as the essence of human beings:

> Humans have their *qi*, and that is how they have their nature. Dogs and cattle also have their *qi* and their nature. The coalesced *qi* of humans is good (*shan* 善), therefore their nature is good. The *qi* that constitutes dogs and cattle does not have this good quality, and thus their nature cannot be said to be good. (Wang 1974a: 10: 662)

Here he singles out the combination of *qi* that is good as the constituent of human beings. It is not clear how *qi* can be either good or not good. Wang's explanation is that there is the alternation (*bian* 變) and conjoining (*he* 合) of *yin* and *yang*: "When there are both alternation and conjoining, not all can be good" (ibid.: 660). He takes the natural qualities (intelligence, talents, appearance, etc.) of human beings to be rooted in the constitution of *qi*, in the alternation and conjoining of *yin* and *yang*. It seems that he included humans' moral qualities in their natural qualities as well.

What is the content of human nature if human nature is derived from *qi*? To WANG Fuzhi, human nature is simply the principle (*li*) endowed in the constitution of *qi*. Humans are nothing but the congregation of *qi*; principle is the order of *qi*, which is necessarily contained in the congregation of *qi*. Hence, human beings are necessarily endowed with principle. This is human nature: "Human nature is simply *li*. *Li* is the order of *qi* and it is the *li* of *qi*. How could there be any external *li* to roam about within *qi*?" (ibid.: 684). The connotation of *li* here takes on a moral dimension. WANG Fuzhi defines human nature as the virtues of *yin* and *yang*: perseverance (*jian* 健), accord (*shun* 順), as well as the Five Virtues of humaneness (*ren* 仁), righteousness (*yi* 義), propriety (*li* 禮), wisdom (*zhi* 智), and faithfulness (*xin* 信). It is thus probably more appropriate to translate WANG Fuzhi's notion of *xing* 性 as "moral essence" or as "essence," rather than simply as "nature."

Since human nature is constituted by *qi* and *qi* is constantly in mutation, human nature cannot be a fixed state. Wang thus devised his most ingenious doctrine of the "daily renewal and daily completion of human essence (性日生日成說)."

The Daily Renewal and Daily Completion of Human Essence

WANG Fuzhi held that the nature is not simply what one is endowed with at birth; it is also what is developed throughout one's life: "What heaven endows in men is uninterrupted *qi*. If *qi* is uninterrupted, then *li* must also be uninterrupted. Therefore, as long as life continues, one's nature gets daily renewal" (Wang 1974a: 10:685). Daily renewal is also a progression towards perfection: "Human essence (*xing* 性) is principle of life (*sheng li* 生理); as one grows daily it gets daily completion. How could it be that what heaven commands (*ming* 命) in men is only what is given at birth?" (Wang 1975: 3:55). XIAO Jiefu 蕭萐父 and XU Sumin 許蘇民 explain that what WANG Fuzhi meant by "heaven's command (*tian ming*)" is simply the natural process of the transformation of *qi* (Xiao and Xu: 295). As we continue to interact with the natural environment and to receive the

permeation of *qi*, our natural qualities and our moral essence become developed and perfected on a daily basis. We may have a certain natural intelligence which does not restrict our intellect since the more we learn, the smarter we become. We may be born with certain natural talents, but our natural talents will not materialize into real capacities if we do not cultivate them. Only when we die do we stop progressing and improving.

"Heaven daily commands humans; humans daily receive commands from heaven. That is why we say human nature is life itself, it is daily generated and daily completed" (Wang 1975: 3:55). What heaven endows in humans at birth is called *ming* 命 because at the beginning of one's birth, one has no control over what is given. Everything comes from heaven and all is pure and pristine. After birth, one gains control over one's life and can take or utilize what is given. Wang maintains that what one takes and utilizes is due to one's repeated practice or habits (*xi* 習) in life, and with one's repeated practice (*xi* 習), the pure nature becomes adulterated. However, he also calls the affected and impure nature heaven's command: "What one takes and what one utilizes is none other but *yin*, *yang* and the Five Phases. It is all from heaven's command. So how could we not also call it [heaven's] command (*ming* 命)?" (ibid.: 56). What we do in life becomes part of our essence, and our thoughts and deeds bring about our maturation. Hence, not only is heaven daily renewing our endowment, we are also in charge of daily renewing and daily completing our own essence. This is what Wang means by the daily renewal and daily completion of human essence (*xing*).

According to a contemporary scholar ZHOU Bing 周冰, WANG Fuzhi's doctrine of the "daily renewal and daily completion of human essence" can be further analyzed into two theses: "the daily renewed nature" refers to the a priori nature (先天之性); "the daily completed nature" refers to the *a posteriori* nature (後天之性) (Zhou 2006: 171). WANG Fuzhi distinguished the a priori nature and the *a posteriori* nature, and included both in human essence (*xing* 性): "The a priori nature is what heaven accomplishes; the *a posteriori* nature is what repeated practice (*xi*) accomplishes" (Wang 1974a: 8:570). We can say that what he meant by the a priori nature is the fundamental order (*li*) of *qi*, which he has defined as human's moral essence such as humaneness, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom. What he meant by the *a posteriori* nature, on the other hand, is what individuals end up having as their essence. The moral essence is innate in us; the individual essence is what we accomplish through our lifelong repeated practice (*xi*) of various thoughts and deeds. With the former, essence precedes existence; with the latter, *existence completes essence*. This view liberates human beings from the sense of predetermination to seek fulfillment of their potential and to define their own essence.

The inclusion of both the a priori nature and the *a posteriori* nature into human "essence" shows that for Wang there is no sharp division between nature and nurture. At any moment of our lives, we can change our nature for the better or for the worse. Since human nature is developed and perfected on a daily basis, he does not think that evil is external to human nature. Individuals

are thus responsible for their being good or bad; their a priori nature does not determine the way they are. This view clearly opposes the purely a priori status of human nature that was at the center of the debates between Mencius, Gaozi, and Xunzi on whether human nature is good, bad, or neither. It seems moreover to explicate Confucius' remark: "Humans are close to one another by nature. They diverge from one another through habituation 性相近也, 習相遠也" (*Analects* 17.2).

Xing and Xin: "The Heart/Mind of Dao" and "The Heart/Mind of Humans"

WANG Fuzhi's theory of human nature and his theory of human heart/mind are closely connected:

> Human nature is contained within human heart/mind and becomes activated when the heart/mind interacts with things.... Speaking from one direction, we say that only heaven contains *dao* and *dao* is realized in human nature. Thus, human nature is what enables us to know *dao*. Speaking from the opposite direction, however, we say that maximizing the heart/mind's functions is the way to bring human nature to completion, to unified human nature with *dao*, and to go with *dao* to serve heaven. (Wang 1967: 16)

Sometimes WANG Fuzhi calls the nature "the heart/mind of *dao* (*daoxin* 道心)," and emotions (*qing* 情) "the heart/mind of humans (*renxin* 人心)" (Wang 1974: 10:674). In other words, he takes the nature and the heart/mind to be simply two aspects of the human heart/mind. "The heart/mind of *dao"* is the *dao* realized in human nature, and this is the same thing as the principle (*li*) of the nature (*xing li* 性理). Wang identified Mencius' four moral sprouts as the heart of *dao*:

> What is the nature/essence is what cannot be spoiled, whereas emotions need to be restrained. This is how we know that the heart/mind of commiseration, the heart/mind of shame and loathing, the heart/mind of respect and deference, and the heart/mind of knowing right from wrong, are all within our nature and not just our emotions. As for emotions, they include the feelings of joy, anger, sorrow, happiness, love, loathing, and yearning. (Wang 1974a*:* 10:673)

We can say that herein lies the distinction between moral sentiments and natural emotions.

In summary, according to WANG Fuzhi, our moral sentiments constitute our essence (*xing*). These four moral sentiments can develop into four virtues: humaneness (*ren* 仁), righteousness (*yi* 義), propriety (*li* 禮), and wisdom (*zhi* 智). They are also the foundation for morality. Hence, what makes morality possible comes from within, from our very existence. Morality is internal to us, and it is a natural development of human essence. This view of human nature leads to Wang's moral psychology: the development of moral sentiments.

Wang Fuzhi's Moral Psychology

Wang Fuzhi's moral psychology is also built upon Mencius' theory of human mind which delineates several important notions of humans' innate moral as well as non-moral capacities. Wang Fuzhi further defines and develops each of these notions, and constructs a more complete theory to explain the possibility and the root of human morality.

Functions of the Heart/Mind

Wang Fuzhi's theory of human mind includes six key functions of the heart/mind.

Natural Emotions (*qing* 情)

Wang identifies seven categories of emotions (as conventionally categorized in Chinese thought): joy, anger, sorrow, happiness, love, loathing, and yearning. He maintains that our emotions arise from contacts with external objects, hence they are "neither strictly outside of us nor within us" (Wang 1974a*:* 10:675). The human heart/mind does not contain any emotions until it has contact with external objects. Emotion must be triggered by the outside world: "It exists when it is discernible; it does not exist when it is not discernible. This is called 'emotion.' Emotion is at the intersection between the heart/mind and objects. It comes from the heart/mind, but it is not the moral essence (*xing*) in the heart/mind" (Wang 1974a: 8:573). Even though natural emotions are not the same as our moral essence, Wang takes them to be essential to our moral cultivation. They are the foundation for morality, as well as the source of immorality. Wang's moral philosophy builds heavily on the role these natural emotions play in our moral lives.

Natural Desires (*yu* 欲)

Wang defines desire as the heart/mind's interaction with that which is desirable: "Things like sounds and colors, goods and wealth, power and authority, achievement and success, anything that is desirable such that I would desire it, is called 'desire' " (Wang 1974a: 6:369). From this quotation, it seems that desiring and what is being desired are incorporated into the same act. As long as we are alive, we cannot avoid interacting with objects; once we interact with objects, we cannot avoid the generation of our desires. Therefore, "expecting to rid oneself completely of human desires is an impossible demand" (Wang 1974a: 6:371).

There are, however, certain desires which are not "natural." These non-natural desires seem to be derived from prior experiences or repeated practice

(*xi* 習). Wang gives the example of puffer fish: If one has never tasted puffer fish before, how would one possess a strong desire to eat it? (Wang 1974a: 8:570). Our experiences and our repeated practice account for how different people could have different desires that go beyond our common natural desires.

There are also certain desires that are not just "non-natural," but are morally unacceptable: "Loving someone, one desires that person's longevity; hating someone, one desires that person's imminent death. These can still be called human desires. However, if one embarks on massive warfare and desires to kill others even though one bears no personal hatred against them, then these desires are simply desires of beasts" (Wang 1974a: 8:507). In other words, desires that are not prompted by natural emotions, but are motivated by other questionable motives, can easily lead to immoral deeds.

Natural Talents (*cai* 才)

WANG Fuzhi interprets the Mencian notion of *cai* as natural talents pertaining to our sensory organs and our intelligence. Humans are not alike in their natural talents: some are smart while some are stupid. These natural capacities, however, have nothing to do with our moral potentials or our moral actuality. Elaborating on Mencius' remark that "immorality is not to be blamed on natural talents," Wang argues that if natural talents cannot be blamed for our immorality, then they certainly cannot be credited with our morality either (Wang 1974a: 10:661). In other words, humans are indeed unequal in natural talents, but this inequality does not bring out inequality in our moral essence. There are smarter or more stupid people by birth, but there are no moral or immoral people by birth.

Natural Moral Sentiments (The Heart/Mind of *Dao*)

Following Mencius, Wang maintains that human beings naturally have the moral sentiments of compassion, shame, humility, and righteousness. He sometimes uses Mencius' descriptions in calling these moral sentiments "the heart of not bearing to see others suffer (不忍人之心)," "the heart/mind of shame and loathing (羞惡之心)," "the heart/mind of respect and deference (辭讓之心)," and "the heart/mind of knowing right from wrong (是非之心)." We can even call these moral sentiments our "moral instincts." They are what we spontaneously feel in various given contexts. WANG Fuzhi emphasizes the distinction between moral sentiments and natural emotions, even though one could conceivably argue that sentiment is simply a form of emotion:

> When one sees a little child about to fall into a well and feels something inside, is it simply sorrow? Is it simply love? When one loathes theft, is one simply feeling angry? It is especially obvious that the heart/mind of respect and the heart/mind of righteousness are not to be confused with the seven modes of emotions. Scholars must not conflate the sentiment of compassion (*ren*) with the emotion of love (*ai*). (Wang 1974a: 10:674)

We can see that he does not identify the two. Later we shall explain how he connects natural emotions and moral sentiments in the pursuit of moral cultivation.

Will (*zhi* 志)

Wang Fuzhi defines the will as "that which is motivated by the heart/mind towards a certain direction" (Wang 1974a: 8:531). The will directs our thought as well as our actions. According to Wang, our will is accompanied by the internal force (*qi*) within our body. The heart/mind makes a decision, and incites the internal force (*qi*) to pursue the direction the heart/mind is set upon. This direction must be set in accordance with *dao*. With this prior directive, our internal force can be employed in the right way. Without having any prior directive, we would be acting out of impulse and so easily become distracted by our temporary desires or inclinations. Wang Fuzhi says, "*Dao* is what sets our will straight. If we will *dao* and appeal to *dao* as the standard of our will, then our will can have the right foundation" (Wang 1974a: 8:537). He also claims that the will is unique to human beings (Wang 1974c: Outer Chapter, 55).

Without the aid of *qi*, however, our will would accomplish nothing (Wang 1974a: 8:531). The cultivation of our internal *qi* relies on "the accumulation of right thought and right action." Wang Fuzhi explains that Mencius' "flood-like *qi* (浩然之氣)" is the outcome of our accumulating the righteousness to cultivate this *qi* (Wang 1974a: 8: 540). As explained before, "righteousness," or the sentiment of loathing and shame, is one of our natural moral sentiments. If we refrain from taking any indefensible act then we can enhance our internal strength to support the will that was initially set in accord with *dao*.

In other words, the heart/mind's function of the will is a determination to go one way or another. The will itself can go either towards the good or towards the bad. If our will is set in the direction of *dao*, and we can accumulate right actions to amass a flood-like *qi*, then we will find it easy to follow the moral path. Weakness of the will results from the lack of practice (*xi*). If we are not accustomed to being good and doing good deeds, then we will find the internal force (*qi*) weakened day by day. The will is a resolve, which must be maintained by our daily righteous conduct.

Reflection (*si* 思)

One capacity essential to the fulfillment of moral agency is reflection. Wang separates the heart/mind's cognitive functions into sense perceptions and reflection. His notion of reflection is not just the cognitive aspect of our mental activities; it is more akin to a form of moral self-examination: "Reflection is the reflection on right and wrong, and on benefit and harm" (Wang 1974a: 4:266). For Wang, reflection is simply moral reflection. He thinks that our sensory perceptions do not depend on reflection, but our moral cultivation does. If we

think about moral principles, then we are employing the faculty of reflection; if, on the other hand, we think only about food and sex, then that form of thinking is not deemed to be reflection: "Humaneness and righteousness are part of human nature; they are what heaven accomplishes. Reflection is the function of the heart/mind, it is what humans accomplish" (Wang 1974a: 10:700). Without this capacity, we would simply be like other animals with merely the capacities of sensory perception and bodily motion. Thus, he says, "What separates humans from beasts, is only this" (ibid.: 705).

*The Affirmation of Human Desires: The Principle (li) within Human Desires (*理在欲中*)*

Wang departs from many other thinkers in his affirmation of the value of human desires. The Cheng-Zhu School emphasized that it is only with the extinction of human desires that we are able to see the prevalence of heavenly principle (人欲淨盡，天理流行). He argues against what he perceives to be the Cheng-Zhu School's antithetical representation of the relationship between heavenly principle and human desires. Basic human desires are nothing but the desire for food and sex. He thinks that even the sages could not purge themselves of these desires. Desires are not evil; they do not stand in the way of our moral cultivation. On the contrary, to cultivate one's moral self, one has to appreciate the heavenly principle inherent in human desires. "Where we see human desires, is where we see heavenly principle" (Wang 1974a: 8:520). Wang also rejects Buddhism's denouncing human desire for material objects and for clinging to the material world: "All desirable objects are the products of heaven and earth. To blame natural products of heaven and earth and not blaming people, is like blaming the owner for having too many treasures while acquitting the thieves" (Wang 1974a: 10:675).

Wang takes heavenly principle to be nothing but the moderation and fairness of desires; it does not have a separate ontological status. In other words, for Wang heavenly principle is merely a standard for regulating emotions and desires. Its content is human emotions and human desires. He compares principle without desires to a pond without water—it is simply empty. The relationship between the two can be best summarized as such: "Without principle, desires become excessive; without desires, principle gets abolished (無理則欲濫，無欲則理亦廢)" (Wang 1980: 212). If individual desires are not moderated by the individual's rationality, then they can become excessive; if the universal moral principle is not a principle that deals with human desires, then it has no content or application and gets abolished in the end. The word "principle" in this context can be taken in two senses: universal moral principle (the heavenly principle); and the internalized moral principle or the individual's rationality, what we have previously called "the principle of nature" (性之理). As contemporary scholar ZHANG Liwen 張立文 explains, "*li* is both the universal moral

principle, and the particularized form of concrete moral norms or moral principles" (Zhang 2001: 384).

WANG Fuzhi places the heavenly principle within the human world and connects moral principle with desires. He says, "There cannot be heaven apart from human; there cannot be moral principle apart from desires" (Wang 1974a: 8:519). Wang affirms what is essential to human existence: the need to survive. To survive, one must deal with one's physical needs. A moral agent is first and foremost a biological being; hence, there is nothing shameful or immoral about wanting to gratify one's physical needs and material desires. To reject human desires is to isolate human beings from the natural world and to cut them off from their biological nature.

Even though desires themselves are not immoral, Wang does not condone indulgence in material desires. If one's desires are not moderated, then they go against moral principle or we say they lack reasonableness (*bu heli* 不合理). His notion of moderation is paired with the notion of fairness (*gong* 公): "Fairness lies in everyone's getting a share of his own (人人之獨得即公也)" (Wang 1967: 141). In other words, if everyone's desires can be gratified, then there is nothing wrong with desires *per se*. However, one needs to be prepared to modify one's selfish desires so that the gratification of everyone's desires is fair (*gong* 公). The word *gong* also means "public." We should, however, distinguish public desire from fairness in desires, because for one person (the moral leader, perhaps) to proclaim certain desires as those that others must share would be to impose one's desires on others.

WANG Fuzhi contrasts the public with the private or the personal (*si* 私). Just as *gong* can be used in two senses, *si* can also mean either "the personal" or "the selfish." Here we need to draw an important distinction between "personal desires" and "selfish desires." Personal desires are what everyone would want to gratify for him or herself, and there is nothing wrong about having personal desires as long as they do not become selfish desires, which is to place one's own needs and desires over and above those of others. In other words, Wang does not condemn self-interest as long as it is not a form of egoism, an exaggerated sense of self-interestedness to the exclusion of consideration for others. The removal of selfishness is the first step towards moral fulfillment. Wang's proposal for moral cultivation is to transform one's personal desires to seek the gratification of others' personal desires, rather than to demand the elimination of personal desires.

The impediment to moral cultivation is selfishness (*si*): "What one simply must not have are selfish desires" (Wang 1974a: 8:508). He also says, "One's selfish ideas and selfish desires are what obstruct the manifestation of heavenly principle" (Wang 1974a: 10:691). If everyone can have his or her natural desires gratified, then the world would be in a state of manifesting heavenly principle. Thus, he says, "What is universal in heavenly principle, is simply that everyone gets his or her desires gratified (人欲之各得即天理之大同)" (Wang 1974a: 4: 248).

If a moral agent does not have personal desires, then she is not able to relate to others and feel empathy for others' deprivation. The foundation for altruism lies in understanding that one is a biological and social being, sharing the same basic physical needs and material desires as others. This is why Wang says, "Sages have desires too; their desire is the principle of heaven" (Wang 1974a: 4:248). He takes this view from Mencius, who advised the king that if he loved material possessions and sexual gratification, he should just share his desires with the people. WANG Fuzhi explains, "In these sights, sounds, fragrance and tastes, one sees the shared desires of everything, and this is exactly the common principle of everything" (Wang 1974a: 8:520). What sages have achieved is the perfect harmony of reason and desire, such that they can "follow their hearts' desires and never deviate from the right path (從心所欲不逾矩)." For the rest of the people on the path to moral cultivation, what is required is the guidance of reason to eliminate selfishness and to extend the gratification of one's personal desires to the gratification of others' desires. As expressed by Wang: "Once one fully realizes moral principle, one is in accord with human desires; once one extends (*tui* 推) one's desires, one is in concord with the principle of heaven" (ibid.). This "extension of desires" is the key to transforming one's natural emotions to the realization of one's moral sentiments.

From Natural Emotions to the Cultivation of Moral Sentiments

To WANG Fuzhi, natural emotions are "amoral": they can be credited for moral progress or blamed for immoral advancement, but they themselves do not have moral values (Wang 1974a: 10:678). Non-human animals also have emotions, but they do not have any moral sentiment. Therefore, morality must be rooted in moral sentiments, and moral sentiments should serve as the guideline for emotions. At the same time, moral sentiments need emotions to be manifested: "The heart/mind of *dao* [namely, our moral sentiments] is subtle, it must rely on emotions to improve its power and influence so as to prevail" (Wang 1974a: 10:677). Therefore, what make morality possible are both our inborn moral sentiments and our natural emotions. For example, when we see people starving to death, we spontaneously feel sorrow for them. This is one of our inborn moral sentiments. And yet most people simply feel sympathetic but take no action. If those starving people were their own family members, on the other hand, then most people would immediately try to alleviate their hunger. This is our natural emotion of love. Natural emotions directly lead to actions. What is needed for altruistic behavior is thus the extension of natural emotions for the loved ones to the enhancement of moral sentiments toward strangers.

For Wang, our sensory perceptions correspond to our emotions, not to our moral sentiments. If, however, we can govern our perceptions with reflection (*si* 思), then even our perception of external objects can cohere with our moral sentiments: "Sensory perceptions usually react to desires; only when they are

governed by reflection can they cohere with moral principle" (Wang 1974a: 10:716). In other words, if we are constantly reflecting on our emotions and desires, then we can guide them towards a moral path. If we do not reflect on whether our emotions are temperate and whether our desires are proper, then we end up indulging in violent emotions and excessive desires. This is when natural emotions and moral sentiments are sharply divided. Therefore, Wang thinks that even though we should not curtail our natural moral sentiments, we must try to restrain our natural emotions (Wang 1974a: 10:673).

According to Wang, our natural emotions are not just the foundation for morality; they are also the roots of evil (Wang 1974a: 10:677). Our emotions are naturally aroused by external objects, and fundamentally, natural emotions are compatible with moral sentiments. However, if we pursue external objects without checking our emotions, then we can easily be led astray. The moral sentiments are in our heart/mind; the external objects are outside of our heart/mind. If we go with the objects and do not reflect on the moral sentiments, then we end up smothering our moral sentiments. This is how Wang interprets Mencius remark about "letting go of one's heart/mind." Moral sentiments must always accompany natural emotions.

Basically, Wang believed that there is innate goodness in human nature. Human nature is not separable from the *qi* that makes up human existence, and "there is nothing that is not good in *qi"* (Wang 1974a: 10:663). Evil, on the other hand, is simply the lack of moderation of desires and the absence of consideration for others. In other words, evil does not reside in emotions themselves; nor does it reside in the objects of our desires. What makes emotions and desires "immoral" is the absence of reflection (*si*), which leads to the lack of propriety. When an object arouses our desire and we pursue it, there may be nothing immoral about gratifying our desire. When a thing or an affair stimulates our emotions, there may be nothing immoral about releasing our emotions. However, when the gratification of desires and the release of emotions become "improper" (*bu dang* 不當) because they are excessive or because they take place at the wrong time and in the wrong circumstance, then these emotions and desires become the cause of our immorality (Wang 1974a: 8:570). When they are proper, then they are in agreement with our natural moral sentiments. Natural emotions and natural moral sentiments come together as the basis of our morality, and such a union must be accomplished by the heart/mind's reflection.

Human essence includes natural moral sentiments, but these sentiments alone are not sufficient to foster moral agents. In addition to the mental function of reflection, the heart/mind must also exercise the will (*zhi* 志) to expand and fill in (*kuo chong* 擴充) the initial moral sentiments and extend (*tui* 推) our feelings for others. For Wang, this extension is not a mental attitude of empathy or compassion. Extension is a skill which must be manifested in one's conduct and in one's principles. Without actually acting to care for others and to ease others' suffering, the moral sentiments one has towards others are of little worth. Extension needs external manifestation; what gets extended,

however, are internal to one's heart/mind: the moral sentiments or the heart/mind of *dao*:

> The heart/mind already contains the skill. [The heart/mind itself] is complete and effectual. Expanding it, one accomplishes grandeur; fulfilling it, one achieves splendor. This one heart/mind is what Mencius alludes to when he says "everything in the world is contained within me." The *dao* of the king comes from within; it is not from outside the heart/mind. (Wang 1974a: 8:516)

The skill of extension cannot even be motivated if one does not reflect. This "extension" is wholly dependent on the mind's reflection (Wang 1974a: 10:703). Wang interprets the "it" in Confucius' comment "if one reflects, one gets it; if one does not reflect, one does not get it" as "what separates humans from beasts"; in other words, it is our moral essence. (Wang 1974a: 10:742). He maintains that we should desire others' wellbeing, not simply because we are compassionate towards others, but because we should see that there are, ontologically speaking, no "others." He says, "Humans are all constituted by the same *qi*; our happiness and sorrow are all interrelated" (Wang 1974a: 8: 549). When we fail to extend, we are committing not just a moral failure, but also epistemic failure (*bu zhi* 不知) (Wang 1974a: 8:556). Once we see that all things are interconnected in their existence, it should be natural for us to want to extend. To accomplish this kind of knowledge or awareness, we must use our faculty of reflection. Wang asserts that the essence of the virtue of humaneness (*ren* 仁) lies in the absence of selfishness (Wang 1974a: 10:745). Selfishness comes from the lack of reflection on the unity of all human beings. He explains the connection between reflection and morality as follows: "What makes people do evil deeds is all due to a lack of reflection" (Wang 1974a: 4:268). We see that in WANG Fuzhi's moral philosophy there is a close tie between knowledge and action, between thinking and behavior.

In Wang's moral psychology, human emotions are the foundation for morality as well as for immorality. Morality is not simply the natural extension of human emotions. To qualify as a moral agent, one needs to employ reflection. The role of reflection is not to restrain emotions but to guide them in the right direction. Wang does not advocate eliminating emotions and desires: "If humans did not have emotions, they would not become evil; however, they would not be able to be good either" (Wang 1974a: 10:678). Having emotions and desires itself is not a problem. What makes emotions and desires lead to immorality is the absence of reflection on our innate moral essence (our moral sentiments), and the failure to allow our emotions and desires to be guided by *dao*.

As we have explained, WANG Fuzhi believed that there is innate goodness in the essence of humans. Evil is the lack of moderation of selfish desires and the absence of consideration for others. We need to reflect on the objective truth of *dao* and to see that *dao* is already manifested in our own existence: our moral sentiments. Even with our natural moral sentiments as part of our essence, we also need to employ reflection to see that all humans are interconnected as a

whole and to eliminate our selfishness. Morality is not simply being "ruled by passions"; neither is it the rejection of passions. In this way, Wang acknowledges the role of human emotions in the cultivation of morality, and yet his moral psychology does not turn towards the direction of any form of non-cognitivism.

From the above introduction, we can see that WANG Fuzhi takes the basis of morality to be our moral essence: moral sentiments that are intrinsic to our existence. He thinks humans' natural emotions and natural desires do not obstruct the development of moral agents, but they are insufficient to serve as the foundation of moral sense. Emotions are needed for the expansion of moral sentiments, but they are not moral sentiments. Furthermore, morality is not simply based on emotions and sentiments. One needs to employ the faculty of reflection and thinking to guide one's emotions and desires. To be fully moral, one needs to strengthen moral sentiments and to further realize them in one's actions.

WANG Fuzhi's contribution to Neo-Confucian moral psychology is exactly his recognition of our biological existence and his linking our moral essence to our biological existence. Moral cultivation does not require one to deny one's biological needs and material desires; on the contrary, it is based on the fact that all human beings have these needs and desires. As ZHANG Liwen explains, WANG Fuzhi "treats our universal biological needs for sex and food as the content of desires. Since these desires are what humans share in common and not any individual's exotic whims, they must have their natural reasonableness [agreement with *li*]. Hence, desires do not stand against *li*" (Zhang 2001: 386).

WANG Fuzhi's theory of human nature and his moral psychology reaffirm the value of human's natural sentiments and human desires. One does not have to go with the Buddhist credo of renouncing one's natural feelings and yearnings in order to become enlightened; one also does not need to heed the Cheng-Zhu School's teaching of eradicating material desires in order to manifest the principle of heaven. A contemporary Chinese scholar CHEN Yun 陳贇 puts it well:

> In the philosophical consciousness of the Neo-Confucian era, existence is reduced to the existence of reason, and the elimination of desires constitutes the means to one's returning to one's true being. However, WANG Chuanshan tries hard to show that only when sensibility is completely liberated can reason be truly manifested.... In a humanistic sense, true being lies in the unification of both sensible and rational existence; sensibility and reason alike constitute the ontological prescript for human-as-human. (Chen 2002: 350)

Conclusion

It is no exaggeration to claim that among Neo-Confucians, WANG Fuzhi has the most sophisticated system of philosophy. His contribution to Confucianism is that he went back to classical Confucianism to revive its true spirit. His

philosophy incorporated the quintessence of the *Book of Change* and the other Five Classics as well as the doctrines of the *Analects* and *Mencius*. His personal credo was "The Six Classics make it incumbent upon me to break a new path and present a new facet (六經責我開生面)" and he devoted most of his mature life to the reconstruction of these classics. In his reconstruction, he brought the discourse of Confucianism to a new level. In CHEN Yun's words: "WANG Chuanshan extended human cultivation of the self to human acts of reforming the world; and reintroduced the topics of the nature and culture into Confucian ontology. Confucianism was truly released from the study of the internal nature and heart/mind. Only at this juncture did the holistic lifeworld (*lebenswelt*), as well as a cultural creation in the broad sense, obtain an ontological legitimacy" (Chen 2002: 225).

Bibliography

Works Cited

Chen, Lai 陳來. 2004. *Interpretation and Reconstruction: The Philosophical Spirit of WANG Chuanshan* 詮釋與重建—王船山的哲學精神. Beijing 北京: Beijing daxue chubanshe 北京大學出版社. (Analyzes WANG Fuzhi's philosophy as presented in three of his works in the context of Neo-Confucian thought, placing great emphasis on his theory of human nature and human mind.)

Chen, Yun 陳贇. 2002. *Return to Authentic Being: A Study of WANG Chuanshan's Philosophy* 回歸真實的存在—王船山哲學的闡釋. Shanghai 上海: Fudan daxue chubanshe 復旦大學出版社. (Comprehensive and insightful analysis of the main themes in Wang's philosophy, presenting his philosophy as a critical response to earlier Neo-Confucian thinkers. Highly recommended.)

Jullien, Francois. 1993. "Un *yin* – un *yang*, c'est le '*Tao*.' " In his *Figures de L'Immanence: Pour une lecture philosophique du Yi king*. In his *La Pensée Chinoise dans le miroir de la philosophie*. Paris, France: Éditions du Seuil, 2007.

Wang, Fuzhi. 1967 (1685–1690). *Commentary on ZHANG Zai's* Rectifying Ignorance 張子正蒙注. Taibei 臺北: Shijie shuju 世界書局. (Completed late in his life, this important work explicates ZHANG Zai's philosophy as well as WANG Fuzhi's mature thought. Together with his earlier *External Commentary on the* Book of Change 周易外傳 [1655], it presents his metaphysics in full.)

Wang, Fuzhi. 1974a (1665). *Discourse on Reading the Great Collection of Commentaries on the Four Books* 讀四書大全說. Taibei 臺北: Heluo tushu chubanshe 河洛圖書出版社. (One of the most important works by Wang, essential to understanding his theory of human nature and his moral psychology.)

Wang, Fuzhi. 1974b (1683). *Extensive Commentary on the* Book of Odes 詩廣傳. Taibei 臺北: Heluo tushu chubanshe 河洛圖書出版社 . (This book records Wang's thought on reading the *Book of Odes*. From time to time, one can find significant comments on key philosophical notions such as the nature, mind, emotions, and so forth.)

Wang, Fuzhi. 1977a (1673–1677). *A Textual Annotation on the* Book of Rites 禮記章句. Taibei 臺北: Guangwen shuju 廣文書局. (Contains Wang's views on moral education and his moral philosophy.)

Wang, Fuzhi. 1977b (1655). *External Commentary on the* Book of Change 周易外傳 Taibei 臺北: Heluo tushu chubanshe 河洛圖書出版社. (This short book, one of the first philosophical

works by WANG Fuzhi, extends from commentary on the *Book of Change* to present Wang's moral metaphysics.)

Wang, Fuzhi. 1980 (1685). *Internal Commentary on the* Book of Change 周易內傳. Collected in *Chuanshan's Commentary to the* Book of Change 船山易傳. Taibei 臺北: Xiaxueshe 夏學社. (Contains Wang's detailed textual commentary on the *Book of Change*. It is a good source for studying the *Book of Change*.)

Yan, Shoucheng 嚴壽徵. 2000. *An Introductory Reading of Chuanshan's* Records of Thinking and Questioning 思問錄導讀. Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社. (Detailed introduction to one of Wang's most important works, *Records of Thinking and Questioning* 思問錄 [1686)]. Author's introduction provides good insights into Wang's thought.)

Zeng, Zhaoxu 曾昭旭. 1983. *WANG Chuanshan's Philosophy* 王船山哲學. Taibei 臺北: Liren shuju 里仁書局. (Part I gives a brief biography of WANG Fuzhi. Part II introduces his view as presented in his major works. Part III presents the key theme of his philosophy: the philosophy of humans.)

Zhang, Liwen 張立文. 2001. *Authentic Learning and Creation of New Situations: The Philosophical Thought of WANG Chuanshan* 正學與開新—王船山哲學思想. Beijing 北京: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社. (Written by a senior scholar of Neo-Confucian philosophy, this book gives a more traditional analysis of Wang's philosophy with extensive quotations. Reliable introduction.)

Zhou, Bing 周兵. 2006. *Neo-Confucianism's New Interpretation of the Relation between Heaven and Humans: A Study of WANG Fuzhi's* Discourse on Reading the Great Collection of Commentaries on the Four Books 天人之際的理學新詮釋—王夫之"讀四書大全說"思想研究. Sichuan 四川: Bashu shushe 巴蜀書社. (Focuses on Wang's philosophy of human nature and human mind as presented in Wang's *Discourse on Reading the Great Collection of Commentaries on the Four Books*.)

Selective Works on WANG Fuzhi

Black, Alison Harley. 1989. *Man and Nature in the Philosophical Thought of Wang Fuzhi*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press. (The only English-language book on Wang's philosophy. The author aims to give an integrated reading of his philosophy, the central theme of which she identifies as the relation between man and nature: how man is the value-setter and the interpreter of nature. An impressive and insightful book which also sets the study of Wang in a broader context.)

Ji, Meng 季蒙. 2005. *Reflective Neo-Confucianism: WANG Fuzhi's Thought in the Study of the Four Books* 主思的理學—王夫之的四書學思想. Guangdong 廣東: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe 廣東高等教育出版社. (This book uses "reflection" (*si* 思) as the thread in Wang's philosophy, and extends it to his views on *li* and *qi*, as well as his philosophy of human nature and human mind.)

Ji, Wenfu 嵇文甫. 1962. *Collected Scholarship on WANG Chuanshan* 王船山學術論叢. Beijing 北京: Xinhua shuju 新華書局. (Collected essays written by the author, a forerunner in the study of Wang's philosophy, paving the way for the later studies.)

Jullien, Francois. 1992. *The Propensity of Things: Toward A History of Efficacy in China*. (Original title: *La Propension des Choses: Pour une histoire de l'éfficacite en Chine*). Translated by Janet Lloyd. New York: Zone Books, 1999. (Focuses on the notion of propensity [*shi* 勢] in Chinese thought, with extensive discussion on Wang's notion of historical tendency [*shi* 勢].)

Jullien, Francois. 2007. "Procès ou Création." In *La Pensée Chinoise dans le miroir de la philosophie*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil. (Comparative study of Wang, presenting his philosophy as process philosophy, and his notion of *li* 理 as "process logic." Contains many novel ideas on how to interpret WANG Fuzhi.)

Lin, Anwu 林安梧. 1987. *A Study of WANG Chuanshan's Philosophy of the History of Human Nature* 王船山人性史哲學之研究. Taibei 臺北: Dongda tushu gongsi 東大圖書公司. (Begins with Wang's thesis that history is the history of human nature, and presents the core issues of his philosophy as the unity of *li* and *qi*, the unity of *li* and desire, and the unity of *li* and historical tendency.)

Liu, Chunjian 劉春建. 1989. *A Chronology of WANG Fuzhi's Leaning and Deeds* 王夫之學行繫年. Zhengzhou 鄭州: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe 中州古籍出版社. (Philosophical biography of Wang, introducing the main content of his key works; a good reference book.)

Liu, JeeLoo 劉紀璐. 1984. *A Treatise on the Problem of "Heavenly Principle as Manifested in Human History" in WANG Fuzhi's Philosophy* 論王船山哲學中歷史中之天理的問題. M.A. dissertation. National Taiwan University. (Focuses on Wang's philosophy of history and examines the possibility of free will against historical determinacy. Published in five parts in Taiwan's *Goose Lake Journal* 鵝湖雜誌 volumes 120–124 [1985].)

Liu, Liangjian. 劉梁劍. 2007. *Heaven, Humans, and the Boundary In-Between—An Exposition of WANG Chuanshan's Metaphysics* 天、人、際:對王船山的形而上學闡明. Shanghai 上海: Shanghai renmin chubanshe 上海人民出版社. (Presents WANG Fuzhi's metaphysics as a treatise on the interconnection between heaven and human beings. Concludes with a helpful summary of current studies on WANG Fuzhi in Mainland China.)

Meng, Peiyuan 蒙培元. 1990. *The Development of the School of* Li*: From ZHU Xi to WANG Fuzhi and DAI Zhen* 理學的演變:從朱熹到王夫之戴震. Taibei 臺北: Wenjin chubanshe 文津出版社. (Places WANG Fuzhi's philosophy in the context of intellectual history.)

Wang, Xiaoyu 王孝魚. 1934. *A Chronology Chuanshan's Learning* 船山學譜. Taibei 臺北: Guangwen shuju 廣文書局. 1975. (Earliest systematic treatment of Wang's philosophy. Organizes Wang's comments on key philosophical notions such as *dao* and *qi*, as well as his views on nature and mind, moral cultivation and his epistemology. Can be used as a sourcebook.)

Xiao, Jiefu 蕭萐父, and XU Sumin 許蘇民. 2002. *A Critical Biography of WANG Fuzhi* 王夫之評傳. Nanjing 南京: Nanjing daxue chubanshe 南京大學出版社. (Most comprehensive introduction to Wang's philosophy, dividing it into sections on his metaphysics, epistemology, philosophy of history, moral philosophy, political and economic philosophy, religious thought, and aesthetics. A definitive study.)

Xiao, Tianshi 蕭天石. 1972. *Collected Studies on Chuanshan's Thought* 船山學術研究集. Taibei 臺北: Zhongguo chuanshan xuehui yu ziyou chubanshe 中國船山學會與自由出版社.

Xu, Guanshan 許冠三. 1981. *WANG Chuanshan's Theory of Knowledge* 王船山的致知論. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press. (A condensed treatise on WANG Fuzhi's theory of knowledge, with an appendix of the chronological study of his works as well as early works on him.)

Zeng, Chunhai 曾春海. 1978. *Explicating Subtle Points in WANG Chuanshan's Study of the* Book of Change 王船山易學闡微. Taibei 臺北: Jiaxin shuini gongsi wenhua jijinhui yanjiu lunwen 嘉新水泥公司文化基金會研究論文. (A study of Wang's philosophy as presented in his commentary on the *Book of Change*. Elucidates Wang's cosmology, philosophy of human nature, and philosophy of life, as well as his methodology in studying the *Book of Change*.)

Li Guangdi and the Philosophy of Human Nature

Ng On-cho

Li Guangdi 李光地 (1642–1718), whose literary and style names were respectively Jinqing 晉卿 and Hou'an 厚庵, was a native of the Anxi 安溪 district of Fujian. He attained *jinshi* status in 1670 and worked as a bachelor in the Hanlin Academy, given the assignment to learn Manchu. The Kangxi Emperor, impressed by his plans for the pacification of Fujian, promoted him to the sub-chancellorship of the Grand Secretariat in 1680. He further enhanced his stature in the eyes of the emperor by offering sound advice for the conquest of Taiwan. In 1690, he was appointed junior vice-president of the Board of War. From 1696 to 1698, he was Director of Education of Zhili, while concurrently serving in 1697 as a vice-president of the Board of Public Works. He assumed the governorship of Zhili in 1699, with an additional position in the Board of Civil Service. From 1705 until his death in 1718, he was a Grand Secretary, in the capacity of which he also served as an imperial lecturer to the emperor (Yang and Li 1993:38–51).

As a scholar devoted to the Cheng-Zhu 程朱 tradition, in the 1690s, Li edited in private several works of Zhu Xi and the Cheng brothers. He is best known as the chief compiler of the court-sponsored scholarly anthologies designed to affirm Cheng-Zhu learning as the official orthodoxy, namely, the *Complete Works of Master Zhu* (*Zhuzi daquan* 朱子大全; 1713), and the *Essential Ideas of [the Cheng-Zhu School of] Nature and Principle* (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義; 1715). Reputed as an expert of the *Classic of Changes*, the Kangxi Emperor charged him with the task of annotating the classic, resulting in the well-respected *Balanced Annotations of the* Classic of Changes (*Zhouyi zhezhong* 周易折中; 1715). His writings and sayings, amounting to some thirty-eight items, are collected in the *Complete Works of Rongcun* (*Rongcun quanji* 榕村全集; preface dated 1829) (Yang 2008:157–170).

O.-c. Ng (✉)
Professor of History, Religious Studies, and Asian Studies; The Pennsylvania State University, USA
e-mail: oxn1@psu.edu

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*,
Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_18,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

Situating Li Guangdi

To situate and contextualize the philosophy of nature (*xing*) of Li Guangdi, the keeper of the Cheng-Zhu flame in the early Qing, two prolegomena seem helpful and necessary. The first is theoretical; the second historical. The former addresses some comparative issues that arise from the avoidable usage of contemporary conceptual vocabularies and analytical categories, insofar as a seventeenth-century thinker has to be made comprehensible by a Western-trained, English-wielding interpreter writing for a twentieth-first-century audience. The latter explains the temporal and cultural significance of the central subject-matter at hand—just why and how *xing* came to be the cornerstone of Li Guangdi's architectonic thought. All of which is to make two points: first, taking Chinese thought seriously involves engagement with some sort of comparative philosophy; and second, philosophy finds its natural complement in intellectual history.

In Plato's *Symposium*, Socrates is likened to a sculpture that, beneath its unremarkable exterior, houses a golden figure of excellence. This golden interior is our potentialities that we are obliged to know, to realize, and to actualize. It is the basis of an ethical doctrine summed up in the two basic injunctions inscribed on the temple of Apollo at Delphi—"Know thyself" and "Accept your destiny." Thus, in the ancient Greek tradition, there is a notion of the goodness of human nature in the sense that our potentialities furnish some innate conditions for conceptions of a good life and criteria of distinction between good and evil. The ethical animus is directed toward living the life that one already is, while also building an environment in which others may achieve such flourishing. Such is the very genesis and foundation of what we generally call virtue ethics, which, contrary to the deontological or utilitarian focus on the character of the ethical action, emphasizes the character of the moral agent. In recent years, much has been remarked about the congenial convergence and fundamental difference between virtue ethics and Confucian moral ethics, the details of which need not concern us overmuch (Huang 2008; Yu 2007; Van Norden 2007).

Nonetheless, to the extent that my pointed reference to virtue ethics, with its generous take on the goodness of human nature, serves the purpose of throwing into relief the uniqueness of the Confucian position on the same matter, which may be regarded as a fuller account, and of which Li Guangdi's view may be seen as its epitome, I should highlight the major points of convergence and divergence. With regard to commonalty, both presume the fundamental goodness of the grand universal scheme of things, of which humanity is integrally a part. Evil is the consequence of departure from this benign order, a failure to comport and correspond with it. Moreover, the source of this dereliction is primarily internal, even if external influences are at work; and hence the taken-for-granted internal perfectionism and goodness of human nature (Hurka 1993; Foot 2003). Concerning divergence, Confucian moral perfectionism, while

premised on the very idea of self-realization, presumes the immersion in and mediation by surrounding culture, of which the self is both an extension and encapsulation, inasmuch as it is immersed in tradition and governed by it. In contrast, virtues ethics, in the last analysis, is anchored on the notion of a free individual subjectively and introspectively answerable to their own conscience. Moreover, such a moral agent in virtue ethics is ontologically complete, a being that is essentially substantial and substantive, replete in itself; it is defined, represented, and embodied in the eternal soul. Such a stance constitutes the one major difficulty or deficiency in virtue ethics: the apparent self-centeredness or even selfishness that stems from the centrality ascribed to self-realization. As with the Protestant emphasis on directly appealing to one's conscience so as to apprehend God without obstructions by bypassing traditions and conventions, virtue ethics, in arguing for the exhaustion of one's potentialities (talents, virtues, and excellences), runs the risk of producing moral agents who are self-regarding, if not self-indulgent and self-absorbed; for their conscience or their soul alone dictates what they consider to be morally right. Kierkegaard's Abraham is one example, who in following his conscience, is prepared to kill his own son, Isaac, even though such an act demonstrably contravenes accepted social mores. Another example is Goethe's Werther who, being so consumed by his inner life, views the outer world with utter disregard and insouciant disinterest. While virtue ethics no doubt provides some sound philosophical arguments and paradigms for moral flourishing in accordance with one's conception of a good life, it may, instead of giving fuel to righteousness and clarity, yield to self-righteousness and self-deception, thus contributing scant moral good to the community and society at large (Keekes 1989: 118–120).

In short, since the moral agent in virtue ethics is an essential being already formed, on account of the Being of the soul, its self-realization is inward-looking, individually animated and subjectively adjudicated. On the other hand, the Confucian person, being inexorably and inextricably tied to culture, tradition, and history (or family, community, state, and cosmos), is forever in the process of becoming, even if one is endowed with goodness. Self-cultivation, as the means toward the end of self-realization in this homo-cosmic context, recognizes the inseparability of the personal and the social, which consists of accrued experiences and received wisdom of tradition, a repertoire of moral choices that we select and elect to follow (Rosemont 1998; Ames forthcoming; de Bary 1998; Tu 1985, 1989). Roger Ames, in his recent works, has continued to hammer home the basic variance between the Greek ontological definition of human "being" and "the Confucian aesthetic project of 'becoming' human," cautioning us not to read the former conception into our understanding of Confucian conceptions of human nature (Ames forthcoming). It is in light of such difference that Li Guangdi's views of human nature (*xing*) are read in this essay.

The second prolegomenary situating of Li's views of *xing* is historical. To understand Li's significance is to understand a small piece of the intellectual history of the Ming-Qing transition, a time of dynastic declension, dynastic

collapse, and dynastic change. It was also a time when the question of nature (*xing*) figured prominently in many scholars' rethinking of the import of Confucian culture. Attacking WANG Yangming's 王陽明 idea of fundamental human condition/state (*benti* 本體) as being beyond good and evil (*wushan wu'e* 無善無惡), which gained potency with the growth of the Taizhou 泰州 school, a host of scholars reaffirmed the goodness of *xing* (Ng 2001: 25–48; Peng 2003: *passim*). The late MOU Zongsan 牟宗三 has told us about the bracing importance of *xing* in the Confucian construal of reality and ethics, in that it is the source of the manifestations of the acting and thinking self, and as such, it is a morally creative reality. For him, *xing*, as the very reality mandated by heaven, is fully embodied in the self. *Xing* is thus a holism with human and cosmic dimensions. It is in the *xing* of one's self that the moral-ethical order commingles with the cosmic order. To highlight the fact that the Confucian *xing* cannot be simply rendered as "nature"/"essence"/"substance"/"being," he resorts to the neologism of "*xingti* 性體," which may be translated as the onto-cosmological condition of the self's nature (Mou 1968: 21–41).[1] Regardless of whether Mou's contemporary reading is entirely accurate or tenable, the primary significance he ascribes to *xing* is an accurate representation of the seriousness and gravity with which the Confucian scholars themselves approached it. We may say that, for them, the goodness of *xing* was an article of faith in the sense that it represents the very reality on which it discourses. Pondering the self is really an articulation of what is already there. It is something that one already knows. Such is the metaphysical condition that enables the oneness and simultaneity of knowing and acting. To know *xing* is to cultivate and realize it (Zhang 1982: 497–527). By the same token then, not to know *xing* is to misconceive reality and vitiate truth, which is tantamount to ethical dereliction and moral corruption. To borrow Ortega y Gasset's notion of "certainty of faith" (*creencia*) in a culture's self-perception and self-definition, it may be said that the goodness of the nature as the wellspring of innate moral creativity is a Confucian *creencia* that is not merely an idea that one *has*, but an idea which one *is* (Ortega 1941:165–233; Weintraub 1966: 260–274; Holmes 1975:122–124). That is to say, it is not a matter of epistemological knowing of the nature of *xing*; it is a matter of our very ontological self.

Small wonder then that from the late Ming onward, two generations of scholars, from the Donglin 東林 stalwarts such as GU Xiancheng 顧憲成 (1550–1612) and GAO Panlong 高攀龍, to Cheng-Zhu partisans such as LU Shiyi 陸世儀 (1611–1672) and, of course, LI Guangdi, many Confucian literati

[1] Note that others, such as TU Wei-ming, have pointed to the distinctiveness of the Confucian self. For Tu, to the extent that the self is enlivened by moral propensities and awareness, it is the site of transcendence (Tu 1985: 19–28, 35–50). ZHANG Dainian has provided a survey of views on human nature in Chinese philosophy (Zhang 1982: 183–232). P. J. Ivanhoe has usefully distinguished the classical Confucian from Neo-Confucian conceptions of human nature, notwithstanding the fact that they both appeal to the primacy and centrality of *xing* (Ivanhoe 1995: 81–89).

debated the age-old question of the nature of *xing*. They saw the notion of *xing*'s transcendence of good and evil as one of the root causes of moral-ethical failure. They therefore endeavored to countervail and demolish any pernicious idea that cast doubt on the essential goodness of human nature. Vociferous debates broke out and disquisitions on *xing* abounded. It was in this intellectual context that Li Guangdi sought to refashion his Cheng-Zhu-based philosophy on the foundation of *xing*. In short, Li Guangdi's reconceptualization of *xing* and his reassertion of its goodness, using Cheng-Zhu resources, was a timely response to a distinct intellectual concern of seventeenth-century China (Ng 2001:13–25, 2007: 102–111).

Establishing the Primacy of *Xing*

Although Li subscribes to the Cheng-Zhu *li-qi* 理氣 (principle-vital energy) metaphysical scheme, he takes *xing*, and not *li*, as ontologically prior: "*Xing* is the master, while *li* is its flow. *Ming* 命 (destiny) is the source" (Li 1828a: 2/2a–b). *Xing* is the "all-conclusive name" for *li* (Li 1829 g: 47a). Adding his own spin on the Cheng-Zhu maxim that "principle is one, but the manifestations are varied" (*liyi fenshu* 理一分殊), Li declares that "the diverse varieties of the myriad things are ultimately nothing but the completion of their immanent nature" (Li 1829a: 6/2a), which is dynamic, as with the growth and nature of grain:

> The germination of the seeds of grain is not the nature itself. That which enables germination and is immutable throughout the ages is the nature. Nature itself has no shape. But barley is always barley and wheat is always wheat. If not for their nature, why is that they never change? Because there is the nature, there are multifarious things. If there were no such unchanging and yet non-stagnant entity, how could there have been the multifarious things? Therefore, it can be said that the nature establishes all beings under heaven. (Li 1829b: 25/11a)

Xing, according to Li, is the genetic force that provides the patterns of the life and growth of all things.

Of the three categories of *xing* that Li Guangdi posits, the seminal one is the "nature of heaven-and-earth" (*tiandi zhi xing* 天地之性), "the overlord and fundamental bond," which is equated with the Great Ultimate (*taiji* 太極) (Li 1829a: 7/10a–11b). Then there are "human nature" (*renxing* 人性) and the "nature of things" (*wuxing* 物性). Although both are endowed with "goodness mandated by heaven" (Li 1829 h: 10/7b), only the former enjoys the full share of goodness because only humanity can claim the virtue and position of being "central" (*zhong* 中): "Leaning to one side (*pian* 偏) or straightness (*zheng* 正) is what differentiates human beings from things.... Balance (*zhong* 中) is exclusively human" (Li 1829a: 1/15a). Following Mencius, Li maintains that humanity is replication of heaven's comprehensive goodness: "Mencius, in the final analysis, claims that the innate goodness of human nature is different from that of

things. Things may be brilliant in one respect but are dim in all other respects" (ibid.: 7/18b). Li contends that "the great intent of heaven is to create humanity.... Since heaven wants to create humanity, it cannot do otherwise but produce the world as the ground for [humanity]. . . . Therefore it can recognize the mind of heaven and embark on the way of heaven" (Li 1829b: 26/7a–b). In other words, the universal nature of heaven-and-earth finds full manifestation in humanity, such that "heaven and humanity have one nature" (ibid.: 26/7b). In short, *xing* is human nature that is the manifestation of heaven.

Li measures the contribution of Cheng Yi 程頤 and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (and of Zhou Dunyi 周敦颐 and Zhang Zai , for that matter) in terms of their effort "to illuminate nature" (*mingxing* 明性), which enabled the "continuation of the succession from Confucius and Mencius" (Li 1829a: 16/2b). They revived the sages' "interrupted learning" (*juexue* 絕學) of human nature (ibid.: 1/18a), so distorted by Buddhism and Daoism which each mistakenly took "material disposition" (*qizhi* 氣質) and "the enlightened illuminated mind" (心之靈明) as the nature (Li 1829b: 25/8a). Sagely learning was lost after Mencius' time because of the ignorance about the illumination of human nature (Li 1829d: 15b). For Li, the lineage of the way (*daotong* 道統) is, in its essentials, the transmission of the meaning of *xing*, as evidenced by the four canonical Learning of the Way (*daoxue* 道學) texts: Zhou Dunyi's "Discourse on the Diagram of the Great Ultimate" ("Taiji tushuo" 太極圖說), Zhang Zai's "Western Inscription" ("Ximing" 西銘), Cheng Hao's 程顥 "Essay on Securing Nature" ("Dingxing shu" 定性書), and Cheng Yi's "Discourse on the Favorite Learning [of Master Yan]" ("Haoxue lun" 好學論). Zhou's diagram portrays the "vital creation of human beings and things" in the Great Ultimate. As humanity and human nature originate in "the vital production of heaven-and-earth" by the Great Ultimate, "humanity is at one with heaven-and-earth's nature." Zhang's "Western Inscription" elaborates Zhou's diagram by positing *qian* and *kun* as our "universal parents," the source of our nature, the utmost extension of which through plumbing principle fully realizes our nature, and fulfills heaven's mandate. The older Cheng further explicated the importance of *xing*, the securing of which requires "impartiality, fairness, humaneness, and rightness, with an emphasis on equanimity." Equanimity (*jing* 靜) makes possible the ultimate oneness with heaven-and-earth. The younger Cheng summed up "the sequence and order" needed to secure *xing*: being aware of the goodness of human nature endowed by heaven, consolidating this nature by mastering equanimity, illuminating the mind/heart, and achieving completion with "diligent action" (*lixing* 力行). Li conclusively remarks: "With the poignant two words of 'diligent action,' the way [of securing *xing*] is complete. The four works are coherent, complete with beginning and end" (Li 1829b: 18/2a–3b).

In brief, as Li propounds an anthropologism of humanity's nature, he also strongly hints that the human person, being the moral agent, must seek to work out *xing*'s potentialities, with which he/she is endowed.

Xing as the Metapractical Ground for Action

Li Guangdi's metaphysics of the innately good *xing* is experientially realized in action. For him, rumination of *xing* as the fundamental condition/state (*benti*) perforce needs substantiation in effort (*gongfu* 功夫), as human nature is revealed in the human community. The entire Cheng-Zhu *daotong*, for Li, is celebration and preservation of the innately good human nature, construed as the cardinal virtues of *ren* 仁 (humaneness), *yi* 義 (rightness), *li* 禮 (propriety), *zhi* 知 (wisdom), and *xin* 信 (trustworthiness) (ibid.: 25/8a). Moreover, the realization of human nature is a transformative process:

> Therefore, when the idea of innate goodness of human nature is comprehended, it can be seen that all people under heaven have this innately good nature. While caring for one's elder relations, one cares for the other elderly; while nurturing one's young relations, one nurtures the young of others. With such nourishing and teaching, there are joy, pleasure, harmony, and generosity. (Ibid.: 25/10a)

Li argues that the primal nature of heaven-and-earth, manifested as *yuan* 元 (origin), *heng* 亨(success), *li* 利 (furthering), and *zhen* 貞 (perseverance), becomes, in human nature, humaneness, rightness, propriety and wisdom, the four moral sprouts (*si duan* 四端), as Mencius has called them (Li 1829f: 2a–b). Humaneness, derived from *yuan*, embodies the other sprouts and finds its concrete expression as *xiao* 孝 (filial piety), which Li considers to be the "basis of virtues" (*de zhi ben* 德之本) (ibid.: 11a). Filiality is the "basis of humaneness" (*ren zhi ben* 仁之本), while "humaneness is the basis of the Five Constants" (五常之本) (Li 1829b: 7/20a). Privileging *xiao* in this way serves to drive home the importance of acting virtuously as the way of realizing the inner nature of humaneness, rightness, propriety, and wisdom, beginning with "caring for parents and following elder brothers," which "is the way of following nature," a way "decreed by heaven" (ibid.: 6/1a-2b). Here, using the opening words of the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸) and referring to the *Book of Change* (*Yijing* 易經), Li reminds us that even though heaven may have mandated nature and the tendencies for its realization, it is up to humanity to exhaust its potentialities. To wit, human beings must act, grow, and develop in such a way that they *become* their nature.

If Li privileges *xing* over *li*, it is because he wants to bring heaven's principle down to earth, such that it is squarely in the midst of the human world of actions. Li is concerned that the idea of *li* on its own does not spell intimacy and commerce with the human world: "Not knowing that principle is human nature, [many] seek the transcendent, abstruse principle, falling short in pursuing quotidian practicality. Drowned in the deluge of principle, one is ignorant of the fountainhead" (ibid.: 26/4b–5a). *Xing*, on the other hand, *is* human. Hence Li interprets Zhu Xi's doctrine of *gewu zhizhi* 格物致知 (investigating things and extending knowledge) in terms of *xing*: "[To pursue] humaneness, rightness, propriety, and wisdom is *gewu zhizhi*. It is illuminating goodness and knowing human nature (明善知性)" (ibid.: 1/19a). To "investigate things" is to embark on

"self-cultivation," which is the "root;" and "knowing the root" (*zhiben* 知本) is the very "completion of knowledge" (*zhizhi* 致知) (ibid.: 1/16b). Such knowledge engenders moral self-definition: "Knowing that the world and the state regard the self as the root, it is then known that the self and the mind cannot be indulgent, derelict, and selfish" (Li 1829i: 4a). In a nutshell, for Li, investigation of things boils down to knowing and cultivating one's *xing*. But such cultivation is not an isolated and isolating affair; it is inevitably conjoined with social relationships (*renlun* 人倫). He explains: "Father and son, brothers, ruler and subjects, friends, and husband and wife are the social relationships. Humaneness, rightness, propriety, intelligence, and trustworthiness are human nature. In terms of their fundamental unity, humaneness pervades the Five Relationships; rightness, propriety, wisdom and trustworthiness also pervade the Five Relationships." In other words, human nature and human beings are socially circumscribed and conditioned, because "the way is social relationships," and "the way cannot be followed without the establishment of one's self" (Li 1829f: 14b–15a).

Since realizing *xing* means coming to grips with practical and social existence and not apprehension of metaphysical truth or some form of transcendental enlightenment, Li stresses practical cultivation at the expense of inward introspection and abstract speculation. Such orientation is very much reflected in his compilation of the *Complete Works of Master Zhu* (*Zhuzi daquan* 朱子大全) and the *Essential Ideas of [the Cheng-Zhu School of] Nature and Principle* (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義), both sponsored by the court. They were demonstrably long on the straightforward and practical "small learning," "elementary learning," and "great learning," and noticeably short on jejune contemplations of recondite questions of nature, destiny, and heaven (Chan 1975: 560). To be sure, Li does not flinch from metaphysical ruminations; indeed, he engages in them with vigor and rigor. But the fact remains that his abstract pondering is in large part designed to provide a strong philosophical argument and justification for practical action and involvement in the quotidian world.

Yü Ying-shih has written cogently about the rise of Confucian "intellectualism" in the Qing, by which he means the overshadowing of the pursuit of "honoring the virtuous nature" (*zun dexing* 尊德性) by "the pursuit of the way of inquiry and learning" (*dao wenxue* 道問學) (Yü 1975: 105–136). Interesting enough, Li Guangdi takes the two as a synergistic pair. Whereas Zhu Xi ties the former to the fundamental condition/state (*ti* 體) of the way and the latter to function (*yong* 用), Li sees "the mutual reinforcement of the root and the branches, the complementary nurturing of the inner and outer" (Li 1829b:18/15b–16a). For him, the Lu-Wang followers, focusing on "virtuous nature," are blind to the utility and sociality of *xing*, whereas others, seizing upon the *Zhongyong*'s notions of "extending breadth and greatness to the utmost" (*zhi guangda* 致廣大) and "raising to the greatest height and brilliance" (*ji gaoming* 極高明) to *dao wenxue*, gives short shrift to *xing*'s demand for broad learning (ibid.: 8/17a). Even as Li asserts *xing* as foreknowledge and inborn capability (*yizhi yineng* 已知已能), he avers that nature's realization cannot dispense with

inquiry and learning. "Blood and breath" may be *xing*, but it can scarcely flourish in the absence of food and medicine (ibid.: 8/17b–19b). His cogitation on human nature implies praxis of learning and action: "Learning involves knowledge and action, rooted in *xing's* wisdom and humaneness" (Li 1829a: 8/19a). Such knowledge and action are pursued by "establishing the will" and "maintaining reverence" (ibid.: 6/20a). Establishing the will develops the "tendency" toward the way and humanity (Li 1829j: 22b–23a); reverence creates "an empty heart/mind without depravity" (Li 1829a: 6/3a). A metapractical program thus emerges: establishing the will, dwelling in reverence, gaining knowledge, undertaking action, and ultimately, realization of human nature. Li reminds us that Confucius followed a life-long plan:

> Therefore, Confucius said, "When I was fifteen, I established the will to learn." That was establishing the will. What he said about his character's being formed at thirty referred to achieving reverence. As he became no longer perplexed, knowing the mandate of heaven and being at ease with whatever he heard, his knowledge became superior. When he could follow his heart's desire without moral transgression, he knew well how to act. Many scholars have thought that the Master was simply describing himself. In fact, he established a method for learners. (Ibid.: 6/6a–b)

Since this "method" begins with moral intents and goals, knowledge is prior to action. Li endorses Zhu Xi's dictum of "prior knowledge and posterior action." Just as *yang* is prior to *yin*, so knowledge comes before action: "The order of knowledge and action, and the principle of *xing* and destiny cannot be changed" (ibid.: 8/8a–9b).

By proclaiming the metaphysical supremacy of *xing*, Li brought to the foreground praxis. For him, *li*-qua-principle easily lapses into incorporeal truth that elides the experiential and phenomenal lives of the self. *Xing* is human living here and now, and moral cultivation should therefore not turn inward toward the self's substance, as the Lu-Wang 陸王 scholars are wont to do. *Xing* confirms the everydayness of reality. A metaphysics of the ultimate, not properly anchored on solid ground, often ends in emptiness or remoteness. Thus Li so announces the nature of his lucubration, which is to get to know various aspects of reality by identifying their actual and substantive existence: "My learning has three themes: first is to preserve the concrete mind (存實心), second is to illuminate concrete principle (明實理), and third is to act on concrete matters (行實事)" (Li 1829b: 33/3b).

Multi-Dimensionality of *Xing*

In the late Ming and early Qing, many scholars, in affirming the goodness of *xing* as a revivifying response to the ethico-moral degeneration putatively brought on by the erroneous and emaciating teachings of the latter-day followers of Wang Yangming, also reconstrued *xing* as multi-dimensional. If *xing* is realized in the corporeal world, then its affective, emotive, and sensory

faculties should well be regarded as primary rather than secondary nature. Material nature (氣質之性) need not be posterior to moral nature (義理之性). *Xing* is thus most appropriately seen as a holism of equally important components. As *xing* must be realized in the intentions and actions in the experiential world, scholars increasingly pointed to the mutuality of the fundamental condition of human nature and purposeful effort of the human person. They rejected the view that this fundamental condition, in the absence of concrete efforts, could be a transcendental substantiality that culminates in spontaneous and instantaneous self-enlightenment or self-realization. The result is the emergence of a reconceptualized *xing* as an integrated whole, in which the moral and material natures cannot be sharply distinguished and evaluated in discriminatingly axiological terms. The cognitive, affective, sentimental, and conative elements in the so-called physical and material nature were increasingly seen as consonant and complementary with the innate moral essence of *xing* (Qian 1937: 9–14, 18–19; Ng 1993: 35–49).

Following the standard Cheng-Zhu anthropological theory, Li Guangdi associated *qi* (vital energy) with evil. Nevertheless, he also strove to limn human nature holistically, seeking to assuage the sense of dualistic dichotomy of principle versus vital energy. Li appealed to Han Yu's 韓愈views on human nature in his attempt to advance his own understanding. He regarded the Tang scholar as the mediating figure who bridged the positions of Mencius and Cheng-Zhu. In Li's 1707 work on Han, *Choice Words of Master Han* (*Hanzi cuiyan* 韓子粹言), he assembled Han's major writings and offered his own glosses and commentaries. Han Yu, as the outspoken, self-proclaimed defender of the Confucian tradition against the centuries-old onslaught of Buddhism and Daoism, advanced a theory of *xing* premised on its concrete moral and ethical contents, taking to task the notion of *xing*'s ultimate emptiness or nothingness that lays at the heart and core of Buddhist and Daoist anthropology and soteriology (Chan 1963: 450–456). Han did not have an entirely unified view of human nature, for he identified three "grades" (*pin* 品) of *xing*. There is the superior *xing* which is inexorably good but there is also the inferior *xing* which is bad and accounts for depravity and transgression. In the middle is the medium *xing* which can be good or bad. But significantly, to counter the insubstantial, negating, and nullifying Buddhist and Daoist conceptions of *xing*, Han asserted the substantiality of human nature, in which the five cardinal virtues of humaneness, propriety, trustworthiness, rightness, and wisdom inhere and are embedded (Li 1829 k: 1a–2b).

It is precisely because of these assertions that Li praised Han Yu, whose contribution to the Confucian discourse on *xing* at a time of Buddhist and Daoist predominance cannot be underestimated. It was Han who unequivocally reminded China that it was in "the way of humaneness and rightness that the complete *xing* emerges," and in so preserving China's Confucian memory, Han "continued Mencius' [teachings] of old and paved the way for [the learning of] Cheng-Zhu to come" (ibid.: 8a). Li lauds Han for propounding the idea of the three grades of human nature and in the process clearly expounding the

notion of the material nature. For Li, that represents a refinement of and addition to the Mencian view, which in the main conceives of *xing* in terms of what heaven decrees. As far as Li is concerned, Han's conception of *xing* is complex and nuanced, concatenating material nature and moral nature. However, notwithstanding his praise, in the end, he finds Han's picture of *xing* muddled, in that the Tang master ultimately did not build his theory of *xing* on the five genetically constitutive virtues, which define and make up the fundamental nature, and which, in Li's terms, is the nature of heaven-and-earth: "[Han Yu's] three grades are material nature. But there are the five [virtues] which constitute it [i.e., material nature]. They are heaven-and-earth's nature. Knowing that what constitute that the nature are those five [virtues], then it is known that the nature is nothing if it is not good" (ibid.: 2b–3a). Thus, not unlike Mencius, Li condensed his view of *xing* into the one fundamental nature, which is the heaven-of-earth nature. As the only nature that really matters, in the sense that it defines what is authentically human, it trumps material nature. In short, for Li, *xing* should be monistically conceived as good, and it is this very goodness that undergirds a holistic conception of being human.

In his other writings, Li repeatedly stresses the fact that there is only one human nature that both encases and manifests the "pure and supremely good" nature of heaven-and-earth. This monistic view, as he himself admits, is a departure from the dichotomous one that the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi propounded:

> Cheng-Zhu demarcated principle and vital energy when discussing human nature. I feel that this was not how Mencius spoke of it. Rather, Mencius said that principle and vital energy are naturally within [human nature]. If principle and vital energy are demarcated, it would appear that principle is simply principle and vital energy is simply vital energy.... The vital energy of heaven-and-earth originates from the principle of heaven-and-earth. When is it ever not good?... However, human beings...after all cannot be completely like heaven. But even though [their] material deposition may vary and differ, they all possess heaven-and-earth's nature. It is like the developed color of silver, which is of different grades. Although the grade may be the lowest, it is after all developed silver. (Li 1829b: 6/14b–15a)

Here, Li harkens back to Mencius by asseverating the essential idea that all of human nature, coming from heaven, is innately good. Dereliction in some people comes from the failure to conform to nature and to develop its potentialities to the fullest. Therefore, Li regards the notion of "material nature" as a superfluous "addition" by Zhang Zai and Cheng-Zhu. Instead of accepting what he deems to be the redundant and unnecessary notion of material nature, he critiques Zhang, Cheng, and Zhu by explicating the notion of "native endowment" (*cai* 才) as it was construed by Mencius (Li 1829e:18/2a–3b).

Simply put, Cheng Yi's "material nature" is nothing but what Mencius calls "native endowment," as Li avers:

> Mencius said, "[If one is not good,] it is not the fault of native endowment. It is that one fails to exhaust one's native endowment. It is not that heaven bestows to those below different native endowments. Native endowment is material nature. What is wrong is

> the inability to extend to the utmost native endowment. If people's native endowment and nature vary, it is just that some lean toward humaneness, and some toward rightness, propriety or wisdom; there are some who are deficient in humaneness, some in rightness, propriety, or wisdom. There is none who is completely without humaneness, rightness, propriety, and wisdom; nor is there one who lacks completely one [of the virtues] of humaneness, rightness, propriety, and wisdom." (Ibid.: 6/21a)

If there is material nature, it is not something that produces and breeds the bad. It is native endowment which receives different allotments of inherent goodness. Li reiterates Mencius' view that "heaven's nature, as it is endowed in human beings, is not limited by what material nature receives." There is not the source of wickedness, which supposedly is found in material nature. There is only the individual, the person, the moral agent, who fails to conform to nature and fully realize its goodness. Li believes that Masters Zhang, Cheng, and Zhu erroneously confected a deficient native endowment (identified with/as material nature) as the genetic origin of evil, and they thus readily attributed moral failings to this very source. Instead, as Li argues, they should have converged on the effort of "exhausting native endowment" (ibid.: 6/19b/20a).

As Li sees it, evil stems from and owes much to the insufficient development of the universally good human nature. He develops the notion of *quan* 權, or human agency, in the sense of choosing and adjudicating one's actions in contingent circumstances. Such deeds and actions antedate and transcend the original heaven-endowed conditions which are *xing* with its innate goodness. But insofar as one is not fully formed by a *xing* that statically guides and defines one's action, mastering *quan* is the only existential source and guarantee of the human conditions that define moral living, as a person seeks to become moral by capitalizing on the positive endowments of *xing*:

> Confucius said, "By nature, [human beings] are alike." This is the same as Mencius' statement that there is no nature that is not good. Therefore, it is said that whether people are different or alike is a matter of practice (*xi* 習). Mencius also said, "Those who prefer the major parts of their body become noble people; those who prefer the minor parts become mean people." The agency (*quan*) rests with people. (Ibid.: 6/15a–b)

Needless to say, the contingency of *quan* here is not the Heideggerian thrownness of existence that is radically inserted into a historical space, detached from the metaphysical Being of being human. Rather, Li makes a point to underscore the fact that *quan* has its reference in *xing*, which is original goodness and therefore enables moral perfection. Li likens the process of developing the good *xing* to the process of creating flavors:

> It is like the blending of the five flavors. If something is not salty, it is a matter of not adding enough salt and not because there is no salt at all. If something is not sour, it is because few plums are added and not because there are no plums at all. Although one may be somewhat deficient in one's native endowment, with motivation and diligence, one's achievements can be limitless. Therefore, [Mencius] said that it is not the fault of native endowment. A talent of an individual can be expanded ten-fold; ten talents of an individual can be expanded one thousand-fold. Although initially dull, one can become bright; although meek, one can become strong. This is what is called extending to the

> utmost one's native endowment.... The manifestations of people's native endowment may vary, but all may seek to expand and substantiate it in order to apprehend [nature] in its entirety. (Ibid.: 6/21b–22a)

Li concludes that the inherent goodness of *xing*, which is heaven's bestowal on humanity, requires effort for its realization. Therefore, even if most of us are not sages, we can become one: "Not everyone is Yao or Shun, but everyone can be Yao and Shun" (ibid.: 6/22a). *Xing's* endowment from heaven is universal, imbued in all, just like the falling of rain from the sky: "It is never the case that rivers and streams get more, while gutters and shallow brooks get less; or that clear spots get clear [rain], while filthy places get turbid [rain]. There is the same rain everywhere" (ibid.: 18/11b).

What is particularly of note in Li's construal and dissection of *xing*-qua-goodness is his refusal to accept it as an eternalized human condition, even if it is heaven's endowment. He spares no effort in talking about "preserving nature" (*cunxing* 存性) and "nurturing nature" (*yangxing* 養性) (ibid.: 6/24a), which in life means pursuing ceaselessly and unstintingly the Mean (*zhong* 中), that which is central. It is a process; it is not the revelation of an already attained state of being. To attain centrality is to complete goodness:

> The Mean is that which completes this goodness. It cannot be said that the Mean is goodness. Analogously speaking, millet and meat are delicious, but eating too much [of them] will make one sick. Fine silk garments are warm, but wearing too much [of them] will be burdensome. Millet, meat, and fine silk garments are in themselves good. If one does not overdo it, how will the problems of causing sickness and burdening the body arise? Humaneness and rightness, vis-à-vis human beings, are just like a sumptuous fare and fine silk garments. Give them concrete expression through the Mean, and [one] achieves the likeness of heaven-and-earth. (Li 1829a: 8/16a) [2]

In other words, human beings are vessels in which the heaven-endowed innate goodness of *xing* can be expressed in everyday human living. They do so by following the Mean and achieve human flourishing, just as robust human physical constitution and material well-being are the result of proper intake of food and appropriate use of clothing.

Conclusion: The Open-Endedness of *Xing*

It seems apparent that Li, as a keeper of the Cheng-Zhu flame, nonetheless found fault with the Song masters' dualistic conception of *xing* as moral nature and material nature. He opted to follow the Mencian view, which, in premising itself on the innate goodness of humanity, offers an integrated conception. But such integration based on the intrinsicality of *xing's* goodness suggests no stasis. In fact, as mentioned early, the Confucian human *being* is in the midst of

[2] Wing-tsit Chan has given a host of examples of the various meanings of *zhong* (Chan 1663: 95–99). It is also helpful to ponder Tu Wei-ming's more idiosyncratic definition of the concept (Tu 1989: 16).

becoming. *Xing* should duly be interpreted dynamically. Quite some years ago, A.C. Graham already observed that Mencius "in particular seems never to be looking back towards birth, always forward to the maturation of a continuing growth," and famously, the ancient master employed many botanical analogies to demonstrate the dynamic process of personal growth. Graham was struck by the fact "that analogies for human nature in *Mencius* are always dynamic, trees growing on a denuded mountain, ripening grain, water finding its natural channels" (Graham 1986a: 8, 43). To go one step further, Roger Ames pointedly claims that to translate *xing* as "human nature" is to miss the Confucian point about human flourishing and cultivation. Whereas *nature* as such in the Western philosophical tradition is regarded as "a 'given' that exists from birth," which "cannot be altered through human action," the Confucian *xing* is not set once and for all (Ames 1991: 144). Ames prefers to compare the Mencian *xing* to what we generally describe as character, personality, or constitution, rather than nature as such, as *xing* connotes a dynamic process. Its original proclivities and tendencies are inexorably mediated and influenced by human growth, from birth to death (ibid.: 150–165).[3]

This dynamic interpretation that stresses the open-endedness of innate *xing* in terms of the inexorable existential mediation and commerce of one's everyday living must also be applied to Li Guangdi's view of *xing*. His discourse on the subject places small stock in the statically predetermined innate elements, save the elemental goodness of nature, which is nevertheless only the point of departure. Li resorts to his own dynamic metaphors and analogies as explanatory devices, as we have seen. To analogize developing silver and blending flavors with realizing nature is to stress quotidian efforts to preserve and nurture nature. He asks everyone to act out *xing*, which is to practice filial piety, pursue the Mean, follow heaven's mandate, tread the way, and fulfill destiny, all of which is process. Accordingly, there is little ambiguity that one of the major philosophical contributions of Li Guangdi to the Cheng-Zhu tradition is his rethinking of the primacy of human nature in Mencian terms. As he syndicates the centrality of *xing* in his general thought, he links metaphysical theory to human living. If our nature is the metaphysical fulcrum on which the universe and the world turn, then human action is imperative in the claiming, defining, and testing of the truths of reality. (Li 1829c:2/7a–b)

However, this anthropology of *xing* reopens and readmits an age-old philosophical problem that made its early appearance in the Zhou times, to the extent that Li's interpretation does not quite resolve the issue of whether nature is good or bad. Put in another way and to be specific, it does not quite satisfactorily answer the question of the emergence of evil. The opening lines of the

[3] Irene Bloom provides a useful counter-interpretation that accepts the given-ness of *xing*: "*Hsing* is complex in two senses: (1) it is in part given by Heaven and in part realized or enacted by us, that is, partly within and partly beyond our control; and (2) it is a complex of dispositions, moral as well as appetitive, that is, intelligible in both normative and descriptive terms" (Bloom 1994: 44).

Zhongyong clearly state that "what heaven mandates for humanity is called nature; following this nature is called the way." It stands to reason that humanity is the work of heaven, and the nature is the human tendency to follow this very nature and thereby establish the good human way. But there is the recurring question of the emergence and prevalence of evil. Given that the good heaven mandates a good human nature, it naturally follows that human beings and their deeds are good. But evil persists in such a way and to such a degree that it is ostensibly a part of humanity. In other words, inherent in such a conception of good nature is the fact-value tension, which is a tautology of some sort. On the one hand, there is the ontological fact that *xing is* good to begin with, but on the hand, there is the existential value that *xing ought to be* good as one lives out one's life. But why should something that is good still need to be kept and made good? Whether it is Mencius who propounds the goodness of nature, Xunzi 荀子who posits the badness of nature, or Gaozi 告子who proposes the neutrality of nature, all "wandered around in circles," as Graham puts it, for none of the theories seems to be able to reconcile fully ontological goodness with experiential moral defects (Graham 1986b: 412–413).

It should be pointed out that the theory of the innate goodness of *xing* is a full-fledged metaphysical one; it is not necessarily an empirical thesis. The famous Mencian scenario of one watching a child about to fall into a well is an imagined situation manufactured for illustrative purposes. It cannot be proven that one will feel, as Mencius tells us, horror, compassion, sympathy, or empathy when one sees an imperiled child. It can only be asserted that it must be so, given the nature of our *xing*. But a metaphysical theory can have enormous explanatory power, which rests in its plausibility. In the case of Mencius, its potency lies in the reasonableness and sensibleness regarding how and what one instinctually feels in that particular hypothetical situation. One may say that Mencius' claim about *ren*, at least *ren* as moral sprout, is so resonant with reality, or so realistic an averment of what can or ought to happen, that it becomes the truth. But even if one accepts the metaphysical truth of the innate goodness of *xing*, it still has to explain in a persuasive manner the existence of evil. We need not belabor the fact that Mencius attributes evil to our failure to develop and conform to our moral sprouts, the basic constitution of our good *xing*. But it leaves something to be desired, as pointed out above. Herein lies the significance of the Cheng-Zhu dualistic theory of human nature, which is an attempt to provide a better metaphysical explanation for what Mencius argued regarding the goodness of *xing*. To begin with, Cheng and Zhu are more thorough-going than Mencius in their affirmation. They explicitly state that human nature is good in the same way that heaven and the way are good, while Mencius did not often overtly state that human nature is good as such, unless he was debating with Gaozi. What Mencius mainly contended is that it is human nature to become good. In their own rigorous and systematic way, the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi explain how and why it is the case that *xing* is good. They first posit that there is the fundamentally good moral nature, which is principle, or heaven/the way/the Great Ultimate. Then there is the nature constituted by material force, which can be bad, but it is

not the basic nature. This dichotomous scheme affirms the goodness of the primary *xing* while accommodating pervasive evil, which can be located in everyone's secondary nature. Human transgressions occur when principle (*li*) comes to be beclouded by turbid *qi*. This *li*-*qi* dialectics enables the simultaneity of the universality of goodness of *xing* and the instantiation of evil in particular individuals in specific circumstances. Moreover, as with Mencius, the Chengs and Zhu also empower and drive their theory with pleas for moral and intellectual amelioration, to the extent that it is self-cultivation that ensures the dispelling of unwanted *qi* (Graham 1986a: 54–59; Graham 1986b: 421–435).

As we have seen, Li Guangdi does not accept such a bifurcated human nature and simply affirms that *xing* is good, just as principle, heaven, and the way are good. Without adopting the Cheng-Zhu metaphysical intervention, Li fell back on the Mencian formula that evil is nature stunted. But in so doing, he dooms himself once again to the circular effort of explaining how evil ensues from the originally good *xing*.

There is another ambiguity in Li Guangdi's philosophy of *xing*, common to many Confucian formulations, including that of Zhu Xi: the tension and relation between the self's *internal* moral authority and efficacy, and *external* guidance such as *li* 禮 (propriety, rituals and norms). In other words, the conviction of the inherence of principle in individuals does not negate the awareness that self-revelation is not always possible. Principle, or *xing* for that matter, needs to be complemented and realized by propriety. Zhu Xi and many others wrestled with the ways in which these two crucial sources and standards of cultivation might be duly balanced, such that one does not overly concentrate on one (internal apprehension of principle and nature) at the expense of the other (external adherence to norms and rituals) (Munro 1988: 9). To the extent that Li Guangdi's *xing*-based philosophy argues that the cohesion of all truths and meanings ultimately occurs inwardly in the form of introspection, it mitigates his call for external engagement with society. The investigation of things and the extension of knowledge are the illumination of the goodness of human nature with knowledge that comes with the realization of *xing*.

Still, Li's reformulation of *xing* does seek to embed within it a metapraxis that demands and explains individual activism. By focusing on *xing* and its goodness, Li brings attention to the nobility of humanity and its everyday responsibility in both the internal and external realms, inscribing ultimate, ontological meaning onto the actions that human beings must embark upon, be it moral self-cultivation or practical melioration of state and society.

Bibliography

Ames, Roger. 1991. "The Mencian Conception of *Ren Xing*: Does it Mean 'Human Nature'?" In Henry Rosemont Jr. (ed.), *Chinese Texts and Philosophical Contexts: Essays Dedicated to Angus C. Graham*. La Salle, Il.: Open Court.

Ames, Roger. Forthcoming. "Confucian Role Ethics: A Vocabulary." Hong Kong and Honolulu: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press and the University of Hawaii Press.

Bloom, Irene. 1994. "Mencian Argument on Human Nature (*Jen Xing*)." *Philosophy East and West* 44.1: 19–53.

Chan, Wing-tsit. 1963. *A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chan, Wing-tsit. 1975. "The *Hsing-li ching-i* and the Ch'eng-Chu School of the Seventeenth Century." In Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.), *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

de Bary, Wm. Theodore. 1998. "Individualism and Personhood." In his *Asian Values and Human Rights: A Confucian Communitarian Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Foot, P. 2003. *Natural Goodness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Graham, A.C. 1986a. "The Background of the Mencian Theory of Human Nature." In A. C. Graham (ed.), *Studies in Chinese Philosophy and Philosophical Literature*. Singapore: The Institute of East Asian Philosophy.

Graham, A.C. 1986b. "What was New in the Ch'eng-Chu Theory of Human Nature?" In A.C. Graham (ed.), *Studies in Chinese Philosophy and Philosophical Literature*. Singapore: The Institute of East Asian Philosophy.

Holmes, Oliver. 1975. *Human Reality and the Social World: Ortega's Philosophy of History*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts.

Huang, Yong. 2008. "The Self-Centeredness Objection to Virtue Ethics: The Cheng Brothers' Neo-Confucian Response." Paper presented at the University Seminar on Neo-Confucian Studies, Columbia University.

Hurka, T. 1993. *Perfectionism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ivanhoe, P.J. 1995. "On the Metyaphysical Foundations of Neo-Confucian and New Confucianism." *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 22: 81–89.

Keekes, John. 1989. *Moral Tradition and Individuality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Li, Guangdi. 1829. *Complete Works of Li Guangdi* (*Rongcun quanshu* 榕村全書). N.P., preface 1829. Li (1829).

Li, Guangdi. 1829a. *Anthology of Writings by Li Guangdi* 榕村全集. In Li (1829)

Li, Guangdi. 1829b. *Recorded Sayings of Li Guangdi* 榕村語錄. In Li (1829).

Li, Guangdi. 1829c. *A Sequel to the Recorded Sayings of Li Guangdi* 榕村語錄續集. In Li (1829).

Li, Guangdi. 1829d. "Detailed Notes on the *Mencius*, Part One" 孟子札記上. In Li (1829).

Li, Guangdi. 1829e. "Six Song Masters" 宋六子. In Li (1829).

Li, Guangdi. 1829f. "Additional Discussions on the *Doctrine of the Mean*" 中庸餘論. In Li (1829).

Li, Guangdi. 1829g. "The Meanings of [Zhang Zai's] 'Correcting Youthful Ignorance' " 正蒙論. In Li (1829).

Li, Guangdi. 1829h. *Observing the Images in the* Classic of Change 周易觀象. In Li (1829).

Li, Guangdi. 1829i. *Discourse on the Ancient Edition of the* Great Learning 大學古本說. In Li (1829).

Li, Guangdi. 1829j. *Notes Taken While Reading the* Analects 讀論語札記. In Li (1829).

Li, Guangdi. 1829k. *Choice Words of Master Han* 韓子粹言. In Li (1829).

Mou, Zongsan. 1968. *Onto-cosmological State of the Original Heart/Mind and Human Nature* 心體與性體. Taibei 臺北: Zhengzhong 正中.

Munro, Donald. 1988. *Images of Human Nature: A Sung Portrait*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ng, On-cho. 1993. "Toward an Interpretation of Ch'ing Ontology." In Richard J. Smith and D.W.Y. Kwok (eds.), *Cosmology, Ontology and Human Efficacy: Essays on Chinese Thought*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Ng, On-cho. 2001. *Cheng-Zhu Confucianism in the Early Qing: Li Guangdi (1642–1718) and Qing Learning*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Ng, On-cho. 2007. "The Ethics of Being and Non-Being: Confucian Contestations on Human Nature (*Xing*) in Late Imperial China." In Youru Wang (ed.), *Deconstruction and the Ethical in Asian Thought*. London and New York: Routledge.
Ortega, Y. Gasset. 1941. "History as a System." In Ortega Y. Gasset (ed.), *Toward a Philosophy of History*, translated by William Atkinson. New York: W.W. Norton.
Peng, Guoxiang 彭國翔. 2003. *The Unfolding of the Learning of Innate Knowledge of the Good—Wang Longxi and Yangming Learning in Mid-Late Ming* 良知學的展開——王龍溪與中晚明的陽明學. Taibei: Xuesheng shuju 學生書局.
Qian, Mu 錢穆. 1937. *The History of Chinese Learning in the Past Three Hundred Years* 中國近三百年學術史. Taibei 臺北: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館.
Rosemont, Henry Jr. 1998. "Human Rights: A Bill of Worries." In Wm. Theodore de Bary and Tu Wei-ming (eds.), *Confucianism and Human Rights*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Tu, Wei-ming. 1985. *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
Tu, Wei-ming. 1989. *Centrality and Commonality*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
Van Norden, Bryan. 2007. *Virtue Ethics and Consequentialism in Early Chinese Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University.
Weintraub, Karl. 1966. *Visions of Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Yang, Guozhen 楊國楨 and Li Tianyue 李天月 (eds.). 1993. *Li Guangdi yanjiu* 李光地研究. Xiamen 厦門: Xiamen daxue chubanshe 厦門大學出版社.
Yang, Jing 杨菁. 2008. *Li Guangdi yu Qingchu lixue* 李光地與清初理學. Taibei 臺北: Huamulan wenhua gongzuofang 花木蘭文化工作坊.
Yu, Jiyuan. 2007. *The Ethics of Confucius and Aristotle: Mirrors of Virtue*. New York and London: Routledge.
Zhang, Dainian 張岱年. 1982. *An Outline of Chinese Philosophy* 中國哲學大綱. Beijing 北京: Zhongguo kexue chubanshe 中國科學出版社.

DAI Zhen on Human Nature and Moral Cultivation

Justin Tiwald

DAI Zhen 戴震 (1724–1777) was a prominent philosopher in the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) and a highly influential critic of orthodox Neo-Confucian philosophy.[1] The heart of his philosophical project was to restore feelings and sophisticated faculties of judgment to their proper place in moral cultivation and action. He argued for a more robust form of moral deliberation, one which gives greater deference to both cognitive and affective capacities, and which requires us to examine and often reconsider our spontaneous moral intuitions. He also aimed to broaden the scope of desires that could play a legitimate role in a good and virtuous life. Dai used his considerable philological skills to demonstrate (convincingly, for many) that his Neo-Confucian predecessors had read the Confucian classics through Daoist and Buddhist lenses, which he faulted for many of the errors he found in their moral thought.

Dai felt that the views of prominent Neo-Confucians had had a disastrous effect on Chinese society (albeit an inadvertent one). Their fundamental mistake, he argued, was to assume that human beings have an already perfect moral guide in them by nature—a guide that operates best when allowed to act without interference from certain desires and modes of thought. Dai felt that the widespread adoption of this view had brought about a situation in which the political and social elite regarded their unchecked, unexamined opinions as more reliable than judgments drawn from life experience, the Confucian classics, and the sympathetic examination of the feelings and desires of others. Rather than assume that the moral guide already exists by nature, he insisted, Confucians should instead recognize that the resources for good moral judgment and virtue are *present but undeveloped* in our nature, and that the right course of education would bring these capacities to maturity.

[1] Especially those influenced by CHENG Yi 程頤 (1033–1107), WANG Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1529), and above all ZHU Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200).

J. Tiwald (✉)
Department of Philosophy, San Francisco State University, San Francisco, CA 94132, USA
e-mail: jtiwald@sfsu.edu

J. Makeham (ed.), *Dao Companion to Neo-Confucian Philosophy*,
Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0_19,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

This rough outline of the relationship between human nature and moral cultivation is the centerpiece of Dai's philosophical thought, and it is the principal concern of this essay. I begin with a brief biography and follow with an analysis of two features of Dai's thought: his views on human nature and his account of proper moral deliberation. I connect these two features to his picture of moral cultivation, which is concerned largely with fostering certain natural tendencies so as to make a person a good moral judge and agent. My chief aim will be to illustrate the substantial differences between Dai and his most influential adversary, ZHU Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), as these differences tend to be downplayed in some (but not all) of the contemporary literature on DAI Zhen.

Life and Impact

The letters and earliest biographies of DAI Zhen suggest that at least two features of his life were deeply embedded in his conception of his life and his work. The first was the humbleness of his origins. Dai came from a family of low status and modest means, his father having been a cloth merchant with too few resources to provide Dai with a conventional education. Another prominent part of his self-conception was his uneasy relationship with the major scholarly movement of his era. Dai lived in the heyday of "evidential studies" (*kaozhengxue* 考證學), whose practitioners prized technical and evidence-based work in areas such as etymology, phonology, and astronomy. By the eighteenth century many evidential scholars eschewed philosophical work, usually characterized as the "study of meanings and principles" (*yili zhi xue* 義理之學— a rough approximation of ethics and metaphysics).[2] This left Dai without a clear intellectual home or audience, for he was fascinated with evidential studies and philosophy alike, and he saw his work as being motivated by the goals inherent in both disciplines. Dai was extremely successful in philology, mathematics, and other fields held in high esteem by his peers in evidential studies, and was revered by many as the greatest evidential scholar of his era. But in spite of his success as an evidential scholar, he saw himself above all as a pursuer of moral and metaphysical truths, which he regarded as giving his work the unity and purpose that any meaningful course of study requires. By the time of his death, Dai believed his philosophical works to be his greatest contribution to Confucian scholarship (Dai 1996b; Hu 1996: 366).

Dai produced a number of essays and three books on issues in Confucian ethics and metaphysics, the latter being *On the Good* (*Yuanshan* 原善), *Remnants of Words* (*Xuyan* 緒言), and his *Evidential Analysis of the Meaning and Terms of*

[2] Evidential scholars in Dai's era tended to see such philosophical speculation as lacking in rigor and overly susceptible to political and personal prejudice. For these and other reasons, many of Dai's acquaintances in evidential studies regarded his fascination with philosophy as unfortunate (Elman 2001: 20–21; Yu 1996: 112–150).

the Mencius (*Mengzi ziyi shuzheng* 孟子字義疏證).[3] Among these Dai regarded the *Evidential Analysis* as his masterpiece, and devoted the last years of his life to writing and revising the work. His philosophical treatises were largely devoted to critiquing and then developing alternatives to the philosophical thought of Neo-Confucianism's greatest luminaries. They focused in particular on the orthodox thought of CHENG Yi 程頤 (1033–1107) and ZHU Xi, and Dai framed many of his arguments as competing interpretations of key passages from canonical works of Confucian thought.[4]

Despite the small audience for Dai's philosophical works in his own time, he now figures prominently in philosophical discourse in China today, especially on issues in the history and development of Confucian thought. Most intellectual historians are now persuaded that Neo-Confucian thought bore significant traces of Daoist and Buddhist thought, and Dai's argument for this continues to be influential. Countless scholars also have been attracted to his efforts to divest Neo-Confucian thought of its more ambitious metaphysical claims, especially its commitment to the existence of governing patterns or principles (*li* 理). A minor research industry has been made of tracing the intellectual lineages between earlier Confucians with similar metaphysical views like LUO Qinshun 羅欽順 (1465–1547) and WANG Tingxiang 王廷相 (1472–1544) to the culminating figure of DAI Zhen (Zheng 2005; Liu 2000). Finally, and due in part to his unsparing criticisms of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy, Dai became an inspirational figure for reform-minded Confucian philosophers, especially those seeking authentic Confucian precedents for their views (for Dai was one of the last great Confucian thinkers to write before Western philosophy began to make waves in the Chinese philosophical mainstream) (Liang 1959). As we shall see, however, the same unsparing criticisms have also made him a favorite foil for defenders of the better-known Neo-Confucian philosophers, especially those of Cheng and Zhu.

A Dispute about Human Nature

The declared purpose of Dai's *Evidential Analysis* is to diagnose and help to remedy a moral crisis. As he sees it, influential Neo-Confucians like ZHU Xi popularized an ideal of moral agency that encourages people to act before

[3] For *On the Good* and *Evidential Analysis* see Hu (1996: 201–337). For *Remnants of Words*, see Dai (1991: 64–116). The one complete English translation of *On the Good* is Cheng (1971). Two regularly cited translations of Dai's *Evidential Analysis* are Chin and Freeman (1990), and Ewell (1990). Hereafter specific passages in Dai's *Evidential Analysis* will be cited as "Dai 1996a" and followed by the passage's chapter number, page number in Hu's edition, and page number in Ewell's translation. For example, a passage that appears in Chapter 10, page 253 in Hu, and page 146 in Ewell will be cited as "Dai 1996a: 10.253/146." Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of Dai's works that appear in this chapter are my own.

[4] These three texts were largely (but not entirely) consistent with one another, but as Dai's views developed he demonstrated increased levels of sophistication regarding the role of the feelings (*qing* 情) in moral evaluation. For a persuasive argument to this effect see Qian (1972: 334–355, esp. 350).

reflecting on the moral significance of their actions, and to rely on underdeveloped intuitions rather than cultivate their more sophisticated moral faculties. Dai contends that this ideal is in fact a modified form of the spontaneous or unreflective action prized by Daoists and Buddhists. Dai also traces the ideal to the Buddhist contention that all people are endowed at birth with an infallible guide, or Buddha-nature, which operates best when freed from the interference of many desires and processes of thought. The Neo-Confucian permutation of this Buddha-nature is what Zhu variously calls the "original nature" (*benxing* 本性), "nature [bestowed by] heaven and earth" (*tiandi zhi xing* 天地之性), or, most often, "principle" (*li* 理; also translated as "pattern"). Dai regards this picture of human nature to be responsible for a great deal of moral havoc both in his own time and throughout the several centuries in which Zhu's ideas prevailed.

Dai finds many things to be amiss in Zhu's appropriation of the Buddha-nature doctrine. For one thing, the Buddhists who most influenced him generally held that one cannot liberate one's better nature without eliminating all (or nearly all) of one's desires. Zhu apparently held a less radical version of this view, whereby large numbers of desires—the "selfish" (*si* 私) or merely "human" (*ren* 人) ones—are obstacles to the spontaneous expression of the principle within us (discussed below). Dai, however, thinks that eliminating many such desires is both unrealistic and counterproductive. People who ignore basic human desires cannot appreciate the extent to which the outcomes of their decisions might harm (*hai* 害) or bring misfortune upon (*huo* 禍) those whose interests one aims to protect (Dai 1996a: 5, 10, 40–43 and *passim*). This is made all the more worrisome because, in Dai's day, mastering Zhu's moral philosophy was highly valued by the ruling elite and more or less prerequisite for entry into the civil service. Thus those who were most influenced by Zhu's thought were the very leaders and decision-makers charged with protecting the interests of ordinary people, generating (on Dai's view) a perverse institutional incentive to reward the Neo-Confucian brand of prudential blindness with positions of political authority (Dai 1996a: 5.245–246/120–122).

Another worrisome implication of Zhu's doctrine of human nature is that it raises puzzles about the purpose of moral cultivation. If, as Zhu holds, one is born already equipped with the knowledge to perform one's obligations well, then why is it necessary to undergo the sorts of growth and educational processes that we normally think necessary for moral development? Zhu's creative solution was to say that we depend on such experiences because our original nature is obscured by impurities of various kinds, which in turn corrupt what would otherwise be good intentions and intuitions. Deploying the metaphysics of Song-dynasty Confucianism, Zhu attributed these impurities to turbid *qi* 氣, the psycho-physical stuff of which concrete things are made. Moral cultivation is thus necessary because it helps to purify the bad *qi* and so enables the principle in one's heart/mind to respond to the world of its own accord. Zhu then used this model to justify a rich array of methods of cultivation, focusing in particular on developing the attitude of reverential attention (*jing* 敬).

He also used the model to justify studying the Confucian classics. A major component of this justification appeals to the idea that all objects of study have principles of their own, which are in some sense parts or manifestations (*fen* 分) of the same thing. When we discover the principles represented in the texts, then, we are in fact *recovering* the principles that are already complete in ourselves, thereby piercing through the obfuscations that otherwise prevent us from living according to the inclinations of our original nature.[5]

Dai finds this way of conceptualizing moral cultivation deeply problematic. For him the point of moral cultivation is not merely to *recover* pre-existing capacities, but also to *develop* new ones. Moral development is as much additive as it is subtractive. When moral cultivation is done rightly, much of what we learn becomes integrated into the feelings, drives, and cognitive skills that help us behave ethically. Dai thus strongly rejects the view that our original nature is (in his words) "complete and self-sufficient," and identifies numerous ways in which education and life experience can add to human nature's inherent deficiencies (Dai 1996a: 14.262/176, 14.265/184, and 27.298/288). Among these he highlights investigative and contemplative skills, the ability to appreciate morally salient similarities between oneself and others, and the ability to sympathize and share in the emotional life of others.

One might think that Dai and Zhu simply deploy two different conceptual schemes to justify roughly the same educational regimen. Whether we call it "developing new characteristics" or "purifying the *qi*" may not seem to matter a great deal, so long as both see it as necessary for their respective goals. But this objection overestimates the flexibility of Zhu's account of human nature. Although the two frameworks can separately justify the claim that a classical education is "necessary" for moral development, Dai's scheme delivers a different sort of necessity than Zhu's. Dai's view says in effect that the fruits of one's education become a *constitutive part* of the faculties and sensibilities that we employ in everyday moral decision-making. Specifically, he holds that the sorts of skills we gain from study—the moral sensibilities and aptitudes required for thoughtful examination of things—play a direct part in moral deliberation. Working within the constraints of his own scheme, however, Zhu says that at best these sensibilities and capacities serve the *instrumental* function of helping us to uncover the principle in ourselves. Since they are only means or instruments to liberating moral faculties, and not constituents of the moral faculties themselves, they cannot be employed to decide between competing courses of action. Zhu leaves that decision to the natural responses of our original nature.

The texts of our two philosophers bear this out. In his *Evidential Analysis,* Dai likens the knowledge gained from one's studies to the nourishment of food and drink: just as nutrients become a part of the mature body, knowledge when properly digested becomes a part of the mature faculty of understanding (Dai

[5] For a more thorough explication of Zhu's "recovery model" of moral cultivation see Ivanhoe (2000: 43–58).

1996a: 9). In contrast, Zhu rejects the view that the ideas and sensibilities we gain from study are a part of the mature moral faculties. If they were, Zhu reasons, then this would imply that principle was imperfect from the start, and this is a point that we cannot concede:

> Book learning is of secondary importance. . .in book learning we must simply apprehend the many manifestations of moral principle. Once we understand them, we'll find that all of them were complete in us from the very beginning, not added to us from the outside. (Zhu 1986: 1.161)[6]

In fairness to Zhu, it is not clear that he held principle to be responsible for every facet of moral assessment in any given decision context. He might have allowed that some *non*-moral facts are apprehended through acquired knowledge, or that learning enhances powers of concentration that do not exist in our original nature itself (Zhu 1986: 1.164; Gardner 1990: 131). There are indications that Zhu thought the more rudimentary activities children master in the course of "lesser learning" (which includes such things as archery and household chores) incorporate aptitudes or forms of knowledge that are not already present in principle (Van Norden 2007: 47–48). It is also arguable that Zhu thought those who are born sages, and thus who fully understand principle, nevertheless need to learn *how to apply* this understanding to specific situations (Zhu 1986: 3.1148; Makeham 2003: 215). Taken together these points might suggest that Zhu regarded the fruits of one's studies as playing a more constitutive role than the above analysis suggests.

In my view we can grant these points and nevertheless insist that important substantive issues (and not just conceptual schemes) ride on the two competing views of human nature. Rather than stray too far into the finer points of ZHU Xi exegesis, it should be enough to note that for Zhu, as for adherents of the Buddha-nature doctrine, our original nature is in command when it responds to external stimuli spontaneously, without engaging in prolonged moral reflection of various kinds. The abilities we develop through the study of classical texts, however, have to do with pondering, weighing the moral significance of alternatives, identifying important similarities between cases, and considering whether subtle differences are relevant—in other words, the very skills necessary to engage in non-spontaneous forms of moral reflection. As Dai sees it, Zhu's mistake lies not just in characterizing key elements of moral cultivation as a process of subtraction and recovery, but in pairing this picture of moral cultivation with the assumption that our original nature works best when left to its own

[6] Translation by Gardner (1990: 128). Dai uses the same language of inner and outer but inverts the point, saying instead that learning "takes what exists within and nurtures it from without" (Dai 1996a: 26.292/274). Hereafter, all references to ZHU Xi's *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* (*Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類) will refer to the volume and page number of the 1986 *Zhonghua shuju* edition. For example, the above passage from volume one, page 161 would be cited as Zhu 1986: 1.161. If the passage also appears in Gardner's translation (1990), the page number from that work will also be cited in the standard format.

(spontaneous) devices. Taken together, these two assumptions commit Zhu to a very different understanding of the point and purpose of moral cultivation.

Unlike Zhu, Dai stresses that moral cultivation adds to our natural capacities and dispositions, but he also sees himself as developing a position that is distinct from other additive accounts. On one view, he suggests, we might see the perfected moral capacities—or virtues—as being mature versions of their natural predecessors, but on another view we might simply see them as newly acquired. Dai characterizes his own view as the first and more developmental one, identifying it with the Mengzian idea that moral cultivation "expands and fills in" (*kuo er chong* 擴而充) the incipient moral feelings and capacities of judgment that we have by nature (*Mengzi* 2A.6, quoted in Dai 1996a: 6.248/129, 21.286/247, 26.292/273, and 27.298/289). He associates the view that virtues are largely acquired traits with Xunzi 荀子 (391–308), the Confucian thinker well known for defending the thesis that human nature is bad (Dai 1996a: 25–26).[7] The former might be compared to nurturing naturally pre-existing sprouts or buds so that they grow into mature flora; the latter could be likened to developing and then planting an entirely new variety of new plant.

Dai attempts to walk a fine line between the Neo-Confucian recovery view and the Xunzian assumption that moral cultivation requires a fresh start, but to do so he has to identify which sorts of pre-existing "sprouts" stand in need of nurturance. The most fundamental of these is a natural love of life (*huai sheng* 懷生). We turn this love of life into a moral attitude by putting ourselves in the position of others and replicating the sort of care for their lives that we already have for our own (Dai 1996a: 21.286–287/247–248).[8] This natural predisposition also enables us to take joy in acting rightly, and helps us share the sorrows and joys of others. When combined with human beings' sophisticated faculties of understanding, this then gives us powers of moral judgment that far outstrip those of any other creatures. Indeed, the nascent faculties of understanding are themselves a sprout of another kind, also required for the acquisition of full virtue.[9]

At times Dai writes as though these incipient sprouts of goodness are a necessary presupposition for any plausible account of moral education and development. He suggests that we simply cannot succeed at developing our capacities to understand and care about the good unless there is some budding version of those capacities to start with. Here again Dai invokes the nutrition analogy: if one wants to transform the nutrients of food and drink into the blood-*qi* (*xueqi* 血氣) of the body, one must have a certain amount of blood-*qi* already. So too must we start with a nascent understanding of moral norms and

---

[7] Dai's classification of models of moral cultivation closely resembles P.J. Ivanhoe's (see Ivanhoe 2000). I borrow Ivanhoe's language to describe the "developmental" and "acquisitionist" models here.

[8] I offer a fuller account of this process in Chapter 3 of Tiwald (2006).

[9] A more thorough explication of Dai's argument for the goodness of human nature appears in Shun (2002).

basic capacities to care about others if there is to be any hope that cultivation will make us more virtuous (Dai 1996a: 26).

This argument might seem to be only as strong as the analogy that underlies it. Perhaps an acquisitionist would reject the assumption that learning is like bodily nutrition in the relevant sense, insisting that learning is more like generating entirely new blood-*qi* than adding to existing blood-*qi*. However, the argument becomes less mysterious if we take seriously Dai's comparison of mental processing to digestion, which for him is a multi-faceted one. Dai invokes the widespread physiological assumption that digestion is really just the assimilation of one substance to another, whereby the very substance to which one thing is assimilated is also the one that *does* the assimilating. In digestion, the blood-*qi* plays both roles. Dai's analysis suggests that something similar is true of the moral capacities. We add the content of our learning to our moral capacities by processing them with the selfsame capacities. We might say, for example, that we develop an ability to appreciate the virtue of the Duke of Zhou (as reported in classical sources) by drawing upon our appreciation of virtue in more accessible cases. For Dai, the more accessible cases are ones that we already understand and appreciate without having to put our faith in another's authority—ones that we "get for ourselves" (*zide* 自得) (Dai 1996a: 252/144). The goal is to achieve the same robust self-confidence in one's new conviction about the Duke of Zhou. It is hard to imagine how we could achieve this if our more accessible robustly-held beliefs were inconsistent with this new conviction, or if we had no capacity to hold beliefs in this robust way at all.

This section constitutes only a brief sketch of Dai's account of human nature, and the picture of moral cultivation that drives it. To recapitulate, Dai holds that human nature is endowed with certain nascent moral capacities, including the capacity to care about the lives of others and the capacity to make complex moral judgments. He also maintains that these capacities are far from complete, which he sees as a definitive point of departure from his influential Neo-Confucian predecessors. From this sketch we can begin to explain why Dai thinks the relationship between human nature and moral cultivation is necessarily developmental—that is, why the possibility of becoming a truly good moral agent, who can hold the right beliefs with justifiable self-confidence, necessarily presupposes that we have lesser versions of the moral capacities to start with.

Moral Deliberation

The previous section describes Dai's model of moral cultivation only in broad brushstrokes. It says little about which particular kinds of moral capacities need to be developed and what particular methods can be used to develop them. Perhaps the most important of such capacities are those responsible for sound moral deliberation, in particular the sort of deliberation we engage in when

faced with the need to make a decision that affects actual human interests. In this section I will describe two of the major elements of Dai's account of moral deliberation. One is sympathetic concern (*shu* 恕), which plays a crucial part in giving morally appropriate consideration to the interests of others. The second is moral discretion or "weighing" (*quan* 權), which enables us to apply general moral rules and practices to the particular circumstances in which we find ourselves.

Sympathetic Concern

Dai plucks his account of sympathetic concern from a number of passages in the Confucian classics, the most famous of which comes from *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語) 15.24:

> [Confucius' student] Zigong asked: "Is there one doctrine (*yan* 言) that one can practice throughout one's life?"
>
> Confucius replied: "Is it not *shu* (sympathetic concern)? What you would not desire yourself, do not inflict upon others."

Like other canonical accounts of *shu,* this one is somewhat ambiguous. Strictly speaking it suggests only that we should determine what we would not want for ourselves (if we were in the other's position, presumably) and then see to it that we do not bring about the same state of affairs for others. This brief description of *shu* does not state outright *how* we should determine what we would not want; for example, it does not say that this determination is done by simulating the would-be desires of others in one's own mind, which is often regarded as an essential component of empathy or sympathy (understood as forms of perspective-taking). Many commentators, however, suggest that the simulation of desires is precisely the point of *shu*. Dai shares this assumption, but his account of *shu* is also a distinctive variant of the simulationist one.[10] Let met say more about this variant as I understand it.

For Dai, one important feature of *shu* is that it requires the imaginative reconstruction of the point of view of another, even if only as a minimal, fleeting exercise. Before we carry out actions that might have significant consequences for others, Dai recommends that we turn within ourselves (*fan gong* 反躬) and contemplate our own would-be response to such behavior (Dai 1996a: 2.241/106). A second and subtler feature of *shu* is that it requires *concern* for those whose perspectives we adopt or simulate. Indeed, Dai has a particular take on this other-directed concern: caring about them is not enough; we must also care about them in a way that mimics or resembles how we care about ourselves. To

[10] To mention just two pieces of evidence, Dai thinks *shu* makes it possible to have a personal or embodied (*ti* 體) understanding of the feelings of others and to share in their sorrows and joys. These tasks presumably require simulation of sorts (Dai 1996a: 10. 255/151; 15.270/199; 43.336/423).

this extent Dai's preferred form of other-concern draws upon *self*-concern. We better appreciate the importance of another person's well-being for her sake if we have a similar interest in our own well-being for our own sake (Dai 1996a: 10.253/147; Tiwald 2006: Chapter 3).

One way to illustrate the importance of this particular kind of other-directed concern is to think about the nature of human sympathy. Sympathy—or at least what I am calling sympathetic concern—takes on a distinctive moral attitude that is not neatly captured by recreating another's psychological states. Someone who delights in torturing others is not sympathetic simply because he vividly imagines the pain of his victims (to borrow an example from Nussbaum 2001: 329–333). To be truly sympathetic one must have not only a caring attitude toward the person, but must also have accompanying feelings about the badness or wrongness of the torture. Sympathy seems a richer and more considerate process than mere perspective-taking, and in this sense it closely resembles Dai's understanding of *shu*.[11]

Another ambiguity in the canonical account of *shu* concerns how best to distinguish good or appropriate desires from bad or inappropriate ones. A standard criticism of *shu* is that it disposes us to attribute to others desires that they may not in fact share, as when a thrill-seeker imagines her more timid brother wanting to undertake the same escapades. Following Fingarette and Ivanhoe, among others, we might call this "sympathetic paternalism" (Fingarette 1979; Ivanhoe 2005). We can add to this the worry that sometimes desires are simply self-destructive or mistaken, even when both the sympathiz*er* and the receiver of sympathy share them. The wish that a gambling addict be provided access to high-stakes games might be unfortunate in any case, even when the sympathizer is herself a fellow addicted gambler.

These criticisms, which some have leveled against Dai, share the common assumption that *shu* is undiscriminating in its appropriation of desires (Hu 1996: 62–63). They suppose that whatever desires I happen to have are precisely the desires I imagine others having when I put myself in their shoes. Dai's account of *shu* is quite the opposite. He thinks of it not just as a way of recreating the thoughts and feelings of others, but also as a way of *discovering* which desires really count in the first place. In fact, for Dai this discovery role is really the primary function of *shu*. When we take up another person's point of view, Dai believes we are drawn to a core set of genuine, salutary inclinations called the "desires of human nature (性之欲)" (Dai 1996a: 2.242/107). Dai thinks this core set is shared by people of all kinds and classes, is consistent across

[11] Much of the psychological work that Dai attributes to *shu* suggests that the element of care or concern plays a crucial part. For example, Dai holds that *shu* is essential to the operations of the great Confucian virtue of benevolence of humaneness (*ren* 仁), which consists in the ability to attach our own sense of fulfillment or satisfaction to the interests of others (Dai 1996a: 15. 270/199). Presumably simulation or perspective-taking alone is insufficient to achieve so lofty a goal.

generations, and draws upon what he calls the "ordinary" or "constant" (*chang* 常) feelings of humankind (Dai 1994: 61; Dai 1996a: 5.246/123). While our two criticisms raise important questions about some versions of *shu,* then, they do not directly concern Dai's own.

Dai does not say outright why we should attribute such powers of discernment to *shu,* but the above analysis hints at an answer. As we have seen, *shu,* as sympathetic concern, is constituted by a particular kind of care for another human being. Care for another makes the exercise of simulating another's feelings considerably more discerning than it would otherwise be. When we merely simulate or imaginatively reconstruct the suffering of the gambling addict, we will likely need to imagine what it is like to crave two or three sleepless days at the blackjack table. When we *sympathize* with the gambling addict, however, we focus more on the desires that have an intimate connection to her well-being. We do not dwell on her cravings for high-stakes card games but rather on her frustration and disappointment regarding her inability to keep a job or support a family. For Dai, this is likely because the desires that are consistent with living a good life are both *simpler* and *more universal* than the wrong-headed ones. They are simpler in the sense that there are fewer of them, and they tend to be either identical with or natural offshoots of one's love of life (*sheng* 生), understood to include birth, preservation, and procreation. They are more universal because everyone loves the life of which they are intimately aware, beginning with his or her own (Dai 1996a: 21.283/240–241). Dai seems to hold that *shu* draws primarily upon these simpler and more universal desires and emotions, ones which he would characterize as belonging to the "true feelings" or "essential nature" (*qing* 情) of human beings. This is consistent with other remarks Dai makes about the use of desires and feelings in moral deliberation. Early in the *Evidential Analysis,* Dai asserts that we come to understand the standards of good order by measuring the feelings people *happen to have* with a basic set of dispositions (*qing* 情) that we have by nature (Dai 1996a: 2; Shun 2002: 220–221). For Dai, sympathetic concern seems best suited both to engage these basic dispositions and to drown out the other emotional noise.

Weighing

Dai's other major criticism of ZHU Xi is that he promotes spontaneous or insufficiently reflective moral decision-making. What this means for Zhu is a matter of some controversy, for he surely allows that *some* thoughts and judgments can become considerations in our deliberations about possible courses of action (Zhu 1986: 1.237; Gardner 1990: 187). But among those that Zhu appears to consider optional or even pernicious, Dai highlights two as being crucial for virtuous conduct: first, "higher order" moral thinking about whether and why a particular course of action is worth endorsing;

second, deliberation about the relative merits of competing courses of action.[12] Dai sees higher order moral thinking as necessary both because it helps us to recognize when our first intuitions may be wrong and because it is the source of the special delight that human beings take in moral goodness.[13] He sees deliberation about relative merit as crucial because the moral significance of things can change quite radically from one context to the next, and our first intuitions tend to do a poor job of tracking those changes. For Dai, the latter sort of reflection is an exercise in what he calls "weighing" (*quan* 權—sometimes translated as "discretion").[14]

Dai's focus on weighing is premised on the idea that we cannot arrive at good judgments without drawing upon sophisticated cognitive skills and aptitudes, ones which our initial moral intuitions do not properly exercise. A case in point is the discernment of moral importance, which can be applied to facts about one's situation (as when one sees that a person's age should dictate how one interacts with her) and to courses of action (as when one determines that saving a person's life is more pressing than adhering to ritual courtesies) (*Mengzi* 4A.17 and Dai 1996a: 40–41). In Dai's parlance, the moral significance of such things can be "heavy" (= important) or "light" (= trivial). Oftentimes their relative weight will be widely known and immediately obvious, and this lends itself to the assumption that our first moral intuitions are generally reliable. But subtle changes in context can alter the relative "weight" of a thing—we might imagine, for example, that the weight we should give to the principle of giving aid to one's elders before one's juniors varies greatly in different moral scenarios. Dai thinks that the Neo-Confucian mainstream tends to underestimate the extent to which such subtleties elude even the morally cultivated person. Life confronts us with

[12] Note that the question here is not whether a person should have higher order thoughts or reflect on relative moral value at all, but whether they should "become considerations" in one's decision-making.

[13] The *Evidential Analysis* is not entirely clear about the role of higher order thinking in our moral delight. Some passages imply that our heart/minds take joy in knowing *why* our morally good conduct is in fact good. Others, however, liken the heart/mind's delight in morality to the pleasure one gets from good food or other objects of the senses, implying that our heart/mind takes joy in good behavior independently of its underlying grounds or justifications (Dai 1996a: 8). Nivison thinks that Dai misses the subtle difference between these two forms of moral delight (Nivison 1996: 277). Ivanhoe offers the compelling and more charitable interpretation that Dai simply sees higher order reasoning as enhancing or enriching the joy we already derive from good conduct itself (Ivanhoe 2000: 94–95).

[14] Zhu is suspicious of weighing for a number of reasons, chief among them that it gives a foothold to rationalization of various (selfish) kinds. When reliable intuitions are tapped, Zhu thinks, little if any thought of one's own interest takes hold. When we weigh competing alternatives, however, we tend to revise our initial views in ways that better serve our own needs and desires. Zhu makes some exceptions for particularly complex or momentous decisions—such as those where life and death hang in the balance. But on the whole he thinks weighing lends itself to rationalization far more often not, and appears to hold that even the less cultivated among us should guard against it (Zhu 1986: 1.237; Gardner 1990: 188).

countless situations in which the apparent moral significance of something must be reconsidered (or "re-weighed"):

> From ancient times to the present day there has been no lack of people who are of stern and upright character, loathe immorality (*e* 惡) as though it were their enemy, and affirm what they regard as right and reject what they regard as wrong—people who hold fast to distinctions between what is important and trivial that are obvious and seen by all, but do not realize that there are times when weighing would show that what they believed to be important has become trivial and what they believed to be trivial has become important. When [such reputable] people err in their affirmations of right or wrong and their judgments of importance or triviality, the world suffers irreparable harm. (Dai 1996a: 40.328/389)

An underlying point of contention here concerns the nature of virtuous behavior. For most Confucians, being virtuous is not just a matter of doing the right thing, but also of doing the right thing with the right (virtuous) motives, and having the right commitment to one's actions. For Zhu and Dai alike, one of the marks of proper motivation and commitment is what we might call "ease"—the feeling of comfort with one's moral responsibilities, such that even self-sacrifice, when obligatory, feels unforced. A virtuous person does not find it difficult, for example, to help a cousin in need, so long as the help is morally justifiable. But there are many possible ways of characterizing the psychological states of which this ease is constituted, and Zhu and Dai bring out significant tensions between two of them. Zhu seems to hold that we lose some of the requisite ease when we find the decision-making process difficult and rife with uncertainties—for example, when we have to pause and carefully consider the relative merits of different courses of action. For Dai, the problem is not in experiencing difficulties in one's *decision-making*, but simply in *executing* one's decision. Our behavior can be morally admirable even if the process by which we arrived at our conclusions is quite labored. On Dai's view as I read it, ease in execution—which is essential for virtue—needs to be uncoupled from ease in deliberation—which is not.[15] Furthermore, Dai thinks labored decision-making is often *necessary* for genuine ease in execution, for without carefully considering the various alternatives one cannot have sufficient confidence in one's convictions, and without acquainting oneself with the feelings and desires of others one will lack the emotional push to carry them out. Sound moral deliberation actually enhances the ease of morally virtuous behavior, largely by increasing our certitude and helping us to appreciate the underlying reasons for our convictions (Dai 1996a: 41).[16]

---

[15] To this extent Zhu's model of moral agency lies closer to Daoist ideal of non-action (*wuwei* 無為), which stresses spontaneity in both thought and action.

[16] I have not found a translation of this chapter that does justice to this point about the uncoupling of ease in execution and ease in deliberation. Ewell has perhaps the most accurate rendering of the chapter, but he makes the mistake of translating *zide* 自得 as "apprehend spontaneously" when in context it almost certainly means "understand for oneself" (Ewell 1990: 396).

Moral Cultivation

Like most Neo-Confucian philosophers, Dai took moral cultivation to be primarily concerned with the manifestation of good character, understood as the dispositions and aptitudes that enable one to handle moral challenges in an ethical manner. Also like most Neo-Confucians, Dai particularly valued the virtues most often associated with Mengzi, including benevolence (*ren* 仁), rightness (*yi* 義), ritual propriety (*li* 禮), and wisdom (*zhi* 智). A noticeable difference of emphasis, however, concerns Dai's focus on developing the mental and emotional powers *directly* responsible for moral judgment. Dai's philosophical works pay particular attention to the ability to make fine-grained distinctions, to identify situational variances, and to recognize important social dynamics within traditional relationships (among other things). This might be contrasted with works on moral cultivation that focus more on the development of good motives, self-awareness or attentiveness, and self-control, all of which are central preoccupations of Neo-Confucian philosophers like ZHU Xi. Dai addresses these latter issues as well,[17] but his most pressing concern is the faculties charged with "getting it right" in moral decision-making, which he calls the heart/mind's powers of understanding (*xinzhi* 心知). Another aspect of moral maturity, for Dai, is the possession of a range of healthy, widely shared, and often self-interested desires (*yu* 欲). Dai argues that such desires are necessary for sympathetic concern, and he holds that mainstream Neo-Confucian accounts of moral cultivation neglect sympathetic concern by neglecting the desires that sustain it. In what follows I will address both the development of the faculties of understanding (*xinzhi*) and the cultivation (or at least non-elimination) of certain common desires (*yu*). These two areas correspond to the two general sources of moral failure that Dai highlights (Dai 1996a: 10.254–255/149) and represent two important functions of the heart/mind. I will take each in turn.

Cultivation of the Faculties of Understanding

Dai believes sound moral judgment requires a great deal of knowledge about the world. On his view, goodness (*shan* 善) is ultimately concerned with the continuation of life-processes, processes that originate in the activity of heaven and earth but can be perfected by human beings (Dai 1996a: 32).[18] A featured element of this achievement is one's contribution to the welfare of living things, especially those nearest and dearest to oneself. Dai construes life-fulfillment to include birth, growth, and reproduction, as well as the satisfaction of the

---

[17] For example, Dai (1996a: 12) takes up the *Doctrine of the Mean*'s (*Zhongyong* 中庸) discussion of reverential attention (*jing* 敬).

[18] See also Dai (1996c: *juan* 1, Chapter 3), Hu (1996: 204–205), and Cheng (1971: 71–73).

inclinations that these demands generate, such as the desire for sex, food, drink, and protection from the cold (Dai 1996a: 43.335/422–423). What qualifies as life-fulfilling varies according to a thing's nature (*xing* 性). Accordingly, a morally competent person should be familiar with the natures of many different kinds, and especially with that of human beings. Such a person should also know a great deal about the operations of human societies, including the role-specific courtesies and obligations that make possible political and social harmony.

Dai particularly stressed two arenas in which the requisite forms of knowledge are acquired. The first is in nurturing the Five Relationships (*wulun* 五倫) traditionally associated with Confucian social structures.[19] In our interactions with friends and other members of the family, for example, Dai thinks we can acquaint ourselves with the psychological nuances of human feelings and desires. In more hierarchical relationships between political authorities and their subjects, or between household decision-makers and other family members, we can become aware of ways in which dividing responsibilities according to one's social role can contribute to the life fulfillment of all (Dai 1996a: 28.300–301/298; and 1996c: Book 3, Chapter 9; Hu 1996: 228–229; Cheng 1971: 110–113).

Dai also contends that an education in the Confucian classics is an essential foundation for good moral judgment. Here, however, he insists that mastering the content of the classics is not as important as developing the skills and sensibilities that classical studies requires—especially those that we develop by following the *Doctrine of the Mean's* injunction to "study broadly, inquire thoroughly, ponder carefully, differentiate clearly, and put into practice conscientiously" (*Doctrine of the Mean* 1990: Chapter 20; discussed in Dai 1996a: 27.298/289 and 40.327/388). What Dai seems to have in mind are the ways that scholarly rigor can make one's "weighing" more reliable. The aptitudes we develop in piecing together the meanings of the classics, he implies, are often the very ones that we need in order to grasp the morally important features of new and especially anomalous situations (Dai 1996a: 41).

Putting Dai's account of moral cultivation into the context of Confucian philosophy more broadly, we should note that the source of contention is not the specific set of recommendations he makes but rather the way he frames them—that is, the way he conceptualizes and ultimately justifies them. Dai's favorite foils, including Zhu Xi, also stressed the importance of the Five Relationships and classical studies. Even so, Dai finds their justifications wanting. To review, Zhu held that the point of learning is not to develop new capacities that are directly responsible for moral judgment, but to recover or liberate capacities of judgment that are already complete in one's original nature. As previously discussed, this view ultimately commits Zhu to a model of moral

[19] The Five Relationships are between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, older and younger brothers, and mutual friends (see *Mengzi* 3A.4 and *Doctrine of the Mean* Chapter 20).

agency in which the knowledge and sensibilities one develops through study play a largely instrumental rather than a constitutive role. For Dai, the point of cultivating the faculty of the understanding is to give it a direct and enduring role in everyday decision-making and action, to "expand and fill in" our fledgling moral sensibilities rather than simply recover sensibilities already in us. Another shortcoming of Zhu's model is that it treats our recovered moral sensibilities as responding to the world best when they respond spontaneously. This then leads even well-intentioned people to rely on unchecked intuitions rather than reflection in to order to appreciate the relative merits of one course of action vis-à-vis others, and rules out the protracted examination of anomalous situational features that first intuitions do not usually grasp. For Dai, we achieve the "ease" of virtuous action precisely by understanding for ourselves the grounds and relative merits of the course of action that we ultimately choose. This provides us with the conviction we need to act in the face of adversity and indeed even makes possible the higher pleasures that the heart/mind takes in knowing that we act correctly.

Here, as elsewhere, the comparison that seems to capture this broad set of framing issues likens the benefits of learning to the nourishment of food and water. The nourishment of study and reflection brings in external materials and uses them to enhance our existing capacities. Moreover it adapts and integrates them by making use of the self-same capacities, much as blood-*qi* is responsible for turning nutrients into more blood-*qi*. As Dai's most succinct analogy for moral cultivation, it may also be his most powerful.

Cultivation and Desire

Probably the best known flash-point in Dai's critique of mainline Neo-Confucian philosophy concerns the relationship between desire and virtuous behavior. Thinkers like Zhu Xi regarded a wide array of desires as pernicious, and aspired in particular to remove such desires from the thoughts and motives that moral agents draw upon. Dai, by contrast, saw desires as the very material from which virtue is built, especially the master-virtue of benevolence or humanity (*ren* 仁). As Dai's claims strike at the heart of Neo-Confucian moral thought and seem at times uncharitable to his opponents, this feature of Dai's thought is among the most widely discussed. Perhaps for the same reasons it is also among the most widely misunderstood. I will attempt a more careful synopsis of his views here.

For Dai Zhen, the debate about desires is above all about the parts they play in moral agency. This is to be contrasted with a different sort of debate—namely, whether one should be without desires at all, even in cases where the desires do not threaten to interfere with moral behavior. The latter claim is fundamental for various forms of asceticism, and Dai surely rejects it, but, as we shall see, it is not clear that he pins it on his Neo-Confucian opponents. Dai's primary dispute with them concerns how desires figure as (a) considerations in

moral deliberation and (b) motives for one's morally significant behavior. When a desire contributes to one or both of (a) and (b), Dai says that the resulting conduct "issues from desire (出於欲)." The key question for him is whether ensuring that desire plays no part in (a) or (b) is sufficient to make one's moral behavior correct. Conversely, another key question is whether any consideration and motivation by desire at all is sufficient to derail morally correct behavior. Dai thinks his opponents essentially answer both affirmatively, holding that considerations and motives come directly from our morally perfected nature—our "principle" (*li* 理)—just in case certain (or perhaps any) desires do not interfere. To employ one of Dai's favorite refrains, Dai's opponents would appear to believe that "if it does not issue from principle then it issues from desire, and if it does not issue from desire then it issues from principle (不出於理則出於欲，不出於欲則出於理)" (Dai 1996a: 10.253–254/146–147, 40.327/387, and 43.335/421).

In contrast, Dai thinks desires play an indispensable role in moral deliberation and motivation. This is because we engage our desires through sympathetic concern (*shu*) to determine how we would feel if we were in another's shoes, and because we are motivated by this sympathetic engagement to benefit others. A rough sketch of his argument can be reconstructed from the pivotal tenth chapter of his *Evidential Analysis*: Human well-being depends upon the satisfaction of certain basic desires (*sui yu* 遂欲). Virtue consists at minimum in providing for the well-being of one's charges, requiring among other things that one avoid "harming" (*hai*) or "bringing misfortune upon" (*huo*) them. Moreover, virtue also consists in having an intimate acquaintance with or personal understanding (*ti*) of the feelings of others (Dai 1996a: 10, 43, and *passim*). Given these basic moral facts, truly virtuous people cannot but employ their own desires to understand (personally) the desires of others. This is simply what it means to care about and attend to the welfare of others in the minimally required way. By excluding the desires from moral deliberation and motivation, however, one rules out precisely this sort of care and attention.

A second discernable line of argument comes from his analysis of the paramount virtue of humanity (*ren* 仁). For Dai the great achievement of a humane person is to take satisfaction in the satisfaction of others, and to feel sorrow and joy at the sorrow and joy of others (Dai 1996a: 10.253/146–147 and 36.317/351). To reach such a state one must be capable of putting oneself in another's shoes and feeling the kind of concern for her welfare that one has for one's own. This also requires that we have strong desires for the things that enhance our own well-being, for without them we would be cold or indifferent to the predicaments of others, and thus derive no benefit from helping them (Dai 1996a: 10.253/146–147). Dai's own proposal is that the desires be fostered and encouraged but nevertheless pared down to just those that are compatible with living a morally good life. Quoting *Mengzi,* he presents his own position as a more moderate one, whereby we "cultivate the heart/mind" not by suppressing desires altogether but by "making them few" (*Mengzi* 7B.35, quoted in Dai 1996a: 10.253/146).

Many defenders of Neo-Confucian thought find this critique quite unfair. Dai, they say, paints his opponents as self-abnegationists who reject the influence of any and all desires in moral action, and could well be taken to suggest that they aim to free us of the experience of desires altogether. Even if some Neo-Confucians embraced such a view, it is not clear that all of them did, ZHU Xi least of all.[20] As Wing-tsit Chan points out, Zhu sometimes distinguishes two sorts of desire: those that are the direct responses of our original nature or Heavenly Principle (*tianli* 天理) and "selfish" or merely "human" desires (*si yu* 私欲 or *ren yu* 人欲, respectively). The goal of self-cultivation is to sustain the former (acceptable) inclinations and eliminate the latter (unacceptable) ones. A close look at the set of desires that Zhu deems acceptable shows him to be more permissive than one might think. Zhu countenances such things as hunger, thirst, and erotic love, not to mention strong moral aspirations such as the desires for humaneness (*ren* 仁) and rightness (*yi* 義). Indeed, the distinction between a permissible and impermissible desire has more to do with its underlying motives than its object. An otherwise acceptable desire for food becomes selfish or merely human if it is the product of calculation or scheming, for example (Chan 1989: 197–211). The existence of morally good desires—such as the desire for rightness—is itself telling, for it suggests that desires are not just tolerable to Zhu but even a valued component of virtuous conduct. If Zhu grants that desires can be either considerations or motives for humane and morally appropriate acts, then he surely allows that virtuous behavior can "issue from desire," and Dai's critique of Zhu's views on desire would appear to hinge on an oversight.

I worry that the debate up to this point has been unfair to both sides. It would be surprising if Zhu did not countenance at least some desires, and we can see that his more carefully formulated remarks suggest that he did. However, it would be almost as surprising if Dai was not aware of this feature of Zhu's thought, given Dai's educational background and the fact that he used true believers in ZHU Xi as a sounding board for his own theories.[21] To the contrary, Dai's philosophical works show him to be attentive to the fact that Zhu distinguished between acceptable and unacceptable desires. He frequently echoes Zhu's language in reserving the locutions "human desires" and "selfish desires" for those deemed

---

[20] Part of this confusion has to do with the economy of language prized by Confucian scholars, and part with the unspecified scope of the character "desire" (*yu* 欲) as Neo-Confucians use it. When ZHOU Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073) asserts that moral agents achieve the right state of mind by being without desires (*wu yu* 無欲), does he mean that we should be without *all* of them, or merely *certain kinds* of them? Would he distinguish between desires as dispositions and desires as occurrent states? (The Neo-Confucians tended to use *yu* in the latter sense, but there are instances of both.) The terseness of Zhou's writings makes it difficult to answer these questions, but given the sophistication of his moral psychology it is hard to imagine that he did not have a well-considered view. See Zhou (1975: Chapter 20).

[21] As an aspirant to the civil service, Dai must have studied Zhu's commentaries in preparation for his several attempts at passing the imperial examination, and Dai's early mentor, JIANG Yong 江永(1681–1762), was an admirer of Zhu. See Yu (1996: 210–229).

bad by Zhu and his philosophical kindred spirits (Dai 1996a: 10.254/148, 19.279/227, 40.327–328/387–389, 42.331–332/411–412, 43.334–336/420–423). A revealing passage in this regard comes from a letter Dai wrote to a reputable devotee of mainstream Neo-Confucian thought[22]:

> Mengzi said, "An extensive territory and a vast population are things a gentleman desires" [*Mengzi* 7A.21]; and "All people have the same desire to be esteemed" [*Mengzi* 6A.17]; as well as "Fish is what I desire; bear's palm is also what I desire.... Life is what I desire; rightness is also what I desire" [*Mengzi* 6A.10].... The Song Confucians, deluded by Daoist and Buddhist talk about "desirelessness," explained the one phrase "rightness is what I desire" as "the heart/mind of the way" and as "Heavenly Principle," disparaging the rest as merely "the human heart/mind" and as "human desire." However, desire rightly understood is the wish of one who possesses life to fulfill that life and protect its excellence. (Dai 1968: 22; trans. by Ewell and Struve [de Bary and Lufrano 2000: 50], slight mod.)

Here Dai not only recognizes Zhu's distinction between the desires of Heavenly Principle and the merely human desires, he also gives it an historical account. He asserts that the Song Confucians were under the spell of Daoist and Buddhist views about desire but nevertheless designated a special subset of inclinations—those that come from Heavenly Principle—to legitimize moral drives like the desire for rightness. Dai also invokes the authority of Mengzi to show that the range of acceptable objects of desire is much wider than his Neo-Confucian opponents assume, for Mengzi appears to endorse even the aspiration to rule a powerful state and eat fine foods like bear's palm.[23] He goes on to suggest that desire in its proper sense refers not just to any impulse but to inclinations of a certain, self-aware kind, where one identifies one's life as valuable and aims to nourish life for that reason (a theme that Dai develops elsewhere).[24]

This evidence suggests that we readers and scholars of Neo-Confucian moral thought have much more work to do before we can identify the true point of contention between Dai and orthodox Neo-Confucians. If Zhu does not reject all desires outright, and if Dai does not take him to do so, then what exactly is at stake in this debate about the role of desires in moral conduct? Without claiming to settle the matter once and for all, I submit that the current discussion has already pointed to a likely answer. To give a brief preview of the answer, I think that when Dai defends conduct that "issues from desire," he has in mind desires that are knowingly or explicitly self-interested. Zhu rejects many such desires, and generally assumes that knowingly self-interested desires are "selfish" ones.

---

[22] The devotee is the scholar Peng Shaosheng 彭紹升 (1740–1796). Dai's letter to Peng is reprinted in Dai (1968: 17–25). A partial translation by John W. Ewell and Lynn A. Struve can be found in de Bary and Lufrano (2000: 48–51).

[23] Zhu, by contrast, suggests that the desire for delicacies often oversteps the more acceptable want of basic sustenance: "Hunger and thirst are matters of Heavenly Principle, but the want of fine flavors is a human desire" (Zhu: 1986 1.223).

[24] See Dai (1996a: 21.282–283/240–241).

Dai, however, often goes out of his way to say that knowingly self-interested desires are consistent with virtue under many circumstances (primarily when one has also given due consideration to the interests of others). This then touches upon an issue that is indeed hotly contested in the Confucian tradition—namely, the extent to which concern with one's own well-being as such should play a role in a morally good life.

Zhu allows that people can want things that are in their own interest, but he draws careful boundaries around such wants. We had a glimpse of his approach in Wing-tsit Chan's analysis, which suggests that Zhu distinguished between desires more by their motives than by their objects. Desire for food is usually acceptable, unless one schemes to get the food for one's own advantage. Zhu even accepts the drive to pass the civil service examinations, so long as one sets aside thoughts about the prestige and prosperity that a successful examination would bring (Zhu 1986: 1.246–247; Gardner 1990: 194–195). Zhu reserves the term "selfish" (*si*) for desires like the schemer's want of food or the careerist's aspiration to win an official position.

This indicates a fairly consistent way of distinguishing between acceptably self-interested desires and unacceptably self-interested (i.e., selfish) ones. What appears to make the latter sorts of desires "selfish" is that they aim for one's own good *as such*, or *under that description*. This is to be contrasted with desires whose satisfaction just so happens to contribute to one's own good. For Zhu the crucial term is "benefit" (*li* 利), understood in this context as benefit-to-oneself. Many desires that happen to be beneficial are acceptable, but this is because they come directly from Heavenly Principle and therefore prior to any consideration of one's own good. As soon as we begin to consider our own good, however, the desire that emerges is sullied by the "enticements" (*you* 誘) of "external things" (*wu* 物). Zhu particularly stressed this view with respect to explicitly virtuous desires—such as the desire to act in morally appropriate ways—which he regards as extremely sensitive because thoughts of being good are so closely connected to thoughts about the benefits of being good. In his comments on a passage in the *Analects*, Zhu asserts (by way of quoting YANG Shi 楊時 [1053–1135]) that the difference between the gentleman's and the petty person's desire to act rightly is that the latter knows rightness's benefits *as* benefits (知利之為利), while the gentleman does not.[25] For Zhu, then, whether one's desires are selfish or not depends in part on whether one is self-consciously self-interested, or seeking benefit under that description.

By contrast, Dai embraces desires for one's own good as such. In his less loaded parlance, seeking one's own good is simply a matter of seeking to fulfill one's own life (*sui sheng* 遂生), and there is considerable evidence to suggest that Dai conceives of this as a knowingly self-interested pursuit. Seeking to fulfill one's own life presupposes some awareness of oneself as a living creature, and it takes one's self as a direct object of concern. In one remarkable passage Dai

[25] See Zhu's remarks on *Analects* 4.16 in his *Collected Commentary on the Four Books*.

asserts that self-interest ("*si,*" used here in a *non*-pejorative sense) is a type of humane love (*ren* 仁) but directed at one's self (Dai 1996a: 21.283/240–241). Dai argues that the definitive mark of selfishness is the failure to give due consideration to the desires of others. This criterion appears to take no side on the issue of the self-conscious pursuit of one's own interests, for one can want to fulfill one's own life while still considering others' desires to fulfill their own, and one can be entirely without knowingly self-interested desires and yet still fail to consider the desires of others. This has the interesting implication that accomplished Buddhists and Daoists (as Dai understands them) are selfish in their desirelessness, as they cannot give adequate attention to the needs and concerns of others. Dai embraces this implication with enthusiasm (Dai 1996a: 327/388). In short, perhaps not all desires to fulfill one's life are knowingly self-interested, but for Dai clearly a significant share of them are.

It is hard to show with any brevity why Dai thinks self-consciously self-interested desires are so important, but it is worth noting that the *Evidential Analysis* suggests some intriguing and varied answers, two of which I will discuss here. First, the fulfillment of such desires constitutes the larger share of human well-being, at least if we understand the desires as rich in cognitive content. There is satisfaction in passing the civil service examinations, to be sure, but there is significantly more satisfaction to be gained in the knowledge that this will help fulfill one's life in other ways—by providing one with the means to raise children, for example, or in guaranteeing a reliable source of income with which to sustain oneself. Dai thinks that being without the means to fulfill one's life is the greatest evil one can suffer (Dai 1996a: 10.253/146). If we understand life-fulfillment in the way suggested here then his claim seems plausible indeed.[26] Second, having legitimate desires for one's own good as such is necessary to be a good judge of the interests of others. Dai assumes that one cannot truly appreciate the importance of life-fulfilling goods without desiring similar life-fulfilling goods for oneself. The structure of sympathetic concern simply requires it.[27] Moreover, those in positions of authority need to recognize such desires as legitimate in order to give full credit to the pleas of the oppressed

[26] This point assumes that being self-consciously self-interested promotes one's own life-fulfillment or *prudential* good. A stronger claim would be that this sort of self-interest is itself a *moral* good. What could justify such a claim? Some virtue theorists assume that virtues must contribute to the moral agent's own flourishing; many see human flourishing as involving some combination of the agent's own well-being and the exercise of sophisticated cognitive and emotional capacities. A desire for one's own life-fulfillment (as envisioned by Dai) performs both functions: it contributes to the agent's well-being and it exercises some of our most sophisticated capacities, for it asks us to see how things could fit into an overall good life and then strive for them. Such a desire would thus be a plausible candidate for a virtue. If this is Dai's view, then he would appear to follow closely an argument Eirik Harris makes for a virtue of self-love, which, as Harris shows, likely has roots in the thought of Kongzi and Mengzi (Harris 2010).

[27] "There is no [arrangement of] feelings (*qing* 情) such that one could need to fulfill the lives of others without also [wanting to] fulfill one's own life" (Dai 1996a: 10.253/147).

and downtrodden. One of Dai's great worries about Neo-Confucian ideas of moral agency, as we have seen, is that they make it hard for the concerns of the powerless to gain traction in the deliberations of their superiors. Here we see a version of that worry that inspired Dai to some of his more moving protests against Neo-Confucian orthodoxy: the oppressed generally cannot make their case without invoking a conscious desire that their own lives be fulfilled (to "make your case" *is* to draw attention to yourself as a person with interests that should be met). If they protest that they need more food or better shelter, they appear to their superiors as people who want their own good as such. For true believers in ZHU Xi's doctrine, this makes them less sympathetic figures, and would thus give them grounds for dismissing demands for even basic necessities as being motivated by "selfish desires."[28]

In short, when Dai says that the Neo-Confucians condemn human conduct that "issues from desire," he means that they condemn conduct that issues from one's wish to fulfill one's own life. For cognitively sophisticated creatures like human beings, at least, a rich sense of one's own good is a crucial motivation for many such desires. We saw in the letter quoted above that Dai sees this as the meaning of "desire" (*yu*) in its proper sense. Dai's gloss on the phrase "issues from desire" is also consistent with this interpretation: "In every case, all that issues from desire is for the sake of life and nurturance" (Dai 1996a: 10.254/149). In endorsing the cultivation of desires of this kind, he opens the door to ways of life wherein an awareness of oneself as a creature with distinct interests figures prominently, and explicitly self-interested motives are essential. In the context of Song and post-Song Confucianism this is a radical position indeed.

Acknowledgements My thanks to Philip J. Ivanhoe and Bryan W. Van Norden for their comments on an earlier draft of this essay.

Bibliography

Although there is a great deal of contemporary literature on DAI Zhen, to date only a sliver of it focuses primarily on his *philosophical* arguments and views, and even less addresses in detail his views on moral deliberation and moral cultivation. Readers interested in further study of Dai's moral thought are encouraged to examine some of the books and articles highlighted below.

Chan, Wing-tsit. 1967. *Reflections on Things at Hand: The Neo-Confucian Anthology Compiled by Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-Ch'ien*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Chan, Wing-tsit. 1989. *Chu Hsi: New Studies*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
Chen, Rongjie 陳榮捷. 1992. *Discussions of the Collected Detailed Commentaries on Reflections of Things at Hand* 近思錄詳註集評. Taibei 臺北: Taiwan xuesheng shuju 臺灣學生書局.

[28] A case in point is CHENG Yi's notorious remark that widows should not be permitted to remarry even if they lack the resources to eat. Cheng suggests that they should regard starvation as extremely small and insignificant (*ji xiao* 極小) when compared with the preservation of their integrity or chastity. See Zhu and Lü (1992: Book 6, Chapter 13); for an English translation see Chan (1967: 177). Thanks to P.J. Ivanhoe for this apt example.

Cheng, Chung-ying. 1971. *Tai Chên's Inquiry into Goodness*. Honolulu: East-West Center Press. (The only complete translation of Dai Zhen's "On the Good.")

Chin, Ann-ping, and Freeman, Mansfield. 1990. *Tai Chen on Mencius: Explorations in Words and Meanings*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (Of the two English translations of the *Evidential Analysis* listed in this bibliography [the other being by John Ewell], this is the more readable. However, significant portions are inaccurate [Van Norden 1993] and should used in consultation with the original text or Ewell's translation.)

Dai, Zhen 戴震. 1968. *Collected Works of Dai Dongyuan* 戴東原集. Taibei 臺北: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan 臺灣商務印書館.

Dai, Zhen 戴震. 1974. *The Collected Writings of Dai Zhen* 戴震文集. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Dai, Zhen 戴震. 1991. *Remnants of Words* 緒言. In The Dai Zhen Research Group 戴震研究會 (ed.), *Complete Collection of Dai Zhen* 戴震全集, vol. 1. Beijing 北京: Qinghua daxue chubanshe 清華大學出版社. (One of Dai's lesser-known philosophical treatises, which addresses topics in Confucian metaphysics, human nature, and self-cultivation. More than half of this text was eventually integrated into his "Evidential Analysis"; it is therefore regarded by some as a transitional work.)

Dai, Zhen 戴震. 1994. "Supplemental Commentary on the *Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸補注." In Zhang Dainian 張岱年 (ed.), *The Complete Writings of Dai Zhen* 戴震全書, vol. 2.. Hefei 合肥: Huangshan shushe 黃山書社. (Dai never finished this commentary, but it reveals much about his understanding of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, a Confucian classic that had a marked influence on Dai's views about moral cultivation.)

Dai, Zhen 戴震. 1996a. "Evidential Analysis of the Meaning of Terms of the *Mencius* 孟子字義疏證." In Hu Shi (1996). (Dai's philosophical masterpiece, which addresses most directly his views on moral deliberation and cultivation.)

Dai, Zhen 戴震. 1996b. "Letter to Duan Yucai (II) 與段玉裁書(二)." In Hu Shi (1996).

Dai, Zhen 戴震. 1996c. "On the Good 原善." In *The Philosophy of Dai Dongyuan* 戴東原的哲學. In Hu Shi (1996). (Dai's first major philosophical work, presented as a series of interpretations of contested passages in the Confucian canon.)

de Bary, Wm Theodore and Richard Lufrano (eds.). 2000. *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From 1600 through the Twentieth Century,* second edition. New York: Columbia University Press.

Doctrine of the Mean 中庸. 1990. In *The Four Books and the Five Classics* 四書五經. Beijing 北京: Zhongguo shudian 中國書店.

Duan, Yucai 段玉裁. 1974. "Chronological Biography of Dai Dongyuan" 戴東原先生年譜. In *The Collected Writings of Dai Zhen* 戴震文集. Beijing 北景: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.

Elman, Benjamin. 2001. *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*. Los Angeles: UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series.

Ewell, John W. 1990. *Reinventing the Way: Dai Zhen's Evidential Commentary on the Meanings of Terms in Mencius (1777)*. PhD dissertation, Berkeley. (Probably the most accurate [but perhaps not the most readable] of the available translations of Dai's *Evidential Analysis*.)

Fingarette, Herbert. 1979. "Following the 'One Thread' of the *Analects." Journal of the American Academy of Religion, Thematic Issue* 47s: 373–405.

Gardner, Daniel. 1990. *Learning to Be a Sage: Selections from the Conversations of Master Chu, Arranged Topically*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Harris, Eirik L. 2010. "The Nature of the Virtues in Light of the Early Confucian Tradition." In Kam-por Yu, Julia Tao, and Philip J. Ivanhoe (eds.), *Taking Confucian Ethics Seriously: Contemporary Theories and Applications*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Hu, Shi 胡適. 1996. *The Philosophy of Dai Dongyuan* 戴東原的哲學. Taibei 臺北: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan 臺灣商務印書館. (An influential work of intellectual history that focuses on Dai's philosophical thought, written by one of his most prominent advocates.)

Ivanhoe, Philip J. 2000. *Confucian Moral Self Cultivation,* Second Edition. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing. (This book includes a chapter on Dai Zhen that is incisive, accessible, and deals in depth with his account of moral education and development.)

Ivanhoe, Philip J. 2005. "The 'Golden Rule' in the *Analects*." In David Jones (ed.), *Contemporary Encounters with Confucius*. LaSalle, IL: Open Court Press.
Lao, Siguang 勞思光. 1981. *History of Chinese Philosophy, New Edition* 新編中國哲學史. Taibei 臺北: Sanmin shuju 三民書局. (Includes a philosophically substantive overview of Dai's thought, written by one of his strongest critics.)
Liang, Qichao. 1959. *Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*, translated by Immanuel Hsü. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Liu, Youming 劉又銘. 2000. *Li Inheres in Qi: A Study of the Qi-based Ontologies of Luo Qinshun, Wang Tingxiang, Gu Yanwu, and Dai Zhen* 理在氣中: 羅欽順、王廷相、顧炎武、戴震氣本論研究. Taibei 臺北: Wunan 五南.
Makeham, John. 2003. *Transmitters and Creators: Chinese Commentators and Commentaries on the Analects*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asian Center.
Mengzi 孟子譯注. 1990. Translated and annotated by Yang Bojun 楊伯峻. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Nivison, David S. 1996. *The Ways of Confucianism: Investigations in Chinese Philosophy*. Edited by Bryan Van Norden. Chicago: Open Court. (Nivison's seventeenth chapter, "Two Kinds of 'Naturalism," draws interesting comparisons between what we might call the "metaethics" of Dai Zhen and Zhang Xuecheng.)
Nussbaum, Martha. 2001. *Upheavals of Thought*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Qian, Mu 錢穆. 1972. *An Intellectual History of China's Last 300 Years* 中國近三百年學術史, vol. 1. Taibei 臺北: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan 臺灣商務印書館. (A very solid account of the evolution of Dai Zhen's philosophical thought, combined with historical background.)
Shun, Kwong-loi. 2002. "Mencius, Xunzi, and Dai Zhen." In K.L. Chan Alan (ed.), *Mencius: Contexts and Interpretations*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. (This essay argues that Dai Zhen shared common cause with Xunzi, in spite of Dai's claims to the contrary. It also offers a careful explication of Dai's *Evidential Analysis*.)
Tiwald, Justin. 2006. *Acquiring "Feelings that Do Not Err": Moral Deliberation and the Sympathetic Point of View in the Ethics of Dai Zhen*. University of Chicago: PhD dissertation. (An examination of Dai's ethics, focusing in particular on his account of moral deliberation.)
Van Norden, Bryan W. 1993. Review of Ann-ping Chin and Mansfield Freeman, *Tai Chen on Mencius*. *Journal of Chinese Religions* 21: 148–150.
Van Norden, Bryan W. 2007. *Virtue Ethics and Consequentialism in Early Chinese Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Yu, Yingshi 余英時. 1996. *On Dai Zhen and Zhang Xuecheng: A Study of the History of Academic Thought in the Middle Qing Period* 論戴震與章學誠: 清代中期學術思想史研究. Taibei 臺北: Dongda 東大. (Perhaps the most widely read work of intellectual history on Dai Zhen, with special attention paid to Dai's unfashionable love of philosophy and his influence on the philosopher-historian Zhang Xuecheng.)
Zheng, Zongyi 鄭宗義. 2005. "On the Formation of the Confucian Line of Thought Which Holds that Nature is *Qì* 論儒學中氣性一路之建立." In Yang Rubin 楊儒賓 (ed.), *Confucian Theories of Qì and Gongfu* 儒學的氣論與工夫論. Taibei 臺北: Taida chuban zhongxin 台大出版中心.
Zhou, Dunyi 周敦頤. 1975. "Penetrating the *Book of Change*" 通書. In *The Complete Works of Master Zhou* 周子全書. Taibei 臺北: Guangxueshe yinshuguan 廣學社印書館.
Zhu, Xi 朱熹. 1986. *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* 朱子語類. Edited by Li Jingde 黎靖德. Beijing 北京: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.
Zhu, Xi 朱熹 and Lü, Zuqian 呂祖謙. 1992. *Reflections on Things at Hand* 近思錄. See Chen (1992).

Index

NOTE: The note numbers in parenthesis followed by locators refers to notes cited in the text.

A

above form/what is above form/ metaphysical or transcendental/ independent of physical or empirical form/what is beyond physical form (*xing er shang*)
  the nature
    LIU Zongzhou, 340
  and propriety
    CHENG Yi, 77
  and the way
    CHENG Hao, 96–97
  See also below form/what has form/what has a physical form /physical or empirical/with the characteristics of physical or empirical form (*xing er xia*)

action/practice (*xing*)
  and intentions
    LÜ Zuqian, xxxviii, 206, 214
    ZHU Xi, 179–180, 206, 214
  and knowledge and morality
    CHENG Yi, xxxiii, 65, 83, 188
  and learning and the nature/human nature
    LI Guangdi, 389
  the nature/human nature as metapractical ground for
    LI Guangdi, 387–389
  and understanding/knowledge
    LI Guangdi, 389
    WANG Yangming, 312
    and weakness of will, 65
    ZHU Xi, 180, 188
  unity of knowledge and, 384
    WANG Yangming, xxxiv–xxxv, 327–328, 332

active quietude (*dong jing*)
  YUAN Xie, 285

advantage, *see* profit/advantage/benefit/ utility/furthering (*li*)

aesthetics
  LU Jiuyuan, xxxiii, 261–262

After Heaven Diagram (*houtian tu*)
  and Before Heaven Diagram, 30
    figures, 31
  See also Before Heaven Diagram (*xiantian tu*) and Before Heaven Learning (*xiantian xue*)

ai zhi li (principle of love), *see* principle of love (*ai zhi li*)

akrasia (weakness of the will or incontinence), 64–65
  CHENG Yi, xxxiii, 65, 68–69, 83

Ames, Roger
  on the nature/human nature, 394
  on Western "being" and Confucian "becoming", 383
  See also Hall, David, and Roger Ames

an (cases), *see* case (*an*/*xue'an*) genre

Analects (*Lunyu*)
  and recorded conversations genre, 224, 251
  and sagehood, 324
  on sympathetic concern, 407
  vital energy and blood *qi* in, 43–44

and vital energy
  good and bad
    Cheng-Zhu School/tradition, 364, 396

anthologies of selected writings of "learning of the way" (*daoxue*) thinkers, xxiv, 227
  See also classified book/encyclopedia (*leishu*)

Dao Companions Chinese Philosophy, DOI 10.1007/978-90-481-2930-0,
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

"Appended Statements/Attached Phrases" [*Book of Change*/*Yijing*] ("Xici"), *see* "Great Appendix/ Commentary" ("Dazhuan") / "Appended Statements/Attached Phrases" ("Xici") [*Book of Change*/ *Yijing*]
architectonic axiological cosmology
  of Zhu Xi, xx–xxi, 154–155
architectonic system, 155
Aristotle
  morality/moral behavior, xxxiii
ars contextualis
  Confucius, 153
  Zhu Xi, xx, 153–154
awakening, *see* enlightenment/awakening (*wu*/*jue*)
axiological cosmology
  of Zhu Xi, xx, 170, 173

B

ba (overlord), *see* overlord (*ba*)
balance (*zhong*), *see* equilibrium/centrality/ balance/Mean (*zhong*)
Before Heaven Diagram (*xiantian tu*) and Before Heaven Learning (*xiantian xue*)
  Shao Yong, 29–33
  "before heaven" and "after heaven", 29–30, 32
  Before Heaven Diagram and After Heaven Diagram
    figures, 31
Beixi ziyi (*The Correct Meaning of Terms*) [Chen Chun], *see The Correct Meaning of Terms* (*Beixi ziyi*) [Chen Chun]
below form/what has form/what has a physical form /physical or empirical/with the characteristics of physical or empirical form (*xing er xia*)
  heart/mind
    Liu Zongzhou, 340
  and instruments
    Cheng Hao, 96–97
  and propriety
    Cheng Yi, 77
  See also above form/what is above form/ metaphysical or transcendental/ independent of physical or empirical form/what is beyond physical form (*xing er shang*)
benefit, *see* profit/advantage/benefit/utility/ furthering (*li*)
benran zhi xing (original nature), *see* original nature (*benran zhi xing* / *benxing*)
benxin (original, ethical heart/mind), *see* original, ethical heart/mind (*benxin*)
benxing (original nature), *see* original nature (*benran zhi xing*/*benxing*)
Berkeley, George (Bishop), 253
Biao Juzheng, 114–115
  letters to/from Hu Hong, 108
blood *qi* (*xueqi*), 43
  in *Analects*, 43–44
Blum, Lawrence
  on moral perception and moral action, 331–332
body/condition or state of any thing or event/fundamental state/ underlying structure/substance/ essence/to incorporate/to structure/state or conditional traits (*ti*)
  to incorporate/structure things
    Hu Hong, 115–117
  and knowledge of/as virtue
    Cheng Yi, 67–68
  See also condition/state (*ti*); state/ condition (*ti*)–function/ application (*yong*) structure
Book of Change (*Yijing*/*Zhouyi*), 10–11, 20
  ceaseless life giving force running through all things, 182
  image-number methodology, 33
    Shao Yong, 33
  meaning-principle methodology, 33
  and Neo-Confucian philosophy, xiv, xxiii, 11
  Shao Yong and, 19–20
    numerological-cosmological system, 20–21, 23, 29–30, 32
  Wang Fuzhi and, 356, 363
  the way and concrete things, 363
  Yang Jian and, 274–276
  Zhang Zai and, 48
  Zhou Dunyi and, 6, 9–11
Book of History/*Documents* (*Shujing*/ *Shangshu*)
  human heart and moral heart, 184–185
  Yuan Xie on, 283
Book of Supreme World-ordering Principles (*Huangji jingshishu*) [Shao Yong], 21, 25

Book/Record of Rites (*Liji*)
ideal ruler, 181
likes and dislikes/desires
regulation of, 184
solitude/solitariness, 190
Buddha-nature
influence of concept of on Neo-Confucian philosophy, 402
ZHU Xi and concept of, 402, 404
Buddhism
and Confucianism, xvi, 3, 39
and desires
cessation/extinguishing of, 14, 131, 183, 371, 376, 402
on evil
LIU Zongzhou on, 351
HAN Yu and, 390
and heart/mind, 110
HU Hong and, 109–110, 117–118
influence of on Neo-Confucian philosophy
DAI Zhen, 399, 401–402, 417
and interdependence of all beings/things, 318
LU Jiuyuan and, 259
principle (*li*) in, xxvi–xxvii, 318
and vital energy, 46
ZHANG Shi and, 131–132
ZHANG Zai and, 40, 46–48, 54
ZHOU Dunyi and, 3–4, 14
ZHU Xi and, 156, 166
See also Chan Buddhism; enlightenment/awakening (*wu*) [Buddhist]; Huayan Buddhism; transmigration (Buddhist theory of)
business, administrative (*shi*)
and governmental affairs, 208–209
LÜ Zuqian, 208–209

C

cai (natural talents/native endowment), *see* natural talents/native endowment (*cai*)
case (*an/xue'an*) genre, xxiv–xxv
use of by ZHEN Dexiu, xxiv
ceaseless life-giving force running through all things/continuously giving life/ceaseless creativity (*sheng sheng*)
Book of Change, 182
and forming one body with all things
Cheng brothers, 182
ZHU Xi, 183
and humaneness
ZHU Xi, 181
centered/centrality (*zhong*), *see* equilibrium/centrality/balance/Mean (*zhong*)
Chan Buddhism
the Four Masters of Mingzhou and, 271, 288–289
LU Jiuyuan and, 273
YANG Jian and, 271–273, 289
direct and immediate attention to heart/mind, 259
and use of recorded conversations genre, 224
Chan, Wing-tsit
on WANG Yangming's idealism, 300, 302–304
chang zhi (ordinary/common knowledge or understanding), *see* ordinary/common knowledge or understanding (*chang zhi*)
change (*yi*)
and the divine
CHENG Hao, 97–98
as production and reproduction
CHENG Hao, 97–98
and the way
CHENG Hao, 97–98
and *yin* and *yang*, 170
Change, *Book of* (*Yijing/Zhouyi*), *see Book of Change* (*Yijing/Zhouyi*)
CHEN Chun
on classified books/encyclopedias, 228
command of heaven
and principle, 167–168
decree, 166
and creativity, 168
and principle, 167–168
heart/mind, 164
methodology, 235–236
new genres, 245
and pedagogical writing, 226
philosophical dictionary/lexicon (*The Correct Meaning of Terms*), xxiv, 235
See also The Correct Meaning of Terms (*Beixi ziyi*) [CHEN Chun]
principle/coherence, 158–159
and harmony, 319
unifying activities of heart/mind, decree and Supreme Ultimate, 163
vital energy, 162

CHEN Chun (*cont.*)
writings, 228
See also The Correct Meaning of Terms (*Beixi ziyi*) [CHEN Chun]
on YANG Jian and YUAN Xie and Chan Buddhism, 271–272
on ZHANG Shi's "Treatise on Humaneness", 145
and ZHU Xi, 227–228
CHEN Fuliang, 282
CHEN Liang, 146, 200
CHEN Xiyi
and ZHOU Dunyi's "An Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity/Ulimate", 258
cheng (sincerity/to realize or achieve/self-actualization/wholeness/what is truly so/genuine)
meaning/translation of term, xxi, 172, 191
See also self-actualization (*cheng*); sincerity (*cheng*)
Cheng brothers/the two Chengs (*er Cheng*), 59
ceaseless life giving force running through all things
and forming one body with all things, 182
heart/mind
of heaven and earth, 182
two kinds: human heart/mind and moral heart/heart, xix, 185
and HU Anguo, 106
HU Hong and transmission of their teachings, 106
humaneness
heart/mind of heaven and earth, 182
and impartiality, 186
and love, 133, 144
and self not separate from things, 181–182
and Learning of Principle, 59
and Learning of the Way, 89
original nature
and material nature, 178
principle, 79
reverence/seriousness/mental attentiveness, 189
sage(s)
and selflessness, 186
and SHAO Yong, 17
sincerity, 191
understanding/knowledge from the senses
and understanding that pertains to morality, 189
and YANG Shi, 60, 106
and ZHANG Zai, 55, 59
and ZHOU Dunyi, 1–2, 59
and ZHU Xi, xxii, 60
See also CHENG Hao; CHENG Yi; Cheng-Zhu School/tradition; *Excellent Sayings/Choice Words/Essential Sayings* (*Cuiyan*) [CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao/YANG Shi]; *External Works* (*Waishu*) [CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao; ed. ZHU Xi]; *Recorded Conversations* (*Yulu*) [CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao]; *Surviving Works* (*Yishu*) [CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao; ed. ZHU Xi]
Cheng, Chung-yi, *see* ZHENG Zongyi (Chung-yi Cheng)
CHENG Duanli, 288
CHENG Hao
biographical background, 89–90
change (production and reproduction)
and the divine, 97–98
and the way, 97–98
differences from CHENG Yi, 89 (note 1)
evil
material body and human desires and, xix, 129
vital energy and, 102
good and bad, 101–103
and the nature, 102
and principle of Heaven, 101
and vital energy, 102
Heaven
and heart/mind, 95–96
and the human, xxxii, 91–95, 98–100
Heaven and earth
and the human, 92–93
and sincerity, 93–94
innate human goodness, 101–103
and LÜ Zuqian, 202, 204
the nature/human nature, 102
before and after birth, 102–103
and inborn qualities, 99–100, 102
principle of production and vital energy and, 102
original nature, 102–103
productive power of the myriad things, 99
and goodness in humans, 99–101
self-cultivation, 140
sincerity
and heart/mind, 92, 95
single-rootedness, xxxii, 90–96, 103
and double-rootedness, 91, 93, 103

"sudden and perfect" style of, xxxi–xxxii, 90, 93, 95, 97–98
unity of the myriad things and humans, 99–100
vital energy
and difference between humans and the myriad things, 100
and the divine, 98
and evil, 102
and the myriad things, 100
and the nature/human nature, 98–101
and the way, xxxii, 96–97
and *yin* and *yang*, 97
the way, 92
and change (production and reproduction), 97–98
and the human, 92–93
and instruments, xxxii, 96–97
and vital energy, xxxii, 96–97
and *yin* and *yang*, 97
the way of Heaven, 94–95
writings, 90
See also "Letter on the Stabilization of the Nature/Essay on Securing Nature" ("Dingxing shu") [CHENG Hao]; "On Understanding Ren" ("Shi ren pian") [CHENG Hao]; *See also under* Cheng brothers/the two Chengs (*er Cheng*)
and ZHANG Zai's "Western Inscription", 40–41
and ZHOU Dunyi, 89
See also Cheng brothers/the two Chengs (*er Cheng*)
CHENG Minzheng
and HU Hong's *Understanding of Words*, 107
CHENG Xiang, 59
CHENG Yi
akrasia (weakness of the will or incontinence), xxxiii, 65, 68–69, 83
biographical background, 59–60
criticism of SHAO Yong, 28, 32–34
difference/differences
different principles (*li*) of different things, 79–80
differences from CHENG Hao, 89 (note 1)
genuine/real knowledge or understanding
and ordinary/common knowledge or understanding, 66
and Golden Rule, 70–71
heart/mind
and already aroused/expressed feelings, 140
humaneness, 82
and love, 134, 145
and selflessness, 70
innate morality of human beings/difference between human and animals, 63, 77, 82
joy, 62–63
of Confucius, 61–62
and morality/moral behavior, xxxiii, 61–63, 82
and music, 62, 76
and self-cultivation, xxxiii, 61
of YAN Hui/Yanzi, 13, 61–62
knowledge
degrees/kinds of, 65–66, 68–69, 83, 188
knowledge of/as virtue
and "body" (*ti*), 67–68
and knowledge from hearing and seeing, xxxiii, 66–67, 83
love with distinctions, 71–72, 80, 83
and one principle with different manifestations/coherence is one, yet distinguished into many (*li yi fen shu*), 71–73, 80
and LÜ Zuqian, 204
moral metaphysics, 78–83
morality/moral behavior
can one be moral, xxxiii, 64–69
how to be moral, 69–74
knowledge and action and, xxxiii, 65, 83
why be moral, xxxiii, 60–64, 82–83
the nature/human nature, xxviii
and feelings/emotions, 77
and principle, 77–78
normative principle, 274
observation of things
principle and, 28
obtained within the self/to get by oneself (*zi de*), 67
political mission of gentry, 215
principle, 79–81
as creativity or life-giving activity, 78, 81–82
and goodness, 78
and the myriad things, 79–80
and one principle with different manifestations/coherence is one, yet distinguished into many (*li yi fen shu*), 80
of things and of human affairs, 79

CHENG Yi (*cont.*)
propriety, 75–76
base of in human feelings, 76–77
government by, 78, 83
the metaphysical and the phenomenal, 77
and music, 75–76
and the nature/human nature, 77
and the personal and the political, 75
and principle, 78
root of and tools of, 77
and recorded conversations genre, 225
self-cultivation, 140, 160
preserving/nourishing and examining feelings, 140
preserving/nourishing heart/mind and extension of understanding, 187
selfish desires, xxvii
and SHAO Yong, 60
shared governance, 215
superior and inferior persons, 69, 73–74
writings, 60
See also Commentary on the Book of Change (*Yizhuan*) [CHENG Yi]; "Discourse on the Favorite Learning [of Master Yan]" ("Haoxue lun") [CHENG Yi]; *See also under* Cheng brothers/the two Chengs (*er Cheng*); "What Was the Learning that Yanzi Loved" ("Yanzi suo hao he xue") [CHENG Yi]
and ZHANG Zai's "Western Inscription", 40
and Mohist universal love without distinction, 71–72
See also Cheng brothers/the two Chengs (*er Cheng*)
cheng yi (sincerity of will/making the will sincere), *see* sincerity of will/making the will sincere (*cheng yi*)
Cheng-Zhu School/tradition, 296 (note 4)
LI Guangdi and, 381, 385, 391–393
ZHOU Dunyi and, 1–3
cessation/extinguishing of desires, 371, 376
evil, 396
material nature and, 392
good and bad
quality of vital energy and, 364
and good and bad
lucidity or turbidity/purity or impurity of vital energy, 364
heavenly norms/principles/pattern
and the nature/human nature, 364
as illumination of the nature/human nature
LI Guangdi, 386–387
innate human goodness, 395–396
the nature/human nature, 364, 391, 393, 395
Chinese philosophy
Western views of, xxxvi
Chronicle of Major Events (*Dashi ji*) [LÜ Zuqian], 210, 212
Chuanxi lu (*Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted*) [WANG Yangming], *see Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted* (*Chuanxi lu*) [WANG Yangming]
Chunqiu (*Spring and Autumn Annals*/Spring and Autumn period), *see Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*)
Chunqiu Zuo zhuan (*The Zuo Tradition to the Spring and Autumn Annals*), *see Zuo Tradition* (*Zuozhuan*)
The Classic on Governance/Government (*Zheng jing*) [ZHEN Dexiu], 233, 241–242
The Classic on the Heart/Mind (*Xin jing*) [ZHEN Dexiu], 239–241, 245
classics (*jing*)
Buddhist and Daoist, 239
extension of through anthologies, 238–244
ZHEN Dexiu, xxiv, 239
See also The Classic on Governance/Government (*Zheng jing*) [ZHEN Dexiu]; *The Classic on the Heart/Mind* (*Xin jing*) [ZHEN Dexiu]
significance of term, 239
ZHEN Dexiu's use of term, 239–240
See also Confucian classics/canon
classified book/encyclopedia (*leishu*), 227, 236
CHEN Chun on, 228
clear intellect (*lingming*)
and external world
WANG Yangming, 304–306
and vital energy
WANG Yangming, 307
cognitivism
WANG Yangming, 308
coherent principle/coherence (*li*), xxi, xxvi, 78 (note 18), 155, 157–160, 318

See also normative coherence of how things should be (*dangran zhi li*) and "the way things are" (*suoyiran*); principle/pattern/coherence/coherent principle/norm/order/to order/creativity or life-giving activity/internal logic (*li*)
"Collection of [the Master from] the Five Summits" ("Wufeng ji") [Hu Hong; ed. Zhang Shi], 108
commentaries, 240–241
new type (Learning of the Way) as extension of classics, 240–242, 244–245
See also interlinear commentary on the classics
Commentary on the Book of Change (*Yizhuan*) [Cheng Yi], 60
commitment (*zhi*)
Wang Yangming, 325
deepening or maturation of
Wang Yangming, 326–327, 330–333
to humaneness
Wang Yangming, 328–329
and resolution of conflict
Wang Yangming, 329–330
See also intentions/goals (*zhi*); will (*zhi*)
Comprehending the Book of Change (*Tong shu*) [Zhou Dunyi], *see Penetrating/Comprehending* the Book of Change ("Tong shu") [Zhou Dunyi]
concentration
and cultivation of heart/mind
Zhou Dunyi, 14
concrete things (*qi*)
realization of the way in: *dao-qi* unification
Wang Fuzhi, 363–364
vital energy and
Wang Fuzhi, 356, 358
the way and
Wang Fuzhi, 362
See also instruments (*qi*); things/objects (*wu*)
condition/state (*ti*)
of coherent principle
Zhu Xi, 157–160
and function/application
Zhang Zai, 39
"Confucian"
discussion of the term, x–xi
Confucian classics/canon
redefinition of in Learning of the Way, xxii–xxiii, 3–4
study of
Dai Zhen, 413
Zhu Xi, 187–188, 404
See also classics (*jing*); the Five Classics
Confucianism
and Buddhism, xvi, 3, 39
contribution of Zhang Zai to, 54
and Daoism, 3
Han to Tang periods
Zhang Zai's criticism of, 54
intellectualism of Qing period, 388
learning in, 13
in Ming–Qing transition, 383–385
Confucius (Kongzi)
cosmology of, 153
and Golden Rule, 70
humaneness, 133
joy of
Cheng Yi, 61–62
and music, 62
and orthodox transmission of the way, xxii
Zhu Xi, xxxvii
rulership, 208–209
and sagehood, 324
connectedness of all beings/things
Wang Fuzhi, 375
Yang Jian, xvii, 274–276, 288
Zhou Dunyi, 11–13
principle and harmony and
Wang Yangming, 324
Zhang Zai, 319–320
consciousness (*zhijue*)
heart/mind and
Zhu Xi, 165
and morality
Yuan Xie, 281
consciousness/mindfulness/empathy/conscience arising from being mindful of others' suffering (*jue*)
Zhang Shi, 147
Zhu Xi, 147
and wisdom
Zhu Xi, 147–148
The Correct Meaning of Terms (*Beixi ziyi*) [Chen Chun], xxiv, 228–231, 235, 245
moral theoretical terminology and moral understanding, 230–231

The Correct Meaning of Terms (*cont.*)
as performative statements, 228–229
and Zhu Xi's *A Record for Reflection*, 229
cosmogonic evolution
SHAO Yong, 21–22
cosmological actualization, 156
See also self-cultivation
cosmological architectonic
ZHU Xi, xx–xxi, 156
cosmology
of Confucius, 153
SHAO Yong, 21–22
of *yin* and *yang*
ZHOU Dunyi, 6–8
See also architectonic axiological cosmology; philosophical cosmology
Cua, A. S.
on WANG Yangming and commitment to humaneness, 328–329
Cuiyan (*Excellent Sayings/Choice Words/Essential Sayings*) [CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao/YANG Shi], *see* *Excellent Sayings/Choice Words/Essential Sayings* (*Cuiyan*) [CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao/Yang Shi]
culture/civilized society (*wen*), 171–172

D

"Da LU Yuanjing shu" ("Letter in Reply to LU Yuanjing"), *see* "Letter in Reply to Lu Yuanjing" ("Da Lu Yuanjing shu") [WANG Yangming]
DAI Zhen
biographical background, 400–401
on Buddhist and Daoist influence on Neo-Confucian predecessors, 399, 401–402, 417
concept of Buddha-nature, 402
contemporary impact, 401
criticism of Neo-Confucian predecessors (mainly ZHU Xi), 401
concept of desires, 402, 414–415, 420
concept of innate perfect moral guide and reliance on spontaneous moral intuitions, xx, 399, 401–402, 413
moral cultivation, 402–403
desires
acceptable/appropriate and unacceptable/inappropriate, 416–418
criticism of elimination of, 402, 414
encouragement and moderation of, 415
and humaneness/humanity, 415
knowingly or explicitly self-interested, 418–420
and moral deliberation, xx, 415
and morality/moral behavior/virtuous behavior, 414–415
seeking one's own good and fulfilling one's life, 418–420
selfish, 416–417
and sympathetic concern, 408–409, 415, 419
education
in Confucian classics, 413
and moral decision-making, 403
and evidential studies, 400
the Five Relationships
nurturing, 413
goodness
and life-fulfillment, 412–413
humaneness/humanity
and desires, 415
intellectual background, 400
learning
cultivating faculties of understanding, 412–414
and Mencius, 405, 417
moral cultivation, xx, 404–405, 412–420
and development of new capacities, xx, 403, 405–406
developmental and acquisitionist models, 405–406
turning love of life into moral attitude, 405–406
moral decision-making
higher order moral thinking and deliberation about relative merit, 409–410
moral deliberation, xx, 406–411, 415
and ease of morally virtuous behavior, 411
and learning, 403
moral discretion or "weighing", 409–411, 413
and discernment of moral importance, xx, 410–411
morality/moral behavior/virtuous behavior
desires and, 414–415
and ease, 411, 414
and self-interested behavior, 418
the nature/human nature, 401–406

development of through education, 399
dispute with Zhu Xi, 401–406
and moral capacities, 406
selfishness, 419
sympathetic concern, 407–409
and desires, 408–409, 415, 419
and feelings/emotions, 409
writings, 400–401
See also Evidential Analysis of the Meaning and Terms of the Mencius (*Mengzi ziyi shuzheng*) [Dai Zhen]
and Xunzi, 405

dangran (what ought to be/the way things should be)
and principle/order/pattern (*li*), *see under* principle/pattern/coherence/coherent principle/norm/order/to order/creativity or life-giving activity/internal logic (*li*)

dangran zhi li (normative coherence of how things should be), *see* normative coherence of how things should be (*dangran zhi li*) and "the way things are" (*suoyiran*)

dao wenxue (way of inquiry and learning), *see* way of inquiry and learning (*dao wenxue*)

Daoism
and Confucianism, 3
Han Yu and, 390
influence of on Neo-Confucian philosophy
Dai Zhen, 399, 401–402, 417
Lu Jiuyuan and, 259
Wang Fuzhi and, 355
Yang Jian and, 275
yin and *yang* in, 49
Zhang Zai and, 40, 46–47, 54
Zhou Dunyi and, 2–4, 14
See also Lao-Zhuang Daoism

daoti (fundamental state of the way/both to exist and to be active/metaphysical reality)
meaning/translation of term, xxxix (note 41)
See also fundamental state of the way/both to exist and to be active/metaphysical reality (*daoti*)

daotong (succession of the way/transmission of the way/line of continuity with the way/interconnecting thread of the way/orthodox transmission of the way)
meaning/translation of term, xxxvii (note 36)
See also orthodox transmission of the way (*daotong*)

daoxin (ethical or moral or pure heart/mind of the way), *see* moral heart/mind (*daoxin*)

daoxue (learning of the way/learning of *dao*/Learning of the Way)
and *Book of Change*, 10
Cheng brothers and, 89
importance of Mencius in, 203
Lü Zuqian and, 201
fellowship, xiii, 126, 155, 201–202, 289
movement, 201
practical political nature of, 197
political project of, 201–203
recognition of as official ideology, 233, 238
and redefinition of Confucian canon, xxii–xxiii, 3–4
term, xiii
universe and the myriad things in, 7
Zhang Zai and, 39
Zhou Dunyi and, 1, 3–4, 14
Zhu Xi's genealogy of, 1, 14, 225
See also Northern Song Learning of the Way; Southern Song Learning of the Way; transmission of Learning of the Way

Dashi ji (*Chronicle of Major Events*) [Lü Zuqian], *see Chronicle of Major Events* (*Dashi ji*) [Lü Zuqian]

Davidson, Donald
on *akrasia*, 64–65

Daxue (*The Great Learning*), *see The Great Learning* (*Daxue*)

Daxue yanyi (*The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning*) [Zhen Dexiu], *see The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning* (*Daxue yanyi*) [Zhen Dexiu]

Daxue zhangju (*The Great Learning in Chapters and Verses*) [Zhu Xi], *see The Great Learning in Chapters and Verses* (*Daxue zhangju*) [Zhu Xi]

de (virtue/moral or ultimate goals/goals or moral traits of self-cultivation)
meaning/translation of term, 317
See also virtue (*de*)

de xing zhi zhi (knowledge of/as virtue/understanding that pertains to

morality), *see* knowledge of/as virtue/understanding that pertains to morality (*de xing zhi zhi*)
decree (*ming*)
ZHU Xi, 166–168
and command of heaven (*tianming*), 167
and creativity, 168
and enlightenment, 166
as fate, 166–167
and principle, 166
and Supreme Ultimate
ZHU Xi, 168
unifying activities of, 163
and vital energy, 166
lucidity or turbidity of, 166
ZHU Xi, 167
and ZHU Xi's cosmological architectonic, xxi
desires/tendencies (*yu*)/human desires (*ren yu*)
WANG Fuzhi, 368–369
ZHU Xi, 180, 183
acceptable/appropriate and unacceptable/inappropriate
DAI Zhen, 416–418
WANG Fuzhi, 372
ZHU Xi, 183–185, 416–418
affirmation of
WANG Fuzhi, 371–373
cessation/extinguishing of
Buddhism, 14, 131, 183, 371, 376, 402
Cheng-Zhu School/tradition, 371, 376
ZHOU Dunyi, 14, 416 (note 20)
ZHU Xi, 402, 414
encouragement and moderation of
DAI Zhen, 415
and evil
Li Guangdi, xix
extension of
WANG Fuzhi, 373
and feelings/emotions
ZHU Xi, 180
and good and bad
ZHOU Dunyi, 240
and heart/mind, 179
ZHU Xi, 185
and heavenly norms/pattern or principle of heaven
Book of Rites, 184
HU Hong, 119–120
WANG Fuzhi, 371–373
ZHU Xi, 184, 416–418
and humaneness/humanity
DAI Zhen, 415
and intentions/goals, 179
knowingly or explicitly self-interested
DAI Zhen, 418–420
and material body, *see* material body (and human desires)
and moral deliberation
DAI Zhen, xx, 415
and morality/moral behavior
DAI Zhen, 414–415
natural and non-natural
WANG Fuzhi, 368–369
and the nature/human nature
ZHANG Shi, 129
and principle
HU Hong, 144
ZHU Xi, 144, 402
principle within
WANG Fuzhi, 371–373
reflection and
WANG Fuzhi, 373–374
regulation of
Book of Rites, 184
ZHU Xi, 184, 186
restraint of by ethical training
ZHANG Shi, 131
sages and
WANG Fuzhi, 373 seeking one's own good and fulfilling one's life
DAI Zhen, 418–420
and self-cultivation
ZHU Xi, 416
selfish, *see* selfish desires (*si yu*)
and senses, 179
and sympathetic concern
DAI Zhen, 408–409, 415, 419
as tendencies, 179
and the will/moral will
LIU Zongzhou, 346–347
See also material desires (*wuyu*)
Detailed Explanations of Institutions throughout the Ages (*Zhengdai zhidu xiangshuo*) [LÜ Zuqian], 200–201, 210–212
Diagram of the Supreme Polarity (*taiji tu*)
figure, 5
influence of, 134–135
ZHANG Shi and, 134–135
ZHOU Dunyi on, xiv, 4–10
See also "An Explanation of/Discourse on the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity" ("Taiji tu shuo") [ZHOU Dunyi]
ZHU Xi and, 137–138

difference/differences/differentiation
different principles (*li*) of different things
Cheng Yi, 79–80
inborn qualities and
Cheng Hao, 99
principle and vital energy and
Zhu Xi, 297–298
psycho-physical nature and
Zhang Zai, 50–51
quality of vital energy and
Zhang Zai, 51–52
vital energy and commonality and
Wang Fuzhi, 358
"Discourse on the Diagram of the Great Ultimate" ("Taiji tu shuo") [Zhou Dunyi], *see* "An Explanation of/ Discourse on the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity" ("Taiji tu shuo") [Zhou Dunyi]
"Discourse on the Favorite Learning [of Master Yan]" ("Haoxue lun") [Cheng Yi], 386
Discourses/Speeches of the States (*Guoyu*)
vital energy in, 43
disorder/chaos (*luan*)
through moral failure
Hu Hong, 121
the divine/divinity (*shen*)
and change (production and reproduction)
Cheng Hao, 97–98
and vital energy
Cheng Hao, 98
dixue (learning of emperorship), *see* learning of emperorship (*dixue*)
Doctrine of the Mean (*Zhongyong*)
the four feelings, 340–341
not yet manifested (equilibrium) and manifested (harmony), 340–341
self-cultivation, 140
solitude/solitariness, 190
vigilance in solitude, 338–339
dong (motion/movement/disturbance)
meaning/translation of term, 192
See also motion/movement/disturbance/ activation (*dong*)
dong jing (motion and tranquillity/active and quiescent/motion and stillness/ active quietude)
meaning/translation of term, 192–193
See also active quietude (*dong jing*); motion and tranquillity (*dongjing*)
Dong Zhongshu
humaneness, 133
vital energy, 178
double-rootedness (*er ben*)
and single-rootedness
Cheng Hao, 91, 93, 103
du (alone/solitude/solitariness)
meaning/translation of term, xviii, 190
See also solitude/solitariness (*du*)
dysfunctional behavior, *see* evil (*e*)

E

education
in Confucian classics
Dai Zhen, 413
and moral decision-making
Dai Zhen, 403
Zhang Shi, 130–131
effort (*gongfu*), *see* moral effort
effort of vigilance (*shen fa*)
and tranquillity
Liu Zongzhou, 344
1173 Commentary on the Mencius (*Guisi Mengzi shuo*) [Zhang Shi], 145
1173 Explication of the Analects (*Guisi Lunyu jie*) [Zhang Shi], 145
emotional feelings
and moral feelings
Liu Zongzhou, 343, 350
See also feelings/emotions (*qing*)
emperor, *see* imperial authority
empirical knowledge
and self-cultivation
Lü Zuqian, xvi
See also investigation of things and events (*gewu*); investigation of things and events/apprehending the (patterns in) things and extension of knowledge (*gewu zhizhi*// *zhizhi gewu*)
encyclopedias, *see* classified book/ encyclopedia (*leishu*)
enfeoffment system [Zhou] (*fengjian*)
Hu Hong, 109, 120–122
enlightenment/awakening (*wu*/*jue*)
Lu Jiuyuan, xxxiii, 255
awakening experiences
Yang Jian, 270–271, 277, 289
Yang Tingxian, 270
Yuan Xie, 271, 289
and decree, 166
suddenness of

enlightenment/awakening (*wu*/*jue*) (*cont.*)
Lu Jiuyuan, xvi, 207
Lü Zuqian, xvi, 207
Wang Yangming, xvi, 207
enlightenment/awakening (*wu*) [Buddhist], 90, 271
Zhu Xi on, 166
equilibrium/centrality/balance/Mean (*zhong*)
attaining to
Li Guangdi, 393
the four feelings not yet manifested
Doctrine of the Mean, 340–341
and harmony and heart/mind
Zhu Xi, 142
and harmony and human nature/inner nature
Hunan school, 142
and heart/mind
Zhu Xi, 163–164
and human nature (*renxing*)
Li Guangdi, 385
and not yet aroused/manifested feelings
Doctrine of the Mean, 140, 340–341
and self-actualization
Zhu Xi, 172
er ben (double-rooted), *see* double-rootedness (*er ben*)
er Cheng (the two Chengs), *see* Cheng brothers/the two Chengs (*er Cheng*)
"Essay on Securing Nature" ("Dingxing shu") [Cheng Hao], *see* "Letter on the Stabilization of the Nature/ Essay on Securing Nature" ("Dingxing shu") [Cheng Hao]
ethical ideal
Zhu Xi, xxi, 191–193
ethical/moral failure
Lu Jiuyuan, xvii, xxxiii, 255
Mencius, 184
Zhu Xi, 183–187
and disorder/chaos
Hu Hong, 121
notion of human nature's transcendence of good and evil and, xix
partiality/selfishness and
Zhu Xi, 183
ethics
Lu Jiuyuan, 262–264
and aesthetics
Lu Jiuyuan, xxxiii, 262–263
See also morality/moral behavior; virtue ethics
event/affair/thing (*shi*)
Zhu Xi, 156
and principle
Feng Youlan, xxx–xxxi
Huayan Buddhism, xxix (note 26)
events and objects/things (*shiwu*)
Zhu Xi, 156
Evidential Analysis of the Meaning and Terms of the Mencius (*Mengzi ziyi shuzheng*) [Dai Zhen], 400–401, 403, 409, 415, 419
evidential studies (*kaozhengxue*)
Dai Zhen and, 400
evil (*e*)
Li Guangdi, xix–xx, 392, 394–396
Liu Zongzhou, xviii, 347–348, 351–352
Lü Zuqian, 205
Mencius, 395
Wang Fuzhi, xix
Yang Jian, xvii, 276
Zhang Shi, xix, 128–129
Buddhist view of
Liu Zongzhou on, 351
Cheng-Zhu School/tradition, 396
desires and
Li Guangdi, xix
material body and human desires and
Cheng Hao, xix, 129
Zhang Shi, xix, 129, 131
material nature and
Cheng-Zhu School/tradition, 392
and natural emotions
Wang Fuzhi, 374
and preconceptions
Yang Jian, xvii, 276–277
and reflection
Wang Fuzhi, 375
and selfish desires
Wang Fuzhi, 375
vital energy and
Cheng Hao, 102
See also good and bad/evil (*shan e*)
Excellent Sayings/Choice Words/Essential Sayings (*Cuiyan*) [Cheng Yi and Cheng Hao/Yang Shi], 60
exhaust (*qiong*)
principle, 160, 187
"An Explanation of/Discourse on the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity" ("Taiji tu shuo") [Zhou Dunyi], xiv, 2, 4, 6, 8–9, 135, 343, 386
and *Penetrating/Comprehending* the Book of Change, 10
Zhang Shi and, 134, 138–139

ZHANG Shi's commentary on, 127
ZHU Xi and, 137–139, 258
expository genres in philosophical writing, 224
The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning (*Daxue yanyi*) [ZHEN Dexiu], 234–235, 242–244
extension (*tui*)
of desires
WANG Fuzhi, 373
of feelings/emotions
WANG Fuzhi, 373–375
of inner world to outer world
LÜ Zuqian, 213
ZHU Xi, 213
extension of knowledge or understanding/ completion of knowledge (*zhizhi*)
LI Guangdi, 388
WANG Yangming, 310–311
and insight into principle
ZHU Xi, 187
and preserving/nourishing heart/mind
CHENG Yi, 187
and rectification of thoughts
WANG Yangming, 311
and reverence/seriousness/mental attentiveness and vigilance in solitude
ZHU Xi, 189
ZHU Xi, 189
See also extension of pure knowing/ extension of innate knowing of the good (*zhi liangzhi*); investigation of things and events/apprehending the (patterns in) things and extension of knowledge (*gewu zhizhi/zhizhi gewu*); rectification of thoughts and extension of knowledge (*gewu zhizhi/zhizhi gewu*)
extension of pure knowing/extension of innate knowing of the good (*zhi liangzhi*)
WANG Yangming, xxxiii, 310–312, 348
Extensive Deliberations (*Zuoshi boyi*) [LÜ Zuqian], 201, 204, 215
external things/external world
and clear intellect
WANG Yangming, 304–306
and heart/mind
WANG Yangming, xviii, 304–306
and man
HU Hong, 112
objects of thought and
WANG Yangming, 304
and principle
WANG Yangming, xviii, 300–301, 306
See also events and objects/things (*shiwu*); investigation of things and events (*gewu*); investigation of things and events/apprehending the (patterns in) things and extension of knowledge (*gewu zhizhi/zhizhi gewu*); mind-independent world; myriad or ten thousand things/ beings (*wanwu*); observation of things (*guanwu*); society/social and political world; things/objects (*wu*)
External Works (*Waishu*) [CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao; ed. ZHU Xi], 60, 90

F
False Learning (*weixue*) prohibition [1195], 269, 279
"Fan lun xue" (essay on learning) [YANG Jian], 277
FAN Zhongyan
and ZHANG Zai, 40
FAN Zuyu
and learning of emperorship, 243
fanguan (reflective perception/reflexive observation), *see* reflective perception/reflexive observation (*fanguan*)
faxian (recovery [of goodness]), *see* recovery [of goodness] (*faxian*) of heart/ mind (*xin*)
feelings/emotions (*qing*), 179
LÜ Zuqian, 205
WANG Fuzhi, 368
ZHU Xi, 180, 183
and desires
ZHU Xi, 180
and evil
WANG Fuzhi, 374
extension of
WANG Fuzhi, 373–375
and the four beginnings
ZHU Xi, 180
and heart/mind, 179
ZHU Xi, 180
and morality
WANG Fuzhi, 368, 373, 375–376
and natural moral sentiments
WANG Fuzhi, 367, 369–370, 373–376

feelings/emotions (*qing*) (*cont.*)
  and the nature/human nature
    Cheng Yi, 77
    Zhu Xi, 180
  preserving/nourishing and examining
    Cheng Yi, 140
  and propriety
    Cheng Yi, 76–77
  reflection and
    Wang Fuzhi, 373–374
  sages and
    Zhu Xi, 183
  and Supreme Ultimate
    Zhu Xi, 137
  and sympathetic concern
    Dai Zhen, 409
  and thoughts
    Zhu Xi, 180
  See also emotional feelings; the four feelings; moral feelings
feelings (*qing*) already aroused/activated/expressed/manifested (*yifa*)
  and harmony
    Doctrine of the Mean, 140, 340–341
  and heart/mind
    Cheng Yi, 140
    Zhang Shi, 140
    Zhu Xi, 142
feelings (*qing*) not yet aroused/activated/expressed/manifested (*weifa*)
  and equilibrium/centrality
    Doctrine of the Mean, 140, 340–341
  and the nature/human nature
    Zhu Xi, 142
  self-cultivation and
    Fujian school, 141
Feng Youlan
  on fundamental state of the way, xl
  and New Principle-centred Learning, xxx–xxxi
  principle and event, xxx–xxxi
fengjian ([Zhou] enfeoffment system), *see* enfeoffment system [Zhou] (*fengjian*)
filial piety (*xiao*)
  and humaneness
    Li Guangdi, 387
  principle of, 319
    Wang Yangming, 301–302, 304, 309
the Five Classics
  and the *Four Books*, xxiii
the Five Constant Virtues (*wuchang*)
  Cheng Yi, 82
  Zhou Dunyi, 12
  Zhu Xi, 171–172
Five Masters of the (Northern) Song period, xiv, 59
  See also Shao Yong
Five Phases (*wuxing*)
  in *Diagram of the Supreme Polarity*, 4–7
  and heaven
    Wang Fuzhi, 361
the Five Relationships (*wulun*)
  nurturing
    Dai Zhen, 413
flood-like breath/*qi* (*haoran zhi qi*)
  in Mencius, 44, 51
  Wang Fuzhi, 370
the four beginnings (*siduan*), *see* the four sprouts/germinating seeds/beginnings (*siduan*)
the *Four Books* (*sishu*), 3
  and the Five Classics, xxiii
  Hu Hong and, 110
  Zhu Xi and, xxii–xxiii, 110
the Four Dicta (*si ju jiao*) [Wang Yangming], 346, 348
  Liu Zongzhou's reformulation of, 350
the four feelings
  Doctrine of the Mean, 340–341
  and the four virtues
    Liu Zongzhou, 341
  moral, and the seven feelings, emotional
    Liu Zongzhou, 341
  not yet manifested equilibrium and manifested harmony
    Doctrine of the Mean, 340–341
  and original/heaven-endowed nature, 340
  and the will
    Liu Zongzhou, 340
  See also will and accompanying feeling(s)
the Four Masters of Mingzhou, 267–268, 287–290
  and Chan Buddhism, 271, 288–289
  documentary evidence of relationships between, 269–270
  local ties, intellectual background and political careers, 268–270
  and Lu Jiuling, 268, 270
  and Lu Jiuyuan, 267–268, 270, 290
  and Lü Zuqian, 268
  and Zhu Xi, 268
  See also Shen Huan; Shu Lin; Yang Jian; Yuan Xie
the four sprouts/germinating seeds/beginnings (*siduan*)

Mencius, 51, 364, 405
and feelings/emotion
Zhu Xi, 180
as heart of the way
Wang Fuzhi, 367
nature of heaven-and-earth and
Li Guangdi, 387
and principle
Zhu Xi, 180
the four virtues
and the four feelings
Liu Zongzhou, 341
Fujian school
Zhu Xi and, 137
and self-cultivation, 141
function/application/functional process of the things and events/functional (dynamic) traits (*yong*)
and condition/state
Zhang Zai, 39
vital energy
Zhu Xi, 160–162
See also state/condition (*ti*)–function/application (*yong*) structure
fundamental state of the way/both to exist and to be active/metaphysical reality (*daoti*)
and orthodox transmission of the way, xxxvii–xxxviii, xli
state/condition (*ti*)–function (*yong*) structure of
Zhu Xi, xxxix–xl, 388
Zhu Xi's concept of, xxxvii, xxxix
Fuxi
and *Book of Change*, 20

G

gai guo (reforming faults), *see* reforming faults (*gai guo*)
Gao Zhai shen shi ji (*Scrutinizing What is Right from the Gao Studio*), *Scrutinizing What is Right from the Gao Studio* (*Gao Zhai shen shi ji*)
Gaozi
the nature/human nature, 99, 395
Gaozong (Southern Song emperor)
and Hu Hong, 106
genealogy of transmitters of *daoxue*, 227
Zhu Xi, 1, 14, 225
genre
and Neo-Confucian philosophy, xxiii–xxv, 224, 244–245
and philosophical writing, 223–224
See also expository genres in philosophical writing; performative genres in philosophical writing
See also commentaries; interlinear commentary on the classics; the lexicon; new classics; notebook/reading log (*dushu ji*); pedagogical writing; recorded conversations (*yulu*) genre; tradition texts
gentry (*shi*)
political mission of
Cheng Yi, 215
Lü Zuqian, 210, 215, 217–218
Wang Anshi and, 210, 214
See also shared governance (*gongzhi*)
genuine/real knowledge or understanding (*zhen zhi*)
Wang Yangming, 311–312
Zhu Xi, 188
and ethical ideal
Zhu Xi, 191
and ordinary/common knowledge
Cheng Yi, 66
gewu (investigation of things and events / reaching out to things and affairs to probe the *li* in them/rectification of thoughts)
meaning/translation of term, 187, 303
See also investigation of things and events (*gewu*); rectification of thoughts (*gewu*)
gewu zhizhi (investigation of things, rectication of thoughts and extension of knowledge/investigating things and extending knowledge), *see* investigation of things and events/apprehending the (patterns in) things and extension of knowledge (*gewu zhizhi* / *zhizhi gewu*); rectification of thoughts and extension of knowledge (*gewu zhizhi* / *zhizhi gewu*)
Golden Rule, 69–71
Cheng Yi, 70–71
Confucius, 70
and humaneness, 70–71
gong (public/shared public good/altruistic public interest/impartiality/fairness)
meaning/translation of term, 147

See also public/shared public good/ altruistic public interest/ impartiality/fairness (*gong*)
gongfu (effort), *see* moral effort
GONGSUN Qiao
Lü Zuqian on, 209–210
gongzhi (shared governance), *see* shared governance (*gongzhi*)
good and bad/evil (*shan e*)
CHENG Hao, 101–103
and desires
ZHOU Dunyi, 240
fundamental state of heart/mind beyond
WANG Yangming, 346, 384
innate knowing of the good and
LIU Zongzhou, 349
and moral heart/mind
LIU Zongzhou, 350
the nature/human nature and
WANG Fuzhi, 366–367
the nature/human nature's transcendence of
HU Hong, 114
LI Guangdi, xix, 385
and principle of Heaven
CHENG Hao, 101
and vital energy
CHENG Hao, 102
Cheng-Zhu School/tradition, 364, 396
ZHANG Zai, xviii–xix, 51–52, 55
and the will/moral will
LIU Zongzhou, 346, 350
WANG Yangming, 346
goodness (*shan*)
in humans
CHENG Hao, 99–101
and life-fulfillment
DAI Zhen, 412–413
principle and
CHENG Yi, 78
recovery of
Lü Zuqian, xvi, 207
of vital energy
WANG Fuzhi, 356
See also innate human goodness
goodness and badness of human nature, xviii–xix, xxvii–xxviii, 51, 367, 395
ZHANG Zai, xix, 51–52, 55
governance, *see* government; normative form of governance (*zhiti*); ruler and rulership
government
by propriety, 75
CHENG Yi, 78, 83
training of heart/mind and
HU Hong, 109, 111
See also ruler and rulership; society/social and political world
government affairs (*zheng*)
and administrative business
Lü Zuqian, 208–209
Graham, A. C.
on CHENG Yi, xxvii–xxviii
on history of problem of whether human nature is good or bad, xxvii–xxviii
on Mencius, 394
"Great Appendix/Commentary" ("Dazhuan")/ "Appended Statements/Attached Phrases" ("Xici") [*Book of Change*/*Yijing*]
change
and production and reproduction, 97–98
Supreme Polarity/Ultimate (*taiji*), 6, 9
the way
and instruments, 96
and *yin* and *yang*, 97
Great Harmony (*taihe*)
and *yinyun* (generative influences of heaven and earth by which all things are constantly reproduced)
WANG Fuzhi, 358
The Great Learning (*Daxue*)
Lü Zuqian and, 216–217
sincerity of will, 340
vigilance in solitude, 338–339
ZHEN Dexiu and, 233, 243
and ZHU Xi's political philosophy, 216
The Great Learning in Chapters and Verses (*Daxue zhangju*) [ZHU Xi], 241, 244
The Great Record of Emperors and Kings (*Huangwang daji*) [HU Hong], 106, 135
Great Void (*taixu*), *see* Ultimate/Great Void (*taixu*)
GUAN Zhong
Lü Zuqian on, 215–216
guanwu (observation of things), *see* observation of things (*guanwu*)
Guanxue (School of Guan), *see* School of Guan (*Guanxue*)
Guanzi
ideal ruler, 181
Guisi Lunyu jie (*1173 Explication of the Analects*) [ZHANG Shi], *see 1173*

Explication of the Analects (*Guisi Lunyu jie*) [ZHANG Shi]
Guisi Mengzi shuo (*1173 Commentary on the* Mencius) [ZHANG Shi], *see 1173 Commentary on the* Mencius (*Guisi Mengzi shuo*) [ZHANG Shi]
GUO Xiang
principle, 178
Ultimate Void and vital energy, 46
vital energy, 45
and *wu* (not having [characteristics]) and *you* (having [characteristics]), 45
Guoyu (*Discourses/Speeches of the States*), *see Discourses/Speeches of the States* (*Guoyu*)

H
habit (*xi*)
and residual vital energy
LIU Zongzhou, 347
See also repeated practice or habits (*xi*)
Hall, David, and Roger Ames
on cosmology of Confucius, 153
HAN Yu
and Buddhism and Daoism, 390
difference between humans and animals, 64
humaneness, 133
interrupted learning, xxii
the nature/human nature, 390
LI Guangdi on, 390–391
haoran zhi qi (flood-like breath/*qi*), *see* flood-like breath/*qi* (*haoran zhi qi*)
"Haoxue lun" ("Discourse on the Favorite Learning [of Master Yan]") [CHENG Yi], *see* "Discourse on the Favorite Learning [of Master Yan]" ("Haoxue lun") [CHENG Yi]
harmony/harmonious (*he*)
and already aroused/expressed feelings
Doctrine of the Mean, 140, 340–341
and culture/civilized society, 171–172
and equilibrium and heart/mind
ZHU Xi, 142
and equilibrium and the nature/human nature
Hunan school, 142
the four feelings manifested
Doctrine of the Mean, 140, 340–341
and interconnectedness of all beings/things
WANG Yangming, 324
and principle/coherence
WANG Yangming, 319
and principle/coherence and interconnectedness of all beings/things
WANG Yangming, 320
ZHANG Zai, 319–320
realization of
WANG Yangming, 328, 332
and self-actualization
ZHU Xi, 172
unity and difference
WANG Yangming, 320, 323
Hatton, Russell
on two uses of principle (*li*), 296–298
he (harmony/harmonious/unifying action/unification/unifying action traits), *see* harmony/harmonious (*he*)
heart/mind (*xin*), xv–xviii, 179
HU Anguo, 110
HU Hong, xv–xvi, 110, 163
LU Jiuyuan, xvi–xvii
LÜ Zuqian, xvi, 204
SHEN Huan, xvii, 287
SHU Lin, xvii, 286
WANG Yangming, xvii
YUAN Xie, xvii
ZHANG Shi, xvi, 130
ZHANG Zai, 163
ZHU Xi, 165–166, 181
already aroused/activated/expressed state
HU Hong, 117
and already aroused/expressed feelings
CHENG Yi, 140
ZHANG Shi, 140
ZHU Xi, 142
and balance
ZHU Xi, 163–164
Buddhism and, 110
capacity to think as difference between humans and animals
HU Hong, 112
of commiseration unable to bear suffering of others
Mencius, 182
ZHU Xi, 182
and consciousness
ZHU Xi, 165
cultivation of
ZHOU Dunyi, 14
and desires, 179
ZHU Xi, 185

heart/mind (*xin*), xv–xviii, 179 (*cont.*)
and equilibrium and harmony
Zhu Xi, 142
and external things/world
Wang Yangming, xviii, 304–306
Zhang Shi, xvi
and feelings/emotions, 179
Zhu Xi, 180
functions of
Wang Fuzhi, 368–371
and Heaven
Cheng Hao, 95–96
of heaven and earth
Cheng brothers, 182
Zhu Xi, 182
and heavenly pattern
Lü Zuqian, xvi, 206
and human agency
Lü Zuqian, 204–206
and humaneness
Hu Hong, 114, 121, 146
Zhu Xi, 147–148
and interaction with the world
Zhu Xi, 163–164
interconnectedness of all beings/things through unity of self and universe
Yang Jian, xvii, 274–276, 288
and knowledge and humaneness
Hu Hong, 111
and learning
Lu Jiuyuan, 282–283
Yang Jian, 277–279, 289
Yuan Xie, 289
lost
Hu Hong, 115
and manifested principle
Wang Yangming, 303
and moral principle
Wang Yangming, 309
and morality (*yi li*)
Zhu Xi, xix, 185
and morality in daily life
Shen Huan, 287, 290
Shu Lin, 286–287, 290
and the nature/human nature
Hu Hong, xvi, 110–115, 140–141, 144
Wang Fuzhi, 367
Zhang Shi, xvi, 127–132, 140–141, 144, 148
Zhu Xi, 144, 180
not yet aroused/activated/expressed state
Zhu Xi, 117
objects and
Wang Yangming, 304
and observation of things
Shao Yong, xv, 26
original, *see* original, ethical heart/mind (*benxin*)
and original nature
Liu Zongzhou, 339–340
and politics
Yang Jian, 279–280, 289
and preconceptions
Yang Jian, 280
Yuan Xie, 285
and principle
Lu Jiuyuan, xvi–xvii, xxvi, 130, 252–253
Lü Zuqian, 204
Wang Yangming, xxvi, 300–306
Zhang Shi, xvi, 129–130
Zhu Xi, 130, 165, 181, 296, 300
principles of and of phenomenal world
Lu Jiuyuan, xvi, 253–254
recovery of goodness of
Lü Zuqian, xvi, 207
regulation of senses by
Mencius, 184
Zhu Xi, 184
and reverence/seriousness/mental attentiveness
Zhu Xi, 187, 189
of ruler, 218, 243–244
Lü Zuqian, 216–218
Zhu Xi, 216
and self-cultivation, 180
Lu Jiuyuan, xvii, 255, 257, 259
shared by all human beings
Lu Jiuyuan, 251–252, 254
and sincerity
Cheng Hao, 92, 95
and social and political world
Lü Zuqian, 204, 218
Yang Jian, 279–280
Yuan Xie, 281–282, 289
and trace
Wang Tong, 212–213
training of and government
Hu Hong, 109, 111
transcendental/superhuman
Hu Hong, 112–113
two kinds: human heart/mind and moral heart/heart
Cheng brothers, xix
See also human heart/mind (*renxin*); moral heart/mind (*daoxin*)

unifying and controlling actions of
ZHU Xi, 162–165
and universal principle
WANG Yangming, xvii, 299, 303, 309
and universe
LU Jiuyuan, 251–253, 261
virtue of and humaneness
ZHANG Shi, 146
ZHU Xi, 146
and vital energy
Wang Yangming, xviii, 300
ZHU Xi, 163, 256–257
void/empty, 192
and volitional idea
LIU Zongzhou, 347–348
as the way
YANG Jian, 275
YUAN Xie, 281
world external to, *see* mind-independent world
See also moral heart/mind or heart/mind (*xin*)
heart/mind of humans (*renxin*), *see* human heart/mind (*renxin*)
heart/mind of the way (*daoxin*), *see* moral heart/mind (*daoxin*)
Heaven/heaven/heavens (*tian*)
WANG Fuzhi, 359–361
and Five Phases
WANG Fuzhi, 361
heart/mind and
CHENG Hao, 95–96
and the human
CHENG Hao, xxxii, 91–95, 98–100
and human world
WANG Fuzhi, 355, 359–361
influence of in human realm
LÜ Zuqian, 205–206
as moral authority and human beings as moral agents
ZHANG Zai, 39, 54
and principle
ZHU Xi, 165
and vital energy
WANG Fuzhi, 361
ZHU Xi, 167
See also heaven-as-heaven (*tian zhi tian*) and heaven-as-human (*ren zhi tian*)
Heaven and earth (*tiandi*)
and the human
CHENG Hao, 92–93
significance of initial capitals, 91 (note 3)
and sincerity
CHENG Hao, 93–94
heaven and earth (*tiandi*)
heart/mind of
Cheng brothers, 182
ZHU Xi, 182
humaneness of
ZHANG Zai, 182
nature of, *see* nature bestowed by heaven and earth/nature of heaven-and-earth/heaven-and-earth-bestowed nature (*tiandi zhi xing*)
heaven-and-earth-bestowed nature, *see* nature bestowed by heaven and earth/nature of heaven-and-earth/heaven-and-earth-bestowed nature (*tiandi zhi xing*)
heaven-as-heaven (*tian zhi tian*) and heaven-as-human (*ren zhi tian*)
principle of heaven and connection between
WANG Fuzhi, 359–361
heaven-endowed nature, *see* original nature (*benran zhi xing*/*benxing*)
heavenly mandate/heaven's mandate/command of heaven (*tianming*)
WANG Fuzhi, 366
and decree, 167
See also heaven's mandated nature (*tianming zhi xing*)
heavenly nature (*tianxing*)
of human beings
ZHANG Zai, 50
heavenly norms/principles/pattern or principle of Heaven/heaven (*tianli*)
LÜ Zuqian, xvi, 206
WANG Fuzhi, 359–361
connection between heaven-as-heaven and heaven-as-human
WANG Fuzhi, 359–361
and good and bad
CHENG Hao, 101
and human desires
Book of Rites, 184
HU Hong, 119–120
WANG Fuzhi, 371–373
ZHU Xi, 184, 416–418
and the nature/human nature
Cheng-Zhu School/tradition, 364
and rightness
ZHANG Shi, 132
and society/social and political world
HU Hong, 120

heavenly norms/principles/pattern (*cont.*)
as universal principle
WANG Yangming, xvii, 296, 298–299, 309
ZHU Xi, 296, 298
See also universal principle (*li*)
heaven's mandated nature (*tianming zhi xing*)
ZHANG Shi, 128–130
and physically endowed nature
ZHANG Shi, xix, 129
Hegel, G. F. W.
and LU Jiuyuan, 254–255
History/Documents, Book of (*Shujing/Shangshu*), *see Book of History/Documents* (*Shujing/Shangshu*)
HONG Quwu
on ZHANG Shi and ZHU Xi, 138
honoring the virtuous nature (*zun dexing*)
and self-cultivation
LU Jiuyuan, 257
and way of inquiry and learning
LI Guangdi, 388
as fundamental state/condition and function [ZHU Xi], 388
houtian (after heaven), *see under* Before Heaven Diagram (*xiantian tu*) and Before Heaven Learning (*xiantian xue*)
HU Anguo, 105
and Cheng brothers, 106
commentary on *Spring and Autumn Annals*, 105–106, 110
influence on HU Hong and HU Yin, 106
heart/mind, 110
HU Dashi, 108
HU Hong
biographical background, 105–108, 121
and Buddhism, 109–110, 117–118
criticism of by ZHU Xi, 113, 119–121
disorder/chaos
through moral failure, 121
external things/ten thousand things, 112
and the *Four Books*, 110
heart/mind, xv–xvi, 110, 163
already aroused/activated/expressed state, 117
and Buddhist theory of transmigration, 113
capacity to think and difference between humans and animals, 112
government and training of, 109, 111
and humaneness, 114, 121, 146
and knowledge and humaneness, 111
lost, 115
and the nature/human nature, xvi, 110–115, 140–141, 144
transcendental/superhuman, 112–113
heavenly norms/principles
and human desires, 119–120
and society/social and political world, 120
humaneness, xvi, 108, 114–115, 121–122
and heart/mind, 114, 121, 146
to incorporate/structure things, 115–117, 121
knowledge
application of in practice, 108
and humaneness, 111
learning, 119, 121
modern studies of, 108
the nature/human nature, 117
as nature/the natural, 113–114
not good or bad, 114
order/put in order
things, 117–121
the world, 118–120
principle
and desires, 144
as order/norm (as opposed to chaos), 117–119, 121
as pattern/norm/normal, 116–117
of the ten thousand things and the nature, 116, 121
and recovery of "central plain" of Chinese civilization (political and philosophical), 107, 110, 122
restoration of ethico-political system of Zhou Dynasty, 109, 120–122
reverence/seriousness/mental attentiveness
and self-cultivation, 137
ruler, 119, 121–122
sages, 111, 118–120
and transmission of teachings of Cheng brothers, 106
trinity [with heaven and earth], 113, 120–121
understanding of words, 109
writings, 106
letters, 108–109
See also "Collection of [the Master from] the Five Summits" ("Wufeng ji") [HU Hong; ed. ZHANG Shi]; *The Great Record of Emperors and*

Kings (*Huangwang daji*) [Hu Hong]; *Understanding of Words* (*Zhiyan*) [Hu Hong; ed. Zhang Shi]
and Zhang Shi, 107–109, 126, 135, 143, 148
and Zhou Dunyi, 139
Zhu Xi on, 106
See also "Misgivings about Master Hu's *Understanding of Words*" ("Huzi Zhiyan yiyi") [Zhu Xi]
Hu Xian
letter of Hu Hong to, 109
Hu Yin, 106
and Zhu Xi, 106
Huainanzi
vital energy in, 44
Huang Zongxi
on the Four Masters of Mingzhou, 288
on Liu Zongzhou, 344–345
Huangji jingshishu (*Book of Supreme World-ordering Principles*) [Shao Yong], *see Book of Supreme World-ordering Principles* (*Huangji jingshishu*) [Shao Yong]
Huangshu (*On the Yellow Emperor*) [Wang Fuzhi], *On the Yellow Emperor* (*Huangshu*) [Wang Fuzhi]
Huangwang daji (*The Great Record of Emperors and Kings*) [Hu Hong], *see The Great Record of Emperors and Kings* (*Huangwang daji*) [Hu Hong]
Huayan Buddhism, 39, 46
and relationship between principle and event/affair, xxix (note 26)
human agency (*quan*)
heart/mind and
Lü Zuqian, 204–205
and the nature/human nature
Li Guangdi, 392–393
human beings/humankind/the human
Shao Yong, 27
heart/mind's capacity to think and difference of from animals
Hu Hong, 112
Heaven/heaven and
Cheng Hao, xxxii, 91–95, 98–100
Wang Fuzhi, 355, 359–361
Heaven and earth and
Cheng Hao, 92–93
innate moral sense of
Cheng Yi, 63, 77, 82
Mencius, 63–64
See also innate human goodness
as moral agents and heaven as moral authority
Zhang Zai, 39
and moral metaphysics
Zhou Dunyi, 8–9
nature bestowed by heaven and earth and
Li Guangdi, 385–386
psycho-physical nature and differences between, 51
Zhang Zai, 50
unity of the myriad things and
Cheng Hao, 99–100
vital energy and difference of from the myriad things
Cheng Hao, 100
the way and
Cheng Hao, 92–93
human desires (*ren yu*), *see* desires/tendencies (*yu*)/human desires (*ren yu*)
human essence
Wang Fuzhi, 365
See also the nature/human nature/inner nature (*xing*)
human feelings, *see* feelings/emotions (*qing*)
human heart/mind (*renxin*)
and heart/mind of the way
Wang Fuzhi, 367
and moral heart/mind
Cheng brothers, xix, 185
Lu Jiuyuan, xix, 185, 284
Shangshu, 184–185
Wang Fuzhi, 367
Yuan Xie, xvii, 283–284
Zhu Xi, xix, 185, 256–257, 284
human intelligence (*ling*)
Shao Yong, xiv, 23, 27
human nature (*renxing*)
Li Guangdi, 385
and balance
Li Guangdi, 385
See also the nature/human nature/inner nature (*xing*)
humaneness/humanity/benevolence (*ren*), 132–133
Cheng Yi, 82
Hu Hong, xvi, 108, 114–115, 121–122
Zhang Shi, 132–139
Zhang Shi and Zhu Xi on, 144–149
Zhu Xi, 181–183
and ceaseless life giving force running through all things
Zhu Xi, 181

humaneness/humanity/benevolence (*cont.*)
commitment to
WANG Yangming, 328–329
and desires
DAI Zhen, 415
and ethical ideal
ZHU Xi, 191
and filial piety
LI Guangdi, 387
forming one body with all things
ZHU Xi, 181–182
and Golden Rule, 70–71
and heart/mind
HU Hong, 114, 121, 146
ZHU Xi, 147–148
heart/mind of heaven and earth
Cheng brothers, 182
of heaven and earth
ZHANG Zai, 182
and impartiality
Cheng brothers, 186
ZHANG Shi, 147
ZHU Xi, 147
and knowledge
HU Hong, 111
and love, 73, 133
Cheng brothers, 133, 144
CHENG Yi, 134, 145
and partiality/selfishness
ZHU Xi, 187
and principle of love
ZHANG Shi, 134, 145
ZHU Xi, 145
and self not separate from things
Cheng brothers, 181–182
and self-actualization
ZHU Xi, 173
and selflessness (*wuwo*)
CHENG Yi, 70
and virtue of heart/mind
ZHANG Shi, 146
ZHU Xi, 146
Hunan school, 135, 142–143, 148
Huzi Zhiyan (*Master Hu's Understanding of Words*) [HU Hong], *see Master Hu's Understanding of Words* (*Huzi Zhiyan*) [HU Hong]
"Huzi Zhiyan yiyi" ("Misgivings about Master Hu's Understanding of Words") [ZHU Xi], *see* "Misgivings about Master Hu's *Understanding of Words*" ("Huzi Zhiyan yiyi") [ZHU Xi]

I
ideal ruler/heaven (*tian*)
forming one body with people and things, 181
idealism, xvi, 253, 300
LU Jiuyuan, xvi, 253, 261
WANG Yangming, 300, 302–304
See also ontological idealism
image-number (*xiangshu*) methodology
and *Book of Change*, 33
SHAO Yong, 33
impartiality (*gong*), *see* public/shared public good/altruistic public interest/ impartiality/fairness (*gong*)
imperial authority
concern for moral autonomy and acceptance of
LÜ Zuqian, xxxviii, 218
Restraining, *see* restraining imperial authority
inborn qualities
and difference betwen humans and things
CHENG Hao, 100
and differences betwen individuals
CHENG Hao, 99
and the nature/human nature
CHENG Hao, 99
incorporate/structure things (*tiwu*)
HU Hong, 115–117, 121
inferior persons (*xiaoren*)
and superior persons
CHENG Yi, 69, 73–74
ZHU Xi, 418
innate human goodness, 395
CHENG Hao, 101–103
Cheng-Zhu School/tradition, 395–396
LI Guangdi, xix–xx, 391–393
LÜ Zuqian, 205, 213
Mencius, 63–64, 130, 364, 385–386, 395
WANG Fuzhi, 374–375
ZHANG Shi, 128–129
reaffirmation of in Ming-Qing transition, 384
recovery of
LÜ Zuqian, 207
and sincerity
ZHOU Dunyi, 11–12
innate knowing of the good (*liangzhi*), *see* pure knowing/innate knowing of the good (*liangzhi*)
inner sageliness
and outer kingliness, xxxvii–xxxviii
ZHOU Dunyi, 4

See also moral cultivation; sagehood
institutional change/reform/renewal
Lü Zuqian, xxxviii, 209–212
and moral renewal
Lü Zuqian, xxxviii, 209, 212–218
institutional studies
Lü Zuqian, 208, 210
instruments (*qi*)
the way and
Cheng Hao, xxxii, 96–97
Intentions/goals (*zhi*), 179
and actions
Lü Zuqian, xxxviii, 206, 214
Zhu Xi, 179–180, 206, 214
and desires, 179
and thoughts, 180
Zhu Xi, 180, 190
See also commitment (*zhi*); will (*zhi*)
interconnectedness of all beings/things, *see* connectedness of all beings/things
interdependence of all beings/things
in Buddhism, 318
and principle/coherence, xxvi, 318
interlinear commentary on the classics, 224
interrupted learning (*juexue*), xxii, 3
Han Yu, xxii
Li Guangdi, 386
Zhang Zai, xxii, 40
investigation of things and events (*gewu*), 187
and self-cultivation
Zhu Xi, 187
See also rectification of thoughts (*gewu*)
investigation of things and events/ apprehending the (patterns in) things and extension of knowledge (*gewu zhizhi* / *zhizhi gewu*)
Lü Zuqian, xvi, 207
Zhang Shi, 131
and the nature/human nature
Li Guangdi, 387–388, 396
and self-cultivation
Zhu Xi, 160
irreducibility that is explanatorily efficacious
Nichols Sturgeon on, 309–310
Ivanhoe, P. J.
on self-cultivation, 325–326

J
ji (trace), *see* trace (*ji*)
"Ji *Yi*" ("The Self and [the *Book of*] *Change*") [Yang Jian], *see* "The Self and [the *Book of*] *Change*" ("Ji *Yi*") [Yang Jian]
jian ai (universal love without distiction), *see* universal love without distinction (*jian ai*)
Jiang Zhenshuo
on Zhu Xi's concept of fundamental state of the way, xxxix–xl
Jiangxi Lu school
and Zhedong Lu school and Zhu Xi's ideas, 284
Jiezhai jiashu shuchao (*Jiezhai* [*YuanXie*] *Family School Documents*), *see* *Jiezhai* [*YuanXie*] *Family School Documents* (*Jiezhai jiashu shuchao*)
Jiezhai [*Yuan Xie*] *Family School Documents* (*Jiezhai jiashu shuchao*), 283, 290
jing (classic)
meaning/translation of term, 239
jing (rest/tranquillity/not moving/inactive/ stillness/equanimity)
meaning/translation of term, xxi, 192
See also tranquillity/rest/inactivity/ stillness/quietude (*jing*)
jing cun (preserving tranquillity), *see* preserving tranquillity (*jing cun*)
jingshi (ordering the world), *see* world-ordering (*jingshi*)
jingtian (well-field system), *see* well-field system [Zhou] (*jingtian*)
Jingxue liku (*Thesaurus of Principles for the Study of the Classics*) [Zhang Zai], *see Thesaurus of Principles for the Study of the Classics* (*Jingxue liku*) [Zhang Zai]
joy (*le*)
Cheng Yi, 62–63
of Confucius
Cheng Yi, 61–62
and moral self-cultivation, 61
morality/moral behavior and, xxxiii, 61, 63
Cheng Yi, xxxiii, 61–63, 82
and music, 62–63
Cheng Yi, 62, 76
Mencius, 63
self-cultivation and
Cheng Yi, xxxiii, 61–62
of Yan Hui/Yanzi
Cheng Yi, 13, 61–62
Zhou Dunyi, 13
jue (consciousness/sensibility/awareness/ conscience arising from being

mindful of others' suffering/ awakening)
meaning/translation of term, 147, 271
See also consciousness (*zhijue*); consciousness/mindfulness/ empathy/ conscience arising from being mindful of others' suffering (*jue*); enlightenment/awakening (*wu/jue*)
"Jue si ji" ("A Record of the Four Abstentions") [YANG Jian], *see* "A Record of the Four Abstentions" ("Jue si ji") [YANG Jian]
junzi (gentleman/superior person), *see* superior person (*junzi*)
Jurchen
invasion and occupation of the north, 105, 121, 126
project of recovery of northern China from, 201

K

kaozhengxue (evidential studies), *see* evidential studies (*kaozhengxue*)
Kaplan, Stephen
on *kārikā*, 224
kārikā, 224
ke ji (overcoming the self), *see* overcoming the self (*ke ji*)
knowledge (*zhi*), *see* empirical knowledge; understanding/knowing/ knowledge (*zhi*)
knowledge of/as virtue/understanding that pertains to morality (*de xing zhi zhi*)
and "body" (*ti*)
CHENG Yi, 67–68
and knowledge from hearing and seeing
CHENG Yi, xxxiii, 66–67, 83
knowledge or knowing through "body" (*ti*) (*tizhi*), 67

L

Lang, Berel
on performative and expository genres in philosophical writing, 224–225
Lao-Zhuang Daoism, 46
Laozi
the myriad things and *wu* (not having [characteristics]/not existing), 46–47
laws (punitive), 76
and propriety, 75–76, 78
See also rules
le (joy), *see* joy (*le*)
learning (*xue*)
HU Hong, 119, 121
YANG Jian, 272–273, 275, 283, 289–290
YUAN Xie, 272–273, 282–284, 290
ZHANG Shi, 130–131
ZHU Xi, 403–404, 413–414
based on family life
SHEN Huan, 287
for civil service examinations
LU Jiuyuan, 282–283
YANG Jian, 277–279, 289
in Confucianism, 13
cultivating faculties of understanding
DAI Zhen, 412–414
and cultivation of heart/mind
ZHOU Dunyi, 13
essay on
YANG Jian, 277
and heart/mind
LU Jiuyuan, 282–283
YANG Jian, 277–279, 289
YUAN Xie, 289
and moral deliberation
DAI Zhen, 403
and the nature/human nature
LI Guangdi, 388–389
and reading
ZHEN Dexiu, 235
study of Confucian classics
DAI Zhen, 413
ZHU Xi, 187–188, 404
thoughts/preconceptions and
YANG Jian, 278
and transformation of vital energy
ZHANG Zai, 52–53
learning of emperorship (*dixue*)
ZHEN Dexiu, 243–244
Learning of Heart/Mind / School of Heart/ Mind (*xinxue*), xiii, xvii
self-cultivation, 338
Learning of Principle/School of Principle (*lixue*), xiii, 78
Cheng brothers and, 59
self-cultivation, 337–338
Learning of the Way
and changes to method of transmission of
ZHEN Dexiu, 238
as fellowship/movement, xiii, 126, 155, 201–202, 289

See also daoxue (learning of the way/learning of the *dao*/Learning of the Way)
Lee, Jig-chuen
on WANG Yangming's idealism, 300
leishu (classified books/encyclopedias), *see* classified book/encyclopedia (*leishu*)
"Letter in Reply to Lu Yuanjing" ("Da Lu Yuanjing shu") [WANG Yangming], 348
"Letter on the Stabilization of the Nature/Essay on Securing Nature" ("Dingxing shu") [CHENG Hao], 90, 204, 386
the lexicon, xxiv, 228, 245
li (principle/pattern/coherence/coherent principle/norm/order/to order/creativity or life-giving activity/internal logic)
meaning/translation of term, xxv–xxviii, 78–79, 116–117, 157–160, 177–178, 318
two uses of term
Mou Zongsan, 80 (note 21)
WANG Yangming and Zhu Xi, xvii, 296–297
See also manifested principle (*li*) of particular, individualized things or events; universal principle (*li*)
See also coherent principle/coherence (*li*); order/put in order (*li*); principle/pattern/coherence/coherent principle/norm/order/to order/creativity or life-giving activity/internal logic (*li*)
li (profit/advantage/benefit/utility/furthering), *see* profit/advantage/benefit/utility/furthering (*li*)
li (propriety/ritual propriety/rituals and norms/rites), *see* propriety/ritual propriety/rituals and norms/rites (*li*)
LI Guangdi
biographical background, 381
centrality/balance/Mean
attaining to, 393
and Cheng-Zhu School/tradition, 381, 385, 391–393
as illumination of the nature/human nature, 386–387
completion of knowledge, 388
evil, xix–xx, 392, 394–396
on HAN Yu's concept of the nature/human nature, 390–391
honoring the virtuous nature
and way of inquiry and learning, 388
human nature (*renxing*)
and balance/centrality, 385
humaneness
and filial piety, 387
innate human goodness, xix–xx, 391–393
internal moral authority and efficacy
and external guidance (such as propriety, rituals and norms), 396
knowledge and action, 389
and Lu-Wang School/tradition, 388–389
material nature, 391
and moral nature, xx, 390–391
and native endowment, 391–392
metapractical program, 389, 393–394, 396
nature of heaven-and-earth
and the four sprouts/virtues, 387
and humanity/human beings, 385–386
nature of things, 385
the nature/human nature
categories of, 385
cultivation of, 388
and human agency, 392–393
and inquiry and learning, 388–389
and investigation of things and extension of knowledge, 387–388, 396
and learning and action, 389
as metapractical ground for action, 387–389
multidimensionality of: the nature is one, but the manifestations are varied, 385, 391–393
and nature of heaven-and-earth, 391
open-endedness of, 394–396
primacy of, 385, 387, 389
and principle, 385, 387
and orthodox transmission of the way, 386
practical cultivation at the expense of inward introspection and abstract speculation, 388
principle, 387, 389
sage
potential of everyone to be, 393
social relationships, 388
writings and compilations, 381, 388
LI Tong
meditation (quiet sitting), 142
Supreme Ultimate
and principle, 137–138
li yi fen shu (one principle with different manifestations/coherence is one,

yet distinguished into many), *see* one principle with different manifestations/coherence is one, yet distinguished into many/ principle is one, but the manifestations are varied (*li yi fen shu*)

li zhi ben (root of propriety), *see under* propriety/ritual propriety/rituals and norms/rites (*li*)

li zhi qi (tools of propriety), *see under* propriety/ritual propriety/rituals and norms/rites (*li*)

LI Zhicai
- and SHAO Yong, 18–19, 21

liangzhi (pure knowing/innate knowing of the good), *see* pure knowing/ innate knowing of the good (*liangzhi*)

liberalism, 74–75, 78, 83

likes and dislikes, *see* desires/tendencies (*yu*)/ human desires (*ren yu*)

ling (human intelligence), *see* human intelligence (*ling*)

lingming (clear intellect), *see* clear intellect (*lingming*)

LIU Zheng, 286

LIU Zongzhou
- evil, xviii, 347–348, 351–352
- the four feelings
  - moral, and the seven feelings, emotional, 341
- innate knowing of the good
  - criticism of WANG Yangming on, 348–350
  - and moral will, 350
  - and volitional idea, 348
- moral effort, 343–345, 347–348, 350–351
- moral faults, 351–352
- moral feelings
  - and emotional feelings, 343, 350
  - and moral principles and moral heart/ mind, 341
- moral heart/mind
  - and good and bad, 350
  - and moral will, xviii, 338, 350
  - and solitude, 339, 350
  - transformation of volitional idea into, 347–348
- moral nature
  - and material nature, 342
- moral potentiality, 341
- moral will, *see* the will/moral will *below*
- original nature, 340
  - and heart/mind, 339–340
  - and moral nature, 339–340
- principle
  - and vital energy, 343 (note 4)
- reforming faults, 351–352
- reformulation of WANG Yangming's Four Dicta, 350
- residual vital energy
  - and habit, 347
- self-cultivation, 337, 351
  - and reforming faults, 352
- seriousness/respect, 345
- sincerity of will, 345–351
- solitude, xviii, 339
  - and moral heart/mind, xviii, 339, 350
  - and tranquillity, 343–344
- and Song–Ming Neo-Confucian philosophy, 337–338
- tranquillity, 343
  - and effort of vigilance, 344
- vigilance, xviii, 339
- vigilance in solitude, xviii, 338–345, 350
- volitional idea
  - and innate knowing of the good, 348
  - and liking and disliking, 347
  - as residual vital energy, 347
  - transformation of into heart/mind, 347–348
  - and the will/moral will, 346–348, 350
- and WANG Yangming, 337
  - criticism of, 345–346, 348–350
- the will/moral will, 345
  - criticism of WANG Yangming on, 345–346
  - and good and bad, 346, 350
  - and innate knowing of the good, 350
  - and liking and disliking, 346–347
  - and moral heart/mind, xviii, 338, 350
  - and morality, 349
  - and volitional idea, 346–348, 350
- will and accompanying feeling(s), 340, 350
- *See also Schemata of Humanity* (*Ren pu*) [LIU Zongzhou]

lixue (Principle-centered Learning/learning of li/School of Principle/Studies of Moral Principles), *see* Learning of Principle/School of Principle (*lixue*)

LOU Yao
- on Before Heaven Diagram, 32

love
- and humaneness, 73, 133

Cheng brothers, 133, 144
CHENG Yi, 134, 145
kinds of
Mencius, 73
principle of, *see* principle of love (*ai zhi li*)
See also humaneness/humanity/benevolence (*ren*); love with distinctions; universal love without distinction (*jian ai*)
love with distinctions
CHENG Yi, 71–73, 80, 83
Mencius, 71
LU Jiuling, 249
and the Four Masters of Mingzhou, 268, 270
and ZHU Xi, 255–256
LU Jiushao, 249
Supreme Ultimate
and Ultimateless, 258
and ZHU Xi, 249, 255–256
LU Jiuyuan
aesthetics, 261–262
and ethics, xxxiii, 262–263
biographical background, 249–250, 251–252
and Chan Buddhism, 273
contemporary relevance of, 260–264
criticism of Daoism and Buddhism, 259
disciples of, *see* the Four Masters of Mingzhou; Lu school (disciples of LU Jiuyuan)
enlightenment, xxxiii, 255
ethics, 262–264
and aesthetics, xxxiii, 262–263
and the Four Masters of Mingzhou, 267–268, 270
heart/mind, xvi–xvii
and learning, 282–283
and principle, xvi–xvii, xxvi, 130, 252–253
principles of and of phenomenal world, xvi, 253–254
shared by all human beings, 251–252, 254
and universe, 251–253, 261
holistic view of place of humans in the universe, 260–261
human heart/mind and moral heart/mind, xix, 185, 284
and idealism, xvi, 253, 261
learning
for civil service examinations, 282–283
mind-independent world
question of existence of, xvi, 253
moral enlightenment
suddenness of, xvi, 207
moral failure, xvii, xxxiii, 255
recorded conversations genre, 250–251
self-cultivation, xxxiii
and fundamental ethical goods all humans desire, 264
gaining awareness of and fully engaging the heart/mind, xvii, 255, 257, 259, 264
honoring the virtuous nature, 257
selfishness, 255, 259, 264
seriousness
and quietude, 284
and SHU Lin, 286
style, 260
Supreme Ultimate, 259
and Ultimateless, 258–259
as teacher, 250
understanding
and principles of heart/mind, 254
subjective dimension of, 254
virtue ethics, xxxiv
WANG Yangming and, 260
writings, 250–251
and *wu* (what does not exist), 259
and YANG Jian, 270–271, 273, 277, 288
and YUAN Xie, 270–271, 281, 284–285, 289
and ZHEN Dexiu, 235
and ZHU Xi, 255–260
discussions at Goose Lake Temple, 249, 255–256
Lu school (disciples of LU Jiuyuan), 287–288
and Chan Buddhism, 271
See also Jiangxi Lu school; Zhedong Lu school
LU Xiangshan, *see* LU Jiuyuan
LÜ Zuqian
biographical background, 197–200, 268
and CHENG Hao, 202, 204
and CHENG Yi, 204
and evil, sin and sinful thoughts, 205
extension of inner world to outer world, 213
feelings/emotions, 205
and the Four Masters of Mingzhou, 268
gentry
political mission of, 210, 215, 217–218
goodness
recovery of, xvi, 207

Lü Zuqian (*cont.*)
government affairs and administrative business, 208–209
and *The Great Learning*, 216–217
heart/mind, xvi, 204
and heavenly pattern, xvi, 206
and human agency, 204–205
and principle, 204
recovery of goodness of, xvi, 207
and social and political world, 204, 218
heart/mind of ruler, 216–218
restriction of by external means, 216, 218
heavenly pattern, xvi, 206
heavens/heaven
influence of in human realm, 205–206
imperial authority
concern for moral autonomy and acceptance of, xxxviii, 218
innate human goodness, 205, 213
recovery of, 207
institutional change/reform/renewal, xxxviii, 209–212
and moral renewal, xxxviii, 209, 212–218
institutional studies, 208, 210
intellectual background, 198, 202–204
intentions
and actions, xxxviii, 206, 214
investigation of things and events and extension of knowledge, xvi, 207
and Learning of the Way, 201
material nature
and original nature, 205
meditation (quiet sitting), 207
moral enlightenment
suddenness of, xvi, 207
moral ideal (quest for sagehood), 203–207
moral self
and political/institutional reality, xxxviii, 212
the nature/human nature, 205
normative form of governance, 208, 217
and Northern Song Learning of the Way, 203, 205, 214
omens/heavenly signs
and vital energy moved by heart/mind, 206
original nature
and material nature, 205
overlord, 209
and true king, 213–214
political philosophy, xxxviii, 199, 216
relevance of to modern world, 218–219
principle
and heart/mind, 204
profit of the state, 210
restoration of ethico-political system of Zhou Dynasty, 211
restraining imperial authority, 214–215
moral self-cultivation and, 215–216
retribution, 206
and *Rites of Zhou*, 210–211
self-cultivation
broad empirical knowledge and, xvi
and institutional studies, 208
and political action, 207–208, 212
reverential attention and, xvi, 207
and sagehood, xvi
See also moral ideal (quest for sagehood) *above*
shared governance, 215
and Shen Huan, 287
virtue
and identity of inner sphere (heart/mind) political sphere, 213–214
vital energy, 205
and Wang Anshi's project of moral and institutional renewal, 209–211
writings, 200–202
See also Chronicle of Major Events (*Dashi ji*) [Lü Zuqian]; *Detailed Explanations of Institutions throughout the Ages* (*Zhengdai zhidu xiangshuo*) [Lü Zuqian]; *Extensive Deliberations* (*Zuoshi boyi*) [Lü Zuqian]
and Xunzi, 205
and Yan Hui, 207
and Yuan Xie, 282
and Zhang Shi, 208
and Zhou Bida, 215
and Zhu Xi, xvi, 143, 146, 149, 202, 206–208, 211–214
on *Zuo Tradition*, 204–206, 209–210, 212–213, 215–217
lucidity or turbidity/purity or impurity of vital energy (*qi*)
Zhu Xi, 178, 183, 297
and decree, 166
and difference/differences between human beings
Zhang Zai, 51–52
and good and bad

Cheng-Zhu School/tradition, 364, 396
and manifested principle
Wang Yangming, 299
See also quality of *qi* (vital energy) (*qizhi*)
Luoxue (School of Luo), *see* School of Luo (*Luoxue*)
Lu-Wang School/tradition, 296 (note 4)
Li Guangdi and, 388–389

M

manifested principle (*li*) of particular, individualized things or events
Wang Yangming, xvii, 296, 298–299, 309
Zhu Xi, 296, 298
and heart/mind
Wang Yangming, 303
vital energy obscuration and
Wang Yangming, 299
See also one principle with different manifestations/coherence is one, yet distinguished into many/ principle is one, but the manifestations are varied (*li yi fen shu*)
Master Hu's Understanding of Words (*Huzi Zhiyan*) [Hu Hong], 140
See also Understanding of Words (*Zhiyan*) [Hu Hong; ed. Zhang Shi]
Master Zhang's Explanation of the Supreme Ultimate's Meaning (*Zhangzi taiji jie yi*) [Zhang Shi], 135
material body (and human desires)
and evil
Cheng Hao, xix, 129
Zhang Shi, xix, 129, 131
See also desires/tendencies (*yu*)/human desires (*ren yu*)
material desires (*wuyu*)
Wang Fuzhi, 372–373
Zhu Xi, 184
material nature (*qizhi zhi xing*), xxviii
Li Guangdi, 391
and evil
Cheng-Zhu School/tradition, 392
and heaven-and-earth-bestowed nature
Cheng Yi, xxviii
Li Guangdi, 391
and moral nature, 390
Li Guangdi, xx, 390–391
Liu Zongzhou, 342
and native endowment
Li Guangdi, 391–392
and original nature, 307
Cheng brothers, 178
Lü Zuqian, 205
Wang Yangming, 307
See also psycho-physical nature (*qizhi zhi xing*)
materialism
Wang Fuzhi, 355, 357
maxims
collection of, 242
meaning-principle (*yi li*)
methodology
and *Book of Change*, 33
meditation (quiet sitting)
Lü Zuqian, 207
Zhang Shi, 140
Zhu Xi, 114, 117, 142
Li Tong, 142
Mencius (Mengzi)
Dai Zhen and, 405, 417
dynamic process of personal growth, 394
ethical failure, 184
evil, 395
flood-like breath/*qi*, 44, 51
four sprouts/beginnings, 51, 364, 405
heart/mind of commiseration unable to bear suffering of others, 147, 182
humaneness, 75, 133
importance of in Learning of the Way, 203
innate human goodness, 63–64, 130, 364, 385–386, 395
innate knowing of the good, 130
kinds of love, 73
and Learning of the Way, xxii, 203
love with distinctions, 71
on Mohist love without distinction, 71
music and joy, 63
native endowment
Li Guangdi on, 391–392
obtained within the self/to get by oneself (*zi de*), 67
original, ethical heart mind, 130
profit/advantage/benefit
and action in accord with what is right or just, 131
propriety, 75
regulation of senses by heart/mind, 184
"understanding of words", 109
vital energy, 44
Zhang Shi and, 128–130, 141, 147–148
Mengzi (Mencius), *see* Mencius (Mengzi)
Mengzi ziyi shuzheng (*Evidential Analysis of the Meaning and Terms of the*

Mencius) [Dai Zhen], *see Evidential Analysis of the Meaning and Terms of the* Mencius (*Mengzi ziyi shuzheng*) [Dai Zhen]
meta-ethics
  Wang Yangming, 308–312
mind-independent world
  question of existence of
    Lu Jiuyuan, xvi, 253
    Wang Yangming, xviii, 300
ming (command/decree/destiny/fate), *see* decree (*ming*)
Ming–Qing transition
  Confucianism in, 383–385
"Misgivings about Master Hu's *Understanding of Words*" ("Huzi Zhiyan yiyi") [Zhu Xi], 107–108, 110 (note 9), 143–144
Mohists, *see* Mozi and Mohists
monism
  and materialism
    Wang Fuzhi, 355, 357
  of vital energy
    Wang Fuzhi, 357, 364
Moore, G. E.
  definition of naturalist, 308
moral autonomy
  concern for and acceptance of imperial authority
    Lü Zuqian, xxxviii, 218
moral cultivation
  Dai Zhen, xx, 404–405, 412–420
  Wang Fuzhi, 372–373
  Zhou Dunyi, xiv, 10, 14
  Zhu Xi, 404–405
  development of the nature/human nature
    Dai Zhen, 399–400
  and development of new capacities
    Dai Zhen, xx, 403, 405–406
  developmental and acquisitionist models
    Dai Zhen, 405–406
  and moral ideal (quest for sagehood)
    Northern Song Learning of the Way, 203
  transformation of vital energy and
    Zhang Zai, 53
  turning love of life into moral attitude
    Dai Zhen, 405–406
  Ultimate Void and
    Zhang Zai, xviii, 48
  See also moral self-cultivation (*xiushen*); self-cultivation
moral decision-making
  and ease in deliberation and ease in execution
    Zhu Xi, 411
  education and
    Dai Zhen, 403
  higher order moral thinking and deliberation about relative merit
    Dai Zhen, 409–410
  spontaneous or unreflecting
    Zhu Xi, 409
moral deliberation
  Dai Zhen, xx, 406–411, 415
  and desires
    Dai Zhen, xx, 415
  desires and feelings and
    Dai Zhen, xx
  and ease of morally virtuous behavior
    Dai Zhen, 411
  and learning
    Dai Zhen, 403
  and morality/moral behavior
    Zhu Xi, 411
moral discretion or "weighing" (*quan*)
  Dai Zhen, 409–411, 413
  Zhu Xi, 410 (note 14)
  and discernment of moral importance
    Dai Zhen, xx, 410–411
moral effort
  Liu Zongzhou, 343–345, 347–348, 350–351
moral enlightenment, *see* enlightenment/awakening (*wu/jue*)
moral failure, *see* ethical/moral failure
moral faults
  Liu Zongzhou, 351–352
  See also reforming faults (*gai guo*)
moral feelings
  and emotional feelings
    Liu Zongzhou, 343, 350
  and moral heart/mind
    Liu Zongzhou, 343
  and moral principles and moral heart/mind
    Liu Zongzhou, 341
  See also will and accompanying feeling(s)
moral health
  and institutional health/renewal
    Lü Zuqian, xxxviii, 209
moral heart/mind (*daoxin*)
  and human heart/mind
    Cheng brothers, xix, 185
    Lu Jiuyuan, xix, 185, 284

Shangshu, 184–185
WANG Fuzhi, 367
YUAN Xie, xvii, 283–284
ZHU Xi, xix, 185, 256–257, 284
moral heart/mind or heart/mind (*xin*)
and good and bad
LIU Zongzhou, 350
and moral feelings
LIU Zongzhou, 343
and moral feelings and moral principles
LIU Zongzhou, 341
and solitude
LIU Zongzhou, 339
and solitude/solitariness
LIU Zongzhou, xviii, 350
and the will/moral will
LIU Zongzhou, xviii, 338, 350
moral ideal (quest for sagehood)
LÜ Zuqian, 203–207
moral metaphysics, xxxi, 8 (note 10), 78
CHENG Yi, 78–83
and Neo-Confucian philosophy, 78
ZHOU Dunyi, xiv, 3, 8–10, 14
moral nature (*yili zhi xing*)
and material nature, 390
LI Guangdi, xx, 390–391
LIU Zongzhou, 342
and original nature
LIU Zongzhou, 339–340
moral perception
WANG Yangming, 328–329
moral potentiality
LIU Zongzhou, 341
moral principles
and moral feelings and moral heart/mind
LIU Zongzhou, 341
moral realism
WANG Yangming, xxxiii, 308
moral self
and political/institutional reality
LÜ Zuqian, xxxviii, 212
moral self-cultivation (*xiushen*)
and joy, 61
and restraining ruler's political power
LÜ Zuqian, 215–216
vital energy and, 43
See also moral cultivation; self-cultivation
moral sentiments, *see* natural moral sentiments
moral transformation
and nature bestowed by heaven and earth
ZHANG Zai, 51
quality of *qi* (vital energy) and
ZHANG Zai, 50–53
moral will, *see* the will/moral will (*yi*)
morality (*daode*)
and consciousness
YUAN Xie, 281
morality (*yi li*)
and heart/mind
ZHU Xi, xix, 185
morality/moral behavior, 69–70, 82–83
and biological existence
WANG Fuzhi, 372, 376
can one be moral
CHENG Yi, xxxiii, 64–69
and desires
DAI Zhen, 414–415
and ease
DAI Zhen, 411, 414
ZHU Xi, 411
feelings/emotions and
WANG Fuzhi, 368, 373, 375–376
how to be moral
CHENG Yi, 69–74
and joy, xxxiii, 61, 63
CHENG Yi, xxxiii, 61–63, 82
metaphysical roots of, *see* moral metaphysics
and moral deliberation
ZHU Xi, 411
moral will and
LIU Zongzhou, 349
and natural moral sentiments
WANG Fuzhi, 373
nature of, 411
Plato and Aristotle, xxxiii, 82–83
and reflection
WANG Fuzhi, 370–371, 376
and self-interested behavior
DAI Zhen, 418
why be moral, xxxiii, 60–61
CHENG Yi, xxxiii, 60–64, 82–83
See also ethics; Golden Rule; Silver Rule
motion/movement/disturbance/activation (*dong*), 192–193
ZHU Xi, 193
motion and tranquillity (*dongjing*), 192–193
ZHU Xi, 193
of Supreme Ultimate
ZHANG Shi, 136
ZHU Xi, 137
MOU Zongsan, xxxii
on Confucian lineages of Song–Ming period, xl–xli

Mou Zongsan, xxxii (*cont.*)
  coordination of Western modernity with traditional Chinese philosophy, 218
  on distinguishing sayings of Cheng Yi and Cheng Hao, 90
  on fundamental state of the way, xl–xli
  and moral metaphysics, xxxi
  on the nature/human nature, 384
  on orthodox transmission of the way, xl–xli
  and "sudden and perfect," xxxi
  on Zhang Shi, 125
Mozi and Mohists
  universal love without distinction, 71–72
music (*yue*)
  Confucius on, 62
  and joy, 62–63
    Cheng Yi, 62, 76
    Mencius, 63
  and propriety
    Cheng Yi, 75–76
My Old Views of Equilibrium and Harmony (*Zhonghe jiushuo*)
  Zhu Xi's preface to, 142
myriad or ten thousand things/beings (*wanwu*)
  and heaven and earth, 182
  and humaneness of heaven and earth
    Zhang Zai, 182
  and inborn qualities
    Cheng Hao, 99
  and principle
    Cheng Yi, 79–80
    Hu Hong, 116, 121
    Zhu Xi, 160
  productive power of
    Cheng Hao, 99–101
  unity of human beings and
    Cheng Hao, 99–100
  and universe
    Zhou Dunyi, xiv, 7
  and vital energy
    Cheng Hao, 100
  vital energy and difference of from humans
    Cheng Hao, 100
  and Void
    Zhang Zai, 47
  See also external things/external world

N

native endowment (*cai*), *see* natural talents/ native endowment (*cai*)
natural desires, *see* desires/tendencies (*yu*)/ human desires (*ren yu*)
natural emotions, *see* feelings/emotions (*qing*)
natural moral sentiments
  and morality
    Wang Fuzhi, 373
  and natural emotions
    Wang Fuzhi, 367, 369–370, 373–376
  Wang Fuzhi, 369–370
natural talents/native endowment (*cai*)
  and material nature
    Li Guangdi, 391–392
  Mencius, 391–392
  Wang Fuzhi, 369
naturalism
  Cheng Hao, 101
naturalistic non-reductionism, 308
  Wang Yangming, 308–310
the nature/human nature/inner nature (*xing*)
  Cheng Hao, 102
  Cheng Yi, xxviii
  Dai Zhen, 401–406
  Han Yu, 390
  Hu Hung, 117
  Lü Zuqian, 205
  Wang Fuzhi, 364–367
  Zhang Zai, 39, 50
  Zhu Xi, 157
  before and after birth
    Cheng Hao, 102–103
  categories of
    Li Guangdi, 385
      See also human nature (*renxing*); nature bestowed by heaven and earth/nature of heaven-and-earth/heaven-and-earth-bestowed nature (*tiandi zhi xing*); nature of things (*wuxing*)
  Cheng-Zhu School/tradition, 364, 391, 393, 395
    as illumination of, 386–387
  daily renewal and daily completion of (as human essence)
    Wang Fuzhi, 365–367
  and desires
    Zhang Shi, 129
  development of through education
    Dai Zhen, 399
  dynamic interpretation of, 393–394
  and equilibrium and harmony
    Hunan school, 142

and feelings/emotions
Cheng Yi, 77
Zhu Xi, 180
and good and bad
Cheng Hao, 102
Hu Hong, 114
Li Guangdi, xix, 385
Wang Fuzhi, 366–367
good or bad?, *see* goodness and badness of human nature
and heart/mind
Hu Hong, xvi, 110–115, 140–141, 144
Wang Fuzhi, 367
Zhang Shi, xvi, 127–132, 140–141, 144, 148
Zhu Xi, 144, 180
and heavenly principle
Cheng-Zhu School/tradition, 364
and human agency
Li Guangdi, 392–393
as human essence
Wang Fuzhi, 365
as human potential
Wang Fuzhi, 364
of humans and other creatures/things different
Wang Fuzhi, 364
and inborn qualities
Cheng Hao, 99–100, 102
inherent goodness of, *see* innate human goodness
and inquiry and learning
Li Guangdi, 388–389
and investigation of things and extension of knowledge
Li Guangdi, 387–388, 396
and learning and action
Li Guangdi, 389
as metapractical ground for action
Li Guangdi, 387–389
and moral cultivation
Dai Zhen, 399–400
and moral essence
Wang Fuzhi, 364
Mou Zongsan on, 384
multidimensionality of, 389–390
multidimensionality of: the nature is one, but the manifestations are varied
Li Guangdi, 385, 391–393
and nature bestowed by heaven and earth
Li Guangdi, 385, 391
and nature of heaven-and-earth
Li Guangdi, 391
as nature/the natural
Hu Hong, 113–114
and not yet aroused/activated/expressed feelings
Zhu Xi, 142
notion of its transcendence of good and evil resulting in ethical/moral failure
Li Guangdi, xix, 385
open-endedness of
Li Guangdi, 394–396
primacy of
Li Guangdi, 385, 387, 389
and principle, 116
Cheng Yi, 77–78
Li Guangdi, 385, 387
Zhu Xi, xix, 157, 180
principle of production and vital energy and
Cheng Hao, 102
and propriety
Cheng Yi, 77
and repeated practice or habits
Wang Fuzhi, 366
and Supreme Ultimate
Zhang Shi, 136, 138
and vital energy, xxviii
Cheng Hao, 98–101
Wang Fuzhi, 365, 374
Wang Yangming, 306–307
Zhang Zai, 51–53
Xunzi, 395
See also human nature (*renxing*); material nature (*qizhi zhi xing*); nature bestowed by heaven and earth/ nature of heaven-and-earth/ heaven-and-earth-bestowed nature (*tiandi zhi xing*); nature of things (*wuxing*); original nature (*benran zhi xing* / *benxing*); psycho-physical nature (*qizhi zhi xing*)
nature bestowed by heaven and earth/nature of heaven-and-earth/heaven-and-earth-bestowed nature (*tiandi zhi xing*)
Li Guangdi, 385
Zhang Zai, xviii, xxviii, 51, 54
and Buddha-nature
Zhu Xi, 402
and the four sprouts/virtues
Li Guangdi, 387
and humanity/human beings
Li Guangdi, 385–386

nature bestowed (*cont.*)
  and material nature
    Cheng Yi, xxviii
    Li Guangdi, 391
  and moral transformation
    Zhang Zai, 51
  and the nature/human nature
    Li Guangdi, 391
nature of heaven-and-earth (*tiandi zhi xing*), *see* nature bestowed by heaven and earth/nature of heaven-and-earth/heaven-and-earth-bestowed nature (*tiandi zhi xing*)
nature of things (*wuxing*)
  Li Guangdi, 385
"Neo-Confucian"
  discussion of the term, xi–xiii
Neo-Confucian philosophy, xiii, 59
  and *Book of Change*, xiv, xxiii, 11
  concepts, xiv–xxi
  and the *Four Books*, xxiii
  genre and, xxiii–xxv, 224, 244–245
  history of philosophy approach and political approach to, xxxv–xxxix, xl–xli
  modern interpretations of, xxx, xxxi–xli
  and moral metaphysics, 78
  and political philosophy, xxxviii
  and principle (*li*), xxv–xxviii
  and social-historical contexts, xxxviii, xli
  subitist strain in, 270–273
  what is "new" in, xxii–xxiii, 78
    See also interrupted learning (*juexue*)
Neo-Confucianism
  meaning and use of term, xii–xiii, 1 (note 1), 225 (note 1)
  See also Northern Song Neo-Confucianism
new classics, 238–245
New Confucian philosophy
  Zhang Zai and, 53–55
New Confucianism, xi, xxxi–xxxii, xl–xli
New policies (*xinfa*) of Wang Anshi
  opposition to, 17–18
New Principle-centered Learning (*xin lixue*), xxx–xxxi
New School (*Xinxue*), 41–42
  See also Wang Anshi
nian (volitional ideas), *see* volitional idea (*nian*)
Ningzong (Southern Song emperor)
  and Yang Jian, 279–280, 289
  and Yuan Xie, 281–282, 289
normative coherence of how things should be (*dangran zhi li*) and "the way things are" (*suoyiran*), xxvii
  Wang Fuzhi, 361
  Zhu Xi, 157, 178
normative form of governance (*zhiti*)
  Lü Zuqian, 208, 217
normative principle (*yi li*)
  Cheng Yi, 274
  Zhu Xi, 274
Northern Song Learning of the Way
  influence on Lü Zuqian, 203, 205, 214
  and moral ideal (quest for sagehood), 203
  and restoration of Zhou Dynasty ethico-political system, 211
Northern Song Neo-Confucianism
  and development of Chinese philosophy, 197
notebook/reading log (*dushu ji*), xxiv, 231, 245
number (*shu*)
  Shao Yong, xiv, 20, 27, 28–29, 33, 35
  and principle
    Shao Yong, 28
  regulative processes of
    Shao Yong, 22–23
  and world-ordering methodology
    Shao Yong, 23–24
numerological-cosmological system of Shao Yong, xiv, 18–36
the numinous (*shen*), *see* spirit/the numinous (*shen*)
Nussbaum, Martha
  on perception, 328

O

objects, *see* things/objects (*wu*)
observation of things (*guanwu*)
  Shao Yong, xv, 25–29, 34–35
  and heart/mind
    Shao Yong, xv, 26
  objectivity of
    Shao Yong, 26–27
  omniperspectivalism
    Shao Yong, 27
  and perfecting the mind
    Shao Yong, 34–35
  principle and
    Cheng Yi, 28
    Shao Yong, 26
  and sage
    Shao Yong, 26–27
  and time
    Shao Yong, 26
  Xunzi, 25–26

obtained within the self/to get by oneself (*zi de*)
CHENG Yi, 67
Mencius, 67
omens/heavenly signs
and vital energy moved by heart/mind
LÜ Zuqian, 206
On the Yellow Emperor (*Huangshu*) [WANG Fuzhi], 355
"On Understanding Ren" ("Shi ren pian") [CHENG Hao], 90
one body/one organic entity [forming one body with all things] (*yi ti*)
and ceaseless life giving force running through all things
Cheng brothers, 182
ZHU Xi, 183
and humaneness
ZHU Xi, 181–182
and ideal ruler, 181
and self-cultivation
ZHU Xi, 182
one principle with different manifestations/coherence is one, yet distinguished into many/principle is one, but the manifestations are varied (*li yi fen shu*), 318–319
ZHU Xi, 49
and love with distinctions
CHENG Yi, 71–73, 80
and principle
CHENG Yi, 80
ontological idealism
of WANG Yangming, 299–307
order/put in order (*li*)
things
HU Hong, 117–121
the world
HU Hong, 118–120
ordinary/common knowledge or understanding (*chang zhi*)
and genuine/real knowledge or understanding
CHENG Yi, 66
original, ethical heart/mind (*benxin*)
Mencius, 130
YANG Jian, 275–276
YUAN Xie, 281
ZHANG Shi, 132
original nature (*benran zhi xing* / *benxing*)
CHENG Hao, 102–103
LIU Zongzhou, 340
and Buddha-nature
ZHU Xi, 402, 404
and heart/mind
LIU Zongzhou, 339–340
and material nature, 307
Cheng brothers, 178
LÜ Zuqian, 205
WANG Yangming, 307
and moral nature
LIU Zongzhou, 339–340
See also heavenly norms/principles/pattern or principle of Heaven/heaven (*tianli*)
Ortega y Gasset, José
on certainty of faith (*creencia*), 384
orthodox transmission of the way (*daotong*), xxii
LI Guangdi and, 386
MOU Zongsan on, xl–xli
QIAN Mu on, xli
ZHOU Dunyi, 139, 148
ZHU Xi and, xxxvii
ZHU Xi and, xxii
and fundamental state of the way, xxxvii–xxxviii, xli
See also interrupted learning (*juexue*)
outer kingliness
and inner sageliness, xxxvii–xxxviii
ZHOU Dunyi, 4
Outline of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government (*Tongjian gangmu*) [ZHU Xi], 106
overcoming the self (*ke ji*)
and reverence/seriousness/mental attentiveness
ZHU Xi, 190
and vigilance in solitude
ZHU Xi, xxi, 190
overlord (*ba*)
LÜ Zuqian, 209
and true king
LÜ Zuqian, 213–214
ZHU Xi, 214

P

partiality/selfishness/personal/private (*si*)
DAI Zhen, 419
contrasted with impartiality, 186
WANG Fuzhi, 372
ZHU Xi, 182, 185–187
and ethical/moral failure
LU Jiuyuan, 255, 259, 264

partiality/selfishness/personal/private (*cont.*)
ZHU Xi, 183
and humaneness
ZHU Xi, 187
and loss of insight into principle
ZHU Xi, 187
and reflection
WANG Fuzhi, 375
pattern (*li*), *see* principle/pattern/coherence/coherent principle/norm/order/to order/creativity or life-giving activity/internal logic (*li*)
pattern of heaven (*tianli*), *see* heavenly norms/principles/pattern or principle of Heaven/heaven (*tianli*)
pedagogical writing
CHEN Chun, 226
ZHEN Dexiu, 226
Penetrating/Comprehending the Book of Change ("Tong shu") [ZHOU Dunyi], 2, 10–14, 135, 240, 258
ZHEN Dexiu's use of, 240
ZHU Xi and, 138, 240
PENG Guinian, 281
perception
WANG Yangming, 328
See also moral perception; reflective perception/reflexive observation (*fanguan*)
performative genres in philosophical writing, xxiv, 224–225
CHEN Chun's *The Correct Meaning of Terms* as, 228–229
the personal
and the political, 74–75
CHENG Yi, 75
personal desires
WANG Fuzhi, 373
and selfish desires
WANG Fuzhi, 372
philosophical cosmology
David Hall and Roger Ames on, 153
philosophical writing
and genre, 223–224
physical nature, *see* material nature (*qizhi zhi xing*)
physically endowed nature (*qibing zhi xing*)
and heaven's mandated nature
ZHANG Shi, xix, 129
Plato
morality/moral behavior, xxxiii
Platonic Forms
and principle, xxx (note 27), xxxi, 80–81, 117
political action
and self-cultivation
LÜ Zuqian, 207–208, 212
political institutions and political reforms, *see* institutional change/reform/renewal
political philosophy, xxxviii, 74
LÜ Zuqian, xxxviii, 199, 216
relevance of to modern world, 218–219
See also disorder/chaos (*luan*); liberalism
politics and the political, *see* society/social and political world
preconception/preconceptions, *see* thoughts/preconceptions/preconception (*yi*)
predictive knowledge
SHAO Yong, xiv, 23, 32
preserving tranquillity (*jing cun*)
LIU Zongzhou, 344
primordial vital energy (*yuanqi*), 161
principle/pattern/coherence/coherent principle/norm/order/to order/creativity or life-giving activity/internal logic (*li*), xiv, 177–178
Cheng brothers, 79
CHENG Yi, 79–81
LI Guangdi, 387, 389
SHAO Yong, 27, 178
WANG Fuzhi, 355–356, 362, 371–372
WANG Yangming, 296, 318
two uses of term (universal and manifested/particular *li*), xvii, 296, 298–299
See also manifested principle (*li*) of particular, individualized things or events; universal principle (*li*)
Xunzi, 181
ZHU Xi, 157–160, 178
two uses of term (universal and manifested/particular *li*), 296–298
and Buddha-nature
ZHU Xi, 402
in Buddhism, xxvi–xxvii, 318
as coherent principle/coherence, xxi, xxvi, 78 (note 18), 155, 157–160, 318
See also coherent principle/coherence (*li*); normative coherence of how things should be (*dangran zhi li*) and "the way things are" (*suoyiran*)
as creativity or life-giving activity
CHENG Yi, 78, 81–82

and decree, 166
and desires
Hu Hong, 144
Zhu Xi, 144, 402
different principles (*li*) of different things
Cheng Yi, 79–80
exhausting and knowing
Zhu Xi, 160, 187
and extension of knowledge or understanding
Zhu Xi, 187
and external things/world
Wang Yangming, xviii, 300–301, 306
of filial piety, 319
Wang Yangming, 301–302, 304, 309
and the four sprouts
Zhu Xi, 180
and goodness
Cheng Yi, 78
and harmony
Wang Yangming, 319
and harmony and interconnectedness of all beings/things
Wang Yangming, 320
Zhang Zai, 319–320
and heart/mind
Lu Jiuyuan, xvi–xvii, xxvi, 130, 252–253
Lü Zuqian, 204
Wang Yangming, xxvi, 300–306
Zhang Shi, xvi, 129–130
Zhu Xi, 130, 165, 181, 296, 300
and heaven
Zhu Xi, 165
of heaven, *see* heavenly norms/principles/pattern or principle of Heaven/heaven (*tianli*)
within human desires
Wang Fuzhi, 371–373
insight into
Zhu Xi, 187–189, 191
and interdependence of all things, xxvi, 318
and material nature, xxviii
moral
Wang Yangming, 309–310, 312
moral and non-moral
Wang Yangming, 309
and the myriad things
Cheng Yi, 79–80
Hu Hong, 116, 121
Zhu Xi, 160
and the nature/human nature, 116
Cheng Yi, 77–78
Li Guangdi, 385, 387
Zhu Xi, xix, 157, 180
of the nature/human nature, *see* principle of the nature/human nature (*xing li*)
and Neo-Confucian philosophy, xxv–xxviii
and number
Shao Yong, 28
and observation of things
Cheng Yi, 28
Shao Yong, 26
as order/norm (as opposed to chaos)
Hu Hong, 117–119, 121
as pattern/norm/normal
Hu Hong, 116–117
and Platonic Forms, xxx (note 27), xxxi, 80–81, 117
and propriety
Cheng Yi, 78
realization of, 319
and rightness
Hu Hong, 117
selfishness and loss of insight into
Zhu Xi, 187
and sincerity
Zhu Xi, 191
state/condition of
Zhu Xi, 157–160
status and nature of
Wang Fuzhi, 359
and Supreme Ultimate
Li Tong, 137–138
Zhu Xi, xiv, 138, 168, 170–171
things, *see* principle of things (*wu li*)
and understanding/knowledge
Zhu Xi, 160, 188
virtue as realization of
Wang Yangming, 319
and vital energy, xxviii–xxxi, 45
Liu Zongzhou, 343 (note 4)
Wang Fuzhi, xxx, 355, 359, 361–365
Wang Yangming, 306, 308–309
Zhu Xi, xxviii–xxx, 159, 161–163, 178, 181, 297–298, 359
See also principle of vital energy (*qi zhi li*)/ principle inherent in vital energy; principle (*li*)-vital energy (*qi*)
and vital energy as each other's state and function
Wang Fuzhi, 358
and the way

principle/pattern/coherence/coherent (*cont.*)
WANG Fuzhi, 361–362
as "the way things ought to be" (*dangran*) and "the way things are" (*suoyiran*), xxvii
WANG Fuzhi, 361
ZHU Xi, 157, 178
ZHU Xi's theory of and ZHANG Zai's theory of vital energy, 54–55
See also one principle with different manifestations/coherence is one, yet distinguished into many/ principle is one, but the manifestations are varied (*li yi fen shu*); principle of human affairs (*ren li*); principle of things (*wu li*)
principle of Heaven/heaven (*tianli*), *see* heavenly norms/principles/pattern or principle of Heaven/heaven (*tianli*)
principle of human affairs (*ren li*)
CHENG Yi, 79
principle of love (*ai zhi li*)
ZHANG Shi, 145, 147
ZHU Xi, 134, 147
and humaneness
ZHANG Shi, 134, 145
ZHU Xi, 145
principle of the nature/human nature (*xing li*)
WANG Fuzhi, 361, 367
principle of production
and humans and the myriad things
CHENG Hao, 100, 102
principle of things (*wu li*)
CHENG Yi, 79
WANG Fuzhi, 361
principle of vital energy (*qi zhi li*) / principle inherent in vital energy
WANG Fuzhi, 356–364
principle (*li*)-vital energy (*qi*)
metaphysics
WANG Yangming, 296–307
realism
WANG Yangming, xviii, 300
private, *see* partiality/selfishness/personal/ private (*si*)
productive power of the myriad things and humans
CHENG Hao, 99
and goodness in humans, 99, 100–101
profit/advantage/benefit/utility/furthering (*li*)
and action in accord with what is right or just
Mencius, 131
ZHANG Shi, 131–132
and selfish desires
ZHANG Shi, 132
ZHU Xi, 418
profit of the state (*guojia zhi li*)
LÜ Zuqian, 210
propriety/ritual propriety/rituals and norms/ rites (*li*), 75
CHENG Yi, 75–76
base of in human feelings
CHENG Yi, 76–77
government by, 75
CHENG Yi, 78, 83
and internal moral authority and efficacy
LI Guangdi, 396
the metaphysical and the phenomenal
CHENG Yi, 77
and music
CHENG Yi, 75–76
the nature/human nature and
CHENG Yi, 77
and the personal and the political
CHENG Yi, 75
and principle
CHENG Yi, 78
root of
CHENG Yi, 77
rules of
and laws, 75–76, 78
tools of/external rules of
CHENG Yi, 77
Xunzi, 75
prose essays, 224
psycho-physical nature (*qizhi zhi xing*), 50–51
ZHANG ZAI, xviii, xxviii, 50–51
and differences between human beings
ZHANG Zai, 50–51
See also manifested principle (*li*) of particular, individualized things or events; material nature (*qizhi zhi xing*)
public/shared public good/altruistic public interest/impartiality/fairness (*gong*)
contrasted with partiality/selfishness, 186
WANG Fuzhi, 372
ZHU Xi, 182, 185–187
and humaneness
Cheng brothers, 186
ZHANG Shi, 147
ZHU Xi, 147

pure knowing/innate knowing of the good (*liangzhi*), 310
  Mencius, 130
  WANG Yangming, xxxiii, 311, 330, 348–349
  criticism of WANG Yangming on
    LIU Zongzhou, 348–350
  discovery of
    WANG Yangming, 325
  extension of, *see* extension of pure knowing/extension of innate knowing of the good (*zhi liangzhi*)
  and good and bad
    LIU Zongzhou, 349
  and selfish desires
    WANG Yangming, 311–312
  and vital energy
    WANG Yangming, xxxiii, 307–309
  and volitional ideas
    LIU Zongzhou, 348
  and the will/moral will
    LIU Zongzhou, 350
purity or impurity of vital energy (*qi*), *see* lucidity or turbidity/purity or impurity of vital energy (*qi*)

Q

qi (instruments/utility/concrete things/concrete existence), *see* concrete things (*qi*); instruments (*qi*)
qi (vital energy or force/material force)
  meaning/translation of term of, xv (note 11), 42, 160–161, 178
  See also vital energy or force/material force (*qi*)
qi qing (the seven feelings), *see* the seven feelings (*qi qing*)
qi zhi li (principle of vital energy), *see* principle of vital energy (*qi zhi li*)/principle inherent in vital energy
QIAN Mu
  on orthodox transmission of the way (*daotong*), xli
QIAN Shi
  on YANG Jian, 278–279
qibing zhi xing (physically endowed nature), *see* physically endowed nature (*qibing zhi xing*)
QIN Gui, 106–107, 126, 200
QIN Yue
  and YANG Jian, 288
qing (emotions/feelings/natural emotions/true feelings/essential nature/disposition)
  meaning/translation of term, 179
  See also feelings/emotions (*qing*)
Qing Dynasty
  and HU Anguo's commentary on *Spring and Autumn Annals*, 105–106
qiong (exhaust), *see* exhaust (*qiong*)
qizhi (quality of *qi*/*qi*-constituted material qualities/material disposition/the psycho-physical)
  meaning/translation of term, 51
  See also quality of *qi* (vital energy) (*qizhi*)
qizhi zhi xing (material nature/psycho-physical nature)
  meaning/translation of term, 50–51
  See also material nature (*qizhi zhi xing*); psycho-physical nature (*qizhi zhi xing*)
quality of *qi* (vital energy) (*qizhi*)
  and difference/differences/differentiation
    ZHANG Zai, 51–52
  and good and bad
    Cheng-Zhu School/tradition, 364
    ZHANG Zai, 51–52
  and moral transformation
    ZHANG Zai, 50–53
  transformation of
    ZHANG Zai, 52, 54
      See also lucidity or turbidity/purity or impurity of vital energy (*qi*)
quan (human agency/moral discretion or "weighing"), *see* human agency (*quan*); moral discretion or "weighing" (*quan*)
QUAN Zuwang
  on SHEN Huan, 287
  and study of the classics, 273
  on YUAN Xie, 273, 281
  on ZHANG Shi, 125
quietude, *see* active quietude (*dong jing*); tranquillity/rest/inactivity/stillness/quietude (*jing*)

R

RAN Qiu, 208
reading
  and cultivating heart/mind
    ZHEN Dexiu, 239
  and learning

reading (*cont.*)
ZHEN Dexiu, 235
See also learning (*xue*)
reconfiguring tradition text through, 231–238
Reading Notes (*Xishan xiansheng Zhen Wenzhong Gong dushuji*) [ZHEN Dexiu], xxiv, 231–232, 234–236
theory of moral cultivation underlying main categories, 232
real knowledge (*zhen zhi*), *see* genuine/real knowledge or understanding (*zhen zhi*)
realism
WANG Yangming, xviii, 300
realness/reality/real and solid (*shi*)
ZHU Xi, 156
and sincerity
ZHU Xi, 191
and void/empty, 192
A Record for Reflection (*Jinsi lu*) [Zhu Xi], 42, 202
and CHEN Chun's *The Correct Meaning of Terms*, 229
LÜ Zuqian and, 202, 215
Record of Admiring Yanzi (*Xi Yan lu*) [ZHANG Shi], 127, 132, 146
Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted (*Chuanxi lu*) [WANG Yangming], 298, 300, 326, 345
Record of the Confucian School's Comments on Humaneness (*Zhu-Si yan ren lu*) [ZHANG Shi], 132, 144–146
"A Record of the Four Abstentions" ("Jue si ji") [YANG Jian], 274, 276, 280
Recorded Conversations (*Yulu*) [CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao], xxiii
HU Anguo and YANG Shi and, 106
recorded conversations (*yulu*) genre, xxiii, 107, 224–226
CHENG Yi, 225
LU Jiuyuan, 250–251
ZHU Xi, xxiv, 225–226
Analects, 224, 251
and authority of contemporary teacher, 224
and dialogue/discussion with contemporary teacher, 225
and ZHU Xi's genealogy of master-teachers, 225
Records and Observations on Practicing Learning (*Xixue jiyan*) [YE Shi], 245
Records of the Yi-Luo School (*Yi-Luo yuanyuan lu*) [ZHU Xi], xiv
recovery [of goodness] (*faxian*) of heart/mind (*xin*)
LÜ Zuqian, xvi, 207
rectification of thoughts (*gewu*)
WANG Yangming, 303–304
differences between ZHU Xi and WANG Yangming, 303
See also investigation of things and events (*gewu*)
rectification of thoughts and extension of knowledge (*gewu zhizhi*/*zhizhi gewu*)
WANG Yangming, 311
See also investigation of things and events/apprehending the (patterns in) things and extension of knowledge (*gewu zhizhi*/*zhizhi gewu*)
Rectifying Ignorance (*Zhengmeng*) [ZHANG Zai], 40–41, 46
WANG Fuzhi on, 41
reflection (*si*)
WANG Fuzhi, 370–371
and evil
WANG Fuzhi, 375
and morality
WANG Fuzhi, 370–371, 376
and natural emotions
WANG Fuzhi, 373–374
and selfishness
WANG Fuzhi, 375
and sensory perceptions, emotions, desires
WANG Fuzhi, 373–374
Reflections on Things at Hand (*Jinsi lu*) [ZHU Xi], *see A Record for Reflection* (*Jinsi lu*) [ZHU Xi]
reflective perception/reflexive observation (*fanguan*)
SHAO Yong, 35
reforming faults (*gai guo*)
LIU Zongzhou, 351
and self-cultivation
LIU Zongzhou, 352
regret
WANG Yangming, 322–324
ren (humaneness/humanity/benevolence)
meaning/translation of term, 132
See also humaneness/humanity/benevolence (*ren*)
ren li (*li* of human affairs), *see* principle of human affairs (*ren li*)

Ren pu (*Schemata of Humanity*) [Liu Zongzhou], *see Schemata of Humanity* (*Ren pu*) [Liu Zongzhou]
"Ren shuo" ("Treatise on Humaneness") [Zhang Shi], *see* "Treatise on Humaneness" ("Ren shuo") [Zhang Shi]
ren yu (human desire), *see* desires/tendencies (*yu*)/human desires (*ren yu*)
renji (Ultimate Ethics), *see* Ultimate Ethics (*renji*)
renlun (social relationships), *see* social relationships (*renlun*)
renxin (human heart/mind), *see* human heart/mind (*renxin*)
renyu (human desire), *see* desires/tendencies (*yu*)/human desires (*ren yu*)
repeated practice or habits (*xi*)
  and the nature/human nature
    Wang Fuzhi, 366
  See also habit (*xi*)
residual vital energy
  and habit
    Liu Zongzhou, 347
  volitional idea as
    Liu Zongzhou, 347
restraining imperial authority
  Lü Zuqian, 214–215
  Yang Jian, 280
  by moral improvement of imperial mind
    Zhu Xi, 216
  moral self-cultivation and
    Lü Zuqian, 215–216
  See also shared governance (*gongzhi*)
retribution
  Lü Zuqian, 206
reverence/seriousness/mental attentiveness/reverential attention/respect (*jing*), 189
  Cheng brothers, 189
  Liu Zongzhou, 345
  Zhang Shi, 131, 137
  Zhu Xi, 189–190
  and extension of knowledge or understanding
    Zhu Xi, 189
  and heart/mind
    Zhu Xi, 187, 189
  and quietude
    Lu Jiuyuan, 284
    Yuan Xie, 285
    Zhu Xi, 284–285
  and self-cultivation
    Hu Hong, 137
    Lü Zuqian, xvi, 207
    Zhang Shi, 137
  and Supreme Ultimate
    Zhang Shi, 137
righteousness (*yi*)
  Wang Fuzhi, 370
rightness (*yi*)
  action in accord with and seeking what brings advantage, utility or profit
    Mencius, 131
    Zhang Shi, 131–132
  and principle
    Hu Hong, 117
  and principles/patterns of heaven
    Zhang Shi, 132
      See also righteousness (*yi*)
Rites of Zhou (*Zhouli*)
  Lü Zuqian and, 210–211
ru (Confucian)
  meaning/translation of term, x–xi
ruler and rulership
  Confucius, 208–209
  Hu Hong, 119, 121–122
  Zhu Xi, 209
  moral improvement of imperial heart/mind, 216, 218, 243–244
    Lü Zuqian, 216–218
    Zhu Xi, 216
  and the people
    Yuan Xie, 282
  wuwei and
    Yang Jian, 280
  on Zhou Dynasty model
    Hu Hong, 109, 120–122
  See also government; imperial authority; learning of emperorship (*dixue*); normative form of governance (*zhiti*); restraining imperial authority; shared governance (*gongzhi*); true king (*wang*)
rules
  and virtue
    Wang Yangming, 317
  and virtue ethics, 316
  See also laws (punitive)

S

sagehood
  Confucius, in *Analects*, 324
  quest for as moral ideal

sagehood (*cont.*)
Lü Zuqian, 203–207
self-cultivation and
Lü Zuqian, xvi
See also inner sageliness
sage(s)
Hu Hong, 111, 118–120
Zhou Dunyi, 8–9
and desires
Wang Fuzhi, 373
and feelings/emotions
Zhu Xi, 183
insights of
Zhu Xi, 187–188
and observation of things
Shao Yong, 26–27
potential of everyone to be
Li Guangdi, 393
and selflessness
Cheng brothers, 186
and Ultimate Ethics
Zhang Shi, 137
sancai (Three Materials/trinity), *see* trinity (*sancai*) [humankind / sage/ superior person / heaven and earth]
Schemata of Humanity (*Ren pu*) [Liu Zongzhou], 351–352
school from Huxiang, 108
School of Guan (*Guanxue*), 41–42
See also Zhang Zai
School of Heart/Mind (*xinxue*), *see* Learning of Heart/Mind / School of Heart/ Mind (*xinxue*)
School of Luo (*Luoxue*), 41–42
See also Cheng Hao; Cheng Yi
Scrutinizing What is Right from the Gao Studio (*Gao Zhai shen shi ji*), 227–228
"The Self and [the *Book of*] *Change*" ("Ji *Yi*") [Yang Jian], 274
self-actualization (*cheng*)
Zhu Xi, 172–173
by becoming centered and harmonious
Zhu Xi, 172
and humaneness
Zhu Xi, 173
and Supreme Ultimate
Zhu Xi, 170
See also sincerity (*cheng*)
self-cultivation
Cheng Hao, 140
Cheng Yi, 140, 160
Fujian school, 141
Liu Zongzhou, 337, 351
Lu Jiuyuan, xxxiii, 257
Wang Yangming, 325–326, 330–331
Zhang Shi, 130–131
Zhang Shi and Zhu Xi, 140–143
Zhu Xi, 181, 187–191, 402–403
broad empirical knowledge and
Lü Zuqian, xvi
desires and
Zhu Xi, 416
Doctrine of the Mean, 140
and fundamental ethical goods all humans desire
Lu Jiuyuan, 264
and heart/mind, 180
Lu Jiuyuan, xvii, 255, 257, 259, 264
and honoring the virtuous nature
Lu Jiuyuan, 257
and human transcendence
Zhou Dunyi, 10–14
and institutional studies
Lü Zuqian, 208
and interaction with the world
Zhang Shi, 141–142
Zhu Xi, 142
investigation of things and events and extension of knowledge
Zhu Xi, 160
and joy
Cheng Yi, xxxiii, 61–62
Learning of Heart/Mind/School of Heart/Mind and, 338
Learning of Principle/School of Principle and, 337–338
outside heart/mind
Zhu Xi, 259
and political action
Lü Zuqian, 207–208, 212
preserving/nourishing and examining (balanced approach)
Zhu Xi, 143, 207
preserving/nourishing and examining feelings
Cheng Yi, 140
preserving/nourishing and examining principles
Zhang Shi, 141, 143
preserving/nourishing heart/mind and extension of understanding
Cheng Yi, 187
and reforming faults
Liu Zongzhou, 352

and re-forming one body with all things
Zhu Xi, 182
and reverence/seriousness/mental attentiveness
Hu Hong, 137
Lü Zuqian, xvi, 207
Zhang Shi, 137
and sagehood
Lü Zuqian, xvi
See also moral ideal (quest for sagehood)
and Supreme Ultimate
Zhu Xi, 170
See also moral cultivation; moral ideal (quest for sagehood); moral self-cultivation (*xiushen*)
selfish desires (*si yu*)
Cheng Yi, xxvii
Dai Zhen, 416–417
Wang Fuzhi, 372
Zhu Xi, xxvii, 185–186, 416–418
and advantage/benefit/profit
Zhang Shi, 132
Zhu Xi, 418
and evil
Wang Fuzhi, 375
and personal desires
Wang Fuzhi, 372
and pure knowing
Wang Yangming, 311–312
and selfish thoughts
Zhu Xi, 185
and vital energy obscuration in manifested principle
Wang Yangming, 299
See also desires/tendencies (*yu*)/human desires (*ren yu*)
selfish thought (*si yi*)
Zhu Xi, 185–186
and selfish desires
Zhu Xi, 185
selflessness (*wuwo*)
and humaneness
Cheng Yi, 70
sage and
Cheng brothers, 186
self-transformation
and appropriation of words, 227–231
senses
desires/tendencies and, 179
regulation of by heart/mind
Mencius, 184
Zhu Xi, 184
See also sensory perceptions; understanding/knowledge from the senses/hearing and seeing (*wenjian zhi zhi*)
sensory perceptions
and reflection and moral sentiments
Wang Fuzhi, 373–374
See also senses
the seven feelings (*qi qing*)
and the four feelings
Liu Zongzhou, 341
shan (good/goodness), *see* goodness (*shan*)
Shang Yang
Lü Zuqian on, 210
Shangshu, see Book of History/Documents (*Shujing/Shangshu*)
Shao Bowen
and Shao Yong, 19–20
Shao Gu
and Shao Yong, 18
Shao Yong
biographical background, 17–18
and *Book of Change*, 19–20
image-number methodology, 33
and Cheng brothers, 17
Cheng Yi, 60
cosmology/cosmogonic evolution, 21–22
criticism of, 27–28
by Cheng Yi, 28, 32–34
Before Heaven Diagram (*xiantian tu*) and Before Heaven Learning (*xiantian xue*), 29–33
human intelligence, xiv, 23, 27
humankind, 27
knowledge, 33–35
number, xiv, 20, 27–29, 33, 35
and principle, 28
regulative processes of, 22–23
and world-ordering methodology, 23–24
numerological-cosmological system, xiv, 18–36
Book of Change and, 20–21, 23, 29–30, 32
human and textual influences on, 18–20
observation of things, xv, 25–29, 34–35
and heart/mind, xv, 26
objectivity of, 26–27
omniperspectivalism, 27
and perfecting the mind, 34–35
and principle, 26

SHAO Yong (*cont.*)
reflective perception/reflexive observation and, 35
and sage, 26–27
and time, 26
predictive knowledge, xiv, 23, 32
principle, 27, 178
spirit/the numinous, 22
time, 33–34
universal generation, xiv, 23
world-ordering methodology, 23–25, 33–35
number and, 23–24, 35
political aspect, 24–25, 34
temporal scheme, 33–34
writings, 21
See also Book of Supreme World-ordering Principles (*Huangji jingshishu*) [SHAO Yong]; *Striking the Earth at Yi River* (*Yichuan jirang ji*) [SHAO Yong]
shared governance (*gongzhi*)
CHENG Yi, 215
Lü Zuqian, 215
ZHANG Zai, 214–215
in Northern Song Dynasty, 214–215
See also restraining imperial authority
shen (the numinous/spirit/divine)
meaning/translation of term, 49
See also the divine/divinity (*shen*); spirit/the numinous (*shen*)
SHEN Bing, 268
shen du (vigilance in solitude)
meaning/translation of term, xviii, xxi
See also vigilance in solitude (*shen du*)
shen fa (effort of vigilance), *see* effort of vigilance (*shen fa*)
SHEN Huan
biographical background, 268–269
documentary evidence of relationships between the Four Masters of Mingzhou, 269–270
heart/mind, xvii, 287
and morality in daily life, 287, 290
learning
based on family life, 287
and LÜ Zuqian, 287
and social and political world, 287
sheng sheng (ceaseless life giving force running through all things/continuously giving life/ceaseless creativity), *see* ceaseless life giving force running through all things/continuously giving life/ceaseless creativity (*sheng sheng*)
shi (event/affair/thing/[administrative] business)
meaning/translation of term, 156
See also business, administrative (*shi*); event/affair/thing (*shi*); events and objects/things (*shiwu*)
shi (gentry), *see* gentry (*shi*)
shi (realness/reality/real and solid)
meaning/translation of term, 156, 191
See also realness/reality/real and solid (*shi*)
SHI Hao, 268–269, 287
SHI Mengqing, 288
SHI Miyuan, 233
"Shi ren pian" ("On Understanding Ren") [CHENG Hao], *see* "On Understanding Ren" ("Shi ren pian") [CHENG Hao]
shiwu (events and objects)
meaning/translation of term, 156
See also events and objects/things (*shiwu*)
shu (empathy/sympathetic concern), *see* sympathetic concern (*shu*)
SHU Lin
biographical background, 268–269
documentary evidence of relationships between the Four Masters of Mingzhou, 269–270
heart/mind, xvii, 286
and morality in daily life, 286–287, 290
and LU Jiuyuan, 286
si (partiality/selfishness/personal/private)
meaning/translation of term, 185–186
See also partiality/selfishness/personal/private (*si*)
si (reflection), *see* reflection (*si*)
si ju jiao (Four Dicta) [WANG Yangming], *see* the Four Dicta (*si ju jiao*) [WANG Yangming]
si yi (selfish thought), *see* selfish thought (*si yi*)
si yu (selfish desires), *see* selfish desires (*si yu*)
siduan (four sprouts/germinating seeds/beginnings), *see* the four sprouts/germinating seeds/beginnings (*siduan*)
Silver Rule, 69
sincerity (*cheng*)
Cheng brothers, 191
ZHOU Dunyi, 11–12, 191

and ethical ideal
Zhu Xi, 191, 193
and heart/mind
Cheng Hao, 92, 95
and Heaven and earth
Cheng Hao, 93–94
and innate human goodness
Zhou Dunyi, 11–12
and principle
Zhu Xi, 191
and vigilance in solitude
Zhu Xi, 189, 191
and what is real and has substance
Zhu Xi, 191
See also self-actualization (*cheng*)
sincerity of will/making the will sincere (*cheng yi*)
Liu Zongzhou, 345–351
Zhu Xi, 189–190
The Great Learning, 340
single-rootedness (*yiben lun*)
Cheng Hao, xxxii, 90–96, 103
and double-rootedness
Cheng Hao, 91, 93, 103
Sishu (*Four Books*), *see* the *Four Books* (*sishu*)
siwen (this culture of ours), *see* "this culture of ours" (*siwen*)
social relationships (*renlun*)
Li Guangdi, 388
society/social and political world
and heart/mind
Lü Zuqian, 204, 218
Yang Jian, 279–280
Yuan Xie, 281–282, 289
and heavenly norms/principles
Hu Hong, 120
ordering/putting in order
Hu Hong, 118–119, 120
and the personal, 74–75
Cheng Yi, 75
solving problems of
Shen Huan, 287
See also culture/civilized society (*wen*); external things/external world; government; institutional change/reform/renewal; laws (punitive); political philosophy
socio-historical context
and philosophy, xxxviii–xxxix, xli
solitude/solitariness (*du*), 190
Liu Zongzhou, xviii, 339, 350
Zhu Xi, 190
and moral heart/mind
Liu Zongzhou, xviii, 339, 350
and tranquillity
Liu Zongzhou, 343–344
See also vigilance in solitude (*shen du*)
Song Dynasty
political and economic conditions, 211
sorrow
Wang Yangming, 321–322
Southern Song Learning of the Way
and restoration of ethico-political system of
Zhou Dynasty, 201–202
spirit/the numinous (*shen*)
Shao Yong, 22
Zhang Zai, 48–49
Spring and Autumn Annals (*Chunqiu*)
commentary on by Hu Anguo, 105–106
See also Zuo Tradition (*Zuozhuan*)
state/condition (*ti*), *see* condition/state (*ti*)
state/condition (*ti*)–function/application (*yong*) structure
of fundamental state of the way
Zhu Xi, xxxix–xl
principle–vital energy
Zhu Xi, xxix
reciprocally [Wang Fuzhi], 358
Void/Ultimate Void–vital energy
Zhang Zai, xxix, 49, 357
statecraft and political rule, *see* outer kingliness; society/social and political world
Striking the Earth at Yi River (*Yichuan jirang ji*) [Shao Yong], 21, 25
Structure, *see* body/condition or state of any thing or event/fundamental state/underlying structure/substance/essence/to incorporate/to structure/state or conditional traits (*ti*)
Studies of Moral Principles (*lixue*), *see* Learning of Principle/School of Principle (*lixue*)
Sturgeon, Nichols
on irreducibility that is explanatorily efficacious, 309–310
subitist strain in Neo-Confucian philosophy, 270–273, 289
See also enlightenment/awakening (*wu*/*jue*)
substance (*ti*), *see* body/condition or state of any thing or event/fundamental

state/underlying structure/substance/essence/to incorporate/to structure/state or conditional traits (*ti*)
succession of the way (*daotong*), *see* orthodox transmission of the way (*daotong*)
"sudden and perfect" (*yuandun*), xxxi–xxxii
style of CHENG Hao, xxxi–xxxii, 90, 93, 95, 97–98
sudden awakening, *see* enlightenment/awakening (*wu*) [Buddhist]
suoyiran (raison d'être of any person, object, or event/ that by which something is so/the way things are), *see under* principle/pattern/coherence/coherent principle/norm/order/to order/creativity or life-giving activity/internal logic (*li*)
superior person (*junzi*)
and inferior person
CHENG Yi, 69, 73–74
ZHU Xi, 418
unselfish
ZHANG Zai, 186
Supreme World-ordering Principles (*Huangji jingshi*) [Shao Yong], *see Book of Supreme World-ordering Principles* (*Huangji jingshishu*) [SHAO Yong]
Supreme/Great Ultimate/Supreme Polarity (*taiji*)
LU Jiuyuan, 259
WANG Fuzhi, 358
ZHANG Shi, xiv, 134–139
ZHANG Shi and ZHU Xi on, 137–139, 148
ZHOU Dunyi, xiv
ZHU Xi, 168–171, 257–258
axiological meaning of
ZHU Xi, 169
and centrality of human morality in the unfolding the universe
ZHOU Dunyi, 3
and decree
ZHU Xi, 168
Diagram of, *see Diagram of the Supreme Polarity* (*taiji tu*)
and feelings/emotions
ZHU Xi, 137
and human nature/inner nature
ZHANG Shi, 136, 138
as perfection of *yin* and *yang* forces
ZHU Xi, 169
and principle
LI Tong, 137–138
ZHU Xi, xiv, 138, 168, 170–171
and reverence/seriousness/mental attentiveness
ZHANG Shi, 137
and self-actualization
ZHU Xi, 170
and self-cultivation
ZHU Xi, 170
tranquillity and motion of
ZHANG Shi, 136
ZHU Xi, 137
and Ultimate Ethics
ZHANG Shi, 137
ZHOU Dunyi, 137
and Ultimateless
LU Jiushao, 258–259
ZHANG Shi, 136–137
ZHOU Dunyi, 258–259
ZHU Xi, 136, 257–258
unifying activities of, 163
and vital energy
ZHU Xi, 171
and the way
WANG Fuzhi, 362
and *yin* and *yang*, 170
ZHANG Shi, 137
and ZHU Xi's cosmological architectonic, xxi
Surviving Works (*Yishu*) [CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao; ed. ZHU Xi], 60, 90, 142
sympathetic concern (*shu*)
Analects, 407
DAI Zhen, 407–409
and desires
DAI Zhen, 408–409, 415, 419
and feelings
DAI Zhen, 409

T

taihe (Great Harmony), *see* Great harmony (*taihe*)
taiji (Supreme/Great Ultimate/Supreme Polarity)
meaning/translation of term, xiv
See also Supreme/Great Ultimate/Supreme Polarity (*taiji*)
"Taiji tu shuo" ("An Explanation of/Discourse on the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity") [ZHOU Dunyi], *see* "An Explanation of/Discourse

on the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity" ("Taiji tu shuo") [ZHOU Dunyi]
taixu (Ultimate/Great Void)
meaning/translation of term, 46
See also Ultimate/Great Void (*taixu*)
Taizhou school
and criticism of WANG Yangming, 384
Taizhou xuepai (Taizhou school), *see* Taizhou school
TANG Han
on The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning, 234
on *Reading Notes*, 231–232
TANG Junyi, xxxii
on LIU Zongzhou, 341, 347, 349
Taylor, Charles
on liberalism, 78
ten thousand things/beings (*wanwu*), *see* myriad or ten thousand things/beings (*wanwu*)
"Ten Wings" [*Book of Change*/*Yijing*] ("Shiyi")
style of, 251
Thesaurus of Principles for the Study of the Classics (*Jingxue liku*) [ZHANG Zai], 40–41
things/objects (*wu*)
ZHU Xi, 156
differentiation between, *see* difference/differences/differentiation
and heart/mind
WANG Yangming, 304
and thought
WANG Yangming, 303–304
vital energy and
WANG Fuzhi, 356, 358
See also events and objects/things (*shiwu*); myriad or ten thousand things/beings (*wanwu*)
"this culture of ours" (*siwen*)
ZHU Xi, 171–172
thoughts/preconceptions/preconception (*yi*), 180
and evil
YANG Jian, xvii, 276–277
and feelings/emotions
ZHU Xi, 180
and heart/mind
YANG Jian, 280
YUAN Xie, 285
and intentions/goals, 180
ZHU Xi, 180, 190
and learning
YANG Jian, 278
management of
ZHU Xi, xxi, 190
and things/objects
WANG Yangming, 303–304
ti (body/condition or state of any thing or event/fundamental state/underlying structure/substance/essence/to incorporate/to stucture/state or conditional traits)
meaning/translation of term, xv (note 12), 67–68, 115–116
See also body/condition or state of any thing or event/fundamental state/underlying structure/substance/essence/to incorporate/to structure/state or conditional traits (*ti*); condition/state (*ti*)
tian (Heaven/heaven/heavens), *see* Heaven/heaven/heavens (*tian*); ideal ruler/heaven (*tian*)
tiandao (heavenly way/the way of Heaven), *see* way of Heaven (*tiandao*)
tiandi (heaven and earth), *see* Heaven and earth (*tiandi*); heaven and earth (*tiandi*)
tiandi zhi xing (nature bestowed by heaven and earth/nature of heaven-and-earth/heaven-and-earth-bestowed nature), *see* nature bestowed by heaven and earth/nature of heaven-and-earth/heaven-and-earth-bestowed nature (*tiandi zhi xing*)
tianli (heavenly pattern/patterns of heaven/heavenly principle/principle of heaven/universal coherence)
meaning/translation of term, 359
See also heavenly norms/principles/pattern or principle of Heaven/heaven (*tianli*)
tianming (what heaven has conferred/heavenly mandate/heaven's mandate/command of heaven), *see* heavenly mandate/heaven's mandate/command of heaven (*tianming*)
tianming zhi xing (heaven's mandated nature), *see* heaven's mandated nature (*tianming zhi xing*)
time
SHAO Yong, 26, 33–34
tiwu (incorporate/structure things)

tiwu (incorporate/structure things) (*cont.*)
meaning/translation of
term, 117
See also incorporate/structure things (*tiwu*)
tiyong (state/condition and function), *see* state/condition/essence (*ti*)–function/application (*yong*) structure
tizhi (knowledge or knowing through "body" (*ti*)), *see* knowledge or knowing through "body" (*ti*) (*tizhi)*
"Tong shu" (*Penetrating/Comprehending* the Book of Change) [ZHOU Dunyi], *see Penetrating/Comprehending* the Book of Change ("Tong shu") [ZHOU Dunyi]
Tongjian gangmu (*Outline of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*) [ZHU Xi], *see Outline of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Tongjian gangmu*) [ZHU Xi]
Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu (*Zhuzi yulei*) [ZHU Xi/comp. CHEN Chun], 228, 237–238
trace (*ji*)
heart/mind and
WANG Tong, 212–213
tradition texts, 227
reconfiguring through reading, 231–238
See also anthologies of selected writings of Learning of the Way (*daoxue*) thinkers; classified book/ encyclopedia (*leishu*)
tranquillity/rest/inactivity/stillness/quietude (*jing*), 192–193
LIU Zongzhou, 343
WANG Yangming, 343–344
ZHU Xi, 193
and effort of vigilance
LIU Zongzhou, 344
and ethical ideal
ZHU Xi, 193
and human virtues (without cravings or selfish desires)
ZHOU Dunyi, 137
and seriousness
LU Jiuyuan, 284
YUAN Xie, 285
ZHU Xi, 284–285
and solitude
LIU Zongzhou, 343–344
See also active quietude (*dong jing*); motion and tranquillity (*dongjing*)
transmigration (Buddhist theory of)
and HU Hong's conception of heart/ mind, 113
transmission of Learning of the Way
genealogical line of transmitters with new classic/canonical texts, 225 (note 1), 226, 229–230, 233, 235, 238, 244
ZHU Xi and, 244
"Treatise on Humaneness" ("Ren shuo") [ZHANG Shi], 132–134, 145–146
"Treatise on Humaneness" ("Ren shuo") [ZHU Xi], 145–146
trigrams in *Book of Change*, 20–22
representing "before heaven" and "after heaven", 30
figures, 31
trinity (*sancai*) [humankind /sage/superior person /heaven and earth]
formation of through self-cultivation/ learning
Book of Change, 10
CHENG Hao, 92, 96
trinity [with heaven and earth]
HU Hong, 113, 120–121
true king (*wang*)
and overlord
LÜ Zuqian, 213–214
ZHU Xi, 214
TU Weiming (Tu Wei-ming)
on knowledge or knowing through "body" (*ti*), 67–68
on LIU Zongzhou, 349
tui (extension), *see* extension (*tui*)

U

Ultimate Ethics (*renji*)
ZHANG Shi, 137
ZHOU Dunyi, 137
Ultimate/Great Void (*taixu*), 46
forms of taken when manifested in human being
ZHANG Zai, 51
See also nature bestowed by heaven and earth/nature of heaven-and-earth/ heaven-and-earth-bestowed nature (*tiandi zhi xing*); psycho-physical nature (*qizhi zhi xing*)
and heaven
ZHANG Zai, 46
and moral cultivation

ZHANG Zai, xviii, 48
and vital energy
WANG Fuzhi, 358
ZHANG Zai, xxix, 39, 46–50, 357–358
See also Void/void/empty (*xu*/*xukong*)
Ultimateless (*wuji*)
Daoist origin of term, 258
and Supreme Ultimate
LU Jiushao, 258
LU Jiuyuan, 258–259
ZHANG Shi, 136–137
ZHOU Dunyi, 258–259
ZHU Xi, 136, 257–258
understanding/knowing/knowledge (*zhi*)
SHAO Yong, 33–35
Xunzi, 180–181
and action
LI Guangdi, 389
WANG Yangming, 312
ZHU Xi, 180, 188
See also unity of action and *below*
and action and morality
CHENG Yi, xxxiii, 65, 83, 188
and action and weakness of will, 65
application of in practice
HU Hong, 108
degrees/kinds of
CHENG Yi, 65–66, 68–69, 83, 188
ZHU Xi, 188
extension of, *see* investigation of things and events/apprehending the (patterns in) things and extension of knowledge (*gewu zhizhi*/ *zhizhi gewu*)
and humaneness
HU Hong, 111
and principle
ZHU Xi, 160, 188
principles of heart/mind
LU Jiuyuan, 254
subjective dimension of
LU Jiuyuan, 254
unity of action and, 384
WANG Yangming, xxxiv–xxxv, 327–328, 332
of words
HU Hong, 109
See also genuine/real knowledge or understanding (*zhen zhi*); knowledge of/as virtue/ understanding that pertains to morality (*de xing zhi zhi*); observation of things (*guanwu*); ordinary/common knowledge or understanding (*chang zhi*); predictive knowledge
understanding/knowledge from the senses/ hearing and seeing (*wenjian zhi zhi*)
ZHANG Zai, 188–189
and knowledge of/as virtue
CHENG Yi, xxxiii, 66–67, 83
and knowledge of/insight into principle
ZHU Xi, 188–189
and understanding that pertains to morality
Cheng brothers, 189
Understanding of Words (*Zhiyan*) [HU Hong; ed. ZHANG Shi], xv–xvi, xxiv, 107–108, 121
main aims, 108–110, 121–122
meaning of title, 109
ZHANG Shi and, 107
ZHANG Shi and ZHU Xi on, 143–144
universal generation
SHAO Yong, xiv, 23
universal love without distinction (*jian ai*), 71–72
universal principle (*li*)
WANG Yangming, xvii, 296, 298–299, 309
ZHU Xi, 296, 298
and heart/mind
WANG Yangming, xvii, 299, 303, 309
recovery of
WANG Yangming, 299
See also heavenly norms/principles/ pattern or principle of Heaven/ heaven (*tianli*); manifested principle (*li*) of particular, individualized things or events
universe
and heart/mind
LU Jiuyuan, 251–253, 261
learning to embody
ZHOU Dunyi, 11–13
and the myriad things
in Learning of the Way, 7
ZHOU Dunyi, xiv, 7
nature of in cosmology of *yin* and *yang*
ZHOU Dunyi, 6–8
vital energy as sole constituent of
WANG Fuzhi, 357–358

V

vigilance
  Liu Zongzhou, 339
  meaning/translation of term
    Liu Zongzhou, xviii
      See also effort of vigilance (*shen fa*); vigilance in solitude (*shen du*)
vigilance in solitude (*shen du*)
  Liu Zongzhou, xviii, 338–345, 350
  and extension of knowledge or understanding
    Zhu Xi, 189
  and overcoming the self
    Zhu Xi, xxi, 190
  and sincerity
    Zhu Xi, 189, 191
  and sincerity of will
    Zhu Xi, 189
virtue (*de*)
  Wang Yangming, 330, 332
  attaining to/realizing
    Wang Yangming, 317, 324–330, 332
    Zhu Xi, 317
  and identity of inner sphere (heart/mind) political sphere
    Lü Zuqian, 213–214
  objectively right responses
    Wang Yangming, 317–318, 320–322
  and realization of principle/coherence
    Wang Yangming, 319
  and rules
    Wang Yangming, 317
  and spontaneous right responses
    Wang Yangming, 317–324
virtue ethics, xxxiv, 315–316
  Lu Jiuyuan, xxxiv
  Wang Yangming, xxxiv, 315–318, 333
  moral agent in, 383
  and rules, 316
  self-realization in, 383
  sentimentalist, 316, 333 (note 28)
  in the West, 315–316
  in the West and in Confucian tradition, 382–383
virtuous behavior, *see* morality/moral behavior
virtuous dispositions, 316
  Wang Yangming, 316–318
vital energy or force/material force (*qi*), 155, 160–161, 178, 297
  Lü Zuqian, 205
  Wang Fuzhi, 355–357
  Wang Yangming, 296, 306–307
  Zhang Zai, 39, 42, 48, 54, 155, 178, 356–357
  all things composed of
    Wang Yangming, 305–307
  in *Analects*, 43
  See also blood *qi* (*xueqi*)
  Buddhism and, 46
  and clear intellect
    Wang Yangming, 307
  and commonality and differences
    Wang Fuzhi, 358
  concept of
    Qin-Han period (first wave), 42–43, 45
    Wei-Jin period (second wave), 43–45
    Song-Ming development (third wave), 43, 45
  and concrete things
    Wang Fuzhi, 356, 358
  and decree, 166
    Zhu Xi, 167
  and difference between humans and the myriad things
    Cheng Hao, 100
  the divine and
    Cheng Hao, 98
  and evil
    Cheng Hao, 102
  functional configuration of
    Zhu Xi, 160–162
  and good and bad
    Cheng Hao, 102
    Zhang Zai, xviii–xix, 55
      See also quality of *qi* (vital energy) (*qizhi*)
  goodness of
    Wang Fuzhi, 356
  and heart/mind
    Wang Yangming, xviii, 300
    Zhu Xi, 163, 256–257
  and heaven
    Wang Fuzhi, 361
    Zhu Xi, 167
  in historical context, 42–45
  learning and transformation of
    Zhang Zai, 52–53
  and life, 44
  lucidity or turbidity/purity or impurity of, *see* lucidity or turbidity/purity or impurity of vital energy (*qi*)
  and manifested principle
    Wang Yangming, 299
  in Mencius, 44

See also flood-like breath/*qi* (*haoran zhi qi*)
mental and corporeal
ZHANG Zai, 53
in moral and physical life, 44–45
moral cultivation and transformation of
ZHANG Zai, 53
and moral self-cultivation, 43
moralized
WANG Fuzhi, xix, 356
and the myriad things
CHENG Hao, 100
and natural and moral qualities
WANG Fuzhi, 365
and the nature/human nature, xxviii
CHENG Hao, 98–101
WANG Fuzhi, 365, 374
WANG Yangming, 306–307
ZHANG Zai, 51–53
and principle, xxviii–xxxi, 45
LIU Zongzhou, 343 (note 4)
WANG Fuzhi, xxx, 355, 359, 361–365
WANG Yangming, 306, 308–309
ZHU Xi, xxviii–xxx, 159, 161–163, 178, 181, 183, 297–298, 359
See also principle of vital energy (*qi zhi li*)/ principle inherent in vital energy; principle (*li*)-vital energy (*qi*)
and principle as each other's state and function
WANG Fuzhi, 358
and principle of production
CHENG Hao, 102
and pure knowing
WANG Yangming, xxxiii, 307–309
Residual, *see* residual vital energy
sole constituent of the universe
WANG Fuzhi, 357–358
and Supreme Ultimate
ZHU Xi, 171
and Ultimate Void
WANG Fuzhi, 358
ZHANG Zai, xxix, 39, 46–50, 357–358
and the Void
ZHANG Zai, 46–47
and the way
CHENG Hao, xxxii, 96–97
WANG Fuzhi, 361
and the will
WANG Fuzhi, 370
and *yin* and *yang*
CHENG Hao, 97
WANG Fuzhi, 358–359
ZHANG Zai, 49
ZHANG Zai's theory of and Zhu Xi's theory of principle/coherent principle, 54–55
See also material nature (*qizhi zhi xing*); psycho-physical nature (*qizhi zhi xing*); quality of *qi* (vital energy) (*qizhi*)
Void/void/empty (*xu*/*xukong*)
ZHU Xi, 192–193
empty and full, 191
empty and real/substantial, 192
heart/mind, 192
ZHU Xi, 192
and the myriad things
ZHANG Zai, 47
and vital energy
ZHANG Zai, 46–47
See also Ultimate/Great Void (*taixu*)
volitional idea (*nian*)
and innate knowing of the good
LIU Zongzhou, 348
and liking and disliking
LIU Zongzhou, 347
as residual vital energy
LIU Zongzhou, 347
transformation of into heart/mind
LIU Zongzhou, 347–348
and the will/moral will
LIU Zongzhou, 346–348, 350
See also the will/moral will (*yi*)

W

Waishu (*External Works*) [CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao; ed. ZHU Xi], *see* *External Works* (*Waishu*) [CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao; ed. ZHU Xi]
wang ([true] king), *see* true king (*wang*)
WANG Anshi
and gentry, 210, 214
moral and institutional renewal, 209
LÜ Zuqian and, 209–211
and New Policies, 17–18
and New School, 41
opposition to/criticism of, 210
WANG Bi
vital energy, 44–45
and *wu* (not having [characteristics]) and *you* (having [characteristics]), 44–45

WANG Chong
 "before heaven" and "after heaven" in *Book of Change*, 30
 vital energy, 178
WANG Fuzhi
 biological existence
  and altruism, 373
  and morality, 372, 376
 and *Book of Change*, 356, 363
 and classical Confucianism, 377
 and Daoism, 355
 evil, xix
  natural emotions and, 374
  reflection and, 375
  selfish desires and, 375
 extension of desires, 373
 extension of natural emotions, 373–375
  and reflection, 375
 flood-like breath/*qi*, 370
 the four sprouts, 367
 Great Harmony
  and *yinyun* (generative influences of heaven and earth by which all things are constantly reproduced), 358
 Great Void
  and vital energy, 358
 heart/mind
  functions of, 368–371
  and human nature/human essence, 367
 heart/mind of the the way
  and heart/mind of humans, 367
 heaven, 359–361
  and Five Phases, 361
  and human world, 355, 359–361
  and vital energy, 360
 heaven's command, 366
 innate human goodness, 374–375
 interconnectedness of all things
  and altruism, 375
 material desires, 372–373
 materialism, 355, 357
 monism
  and materialism, 355, 357
  of vital energy, 357, 364
 moral cultivation, 372–373
 moral psychology, 368–376
 morality
  and biological existence, 372, 376
 natural desires/human desires, 368–369
  acceptable/appropriate and unacceptable/inappropriate, 372
  affirmation of, 371–373
  extension of, 373
  and heavenly principle, 371–373
  natural and non-natural, 368–369
  principle within, 371–373
  reflection and, 373–374
  sages and, 373
 natural emotions, 368
  extension of, 373–375
  and morality, 368, 373, 375–376
  and natural moral sentiments, 367, 369–370, 373–376
  and reflection, 373–374
 natural moral sentiments, 369–370
  and morality, 373
  and natural emotions, 367, 369–370, 373–376
 natural talents, 369
 the nature/human nature/human essence, 364–367
  daily renewal and daily completion of (as human essence), 365–367
  and good and bad, 366–367
  and heart/mind, 367
  as human essence, 365
  as human potential, 364
  of humans and other creatures/things different, 364
  and moral essence, 364
  philosophy of, 364–367
  and repeated practice or habits, 366
  and vital energy, 365, 374
 non-natural desires, 368–369
 personal desires, 373
  and selfish desires, 372
 principle, 355–356, 362, 371–372
  within natural desires/human desires, 371–373
  status and nature of, 359
  two senses of: what things are and what they ought to be, 361
  and vital energy, xxx, 355, 359, 361–365
  and vital energy as each other's state and function, 358
  and the way, 361–362
 principle of heaven, 359–361
  and connection between heaven-as-heaven and heaven-as-human, 359–361
 principle of the nature/human nature, 361, 367
 principle of vital energy/principle inherent in vital energy, 356–364

reflection, 370–371
and evil, 375
and morality, 370–371, 376
and natural emotions, 373–374
and selfishness, 375
and sensory perception, emotions, desires, 373–374
righteousness, 370
selfish desires, 372
and evil, 375
and personal desires, 372
sensory perceptions
and reflection and moral sentiments, 373–374
Supreme Ultimate, 358
vital energy, 355–357
and commonality and differences, 358
and concrete things, 356, 358
goodness of, 356
and Great Void, 358
and heaven, 361
moralized, xix, 356
and natural and moral qualities, 365
and the nature/human nature, 365, 374
and principle, xxx, 355, 359, 361–365
and principle as each other's state and function, 358
sole constituent of the universe, 357–358
and the way, 361
and the will, 370
and *yin* and *yang*, 358–359
the way
and concrete things, 362
and norms of human conduct, 362
and principle, 361–362
realization of as essence of human beings, 364–365
realization of in concrete things: *dao-qi* unification, 363–364
and Supreme Ultimate, 362
and vital energy, 361
and *yin* and *yang*, 361–362
will, 370, 374
writings, 355
See also On the Yellow Emperor (*Huangshu*) [WANG Fuzhi]
and ZHANG Zai, xix, 41, 50, 356
and ZHU Xi, 359
WANG Hua, 295
WANG Maohong
on ZHANG Shi and ZHU Xi, 138
WANG Tong
heart/mind and trace, 212–213
WANG Yangming
biographical background, 295
clear intellect
and external world, 304–306
cognitivism, 308
commitment, 325
deepening or maturation of, 326–327, 330–333
to humaneness, 328–329
and resolution of conflict, 329–330
extension of knowledge, 310–311
and rectification of thoughts, 311
extension of pure knowing, xxxiii, 310–312, 348
harmony
and interconnectedness of all beings/things, 324
and principle/coherence, 319
realization of, 328, 332
unity and difference, 320, 323
heart/mind, xvii
and external things/external world, xviii, 304–306
and manifested principle, 303
and moral principle, 309
objects and, 304
and principle/coherence, xxvi, 300–306
and universal principle, xvii, 299, 303, 309
and vital energy, xvii, 300
idealism, 300, 302–304
knowledge and action
unity of, xxxiv–xxxv, 312, 327–328, 332
and LIU Zongzhou, 337
and LU Jiuyuan, 260
meta-ethical implications of metaphysics of, 308–312
mind-independent world, xviii, 300
moral enlightenment
suddenness of, xvi, 207
moral perception, 328–329
moral realism, xxxiii, 308
naturalistic non-reductionism, 308–310
ontological idealism, 299–307
original nature
and physical nature, 307
perception, 328
moral, 328–329
principle (*li*)-vital energy (*qi*)

WANG Yangming (*cont.*)
metaphysics, 296–307
realism, xviii, 300
principle/coherence, 296, 318
and external world, xviii, 300–301, 306
of filial piety, 301–302, 304, 309
and harmony, 319
and harmony and interconnectedness of all beings/things, 320
and heart/mind, xxvi, 300–306
moral, 309–310, 312
moral and non-moral, 309
two uses of term (universal and manifested/particular *li*), xvii, 296, 298–399
See also manifested principle (*li*) of particular, individualized things or events; universal principle (*li*)
and vital energy, 306, 308–309
pure knowing, xxxiii, 311, 330, 348–349
criticism of by LIU Zongzhou, 348–350
discovery of, 325
extension of, *see above*
and selfish desires, 311–312
and vital energy, xxxiii, 307–309
real knowledge, 311–312
rectification of thoughts, 303–304
differences of with ZHU Xi on interpretation of term, 303
and extension of knowledge, 311
regret, 322–324
self-cultivation, 325–326, 330–331
sorrow, 321–322
teaching style, 301
things/objects and thought, 303–304
tranquillity, 343–344
virtue, 330, 332
attaining to/realizing, 317, 324–330, 332
objectively right responses, 317–318, 320–322
and realization of principle/coherence, 319
and rules, 317
and spontaneous right responses, 317–324
as virtue ethicist, xxxiv, 315–318, 333
virtuous dispositions, 316–318
vital energy, 296, 306–307
all things composed of, 305–307
and clear intellect, 307
and heart/mind, xviii, 300
and the nature/human nature, 306–307
and principle, 306, 308–309
and pure knowing, xxxiii, 307–309
the will/moral will
criticism of by LIU Zongzhou, 345–346
and good and bad, 346
and YANG Jian, 288
and ZHU Xi, 296
See also the Four Dicta (*si ju jiao*) [WANG Yangming]; "Letter in Reply to Lu Yuanjing" ("Da Lu Yuanjing shu") [WANG Yangming]; *Record of Practicing What Has Been Transmitted* (*Chuanxi lu*) [WANG Yangming]
WANG Yinglin
on YANG Jian, LU Jiuyuan and ZHU Xi, 288
on YUAN Xie and learning, 273
wanwu (ten thousand/myriad things), *see* myriad or ten thousand things/beings (*wanwu*)
the way (*dao*)
CHENG Hao, 92
and the body
ZHANG Zai, 53
and change (production and reproduction)
CHENG Hao, 97–98
and concrete things
WANG Fuzhi, 362
heart/mind as
YANG Jian, 275
YUAN Xie, 281
and the human
CHENG Hao, 92–93
and instruments
CHENG Hao, xxxii, 96–97
and norms of human conduct
WANG Fuzhi, 362
and principle
WANG Fuzhi, 361–362
realization of as essence of human beings
WANG Fuzhi, 364–365
realization of in concrete things: *dao-qi* unification
WANG Fuzhi, 363–364
and Supreme Ultimate
WANG Fuzhi, 362
and vital energy
CHENG Hao, xxxii, 96–97
WANG Fuzhi, 361

and *yin* and *yang*
CHENG Hao, 97
WANG Fuzhi, 361–362
way of Heaven (*tiandao*)
CHENG Hao, 94–95
way of inquiry and learning (*dao wenxue*)
and honoring the virtuous nature
LI Guangdi, 388
as function and fundamental state/condition [ZHU Xi], 388
WEI Shanzhi
inscription for by ZHANG Shi, 141–143
weighing (*quan*), *see* moral discretion or "weighing" (*quan*)
well-field system [Zhou] (*jingtian*)
HU Hong, 109, 120–121
wen (culture/civilized society), *see* culture/civilized society (*wen*)
WEN Tianxiang, 267
wenjian zhi zhi (understanding/knowledge from hearing and seeing), *see* understanding/knowledge from the senses/hearing and seeing (*wenjian zhi zhi*)
"Western Inscription" ("Ximing") [ZHANG Zai], 40, 214–215, 319, 386
CHENG Hao and, 40–41
CHENG Yi and, 40
and Mohist universal love without distinction
CHENG Yi, 71–72
ZHU Xi and, 215
"What Was the Learning that Yanzi Loved" ("Yanzi suo hao he xue") [CHENG Yi], 59
Wilde, Oscar
on art and ethics, 263
will (*zhi*)
WANG Fuzhi, 370, 374
and vital energy
WANG Fuzhi, 370
See also commitment (*zhi*); intentions/goals (*zhi*)
the will/moral will (*yi*)
criticism of WANG Yangming on
LIU Zongzhou, 345–346
and the four feelings, *see* will and accompanying feeling(s)
and good and bad
LIU Zongzhou, 346, 350
WANG Yangming, 346
and innate knowing of the good
LIU Zongzhou, 350
and liking and disliking
LIU Zongzhou, 346–347
and moral heart/mind
LIU Zongzhou, xviii, 338, 350
and morality
LIU Zongzhou, 349
and volitional idea
LIU Zongzhou, 346–348, 350
weakness of, *see akrasia* (weakness of the will or incontinence)
See also volitional idea (*nian*)
will and accompanying feeling(s)
LIU Zongzhou, 340, 350
wisdom (*zhi*)
and consciousness
ZHU Xi, 147–148
words
knowing or understanding
HU Hong, 109
self-transformation and appropriation of, 227–231
world-ordering (*jingshi*), 23
methodology of SHAO Yong, 23–25, 33–35
number and, 23–24, 35
political aspect, 24–25, 34
temporal scheme, 33–34
writing
and knowledge transmission, 227
ZHU Xi's theory of, 225–226
wu (enlightenment/awakening)
meaning/translation of term, 271
See also enlightenment/awakening (*wu/jue*); enlightenment/awakening (*wu*) [Buddhist]
wu (material object/concrete object/thing/external things)
meaning/translation of term, 156, 303
See also external things/external world; things/objects (*wu*)
WU Cheng
Supreme Ultimate, 169
wu li (principle of things), *see* principle of things (*wu li*)
WU Yi, 143
"Wufeng ji" ("Collection of [the Master from] the Five Summits") [HU Hong; ed. ZHANG Shi], *see* "Collection of [the Master from] the Five Summits" ("Wufeng ji") [HU Hong; ed. ZHANG Shi]
wuji (Ultimateless), *see* Ultimateless (*wuji*)

wulun (Five Relationships), *see* the Five Relationships (*wulun*)
wuwei (non-action)
and rulership, 280
wuwo (selflessness/without the self), *see* selflessness (*wuwo*)
wuyu (material desires), *see* material desires (*wuyu*)

X

xi (habit), *see* habit (*xi*); repeated practice or habits (*xi*)
Xi Yan lu (*Record of Admiring Yanzi*) [Zhang Shi], *see Record of Admiring Yanzi* (*Xi Yan lu*) [Zhang Shi]
xiantian (before heaven), *see under* Before Heaven Diagram (*xiantian tu*) and Before Heaven Learning (*xiantian xue*)
xiantian tu (Before Heaven Diagram), *see* Before Heaven Diagram (*xiantian tu*) and Before Heaven Learning (*xiantian xue*)
xiantian xue (Before Heaven Learning), *see* Before Heaven Diagram (*xiantian tu*) and Before Heaven Learning (*xiantian xue*)
xiao (filial piety), *see* filial piety (*xiao*)
xiaoren (inferior persons), *see* inferior persons (*xiaoren*)
Xiaozong (Southern Song emperor)
autocracy of, 215
"Xici" ("Appended Statements/Attached Phrases" [*Book of Change/Yijing*]), *see* "Great Appendix/Commentary" ("Dazhuan")/"Appended Statements/Attached Phrases" ("Xici") [*Book of Change/Yijing*]
Xie Liangzuo, 106, 148
"Ximing" ("Western Inscription") [Zhang Zai], *see* "Western Inscription" ("Ximing") [Zhang Zai]
xin (heart/mind)
meaning/translation of term, 251 (note 11)
See also heart/mind (*xin*)
Xin jing (*The Classic on the Heart/Mind*) [Zhen Dexiu], *see The Classic on the Heart/Mind* (*Xin jing*) [Zhen Dexiu]
xing (the nature/human nature/inner nature/human essence/moral essence/essence)
meaning/translation of term, 157, 365, 384, 394
See also the nature/human nature/inner nature (*xing*)
xing (action/practice), *see* action/practice (*xing*)
xing er shang (above form/what is above form/metaphysical or transcendental/independent of physical or empirical form/what is beyond physical form)
meaning/translation of term, 340
See also above form/what is above form/metaphysical or transcendental/independent of physical or empirical form/what is beyond physical form (*xing er shang*)
xing er xia (below form/what has form/what has a physical form /physical or empirical/with the characteristics of physical or empirical form)
meaning/translation of term, 340
See also below form/what has form/what has a physical form /physical or empirical/with the characteristics of physical or empirical form (*xing er xia*)
xing li (principle of the nature/human nature), *see* principle of the nature/human nature (*xing li*)
xinxue (Learning/School of the Heart/Mind), *see* Learning of Heart/Mind / School of Heart/Mind (*xinxue*)
Xinxue (New School), *see* New School (*Xinxue*)
Xishan xiansheng Zhen Wenzhong Gong dushuji (*Reading Notes*) [Zhen Dexiu], *see Reading Notes* (*Xishan xiansheng Zhen Wenzhong Gong dushuji*) [Zhen Dexiu]
xiushen (cultivation of the body/moral cultivation), *see* moral self-cultivation (*xiushen*)
Xixue jiyan (*Records and Observations on Practicing Learning*) [Ye Shi], *see Records and Observations on Practicing Learning* (*Xixue jiyan*) [Ye Shi]
xu (empty/void/unconstrained/receptive/responsive)
meaning/translation of term, xxi, 191–192
See also Void/void/empty (*xu/xukong*)

xue'an (cases), *see* case (*an*/*xue'an*) genre
xueqi (blood *qi*), *see* blood *qi* (*xueqi*)
xukong (the Void), *see* Void/void/empty (*xu*/*xukong*)
Xunzi
 Dai Zhen and, 405
 Lü Zuqian and, 205
 the nature/human nature, 395
 observation of things, 25–26
 principle, 181
 propriety, 75
 understanding/knowing, 180–181

Y
Yan Hui/Yanzi
 Lü Zuqian and, 207
 joy of
  Cheng Yi, 13, 61–62
  Zhou Dunyi, 13
 and self-cultivation
  Zhou Dunyi, 12–13
 See also "What Was the Learning that Yanzi Loved" ("Yanzi suo hao he xue") [Cheng Yi]
yang (the active cosmic force), 4
 See also yin and *yang*
Yang Jian
 awakening experience, 270–271, 277, 289
 biographical background, 268–269
 and *Book of Change*, 274–276
 and Chan Buddhism, 271–273, 289
 and Daoism, 275, 280
 documentary evidence of relationships between the Four Masters of Mingzhou, 269–270
 and emperor Ningzong, 279–280, 289
 evil, xvii, 276
  and preconception, xvii, 276–277
 heart/mind, 274
  interconnectedness of all beings/things through / unity of self and universe, xvii, 274–276, 288
  and learning, 277–279, 289
  original, ethical, 275–276
  and politics, 279–280, 289
  and preconceptions, 280
  as the way, 275
 and Lu Jiuyuan, 270–271, 273, 277, 288
 naming, 275
 preconceptions, 278
  and evil, xvii, 276–277
  and heart/mind, 280
  and learning, 278
 reading and study/learning, 272–273, 275, 283, 289–290
  for civil service examinations, 277–279, 289
  essay on, 277
  preconceptions and, 278
 and thought of Wang Yangming, 288
 and *wuwei* rulership, 280
 and Zhen Dexiu, 272
 on Zhuangzi, 275
 See also "A Record of the Four Abstentions" ("Jue si ji") [Yang Jian]; "The Self and [the *Book of*] *Change*" ("Ji *Yi*") [Yang Jian]
Yang Shi
 and Cheng brothers, 60, 106
Yang Tingxian
 awakening experience, 270
Yang Yan, 211
Yanzi, *see* Yan Hui/Yanzi
"Yanzi suo hao he xue" ("What Was the Learning that Yanzi Loved") [Cheng Yi], *see* "What Was the Learning that Yanzi Loved" ("Yanzi suo hao he xue") [Cheng Yi]
Ye Shaoweng
 on Yang Jian, 277–278
Ye Shi
 notebook (*Records and Observations on Practicing Learning*), 245
yi (rightness/rectitude/righteousness/justice/uprightness)
 meaning/translation of term, 361 (note 1)
 See also righteousness (*yi*); rightness (*yi*)
yi (thoughts/preconceptions/preconception/will/moral will/meanings), *see* thoughts/preconceptions/preconception (*yi*); the will/moral will (*yi*)
yi li (meaning-principle/normative principle/moral principle/morality)
 meaning/translation of term, 117
 See also meaning-principle (*yi li*); morality (*yi li*); normative principle (*yi li*)
yi ti ([forming] one body [with all things]/one organic entity), *see* one body/one organic entity [forming one body with all things] (*yi ti*)
yiben lun (single-rootedness), *see* single-rootedness (*yiben lun*)

Yichuan jirang ji (*Striking the Earth at Yi River*) [SHAO Yong], *see Striking the Earth at Yi River* (*Yichuan jirang ji*) [SHAO Yong]
Yijing (*Book of Change*), *see Book of Change* (*Yijing*/*Zhouyi*)
Yi-Luo yuanyuan lu (*Records of the Yi-Luo School*) [ZHU Xi], *see Records of the Yi-Luo School* (*Yi-Luo yuanyuan lu*) [ZHU Xi]
yin (the yielding cosmic force), 4
yin and *yang*
 ZHANG Zai, 48–49
 and change, 170
 cosmology of and nature of the universe
  ZHOU Dunyi, 6–8
 in Daoism, 49
 in *Diagram of the Supreme Polarity*, 4, 6–7
 properties of
  ZHANG Zai, 49
 and Supreme Ultimate, 170
  ZHANG Shi, 137
 Supreme Ultimate as perfection of
  ZHU Xi, 169
 and trigrams of *Book of Change*, 21
 and vital energy
  CHENG Hao, 97
  WANG Fuzhi, 358–359
  ZHANG Zai, 49
 and the way
  CHENG Hao, 97
  WANG Fuzhi, 361–362
Yishu (*Surviving Works*) [CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao; ed. ZHU Xi], *see Surviving Works* (*Yishu*) [CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao; ed. ZHU Xi]
Yizhuan (*Commentary on the* Book of Change) [CHENG Yi], *see Commentary on the* Book of Change (*Yizhuan*) [CHENG Yi]
Yizi
 and universal love without distinctions, 71
yu (desires/tendencies/natural desires)
 meaning/translation of term, 179, 416 (note 20)
 See also desires/tendencies (*yu*)/human desires (*ren yu*)
YU Yingshi (YÜ Ying-shih)
 on Confucian "intellectualism" in the Qing, 388
 on impact of history of philosophy approach to Neo-Confucian philosophy to neglect of primary political approach, xxxv–xxxvii, xl–xli
 and New Confucianism, xl–xli
 on ZHU Xi's concept of fundamental state of the way, xxxvii, xxxix
Yuan Dynasty
 and ascendancy of ZHU Xi's ideas, 287–288, 402
YUAN Fu, 289
YUAN Jue, 289
YUAN Xie
 awakening experience, 271, 289
 biographical background, 268–269
 documentary evidence of relationships between the Four Masters of Mingzhou, 269–270
 and emperor Ningzong, 281–282, 289
 heart/mind, xvii
  and learning, 289
  original, 281
  and preconception, 285
  and social and political world, 281–282, 289
  as the way, 281
 human heart/mind and moral heart/mind, xvii, 283–284
 and LU Jiuyuan, 270–271, 281, 284–285, 289
 between LU Jiuyuan and ZHU Xi, 284–285
 and LÜ Zuqian, 282
 morality
  and consciousness, 281
 political philosophy, 281–282
 reading and study/learning, 272–273, 282–284, 290
 ruler and the people, 282
 seriousness
  and active quietude, 285
 and ZHEN Dexiu, 272
 and ZHU Xi, 284–285, 289
 See also Jiezhai [*YUANXie*] *Family School Documents* (*Jiezhai jiashu shuchao*)
yuandun (sudden and perfect), *see* "sudden and perfect" (*yuandun*)
yuanqi (primordial vital energy/*qi*), *see* primordial vital energy (*yuanqi*)
YUE Fei, 126
Yuelu Academy (Marchmount Hill Academy), 106, 126
yulu (recorded conversations), *see* recorded conversations (*yulu*) genre

Yulu (*Recorded Conversations*) [CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao], *see Recorded Conversations* (*Yulu*) [CHENG Yi and CHENG Hao]

Z

ZENG Ji
- letter of HU Hong to, 108

Zengzi
- and Golden Rule, 70
- and orthodox transmission of the way, xxii

ZHANG Jun, 107, 126

ZHANG Shi
- action in accord with what is right or just and advantage/utility/profit, 131–132
- biographical background, 125–127, 138, 140–141
- and Buddhism, 131–132
- conscience arising from being mindful of others' suffering, 147
- desires
  - restraint of by ethical training, 131
- education/learning/self-cultivation, 130–131
- evil, xix, 128–129
  - material body and human desires and, xix, 129, 131
- heart/mind, xvi, 130
  - and already aroused/expressed feelings, 140
  - and human nature/inner nature, xvi, 127–132, 140–141, 144, 148
  - original, ethical, 132
  - and principle, xvi, 129–130
  - virtue of and humaneness, 146
- heaven's mandated nature, 128–130
  - and physically endowed nature, xix, 129
- and HU Hong, 107–109, 126, 135, 143, 148
- HU Hong's *Understanding of Words*
  - and ZHU Xi on, 143–144
- and HU Hong's *Understanding of Words*, 107
- human nature/inner nature
  - and desires, 129
  - and heart/mind, xvi, 127–132, 140–141, 144, 148
- humaneness, 132–139
  - and impartiality, 147
  - and principle of love, 134, 145
  - and virtue of heart/mind, 146
  - and ZHU Xi on, 144–149
- innate human goodness, 128–129
- investigation of things and extension of knowledge, 131
- letters of HU Hong to, 108–109
- and LÜ Zuqian, 208
- meditation (quiet sitting), 140
- and Mencius, 128–130, 141, 147–148
- principle of love, 145, 147
- reverence/seriousness/mental attentiveness, 131, 137
- rightness
  - and principles/patterns of heaven, 132
- self-cultivation
  - education/learning, 130–131
  - and interaction with the world, 141–142
  - preserving/nourishing and examining principles, 141, 143
  - and reverence/seriousness/mental attentiveness, 137
  - and ZHU Xi on, 140–143
- Supreme Ultimate, xiv, 134–139
  - Diagram of, 134–135
  - and human nature/inner nature, 136, 138
  - and reverence/seriousness/mental attentiveness, 137
  - tranquillity and motion of, 136
  - and Ultimate Ethics, 137
  - and Ultimateless, 136–137
  - and *yin* and *yang*, 137
  - and ZHU Xi on, 137–139, 148
- writings, 127
  - commentary on ZHOU Dunyi's "An Explanation of/Discourse on the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity", 127
  - ZHU Xi's editing of, 125, 127, 132, 138, 142, 145, 148
- *See also 1173 Commentary on the* Mencius (*Guisi Mengzi shuo*) [ZHANG Shi]; *1173 Explication of the Analects* (*Guisi Lunyu jie*) [ZHANG Shi]; *Master Zhang's Explanation of the Supreme Ultimate's Meaning* (*Zhangzi taiji jie yi*) [ZHANG Shi]; *Record of Admiring Yanzi* (*Xi Yan lu*) [ZHANG Shi]; *Record of the Confucian School's Comments on Humaneness* (*Zhu-Si yan ren lu*) [ZHANG Shi]; "Treatise on

Humaneness" ("Ren shuo") [Zhang Shi]
and Zhou Dunyi, 139
and Zhou Dunyi's "An Explanation of/ Discourse on the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity", 134, 138–139
and Zhu Xi, 125–126, 137–149
Zhu Xi on, 127
Zhang Xuecheng, 289
Zhang Zai
all one: ten thousand things, humaneness, heaven, 181
biographical background, 40
Book of Change, 48
and Buddhism, 40, 46–48, 54
and Cheng brothers, 55, 59
condition/state and function/ application, 39
contemporary appreciation of, 55–56
contribution to Confucianism, 54
and Daoism, 40, 46–47, 54
differences between human beings
psycho-physical nature, 50–51
quality of vital energy, 51–52
and Fan Zhongyan, 40
heaven and earth, 182
humaneness of, 182
heaven as moral authority and human beings as moral agents, 39, 54
heavenly nature of human beings, 50, 54
intellectual background, 41–42, 46
interconnectedness of all things
principle and harmony and, 319–320
interrupted learning, xxii, 40
learning
and transformation of vital energy, 52–53
and Learning of the Way, 39
metaphysical construction, xviii, 46–50, 55
nature bestowed by heaven and earth, xviii, xxviii, 51, 54
the nature/human nature, 39, 50
goodness and badness of, xviii–xix, 51–52, 55
and vital energy, 51–53
and Neo-Confucian philosophy, 53–55
the numinous, 48–49
psycho-physical nature, xviii, xxviii, 50–51
quality of *qi* (vital energy) (*qizhi*), 51
and difference/differences/ differentiation, 51–52
and good and bad, 51–52
and moral transformation, 50–53
transformation of, 52, 54
and School of Guan, 41
shared governance, 214–215
superior person
unselfish, 186
Ultimate Void, 46
forms of taken when manifested in human being, 51
and heaven, 46
and moral self-cultivation, xviii, 48
Ultimate Void and vital energy, xxix, 39, 46–50, 357–358
relationship between, 47–48
state–function structure, 49
two forms of the nature, xviii, 51
See also nature bestowed by heaven and earth/nature of heaven-and-earth/heaven-and-earth-bestowed nature (*tiandi zhi xing*); psycho-physical nature (*qizhi zhi xing*)
understanding/knowledge from the senses, 188–189
and universal love, 72 (note 10)
vital energy, 39, 42, 48, 54, 155, 178, 356–357
and good and bad, xviii–xix, 55
mental and corporeal, 53
quality of, *see above*
theory of and Zhu Xi's theory of principle/coherent principle, 54–55
transformation of and learning, 52–53
transformation of and moral cultivation, 53
and *yin* and *yang*, 49
Void (*xukong*/*xu*)
and the myriad things, 47
and vital energy, 46–47
Wang Fuzhi and, xix, 41, 50, 356
the way
and the body, 53
the West and, 56
writings, 40–41
See also Rectifying Ignorance (*Zhengmeng*) [Zhang Zai]; *Thesaurus of Principles for the Study of the Classics* (*Jingxue liku*) [Zhang Zai]; "Western Inscription" ("Ximing") [Zhang Zai]

yin and *yang*, 48–49
Zhu Xi and, 204
Zhangzi taiji jie yi (*Master Zhang's Explanation of the Supreme Ultimate's Meaning*) [Zhang Shi], *see Master Zhang's Explanation of the Supreme Ultimate's Meaning* (*Zhangzi taiji jie yi*) [Zhang Shi]
Zhao Ruyu, 269
and Yang Jian, 279
Zhedong Lu school
and Jiangxi Lu school and Zhu Xi's ideas, 284
and Zhu Xi's ideas, 289
Zhen Dexiu
biographical background, 233–234
and changes to method of transmission of Learning of the Way, 238
politicization of, 233
extension of classics through anthologies, xxiv, 239–244
and *The Great Learning*, 233, 243
See also The Extended Meaning of The Great Learning (*Daxue yanyi*) [Zhen Dexiu]
learning and reading, 235
and learning of emperorship, 243–244
and Lu Jiuyuan, 235
methodology, 236–238
new genres, 245
and pedagogical writing, 226
political order
and moral reformation of emperor and court, 234
reading
and cultivating heart/mind, 239
use of Zhou Dunyi's *Penetrating/Comprehending* the Book of Change, 240
on Yang Jian and Chan Buddhism, 272
and Yuan Xie, 272
and Zhu Xi, 238
reading program, 237
See also The Classic on Governance/Government (*Zheng jing*) [Zhen Dexiu]; *The Classic on the Heart/Mind* (*Xin jing*) [Zhen Dexiu]; *Reading Notes* (*Xishan xiansheng Zhen Wenzhong Gong dushuji*) [Zhen Dexiu]
zhen zhi (genuine/real knowledge or understanding), *see* genuine/real knowledge or understanding (*zhen zhi*)
zheng (governmental affairs), *see* government affairs (*zheng*)
Zheng Zongyi (Chung-yi Cheng)
and contemporary interpretations of Neo-Confucianism, xxxii
on *ruxue*, xxxii
Zhengdai zhidu xiangshuo (*Detailed Explanations of Institutions throughout the Ages*) [Lü Zuqian], *see Detailed Explanations of Institutions throughout the Ages* (*Zhengdai zhidu xiangshuo*) [Lü Zuqian]
Zhengmeng (*Rectifying Ignorance*) [Zhang Zai], *see Rectifying Ignorance* (*Zhengmeng*) [Zhang Zai]
zhi (basic or raw quality)
meaning/translation of term, 51
zhi (intentions/goals/commitment/will)
meaning/translation of term, 179, 325
See also commitment (*zhi*); intentions/goals (*zhi*); will (*zhi*)
zhi (know/recognise/knowledge/understanding/ wisdom), *see* understanding/knowing/knowledge (*zhi*)
zhiti (normative form of governance), *see* normative form of governance (*zhiti*)
Zhiyan (*Understanding of Words*) [Hu Hong; ed. Zhang Shi], *see Understanding of Words* (*Zhiyan*) [Hu Hong; ed. Zhang Shi]
zhizhi (extension of knowledge or understanding/completion of knowledge), *see* extension of knowledge or understanding/completion of knowledge (*zhizhi*)
zhizhi gewu (extending knowledge and apprehending the (patterns in) things/investigation of things/rectification of thoughts), *see* investigation of things and events/apprehending the (patterns in) things and extension of knowledge (*gewu zhizhi*/*zhizhi gewu*); rectification of thoughts and extension of knowledge (*gewu zhizhi*/*zhizhi gewu*)
zhong (equilibrium/centrality/centered/balance/mean), *see* equilibrium/centrality/balance/Mean (*zhong*)

"Zhong he jiu shuo xu" ("Preface to *My Old Views of Equilibrium and Harmony*") [ZHU Xi], *see My Old Views of Equilibrium and Harmony* (*Zhonghe jiushuo*)
Zhongyong (*Doctrine of the Mean*), *see Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong*)
ZHOU Bida
  and LÜ Zuqian, 215
ZHOU Dunyi
  biographical background, 1
  and *Book of Change*, 6, 9–11
  and Buddhism, 3–4, 14
  and Cheng brothers, 1–2, 59
    ZHANG Shi on, 139
  and CHENG Hao, 89
  and Cheng-Zhu School/tradition, 1–3
  connectedness of all beings/things, 11–13
  contribution to Neo-Confucian philosophy, xiii–xiv
  on cosmology of *yin* and *yang* and nature of the universe, 6–8
  and Daoism, 2–4, 14
  desires
    and good and bad, 240
    having none, 14, 416 (note 20)
  and HU Hong, 139
  innate human goodness
    and sincerity, 11–12
  and Learning of the Way, 1, 3–4, 14
  and learning to embody the universe, 11–13
  mental concentration, 14
  metaphysical roots of moral behavior (moral metaphysics), xiv, 3, 8–10, 14
  moral cultivation, xiv, 10, 14
  and nature of Confucian learning, 13
  and orthodox transmission of the way, 139, 148
  outer kingliness and inner sageliness, 4
  reinterpretation of classical Confucian texts, 3–4
  and sage(s), 8–9
  self-cultivation
    and human transcendence, 10–14
  and serving others, 11–13
  sincerity, 11–12, 191
  Supreme Polarity (*taiji*), xiv
    and centrality of human morality in the unfolding the universe, 3
    Diagram of, xiv, 4–10
    and Ultimate Ethics, 137
    and Ultimateless, 258–259
  tranquillity
    and human virtues (without cravings or selfish desires), 137
  writings, 2
  See also "An Explanation of/Discourse on the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity" ("Taiji tu shuo") [ZHOU Dunyi]; *Penetrating/Comprehending* the Book of Change ("Tong shu") [ZHOU Dunyi]
  on YAN Hui, 12–13
  ZHANG Shi and, 139
  ZHU Xi and, 1, 139
Zhou Dynasty
  restoration of ethico-political system of
    HU Hong, 109, 120–122
    LÜ Zuqian, 211
    Northern Song Learning of the Way, 211
    Southern Song Learning of the Way, 201–202
  See also enfeoffment system [Zhou] (*fengjian*); well-field system [Zhou] (*jingtian*)
Zhouli (*Rites of Zhou*), *see Rites of Zhou* (*Zhouli*)
Zhouyi (*Zhou Book of Change*), *see Book of Change* (*Yijing* / *Zhouyi*)
ZHU Xi, 157
  action/practice
    and intentions/goals, 179–180, 206, 214
    understanding/knowledge and, 180, 188
  architectonic axiological cosmology, xx–xxi, 154–155
  ars contextualis, xx, 153–154
  ascendancy of ideas of in Yuan Dynasty, 287–288, 402
  attaining to virtue, 317
  axiological cosmology, xx, 170, 173
  biographical background, 137–138, 140–141
  and Buddhism, 156, 166
  ceaseless life giving force running through all things
    and forming one body with all things, 183
  and CHEN Chun, 227–228
  and Cheng brothers, xxii, 60
  coherent principle/principle, 157–160, 178
    and desires, 144, 402
    exhausting and knowing, 160, 187

and extension of knowledge or understanding, 187
and the four sprouts, 180
and heart/mind, 130, 165, 181, 296, 300
and heaven, 165
insight into, 187–189, 191
of the myriad things, 160
and the nature/human nature, xix, 157, 180
and sincerity, 191
state/condition of, 157–160
and Supreme Ultimate, xiv, 138, 168, 170–171
theory of and ZHANG Zai's theory of vital energy, 54–55
two uses of term (universal and manifested/particular *li*), 296–298
and understanding/knowledge, 160, 188
and vital energy, xxviii–xxx, 159, 161–163, 178, 181, 297–298, 359
as "the way things ought to be" (*dangran*) and "the way things are" (*suoyiran*), 157, 178
and concept of Buddha-nature, 402, 404
consciousness
and wisdom, 147–148
cosmological architectonic, xx–xxi, 156
criticism of HU Hong, 113, 119–121
culture, 171–172
decree, 166–168
desires, 180, 183
acceptable/appropriate and unacceptable/inappropriate, 183–185, 416–417
cessation/extinguishing of, 402, 414
and feelings/emotions, 180
and heart/mind, 185
and pattern/principle of heaven, 184, 416–418
regulation of by heart/mind, 184, 186
and self-cultivation, 416
selfish, *see* selfish desires *below*
differentiation
principle and vital energy and, 297–298
epistemology of, 160
ethical failure, 183–187
partiality/selfishness and, 183
ethical ideal, xxi, 191–193
events and objects, 156
extension of inner world to outer world, 213
extension of knowledge or understanding, 189
and insight into principle, 187
feelings/emotions, 180, 183
and the four beginnings, 180
and heart/mind, 180
and the *Four Books*, xxii–xxiii, 110
and the Four Masters of Mingzhou, 268
fundamental state of the way, xxxvii, xxxix–xl, 388
genealogy of Learning of the Way, 1, 14, 225
genuine/real knowledge or understanding, 188
and *The Great Learning*, 216
heart/mind, 165–166, 181
and already aroused/expressed feelings, 142
and balance, 163–164
and coherent principle, 130, 165, 181, 296, 300
of commiseration unable to bear suffering of others, 182
and consciousness, 165
and desires, 185
and equilibrium and harmony, 142
and feelings/emotions, 180
and humaneness, 147–148
and interaction with the world, 163–164
and morality (*yi li*), xix, 185
and the nature/human nature, 144, 180
not yet aroused/activated/expressed state, 117
regulation of senses/desires by, 184
and reverence/seriousness/mental attentiveness, 187, 189
unifying and controlling actions of, 162–165
virtue of and humaneness, 146
and vital energy, 163, 256–257
heart/mind of heaven and earth, 182
honoring the virtuous nature and way of inquiry and learning
as fundamental state/condition and function, 388
on HU Hong, 106
See also "Misgivings about Master Hu's *Understanding of Words*" ("Huzi Zhiyan yiyi") [ZHU Xi]
and HU Yin, 106
human heart/mind and moral heart/mind, xix, 185, 256–257, 284
human nature/inner nature, 157
and coherent principle, xix, 157, 180
dispute with DAI Zhen, 401–406

ZHU Xi, 157 (*cont.*)
and feelings/emotions, 180
and heart/mind, 144, 180
and not yet aroused/activated/expressed/manifested feelings, 142
human psychological makeup, 179–183
humaneness, 181–183
forming one body with all things, 181–182
and heart/mind, 147–148
and impartiality, 147
as life-giving force, 182–183
and principle of love, 145
and selfishness/partiality, 187
and virtue of heart/mind, 146
and ZHANG Shi on, 144–149
intentions
and actions, 179–180, 206, 214
investigation of things and events, 187
learning, 403–404, 413–414
study of Confucian classics, 187–188, 404
and LU Jiuling, 255–256
and LU Jiushao, 249, 255–256
and LU Jiuyuan, 255–260
discussions at Goose Lake Temple, 249, 255–256
and LÜ Zuqian, xvi, 143, 146, 149, 202, 206–208, 211–214
material desires, 184
meditation (quiet sitting), 114, 117, 142
moral cultivation, 404–405
moral decision-making
and ease in deliberation and ease in execution, 411
spontaneous or unreflecting, 409
moral discretion or "weighing", 410 (note 14)
moral improvement of imperial mind, 216
and moral norms/values, 171–172
morality/moral behavior
and ease, 411
and moral deliberation, 411
normative principle, 274
one principle with different manifestations/coherence is one, yet distinguished into many (*li yi fen shu*), 49
original nature
and Buddha-nature, 402, 404
and study/learning, 404
and orthodox transmission of the way, xxii, xxxvii
overcoming the self, xxi, 190
principle of love, 134, 147
the real and solid, 156
and recorded conversations genre, xxiv, 225–256
reverence/seriousness/mental attentiveness, 189–190
rulership, 209
sages
and feelings/emotions, 183
insights of, 187–188
self-actualization, 172–173
by becoming centered and harmonious, 172
and humaneness, 173
and Supreme Ultimate, 170
self-cultivation, 181, 187–191, 402–403
balanced approach: preserving/nourishing and examining, 143, 207
and desires, 416
and interaction with the world, 142
investigation of things and events and extension of knowledge, 160
outside heart/mind, 259
and re-forming one body with all things, 182
and ZHANG Shi on, 140–143
selfish desires, xxvii, 185–186, 416–418
and benefit/profit, 418
selfish thought, 185
selfishness/partiality, 182
and humaneness, 187
and impartiality, 182, 185–187
and loss of insight into coherent principle/principle, 187
seriousness
and quietude, 284–285
sincerity, 191, 193
and what is real and has substance, 191
sincerity of will, 189–190
solitude/solitariness, 190
superior person and inferior person, 418
Supreme Ultimate, 168–171, 257–258
axiological meaning of, 169
and coherent principle, xiv, 138, 168, 170–171
and decree, 168
Diagram, 137–138
and feelings/emotions, 137
as perfection of *yin* and *yang* forces, 169
and self-actualization, 170

and self-cultivation, 170
tranquillity and motion of, 137
and Ultimateless, 136, 257–258
and vital energy, 171
and ZHANG Shi on, 137–139, 148
theory of writing, 225–226
things/objects, 156
thoughts
and feelings/emotions, 180
and intentions/goals, 180, 190
management of, xxi, 190
tranquillity, 193
and seriousness, 284–285
tranquillity and motion, 193
true king
and overlord, 214
understanding/knowledge
and action, 180, 188
and coherent principle, 160, 188
degrees/kinds of, 188
and mind/heart and coherent principle, 181
understanding from the senses
and understanding of/insight into coherent principle, 188–189
vigilance in solitude, xxi, 189–191
vital energy
and coherent principle, xxviii–xxx, 159, 161–163, 178, 181, 183, 297–298, 359
functional configuration of, 160–162
and heart/mind, 163, 256–257
and heaven, 167
and Supreme Ultimate, 171
void/empty, 192–193
and WANG Fuzhi, 359
and YUAN Xie, 284–285, 289
and ZHANG Shi, 125–126, 139–149
editing of his writings, 125, 127, 132, 138, 142, 145, 148
on ZHANG Shi, 127
and ZHANG Shi on Hu Hong's *Understanding of Words*, 143–144
and ZHANG Zai, 204
and ZHANG Zai's "Western Inscription", 215
and ZHEN Dexiu, 237–238
and ZHOU Dunyi, 1, 139
"An Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Polarity", 137–139, 258
Penetrating/Comprehending the Book of Change, 138, 240
on Zisi as model transmitter, 231
See also The Great Learning in Chapters and Verses (*Daxue zhangju*) [ZHU Xi]; "Misgivings about Master Hu's *Understanding of Words*" ("Huzi Zhiyan yiyi") [ZHU Xi]; *My Old Views of Equilibrium and Harmony* (*Zhonghe jiushuo*); *Outline of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Tongjian gangmu*) [ZHU Xi]; *Records of the Yi-Luo School* (*Yi-Luo yuanyuan lu*) [ZHU Xi]; "Treatise on Humaneness" ("Ren shuo") [ZHU Xi]
ZHU Zhen, 135
Zhuangzi
heaven and earth forming one body with people and things, 181
YANG Jian on, 275
Zhu-Si yan ren lu (*Record of the Confucian School's Comments on Humaneness*) [ZHANG Shi], *see Record of the Confucian School's Comments on Humaneness* (*Zhu-Si yan ren lu*) [ZHANG Shi]
Zhuzi yulei (*Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu*) [ZHU Xi; comp. CHEN Chun], *see Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* (*Zhuzi yulei*) [ZHU Xi/comp. CHEN Chun]
zi de (obtained within the self/to get by oneself)
meaning/translation of term, 67
See also obtained within the self/to get by oneself (*zi de*)
Ziporyn, Brook
on principle (*li*) in Sinitic Buddhism, xxvi–xxvii
Zisi
and orthodox transmission of the way, xxii
ZHU Xi on as model transmitter, 231
Zongmi
on vital energy, 46
zun dexing (honoring the virtuous nature), *see* honoring the virtuous nature (*zun dexing*)
Zuo Tradition (*Zuozhuan*), 209
and image-number methodology, 33

Zuo Tradition (*Zuozhuan*), 209 (*cont.*)
Lü Zuqian on, 204–206, 209–210, 212–213, 215–217
See also Extensive Deliberations (*Zuoshi boyi*) [Lü Zuqian]
vital energy in, 43

Zuoshi boyi (*Extensive Deliberations*) [Lü Zuqian], *see Extensive Deliberations* (*Zuoshi boyi*) [Lü Zuqian]
Zuozhuan (*Zuo Tradition*), *see Zuo Tradition* (*Zuozhuan*)